

The Didactics of History
and Educational Policy
in Denmark

Five Lectures

Historiedidaktik og
uddannelsespolitik i Danmark

Fem forelæsninger

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Preface

As a prelude to a guest-lecturer's stay at the Christian-Albrechts University in Kiel in April of 2007, I developed five lectures, which are hereby published. Since there is little access to written material on the didactics of history and educational policy in Denmark outside of Scandinavia, these five lectures are translated into English so as to alleviate this state of affairs. The translation of certain central concepts from Danish into English is problematic however. It is in other words difficult to find expressions that convey the Danish understanding and usage of certain words in an exact manner. An example of such is 'Almendannelse', of which there is no equivalent in English. The expression, which comes closest, is 'General character development'. Another concept that is problematic to translate is 'didaktik', which has several other linguistic functions than the English 'didactics'. The translator has therefore added explanatory notes where necessary.

The first lecture is on history education in the Danish gymnasium from the 18th century until the time before the reform of 2005. The outset has been the Enlightenment conception of history as *Magister Vitæ*, followed by the introduction of scientific methodology in history education in the 19th century, and the more pupil-oriented approach, which has marked the 20th century.

History education must be seen in relation to the whole of the educational system and the second lecture is therefore about the development of the school and educational system in the last two hundred years. The overall theme is the interaction between a trend influenced by didactics ('Bildung') and an approach, which is influenced by the Anglo-American curriculum-mentality. The former took shape through the activities of Wilhelm von Humboldt in Prussia, at the beginning of the 19th century, while the other was given a more

lasting formulation under the influence of the American educational philosopher John Dewey.

The third lecture is on the last years' reforms of the history education in basic schooling and the education of history teachers. The crux of the matter is the conflict between an approach, which takes its outset in the qualification of the pupils' historical consciousness and a Canon-approach, which sets minimal standards for common knowledge. The latest proposal for a reform from 2006 has solved this potential opposition by developing plans for education, which comprises an interaction between the pupils' knowledge about certain topics and the formulation of competency goals for courses.

The fourth lecture regards the reform of history education in the gymnasium, which was implemented in 2005. Just as in the area of basic schooling the theme is here to which degree the previous principle of free choice of materials was to be limited with requirements of going through certain topics. The result was the formulation of obligatory core materials comprising 21 topics, which are assumed to take up around a half of the allotted class time. Courses must live up to 10 competency goals, which also make up requirement for the oral exam.

The fifth lecture focuses upon the interaction between societal development and the school and educational system, emphasising the time after the Second World War. Basic schooling was extended to nine years and the elite-gymnasium became the mass-gymnasium. This massive transformation was created by outer circumstances and the manner in which the Danish society choose to tackle this challenge. A central question is thus: how globalisation has affected thought as regards schooling, education and history education in the later years?

Some of the lectures are adaptations from previously published articles. The translation is financed by the Department of Humanities at the University of Southern Denmark and funds, which my colleague Erik Damberg has generously made available to me. I would like to thank them both.

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Forord

Som optakt til et ophold ved Christian-Albrechts Universitetet i Kiel som gæstelærer ved Historisches Seminar i april 2007 udarbejdede jeg fem forelæsninger, som hermed offentliggøres. Da der ikke uden for Skandinavien er adgang til at læse ret meget om historiedidaktik og uddannelsespolitik i Danmark, oversættes de fem forelæsninger til engelsk i et forsøg på at bøde lidt på denne mangel. Imidlertid er oversættelsen af centrale begreber fra dansk til engelsk problematisk, da det er vanskeligt at finde udtryk, der gengiver den danske forståelse og brug af begrebet. Et eksempel er 'almendannelse', som ikke på engelsk har en sproglig ækvivalent; det udtryk, der kommer tættest på er 'general character development'. Et andet vanskeligt oversætteligt begreb er 'didaktik', som har flere funktioner end det engelske 'didactics'. Oversætteren har derfor indsat forklarende noter, hvor det forekommer hensigtsmæssigt.

Den første forelæsning handler om historieundervisningen i det danske gymnasium fra 1700-tallet til tiden før reformen i 2005. Udgangspunktet er oplysningstidens forestillinger om historien som magister vitæ, fulgt af videnskabeliggørelsen af historieundervisningen i 1800-tallet, og det mere elevorienterede udgangspunkt for undervisningen, som har præget 1900-tallet.

Historieundervisningen skal ses i relation til det samlede uddannelsessystem, og derfor handler den anden forelæsning om skole- og uddannelsesvæsenets udvikling i de seneste to århundreder. Det gennemgående tema er her vekselvirkningen mellem en didaktikpræget udvikling og en tænkning, der er inspireret af den anglo-amerikanske curriculumtænkning. Den første tog form under Wilhelm von Humboldts virke i Preussen i begyndelsen af 1800-tal-

let, mens den anden fik sit mere varige præg under indflydelse af den amerikanske uddannelsesfilosof John Dewey.

Den tredje forelæsning omhandler de seneste års reformer af historieundervisningen på grundskoleområdet og historielærernes uddannelse. Omdrejningspunktet er konflikten mellem en tankegang, der tager udgangspunkt i en kvalificering af elevernes historiebevidsthed og en kanontænkning, der kræver et mindstemål af fælles viden. Den seneste oplæg til reform fra 2006 har løst denne mulige modsætning ved at udforme planer for en undervisning, der omfatter en vekselvirkning mellem elevernes viden om bestemte emner og en opstilling af kompetencemål for undervisningen.

Den fjerde forelæsning omhandler den reform af gymnasiets historieundervisning, som trådte i kraft i 2005. Ligesom på grundskoleområdet er temaet her, i hvilken grad det tidligere meget liberale stofvalgsprincip skulle begrænses med krav til en gennemgang af bestemte emner. Resultatet blev en formulering af et obligatorisk kernestof, der omfatter 21 emner, som forudsættes at optage omkring halvdelen af undervisningstiden. Undervisningen skal opfylde 10 kompetencemål, som også danner grundlag for den mundtlige eksamen.

Den femte forelæsning fokuserer på samspillet mellem samfundsudvikling og skole- og uddannelsesvæsenet med vægt på tiden efter 2. verdenskrig. Grundskolegangen blev forlænget til 9 år og elitegymnasiet blev til et massegymnasium. Denne voldsomme transformation blev fremkaldt af ydre konjunkturer og den måde det danske samfund valgte at besvare denne udfordring. Et centralt spørgsmål er, hvordan globaliseringen i de senere år har påvirket skole- og uddannelsestænkningen og historieundervisningen.

Nogle af forelæserne er bearbejdning af tidligere offentliggjort artikler. Udgifterne til oversættelsesarbejdet er finansieret af Det humanistiske Fakultet, SDU og midler, som min kollega Erik Damberg generøst har stillet til rådighed. Jeg vil gerne takke dem begge.

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I. The Didactics of History in Denmark 1715-2005

During the 18th century grammar school was given more independent subjects, one of which was History. Because antiquity was fundamental within grammar school, focus came to be upon world history. To this was added history of the Fatherland from 1775, and finally geography was added as an auxiliary subject closely related to history courses. In addition to this classification, the history teacher had to adapt his courses to the great dispersion as regards the age of the students, namely from 10 to 18 years.

With the growing importance of fatherland-history within the programme for national upbringing it became required, not only to attain knowledge and proficiency, but also to feel solidarity with the people. It was therefore natural that controversy arose as to which of the two considerations should weigh the heaviest in the teaching of history; the first could be managed by an examination of pupil recitals, that is a thoroughgoing control with the student's level of proficiency. However, this method was inadequate insofar as the goal was to socialise boys and young men into acknowledging their accord with the Danish people and to understand the special conditions that applied to others. To reach this last aim it was necessary to perform a number of didactic considerations, wherefore the teachers had to find an interest in methods for expanding the students' capacity for reflection. This issue – namely the balance between proficiency and cognition – has constituted the framework for the debates on the didactics of history in Denmark ever since History became an independent subject. Ludvig Holberg was aware of the limitations in regard to rote method and wrote about it in his: *Moralske Tanker* [Moral Thoughts]:

In addition to this, I hold that it would be more useful if lecturers were transformed into responders; such that they at certain times and places would present themselves to answer the questions placed by the studying youth.

This 'coaching' approach was expanded by him in the same epigram by highlighting there being at least two advantages in extension of this method; firstly, nobody would apply to the post of teacher if they were not mature and sensible enough to be able to answer the questions; secondly, the teachers would constantly be forced to keep up to date with scientific development. No teacher would be or remain ignorant and the pupils would be sure to be taught the issues in which they had interest.

Historia magister vitæ

Holberg may, with some credence, be indicated as the instigator of the teaching of history in the Danish grammar school. He had many motivations, where one from 1715 is worth highlighting, namely that: *one learns to know oneself by seeing ones portrait in others*. ["man lærer at kiende sig selv ved at see sit eget Portrait i andre"]. This is a modern way of conceiving the teaching of history – that is, as a fertile meeting between the pupil and the historical material. One could speak of a new anthropology, which was a function of the modern, anthropocentric view of development. In 1730 Holberg became Professor of History and Geography at the University of Copenhagen and, in the new instrument of foundation from 1732, history became, for the first time, a subject with an examination at the university. In this connection he developed a small textbook on history, which was to be for both the disciples in grammar school (sections written in large font) and for the students at the university (sections written in small font). The book is written according to the scholastic method, which means that every section begins with a question, which is then answered. For example: "What is History?" and the answer: "History is a narrative about the past, which aims at

maintaining the memory of the events, from which we may deduct learning that leads to a happy life.”

In spite of Holberg’s conception of teachers as responders it was nonetheless learning by rote, which came to dominate history classes for a long time, according to the sources that have come down to us. Dean J.H. Tauber, who went to Aalborg School in the 1750s, has written about history classes in his diary that: “Likewise I learnt of the History of the Fatherland according to Holberg’s *Historia Universalis with Annotations* – every word by heart; I wrote the translation, glossary and phrases from it and memorised everything so completely that I received the best grade at examination”.

Seminarium Pædagogicum

The conception of history courses as a kind of upbringing came to expression in the statutory instrument of 1775, where increased weight was placed upon the native tongue and the history of the Fatherland. A condition for this to be possible was the development of a textbook that could strengthen these two subjects. The Prime Minister and historian Ove Høegh-Guldberg encouraged the young Ove Malling to write such a book, and in 1777 *Store og Gode Handlinger af Danske, Norske og Holstenere* [Great and Good Deeds by Danes, Norwegians and Holsteiners] was published from Søren Gyldendals publishing house. The book considered the socialising purpose of both subjects far more than the memorisation of dates and events.

Teaching was not changed merely by the writing of a new textbook, since the shorter and more fact-oriented ‘guides’ such as Abraham Kall’s textbook were also widely read. In addition, it became necessary to change the teachers’ education if the teaching of history was to be realised according to the new conceptions of didactics. During the 1790s a reform of the grammar school was prepared, and in connection with this, it was decided to change the final school-office examination from 1788 through the establishment of the *Seminarium Pædagogicum* in 1800. The inspiration was German and the goal was: “...to attain for young men, who make the character cultivation

[dannelse] of youth their main area of study, the preparation and help that they need to realise their purpose." This was a course that lasted for four years where the 25 students could choose between four combinations of subjects, of which five could be accepted to the history and geography line. In addition to the study of disciplines, all seminary students were to follow lectures about pedagogy and methodology and thereby learn to relate critically to the classical works on pedagogy (Locke, Rousseau and Basedow). Theoretical learning was to be accompanied by practical teaching proficiency in the classes of Frue Grammar School, where trial-teaching had been initiated on a great number of subjects, where instead of examining recitals, specialist teachers were ascribed who only taught their specialised subject. The seminary's teaching of history was to be managed by Jøren Kierulf who was highly acclaimed in his time. The seminary's courses could without a doubt have had a great effect upon the development of the erudite school, but since there already in 1805 had been given several dispensations as regards the hiring of teachers among candidates that had not completed the education, applications dwindled and the institution was closed down in 1810.

The Challenge of Universal History

In the first half of the 1800s the debates on the didactics of history related to the issue of how the history of Denmark was to be positioned in regard to world history. One suggestion of seeing though history courses at the highest levels at Sorø Academy in French resulted in an objection by B.S. Ingemann who, as a teacher of Danish, had to insist upon the history of the Fatherland being taught in Danish, and the assignments for history being written in the native tongue. This was a reasonable request in that the two final written assignments in religion and history respectively, had also to be written in the mother tongue.

Since 1775 there had been a requirement that history courses must be arranged according to two alternating methods, namely

synchronicity and diachronic respectively. It was perceived as important that the pupils attained an insight into several contemporary cultures, but also that they received knowledge about the differences between cultures being explainable by their special diachronic development. Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Copenhagen J.N. Madvig wrote a large programmatic article in 1832-33: *About teaching in the erudite school* – here he made himself the spokesperson for a new conception of didactics. He criticised the hitherto neo-humanistic conception, which perceived the classical cultures of antiquity as exemplary. Instead, the study of these cultures should be approached from the perspective that they were a primitive preamble to modern societies. The pupils should instead be interested in the present and the possibilities available in the present. So as to do this in a qualified manner, it was necessary to attain insight into the historical conditionality of the present. For this reason it was also prudent to make national history the centrepiece – not so as to glorify it, as Malling had done, but to acquaint the pupils with Denmark as developing on the border of European culture. For this reason he had to distance himself from Grundtvig, and perhaps especially the grundtvigians, who wished to give Old Icelandic and Nordic mythology a central position in the teachings of the erudite school.

It was very important for Madvig that the teaching of history had the pupils' insight into the universal lines of development as a goal – that is, that the national should be seen in both a European and perhaps an even wider perspective. It was this universalistic mentality, which J.G. Herder had developed in the 1770s and, which was included in the Danish considerations on the didactics of history in the 1830s. The theoretical and normative considerations on the correct form and content of teaching history takes up much room, whereas sufficient descriptions of teaching history in practical terms is less expansive. One of the sources for this is the annual curriculum reports, which had to be printed in the schools' exam programmes from 1839. These school programmes contained, for each school, one or more scientific articles and the practicalities of teaching history were touched upon from time to time.

Sorø as a laboratory

Sorø Academy had a special position in the discussion of didactics, since this institution had a distinguished status and a solid economic foundation. In 1822 school and academy had been reorganised, which gave rise to considerations on how to re-conceptualise teaching. The economic resources of the school made it possible to attract the leading scientists and teachers. This vibrant didactic environment made for exciting discussion. One of the subjects regarded the choice of textbooks, where the debate was influenced by one of the teachers – H. Estrup – having written a textbook himself, which one of the colleagues called ‘compressed’ [compendiøs] and too difficult for the level at which it was intended. In 1830 Estrup became Dean and could thereby put to work the plans he had for teaching, namely to: “...bring order, unity and a consistent methodology into the teaching of history”. The teachers were encouraged to assemble and reach an agreement for each class as to which goals were to be met and the methods to be used. The conclusions for the individual teacher-groups were summarised by the Dean into a unified plan of instruction for the four grades, which the six year long education comprised. Estrup would probably agree that acquiring knowledge was the most important goal for the lower grades, but the teachers ought to supplement the material with narratives, so as to bring it alive. In the two upper grades not only geography, but also French was to be included in inter-disciplinary cooperation and parts of class were actually carried out in French. The characteristic feature for history classes was that the teacher’s narrative gained greater importance and that the pupils were drilled in entering events into tables, which taxed the ability to perform synchronous as well as diachronic classification. In the fourth grade, that is the final year, the teacher must: “...demonstrate, in a purely historical manner, how Providence had let the Great and Good develop in many forms and much turbulence; he must awaken the interest for the Peaceful, Humanistic and Respectable rather than the bloody.”

However, after gaining experience with this approach, Estrup was forced to admit that the teachers’ narratives must be downplayed,

and as earlier, more emphasis had to be put upon the transmission of knowledge. Tradition in regard to examination was contributory to this effect, and since the grades were made public, an incentive may have been found so as to choose the safe approach – factual knowledge.

The Condensations of History

This development did not go unchallenged. In 1839 Dean H.V. Flemmer from Frederiksborg School had criticised history courses in the erudite school for being useless rote learning. In his opinion nine tenths of the names and the dates ought to be dropped. Indeed, the question was in what way these persons and dates were used in class. When Abraham Kall's textbook from 1777 was republished in 1820 by E.C. Werlauff, the preface read: "The book ought to be learnt completely by heart." Flemmer's criticism made sensation among the ranks of history teachers, insofar as it had been made by a centrally positioned and famous school official – indeed, it was refused by C. Paludan-Müller, who was then a senior teacher at Odense Katedralskole.

Paludan-Müller's reason for the legitimisation of the subject of history took its outset in the wording of the statutory instrument from 1809, where it reads: "the teaching of history must contribute in educating the abilities and aptitudes of the young, and in supplying them with a stock of preliminary proficiency, which is necessary for the continuation of studies at university." As such, the statutory instrument only mentions proficiency, but Paludan-Müller interpreted this in quite a wide sense by emphasising that the young person in history class should be able to gain a glimpse of the laws: "...whereby the eternal reason in human life progresses", and thereby acquire the knowledge, which in advanced studies will stimulate his thoughts and make up the outset for an independent perception of the human condition. This perspective on history, namely not only learning that something has happened, but also what and how it happened, was a powerful argument in refuting the charge put forth by Dean Flemmer.

In practical terms Paludan-Müller wanted for the subject of history, together with other subjects, to create unison in education. He formulated it as follows:

The unity of teaching must be found, partly in the relationship between the subjects, and partly in such a treatment of each subject that the inner kinship of all the sciences becomes, if not understood, then at least felt and made out by the awakened disciple; however, it may never be achieved by making out one subject as the immediate handmaiden of the other.

The contribution to this unity, from the subject of history, could in his opinion best happen by using the ethnographic and synchronous way of working, and by laying down a universalistic perspective. The starting point must – of necessity – be the memorisation of concrete data that was not randomly selected, as the precondition for the understanding of a wider connectedness. There was, for example, no reason for the pupils to learn dates and names and individual events in papal-history from the 13th and 14th century if these data were not put into a context. Going to the other extreme of presenting the pupils with conclusions without them learning the basics would be just as damaging. “A skeleton-like overview could never show the development of the spirit or the true, inner meaning of the individual things [Enkelthederne].” It was the teachers’ most important job to select the principal universal historical features, not to categorise them, as Estrup had done in Sorø, but:

...with ones view locked upon the main goal of teaching, not to be entrapped in an unnatural schema but seeking to flex and modify the form to the peculiarity of the matter, so that it soon groups the individual things around an event or a person of overwhelming importance, which immediately leads them forward in a column without disturbance from laterally ordered rows, until these determine the main row – before long they

give the history of the individual people, when they in this very isolated position had been the representatives of the spirit [of history]; in one word: the form envelops the events as closely as possible.

The history teachers had to pick out and thereby discard, such that the main features had an opportunity to form in the pupil's consciousness. This was the contribution from the subject of History to the unity of the gymnasium courses and thereby the development of the pupils' general character cultivation [almendannelse]. However, if the history of Denmark was to be presented from a historically universalistic perspective then it would be unfairly treated as regard the aim, namely to: "awaken the love of the fatherland". According to Paludan-Müller this did not, however, mean that the 'bright parts' [Lyspartierne] were to be accorded more space than the 'shadowy aspects' [skyggesiderne], but: "by letting the life of the nation step forth in the consciousness of the disciples as a totality, within which they placed and felt their own existence as a particle."

In the practical teachings of Paludan-Müller, these considerations on the didactics of history manifested themselves such that Kofod's fragmentary textbook was read in the lower grades, where after the history of Denmark was treated on the basis of 'Suhms Udtog' [Suhm's extracts], where Paludan-Müller added much in his oral presentations – the pupils followed class with: "vivid participation and their frequent questions, comments and attitudes in general, made it clear that it pleased them to listen to the teacher's narrative". In the third grade, that is, when the pupils were 14 years old, they began the 'advanced course', which was the universal history. So, what had they been taught these pupils who followed this seven year course?: "...they have quite an extensive overview of the progress of the historical part of human development, to which is added specific data, and of the connections between the main events; but only on the fatherland and of some of the main peoples do they have unified ethnographic understanding."

Almendannelse and the didactics of History

Paludan-Müller's conception of the ideal teaching of history was utilised in the reform acts of 1845-50, where the student's exam was transferred from the university to the schools, and where a number of the subjects that, until then, had been placed in the first year of university were transposed to the schools also, which now had to develop the students as regards a well rounded, general character cultivation [*almindelig dannelse*]. Schooling was extended by a year, to 8 years in all, and history became more encompassing. In the official announcement from the 13th of May, 1850, it reads:

History. This is taught through all grades and the disciples must, without being burdened by many particularities of names, dates and so forth – and especially the subordinate parts of history – be guided to attaining a substantial knowledge about, and a secure overview of the strange events in old and new world history, with insight into their mutual ties and connections; and, as the course progresses, there should be brought an increasingly encompassing regard to the development of culture and inner state of the peoples. That the history of the fatherland is studied according to more comprehensive plan is obvious

The purpose of acquiring knowledge was, more specifically, to bring about an understanding of development and connections with a clear requirement for progress.

As Inspector of Education (1848-74), Madvig often had to admonish the history teachers to downplay the details and instead emphasise the broader picture. In the annual reports on education he often criticised the teaching of history. He had quite a firm foundation upon which he could base his comments, in that it was possible for him to meet most of the students in the erudite school in his travels as inspector and as external examiner at the students' final examination.

In 1850 only 82 took the final examination. Both in internal documents, from 1858 and 1864 respectively, and in the ongoing debates on revising the school system, Madvig commented that teachers

were finding it difficult to limit peripheral trivial knowledge. It was, among other things, mentioned that not all schools had: "...made sufficiently possible, by a reasonably hasty implementation of the beginners courses, a seeing through of a provisional orientation and presentation of a totality, which may thereafter supply the more complete course a certain interest and cohesion in the slow examination of this." What is interesting in this respect is that the 2005 study-plan demands a short introductory course in chronology presenting, to a large degree, the same argumentation.

The Unity of Education and the subject of History 1871-1971

In 1871 a reform of principles for the erudite school was seen through. Madvig had sought to emphasise the unity and totality of the school, but persistent attacks on the school for overburdening the pupils, and the striking growth in the natural sciences, put pressure on the existing system and resulted in a dichotomising of the school into two directions, namely the linguistic-historical and the mathematical-scientific. The reform did not touch directly upon the teaching of history, but indirectly the subject attained a new unifying function, since the students on the mathematic-scientific course received more physics instead of Greek. As such history came, as a universal and common subject, to be perceived as the guarantor for the totality and the general character cultivation [almendannelse] of the students. The royal decree of August 5th, 1871, was very brief, and in regard to history it read: "History – World History, shortly treated, as well as especially Nordic History – must be treated before the end of the 4th year.", that is when the pupils turn 16. This was the first time Nordic history was included in the curriculum. In regard to the two last years it stated, on the requirements for history courses, that: "the whole course is taken up again and finished; World History (especially the period after 1789) more so."

The 1871-arrangement was criticised from several sides and many pleaded for the unitary school to be re-established. Two previous

men of the school: J.V. Pingel and S.L. Tuxen wanted a reinstatement of the unitary school and for the subject of history to be centrally positioned. In 1878 Pingel underlined that students here met the substance of life in its highest development, and that the subject was key to understanding all human action and endeavour. The subject ought therefore to have twice the amount of classes. The surveying of history was a: “necessary part of general character cultivation [den almindelige Dannelse]”, however rote learning of details destroyed this part of the classes. In his opinion it was better to arrange classes by following the principle of paradigmatic examples, that is, in line with Paludan-Müller’s method for arranging universal history. The subject was to appeal to imagination and thereby contributing to secure the classes being carried forward by pupil interest and commitment. These were the kinds of didactics he had met in the teaching of the Grundtvigian popular people’s school and introduced to evening school for workers, taught by students. The questioning of the focus upon detailed knowledge from that time resulted in a change of examination requirements, such that 1882 saw a reduction in Medieval and modern history.

S.L. Tuxen was the leader of N. Zahle’s gymnasium courses for women, and in 1884 he published a discussion article within which he argued for re-establishing the unity of the school, where the main subjects for such a unitary school would be Greek and History. Tuxen’s perception of history was heavily influenced by historicism and the empiricist methodology of the subject – the goal was to make it more objective and thereby displace the scientific subjects from the leadership they, in his opinion, had acquired unrightfully. To make certain the students’ enthusiasm, it was important to give them the opportunity to read the sources themselves and thereby form their own impression, which could be part of class-discussion. The aim of such teaching was to be: “Receptiveness of the spirit, fondness for the spirit and freedom of the Spirit”, which together could give the pupils historical character cultivation.

The perception of the function of the subject of history for these two men of the school was influenced by the wish to consider the interest of the pupil. This could happen by combining the acqui-

tion of knowledge with imagination and making room for working with core aspects of the curriculum. Tuxen wanted for this manner of working to happen in a mainly inductive fashion, whereby a new balance between the learning of proficiency and the possibility for cognition was created.

In 1886, Professor of Philosophy and temporary reader of Pedagogy at the University of Copenhagen Kristian Kroman published a debate book on higher education – he also supported the re-establishment of the unitary school. As a specialist in pedagogy he perceived the teachers' training course, which had been introduced in 1883, as a great conquest for the erudite school: "With the mentioned step, pedagogy has truly become officially recognised as the guiding power in the area of upbringing. It is no longer despised or even merely tolerated; it has actually become acknowledged."

Kroman was of the fundamental opinion that, while the 18th century was an age of rationalism, the 19th was the age of history. Everybody agreed to learn from history, to correct the mistakes of the past, and furthermore to do it as the forefathers had. This was barking up the wrong tree however – when Tuxen had wanted history to be taught alongside Greek as the main subject of the erudite school then it was because it was important to object to:

...us bringing up the youth – Danish boys in the nineteenth century – in the main through Greek, Poetry and History, presented in Greek – a suggestion, which would certainly have been popular in ancient Greece two thousand years ago; Plato would obviously be missing quite a bit Mathematics and Aristotle would obviously be very short on Natural Science.

According to Kroman, Mathematics and Natural Science ought to have a much stronger position in the erudite school than was the case in 1871 – also because these subjects were far better in terms of upbringing than the classics. But which function should History have? History was an important subject and there was a tendency towards – like at the popular people's school – to develop the features of the subject with an aptitude for cultivating the imagination. Kroman

stressed that it was not only dangerous, but also against pedagogical and psychological principles to make the subject of History into a pedagogical panacea. In his graphic presentation he compared the disciplines in the erudite school to a meal, where Mathematics was the meat, Natural Sciences the bread, fish and vegetables and History was the wine. "It collects lifts up and inspires, but should not be enjoyed on its own." Perhaps the exclusion of languages and literature was a coincidence.

During the 1890s it became clear for an increasing number of dignitaries in the school that a complex society required a compounded school. In Norway a reform had been seen through in 1896 with three routes, such that the existing ones had been supplemented with a modern linguist line. This also came to happen in Denmark. In 1903 I.C. Christensen could sign the Act, and this tri-part division probably presented the subject of History with more opportunities than a unitary school would have allowed. Furthermore, along with Danish, history became the major common subject of the Danish gymnasium, and indeed, if the conception of a unity of education was to be upheld, it was necessary to give these two subjects a strong position. They were to secure the universal impression of the school and thereby general character development [Almendannelse].

The specially studied topic and Social Studies

In the arrangement regarding education in the gymnasium from December 1st 1906, history was hereafter called: History and Social Studies. This innovation had been debated for quite a while and had partly been actualised by the contributions to the discussion made by the young historian P. Munch. In a study visit to France he had seen how social studies had been integrated with the subject of morality and found that this construction ought to be considered in connection with the reform – except in Denmark, it should be attached to History. The textbooks in this subject and in History had been written by distinguished university professors and were, in terms of quality, better than the Danish textbooks. In extension of a

reform of the final exam for a position in the school in 1901, history had been supplemented with social studies and the young teachers were therefore prepared to teach this course. P. Munch wrote a textbook, within which was emphasised a description of the existing Danish society that was compared with foreign circumstances and historical examples. In the arrangement social studies was allotted 80 pages of the curriculum, where the description of institutions had a special prominence.

In France, Munch had also seen how the students read sources as a supplement to textbook presentations; also courses in source criticism at the university supplied the teachers with a foundation for working methodically with history in the gymnasium. In the arrangement of 1906 a specially studied topic was included, about which it read: "In addition to the ordinary treatment of history a specialty must be made with extra detail, though not based upon actual sources, of some important and meaningful section within the history curriculum." In practical terms it became voluntary for the teachers whether they wanted to read a specially studied topic with the class or not and the teaching inspection must approve the content. This approach existed until 1988 when an extended essay on history was introduced. It read about the teaching of history, furthermore, that it was required to work through World History from the oldest times to the present, and that this must be done chronologically with emphasis upon a synchronous presentation. The history of Denmark and the Nordic countries were to be seen in a European perspective, according to a special presentation. Emphasis should be made upon the time after 1750. This point was underlined in the examination regulation where, in order to avoid spending too much time upon repetition, only questions on the period following the French Revolution were to be asked.

In 1905 the arrangement concerning teacher training courses from 1883 was changed, such that it became obligatory for all who were hired to teach in the gymnasium. Previously, a two year employment at a council or private school, allowing employment without teachers training courses, was sufficient for enlistment in the sought after position in the state schools. When S.L. Tuxen became Inspector

of Education in 1906 he wanted to make sure, through the teacher training course, that the candidates were familiar with teaching a class, which would thereby displace examination by recital. This development was of great importance – not least for the subject of history – since teaching in a class could contribute towards strengthening the inductive and reflexive aspects.

Teaching history before the world went mad

It was the Inspector of Education's job to make sure that the letter of the law was upheld. In 1914 Inspector S.L. Tuxen was editor for an account of education in the gymnasiums; in it the teaching of history was portrayed in detail.

The basis of this portrayal was both his visits to the schools as well as reports from the external examiners. In addition, an evaluation of textbook quality and the discussions from the annual autumn meetings for the Gymnasium Teachers' Association [Gymnasieskolernes Lærerforening (GL)] were included. In an initial characterisation of the development in teaching history it was emphasised that this subject was, up till the 1870s, "simply a rote subject with a rather distant relationship to the real world". The ideas of the Enlightenment were, according to the report, not carried out till around 1900, which happened in new textbooks, i.e. Johan Ottosen's *Nordens Historie* [The History of Scandinavia], within which the history of warfare was quite restricted to the advantage of "inner relations" and the review of pictures and maps. Also, there happened, in the following years, an even greater displacement away from political history and towards the social and cultural. The older generation of teachers complained and many were not comfortable with this state of affairs. However, the Inspectorate of Education encouraged the use of textbooks that were in correspondence with the new criteria that Johan Ottosen had founded his textbook upon. The new *World History* had been written by P. Munch and was published in its first edition in 1906 – immediately before the 1903-reform was implemented.

In 1914 there existed 45 gymnasiums and, of these, 43 had acquired Ottosen's modern textbook, while 35 had gone over to using P. Munch's *Verdenshistorie*. The new textbooks had, in the mind of the Inspectorate, contributed to the teaching of history "now being perceived with interest by the teachers as well as by the pupils, to which nothing even came close earlier." The specially studied topic could have added to this, but since only 20 hours had been allocated, and the teachers also used the textbooks for this part of class, the innovative value was limited; especially when it went so far as to examine the pupils in "the dry facts of such a book". Examination by recital was being phased out and class education made it easier for the teacher to "make history classes profitable and enjoyable."

History had, as such, become more differentiated and the pupils were expected to juggle several tracks of development and causal connections. It was a great step forward. However, this diversity made it difficult for them to maintain the necessary framework of dates and maintain a clear chronological overview. Since the older history was not eligible for examination it was not included in revision, and the pupils therefore often only had a chronological overview of the time after 1750.

The Inspectorate's report also included an evaluation of the new discipline of Social Studies and it was, by teachers as well as students, perceived with lively interest and: "it has contributed in giving classes a more lively and less rigid character."

The P. Munch Era

The development of history didactics in the first half of the twentieth century was seemingly unbroken. P. Munch's *Verdenshistorie* set the trend well into the 1960s and classes were the main form of teaching. At times this continuity was challenged however, perhaps it was even challenged in the classrooms every day, but no sources speak of it. In 1918 gymnasium teacher A. West held the main speech at the GL autumn meeting. He was not enthused about the specially studied topic and would rather spend time studying the larger de-

velopment of things. On one point he was, however, provident in that he wanted to strengthen the teaching of history by developing an interdisciplinary cooperation between history and a number of related subjects within the Humanities. The other subjects may, in their textual interpretations, relate to history and vice versa. Textual analysis would present the pupils with an authentic and increasingly multifaceted insight into historical development and result in a far better cohesion of their worldview. In the following debate West received strong support from Professor Aage Friis, who stated that: "West has gotten to the core of the issue: A cooperation must be found between the subjects, so that the pupil may receive the requisite generally character developing instruction."

The suggestion of interdisciplinary cooperation had – as far as is known – not been mentioned since the comment of Paludan-Müller in 1841 and was, even in 1918, an isolated incident, which however must have been included in the reform-considerations. Either way, it was mentioned in connection with the revision of the 1903-arrangement in 1935. Here was found an invitation towards parallel-reading in the subjects of the Humanities, and it was important for the teachers to know what their colleagues taught so as to utilise their knowledge in their own subject. For this reason the school council must negotiate a common work schedule, and on this basis develop a plan for cooperation between the subjects. The seriousness of this was underlined by the requirement of this plan being sent to the Inspector of Education every year.

In 1933 upper secondary (gymnasium) teacher Svend Norrild wrote an article in *Gymnasieskolen* with the title: 'Pædagogisk Funktionalisme' [Pedagogical Functionalism], within which he argued the case for reading History with a backwards chronology; that is, beginning with current circumstances and from there working backwards to the most distant times. In this manner one would make certain that the teaching of history happened on the pupils' terms and as connected to their world. In his view World War I had altered perspectives in a fundamental manner and created credibility issues for the traditional chronological courses. Norrild's thoughts did not come to influence the 1935-revisions of the gymnasium education

and would also require a fundamental reassessment of mentality for the didactics of history and, among other things, be a challenge to the work with causal connections.

In the 1935-arrangement it was stressed that the students, on the one hand, must acquire the presentation of the book in an exact manner, and also on the other hand learn, on the basis of documenting material, to reach conclusions. As such a double didactic strategy was in question, which was a new variation on an old theme, but where emphasis was now upon the latter, wherefore the specially studied topic received increased priority and must comprise $\frac{1}{5}$ of the course. Another innovation was increased importance of economical developments ahead of political, cultural and social ones. The methodological freedom of the teacher was emphasised but he was required to stress a clear and coherent oral presentation.

This increased focus upon working with the documentation created the need for source-books and the professional association took the initiative in developing a series of: '*Kilder til Danmarks Historie*' [Sources to the History of Denmark]. In 1935 Haakon Müller collected a reader, which covered the crisis in 1914, when Germany presented Danish politicians with a requirement for mining the Belts. He argued his intentions in the periodical *Vor Ungdom*: "My point has not been to create scholars within my subject, but to seek to awaken the interest of the pupils and bring them to a certain *almendannelse*; in form I have rather sought that of the popular people's schools and the study circle than that of the university."

The crisis of the 1930s and the following occupation of World War II were challenges to the teaching of history. It was even more a case of raising awareness for or against the *-isms* than before. Much was said about character development in this regard and here Christian, Fascist as well as Communist ideals came to play a role. However, there was also the wish to make the individual youth independent, such that he or she could take autonomous stands on these and other *-isms*. In this sense the indoctrinating and libratory potentials of the discipline of history were discussed, and there was a tendency for the libratory intentions to relate to independent work and thereby the documentation-approach to teaching. This was expressed in many

ways, among which were H.V. Brøndsted's pamphlet: *Gymnasiets Fremtid* [The Future of the Gymnasium], where he in 1945 argued in favour of introducing the study-group to the gymnasium, among other places in history-classes. Long before there was any such thing as a logbook he wanted to introduce lasting group work, such that the results were registered class by class and could thereby be used to form the basis for examination.

Liberation and the first post-war years might have appealed to reforms of education in history, but not till the beginning of the 1950s had people's thoughts been collected enough to be presented in some totality. A revision of the 1935-arrangement happened in 1953, where weight was put on the international commitment of the subject, and where the economic features were in not quite as dominating a position. Not till the school-reform of 1958, which was an occasion for committee-work on the future form and content of the gymnasium, did any change occur on the didactics of history.

A 2100 page textbook on World History

The branched-gymnasium, which was the result of the 1958-reform, meant a higher degree of differentiation for the gymnasium and that: "...this easily results in the pupils not only overlooking the interplay, which is found between the phenomena of many different subjects, such as between the Humanities and the Natural Sciences, but also that they lose the historical perspective in past and present issues, which is valuable in their understanding of things." This system of thought resulted in the decision to introduce a History of Ideas, which it should be possible to include in the teaching of all subjects. The possibility of an actual, formalised interdisciplinary cooperation was not apparent however. Class-based teaching was still the most widespread approach to working, but teacher- and pupil lectures were also indicated and it was added that: "In other circumstances it is possible to utilise group work."

The teaching of history was, according to *Den Røde Betænkning* [The Red Report] to be built upon textbooks with a cohesive chronolo-

gical presentation. There were therefore good reasons to assume that courses still had a standardised feel, and that the space for contemplation had not been expanded much for the individual student. As something new it was mentioned that periods before 1900 could be “skipped” – that is, let the coherence for some periods be built out of a cursory reading. Work with the textbook should “mainly” be supplemented by the inclusion of textual sources, pictures and even statistical material. The didactic construction may have been that the student, following the acquisition of the textbook description of a period, could achieve insight into the basis for its presentation through a source-critical interpretation. As an example, the report pointed out that a reading of the history of Denmark in the period 1660-1814 may be supplemented with Rex Legia [Kongeloven], Christian V’s Danish Law, the absolutist administration, mercantilism, the plight of the peasant, village community, the policy of neutrality and its consequences, as well as material that throws light upon prominent individuals and the art of that period. The coursework was to be distributed such that $\frac{4}{5}$ of the time was spent on reviewing the textbook and $\frac{1}{5}$ upon studying sources. In principle, these were the same requirements as in 1935 and that which was called “the great school reform” was as such quite conservative in terms of the didactics of history.

It is difficult to evaluate, if the removal of the maximum number of pages for history textbooks should be termed progress or not. The result was GAD-publishing’s five volumes of *Verdenshistorie* [World History] reaching 2100 pages all in all. On the other hand, it must have had an innovative effect that the teacher may now phrase the examination questions himself, rather than it being the external examiner as before, who must now merely approve the questions. The increasingly flexible position for the teacher in the exam-situation made it possible to increase creativity in class. A few years after, the first applications for experimental use of preparation at the exam were received. In 1968, 30 permissions were granted. Mainly the reasoning was that the documenting methodology naturally required that the pupil was given time to review the material in regard to the relevant issue. This more scientific approach to history courses

required special furnishing of history classrooms, where collections of handbooks were easily accessible.

The president of the history teachers' society argued the case for the reading of sources and source analysis at the expense of textbooks. "The old history books" she wrote "did not even present history in cohesion, but merely the history of certain important countries in broad terms. Therefore I do not have a problem with omissions". The periods that were not reviewed so thoroughly could still be illustrated if the teacher presented a few "concrete" conclusions and brought home certain important circumstances with the help of a few sources. The textbook ought rather to be used as a handbook and the course directed at source analysis, group work and global history. For this reason it was necessary to change the form of examination, the reason for which she gave as: "When we must teach the pupils greater independence, it is no use that the form of examination is the old one, where the pupil arrives [and] rattles off some fact or other; this forces us to spend too much time on this in the daily work."

Balance for 1871-1971

The standardised teaching of history was being displaced by the new paradigm for the didactics of history. When the five-day week was to be introduced in the gymnasium it became necessary to radically change the size of the curriculum, and since the "1968-uprising" had put participation in decision making on the agenda, much was in favour of removing the requirement for chronological connections. Indeed, this was carried through in the 1971-reform, whereby the period before 1930 was to be covered by 3-5 periods or subjects, while the curriculum covering the periods in between was given a lower priority. Instead of "rattling off some fact or other" the student must demonstrate independence and critical sense by analysing text.

It was no coincidence that this happened at the beginning of the 1970s. Wealth and welfare characterised the 1960s, the elitist gymnasium was replaced by the mass-gymnasium, and the contributing factors of increased speed of societal growth and also the radical

transformation of societal, economic, mental and political areas, partook in weakening tradition and thereby presenting an impulse to posing questions about the future. In extension there also arose a need for more questions on the past, and the pupils must learn to pose these themselves. This placed heavy requirements upon the didactics of history, which could no longer merely be a question of selecting a curriculum and teaching method, but must be perceived in a wider sense.

The post-traditional didactics of history

The 1971-reform created quite a stir in the milieu of history teachers, which was expressed in journals and at meetings, not least the annual general meeting for the History Teachers' Association. The reform had been launched as one emphasising the approach of the paradigmatic example, however, criticism was especially directed at the paradigmatic connections being weak or totally absent and that it was an admission of failure to give up the requirement for the student to acquire a solid understanding of connections and continuity. Young adherents of the reform also wanted to secure understanding of connections and continuity but it was to happen on the pupils' terms and not that of the reading material. Pupil participation in decision-making must, of necessity, challenge the chronological approach and imply the down-prioritisation of many periods. This challenge was taken up by the History Teachers' Association, and in edition 49 of *Noter om Historie og Undervisning* [Notes on History and Teaching] from 1976, a suggestion was presented as to how a modern didactics of history could be devised. In the introduction the executive committee presented its reasoning for establishing an institute for futurology: "To be able to shape the future one must have knowledge of the past". In addition, it brought a quote from Elas Gress' book *Om Kløfter* [On Divides], within which she expressed that the youth of the present: "...is worse off than that of the inter-war period. In other words, they do not understand that the global connection is not only present in purely geographical terms and in the present,

but along the length of time, that the past is with us and in us, and that nothing may be explained without it." Hereby, the synchronous and diachronic approach to history had been reformulated and this manner of structuring work on the past, indeed became the outset for the executive committee's method of handling the challenge to the teaching of history presented by the 1971-reform. The executive committee sought to delineate a didactics, which not only comprised a formulation of goals and the organisation of the textual matter, but also the backgrounds and qualifications of the pupils. The outset was an American study by Walter Küppers from 1961, where 1000 children and youths between 9 and 18 years of age were asked about what they found interesting in history. Not till the age of 16 were they able to think cohesively about temporal connections and approach problems by using the hypothetical-deductive methodology. For this reason there must be substantial differences between the teaching of history in primary and lower secondary school and that of the gymnasium. The committee indicated four functions, namely History as communication, as a support for self-reflection, as a prerequisite for active participation in society and for countering manipulation. The committee was forced to distance itself from the problem solving model and its disconnecting effects, where all issues were equally important, insofar as they were problems.

It is as if one in a period has considered the methodological tools as means and goal, while we are now on the way to a completely different and fertile situation where greater emphasis is placed upon the wide continuities, and holistic impressions will be meaningfully indicative of the problems to be worked with.

The solution was, according to the committee, to aim at depth as well as width, the inductive and deductive, the synchronous and diachronic. The problem was that no obvious material providing an overview could be found for short courses. The publishers printed compressed versions of their large textbooks, but they did not quite seem to get a handle on the issues. I myself wrote a world history based upon the narrative strategy of working backwards through

time, which turned out not to be the answer to the challenges of the time either.

In the 1970s the teaching of history in the Danish gymnasium was placed in a 'double bind' challenge. On the one hand, the method of problem-solving had come to stay, but on the other there was wide support for the subject to give the pupil an understanding of development and connections. This dilemma was an extraordinarily fertile challenge for the subject, and debate did not limit itself to the circle of historians but was found in all of society. To this came that the mass-gymnasium posed new requirements to the didactics of history; pupils from less literate environments often lacked the family's knowledge of the subject, wherefore it was necessary for the teacher to spend more time arguing the existential legitimacy of the subject. Hereby it became necessary to lay down an inclusive approach to the didactics of history and incorporate pupil prerequisites in a wider sense, which later on in the 1980s came to be known as historical consciousness [historiebevidsthed].

A Vivacious History?

In 1980 the academic committee for history decided to publish a collection of considerations on general pedagogy and didactics. The idea was that: *En Levende Historie* [A Vivacious History] was to be used in connection with academic courses and create the circumstances for some conceptions of the didactics of history, both in relationship to the didactic-theoretical, namely how the students best learn history and the didactic-methodological, or how class is to be arranged to attain the set goals. The book also contained articles on Basil Bernstein's theory of sociolinguistic codes, Wolfgang Klafki's conceptions of categorical self-formation, Jean Piaget on cognitive psychology, in addition to which was found a presentation of behaviouristic and constructivist approaches to education respectively. Among the editorial staff, we thought that it was necessary to add an educational-theoretical dimension to the didactics of history, however, it was understood that if the teacher-

consciousness was truly to be challenged it had to happen through research into the everyday life in the gymnasiums, for which there was no realistic possibility at that time. The first Nordic conference on the didactics of history was held in 1982 and the characteristic feature was that the principal development came from the pedagogical universities and not from the worlds of the gymnasiums or the university. Since then these conferences have been held every other year and the published results have influenced debate, also in the rest of Scandinavia.

The 1988-Reform

In 1985 the Minister of Education Bertel Haarder presented a requirement that the understanding of connections must be upgraded, possibly using an obligatory curriculum. This was an obvious tightening of requirements in comparison with the 1971-arrangement. The formed committee reached the conclusion that: "The purpose of history education is that the students develop their historical consciousness." This concept was used in Germany in the 1970s and was therefore relatively new in the Danish context. When it was incorporated so quickly into the discussion regarding curriculum, it may be connected to the fact that this concept could couple the notions of student interests and choice of materials – the concept was therefore a part of the wider concept of didactics, and may contain the analytical work with and understanding of texts. By using *historical consciousness* one had a concept with a higher level of abstraction. The second purpose was called: "...overview of the historical development", and number three: "...insight into how history is made." Hereby continuity was created through the in-depth work with source criticism, understanding of development and connections, while a new departure was created by framing new goals for education, namely historical consciousness.

The 1988-reform dispensed with the specially studied topic, which was replaced by an obligatory history assignment that was introduced

in the second year of the gymnasium, and it became possible for the pupils to choose to write the third year extended essay in history, which many did. With these two assignments, history had become a written subject, as it had also been before 1850, where one of the two assignments written in the native tongue must have historical content. The conceptual explanation of “consciousness of history” in the guide to the curriculum does not comprise all the meanings, with which the concept is identified today – the future aspect was for example not explicitly mentioned and neither were the concepts of “historically formed” [historieskabt] and “historically forming” [historieskabende].

The Past, Present and Future of History Education

The history of a subject is important for disciplinary didactics. The history of the subject of history and its didactic development is – consciously or not – part of the arrangement and seeing through of class.

The formulation of aims is the yardstick of history. There has been a development from emphasising the material to be learnt, to an increasingly marked emphasis upon the pupil. One could also say that accentuation had shifted from a teaching to a learning perspective. For instance, in 1809 one said that the student must acquire sufficient knowledge and proficiency to complete the scientific course at university. In 1988, emphasis was upon qualifying the pupil’s consciousness of history. Over the course of two hundred years there has, as such, been a shift from matter to pupil. The main purpose of history education has always been chronology although this has been seen through in so many ways. Behind older requirements for thorough and precise acquisition of textbook material, we find a high prioritisation of chronological coherency, thus the break in the 1970s forced the subject into a creative crisis. Gradually this fracture was mended, which was codified in the latest reform of 2005, which is presented in the fourth lecture on page 71.

A conclusion of this birds-eye-view of the didactics of history in the Danish gymnasium, from the beginning of the 18th century to the new millennium, must be that the trend has been from a content-orientation to a more pupil-oriented history education. The outset was a strongly influenced by content-matter, which in the 1970s was replaced by a more formal approach that in the last two decades has been increasingly influenced by categorical self-formation and a learning mentality. It is also fair to accentuate the sense in which the older approach to education was mainly deductive, while the tendency in the last generations as been towards inductive approaches, and that the daily classes – originally based upon rote learning – have moved in the direction of more constructivist approaches in the last half century.

II. The Danish Tradition of *Dannelse*

National paradigms and History Education

The teaching of history will always be influenced by the structure and goals of the educational system. Even countries that are closely related in terms of culture have substantial differences, which are important to know if there – even in a European context – is to be made a basis for meaningful dialogue.

Many years ago, when I began comparing the educational systems of various countries, it was apparent that some concepts in use in Denmark had not been translated into for example English or French. One of these concepts is: “*Almendannelse*”, which has been a central aspect of Danish teaching terminology since the 1830s. The closest one comes in bilingual dictionaries is ‘general education’ in English and ‘*enseignement general*’ in French, none of which even come close to the Danish notion.¹ Another concept is *Fag*², which is the English equivalent of ‘subject’ and the French ‘*la discipline*’ or ‘*la matière*’ – however, connoisseurs point out that there are differences of nuance.

Difficulties of translation also apply to the concept of: ‘*didaktik*’, the most general understanding in Danish of which comprises selection of materials, methods, student prerequisites as well as teaching purposes. Furthermore, while it is true that the English term ‘didactics’ is often translated with *didaktik* it nonetheless has a much narrower usage as instruction. To be able to function in a globalised world it is important to be able to communicate about education and general character development, but as the sundry definitions of these just

three concepts show; the ways of communication in this global discussion of education and character development are paved with many 'bumps'. The exception to this rule is the communication between German and Danish however, where the three concepts – thought provokingly enough – correspond in meaning.

Bildung and Allgemeinbildung

Differentiation of the educational sector became apparent in the 1700s when Pietism, philanthropy and neo-humanism manifested itself. During the nineteenth century this resulted in two institutional trends, namely *realskoler*, which were lower secondary school or preparatory school and the *gymnasium* which was the upper secondary school. The humanist gymnasium took shape around 1800 with classical languages as its fundamental subject. This was the educational form, which founded the school of didactics. Its theoretical foundation was formulated by Johann Friedrich Herbart, and its practical implementation was influenced by Wilhelm von Humbolt's Prussian school-reforms in 1810. The overall goal of education was General Character Development and how the individual teacher achieved this goal was to a wide degree up to him. There was yet a weak bureaucracy in the Prussian state after the Napoleonic wars, and except for presenting a 'Lehrplan' or plan of instruction and certain centrally formulated assignments that were for 'Abitur' or examination, the teacher had methodological freedom. This required that he had a university degree, which made it possible for him to independently organise classes, which was exactly what Humbolt's university-reform was to achieve. Naturally, much time passed learning the classical languages, which meant learning by rote; however, languages were merely the means, while discussion of the content was the goal. The teachers joined together in an influential *Philologenstand* – a class or estate of philologists or literates – which in reference to it self came to imbue the German gymnasium with a conservative dimension. From a Danish perspective this development in the German states was important because the Danish intel-

lectual elite received much inspiration from it. In 1824 H.C. Ørsted wrote a feature article in the newspaper *Nyt Aftenblad*, where he – probably as the first in Denmark – used the German concept of “Allgemeinbildung” and translated it as “almendannelse”. “It is”, he wrote, “not so important the amount of knowledge one acquires in an erudite school, but rather the imprint of reason, which must be put upon it”. Hereby, the function of general character development or *almendannelse* had been introduced in Denmark and hereby also the didactic approach. *Almendannelse* was to be a principal part of the debate that led to the creation of the modern Danish gymnasium in 1850, where the purpose of the school became a form of teaching: “which may lead to a true and thorough general character development [almindelig Dannelse] and simultaneously, through knowledge as well as the development of the abilities of the soul [Sjeleevnernes udvikling], best prepare for the academic study of the sciences and disciplines to which the individual is attracted.”

Today *Almendannelse* is still the overriding goal for the gymnasium-educations, and as such, the school of didactics still dominates – even though there has been a certain spill-over from the curriculum-approach. Thus, while the school of didactics is German, that of Curriculum is American and was developed – among other places – in Chicago in the second half of the 19th century. Massive immigration taxed the educational-system heavily and it became necessary to ‘industrialise’ classes. The individual states formulated a number of detailed, verifiable requirements for their lower secondary schools and the job of the teacher was to assure that the children could honour these. As a guarantee, educational material was provided by the state and periodical tests were to assure that goals had been reached. Methodological freedom was therefore limited for the teachers and their classes took on more the shape of instruction than pedagogical exercises. John Dewey attempted to develop the curriculum approach using the concept of ‘Learning by Doing’. In 1916 he presented one of his main works: *Education and Democracy*.

The Danish educational system is still heavily influenced by the didactic school of thought and without mentioning it explicitly it

must be in reference to it when the Danish researcher of education Jørgen Gleerup writes, in regard to the Danish tradition of education, which:

...emphasize(s) all-round academic- and personal development, democracy and broadness [rumlighed] as regards values such as closeness, openness and interaction as well as freedom and diversity in terms of educational choices, methods and research. These are the broad-minded [liberale] traditions for education of the people [folkeoplysning] that have spread to all of the Danish educational system.

With outset in this claim I would like to take a closer look at the interaction between the free teaching methods, teaching in the erudite school and teaching in the later gymnasium-educations. My thesis is that Gleerup is right in claiming that gymnasium-educations in Denmark have a special character, given the influence from *højskolen* or popular people's school and works connected to the education of the people in general. Thus, if the German educational system was influenced by Humbolt and the American by Dewey, then Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig and Chresten Kold crucially influenced the Danish educational system. The contrast between the didactic and curriculum schools of thought may easily be illustrated using these key concepts:

Didactic: General Character Development, what and why, reflection, methodological freedom for the teacher, exam, difference.

Curriculum: How, instruction, centrally formulated disciplinary content, active knowledge, tests, choice of discipline, equality (The above is an adaptation from: *Didaktik and/or Curriculum*, 1995, p. 25).

The key concepts of the two approaches must be understood as ideal types in Weber's sense, and not as true descriptions of the actual instruction given, which has many intermediary forms.

The interaction between Grundtvig and Madvig

The Danish theologian and philosopher N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) would hardly have perceived himself as a thinker on education, but nonetheless it was his thoughts, and the presentation of them, that spread and inspired – not only the development of the free school, but also the state school system. During the 1830s Grundtvig shaped his popular or people's educational programme. The idea was that everybody should have seven years schooling as the School Act of 1814 required. Teaching of the young was to be built upon the premise that everybody should be able to read, write, do arithmetic as well as know the main developments in the history of the Fatherland and Christianity. Over and against the teaching of youth, which happened in the erudite school, popular teaching was to occur at Sorø Academi in order to educate civil servants, so as to break the university monopoly. Among others, Grundtvig developed these plans in a manuscript from 1838 called: *Skolen for Livet og Akademiet i Soer* [The School for Life and the Academy in Sorø].

Hereby Grundtvig's plans for popular education came into conflict with the established elitist educations. The popular people's school in Soer, which Grundtvig worked to establish, and which King Christian VIII supported, did not materialise. However, in 1844 the first popular people's school was established in Rødding in the duchy of Schleswig with apparent Danish nationalist aims³. In 1851 the teacher Christen Kold established the popular people's school in Ryslinge and the year after a free school in Dalby. While Rødding school had nationalist aims, Kold's goal was to create a school, which could be: "a place for prayers [bedested] on the journey of life", and should reinvigorate before it enlightened. The erudite school was therefore challenged by a more populist approach, because teaching was based upon the native tongue and had a national as well as Christian ethos.

Grundtvig cannot be placed unequivocally in either the didactic or curriculum school of thought. Though he was an opponent of exams and would have applauded Dewey's approach to dealing with the subject-matter, he would have distanced himself from teaching,

which in the main built upon instruction and content determined by the state. Grundtvig would have preferred the didactic approach, which had room for reflection and methodological freedom for the teacher. This must also be seen as the reason why he has been able to inspire, not only free schooling, but has also influenced teaching in examined-schools.

The primus motor of the erudite school was the philologist and professor from the University of Copenhagen, Johan Nicolai Madvig (1804-1886). In 1848 he had become Inspector of Education for the erudite school, and furthermore Minister of Culture in the years 1849-51. Grundtvig had been elected to parliament, which in 1850 debated his bill for the establishment of a popular school in Sorø, where he stated that: "The school, which King Christian VIII had wanted to establish in Sorø, and which was explicitly meant for adults, and among other things appointed to adults of all classes and estates, to give them knowledge [kundskab] and enlightenment into the Fatherland, in its current circumstance and its historical generation..." In his answers Madvig underlined that that the erudite school was necessary, not just to prepare for official examination at university, but also to give others *general character cultivation*. His main point of view was that:

For there in the larger spheres to be, on all points, disseminated general cultivation, there must be a higher cultivation, which – because it is higher – cannot disseminate itself to as many; also, the dissemination of which must be delineated to fewer and move within a smaller sphere, but they should both permeate each other.

With "both" he meant the popular people's education of the youth on the one hand and the youth of the erudite school on the other. Madvig hereby became the spokesperson for the synergy that came to affect the Danish educational system. On the one hand, Grundtvig may have represented a critique of the erudite school with its focus upon the extinct languages, but he stressed that when Madvig as Minister of Culture: "spoke of the popular folk, and the erudite or

scientific cultivation [Dannelse] as two things that by no means must be in opposition to each other. For about this we are in complete agreement." One of Grundtvig's central concepts was 'vekselvirkning' [interaction or synergy⁴], and from the rostrum of the parliament he noted that this also applied to the relationship between the two kinds of cultivation.

As the Minister of Culture Madvig had formulated the goals and disciplinary content of the erudite school; the purpose being "a true and thorough general cultivation [almen dannelse]", and in accordance with Johan Friedrich Herbart's thoughts on considering the multifarious interests of the students, they were to acquaint themselves with a wide selection of subjects. I perceive Madvig's conception of general cultivation as the result of:

An education, which comprises the common [almene⁵] parts of the sciences and disciplines that society needs so as to develop the students' personal authority to reflect over their relationship with their fellow human beings, nature and society.

Almendannelse therefore comprises two things: a selection of materials and learning. The concept is broad, but may not contain everything; Hebrew was for example not included in the new collection of disciplines with the reference that it did not belong to general cultivation. It is also important to note that *almendannelse* is singular, which thereby postulates that education has a certain holistic feature, and that the teaching of History would, as such, have a central role to play in bringing about this unity.

Popularisation of the erudite school

The erudite aspects of *almendannelse* challenged the popular people's education of the young, which occurred in the many schools up till the second half of the 1900s. It was especially the influential farming communities, which sent their youth to *højskole*, which offered courses to the farmhands in the five winter months and to

the girls in the three months of summer. Education in this *højskole* or popular people's school was as such very short compared to the 10 years schooling in the erudite school, but since only the mother tongue was used, courses could focus upon content. The foreign texts, including manuscripts in Greek and Latin, were translated, wherefore learning by rote was minimised, since it was not necessary to learn vocabulary and grammar and because courses were not to be concluded by exams. Numerous memoirs witness of the 'empowerment' a school-stay gave and speaking of the equality of working with the hands and spirit [åndens] has without a doubt attributed meaning to life. Narrative and dialogue was a central part of these courses that were based upon nationality and the Christian heritage. Country-wide awakenings also contributed, and those fractions that in unison comprised the political party of *Venstre*⁶ had a majority in parliament from 1870.

***Højskolen* turns Academic**

In connection with a reform of the erudite school in 1871, where it became possible for the students in the higher grades to choose between the subject of classical languages and the subjects of mathematics and natural sciences, members of *Venstre* had been working for the establishment of a third subject, namely that of Old Norse. The main disciplines were not to be the classical languages, but Old Icelandic, Nordic Mythology and History.

Madvig, who was still Inspector of Education and member of the second chamber of parliament: *Landstinget*⁷, called the suggestion 'morbid' [sygeligt] and he was successful in limiting Old Norse to a topic in the subject of Danish. Many teachers were of the impression that Old Norse could not contribute to general character cultivation within the school, and in yet another reform in 1935 it disappeared from the collection of subjects.

Even though Grundtvig's suggestion for a popular *højskole* in Sorø had been rejected by the first elected representatives of the people in 1850, the following years turned up several suggestions that

sought to induce new life into the project – one of the most spoken about being formulated by the Grundtvigian Otto Müller, who was a vicar in Gyllinge of Eastern Jutland. Müller’s reasoning was that if one introduced general elections to parliament it would also be necessary to introduce an *almendannelse* [general cultivation] based upon the mother tongue – otherwise it would be preferable to revert to the time of royal paternalism. The intended expansion of the popular people’s school was to be directed especially at: “the most capable men of the peasantry, to whom the others may look up to and seek guidance.” In 1879 the vicar and botanist J.S. Deichmann Branth published a pamphlet: *About the Danish Academy* [Om det danske Akademi], within which he emphasized that *almendannelse* must be encyclopaedic and diverse. Here, people and not specialists where to acquire enlightenment and information for life. Conditions for admission were – in addition to primary and lower secondary education in *folkeskolen* – to be the erudite school, preparatory school or a popular people’s school, and the education was to last for 2½-3 years, where the students would acquaint themselves with a wide range of subjects that would not, however, include classical languages. After having completed such an expanded course from *højskole*, which was to be placed in Sorø, the candidates would be able to work in an official capacity and thereby break the monopoly of the universities in regard to official positions. Neither of the two suggestions came to anything; however Askov Højskole (1878) as well Haslev Højskole founded expanded courses.

Commercial education: popular or academic?

Teaching in preparatory schools and preparatory classes, which were booming in the 19th century, were not directed explicitly at the commercial subjects, but were to a large degree encyclopaedic [almene] rather than classical educations. For this reason the middle classes occupied with trade were concerned that there be founded a commercial gymnasium education. In 1796 Niels Brock had left a fortune, which was to be used in the education of young businessmen.

100 years later this had not come to realisation and when the funds were to be administered by *Grosserersocietetet* or the merchant's society, it was apparent for the dynamic president of the society C.F. Tietgen to suggest the establishment of a preparatory school intended for future traders as well as a business school in Copenhagen. Tietgen was one of the most prominent executives during the Gründerperiod⁸. In 1885 he left the preparations to Ludvig Schröder, who was superintendent at Askov Højskole. Schröder travelled to a number of European countries to see for himself how the education of young traders had been accomplished. On his travels he was accompanied by Poul la Cour who was responsible for the teaching of science at Askov Højskole. Schröder wrote a report, which could be the basis of the committee work resulting in the establishment of a commercial gymnasium. It was obviously thought of as an alternative to the erudite school.

The organisation of a business school, comprising more than mere disciplinary development in that it placed this feature in relation to a rich enlightenment of the historical development of human life [det historiske menneskeliv] and to the visible [udvortes⁹] world; or to use the prevalent constructed words [kunstord] it included human and realistic cultivation [dannelsen] in a wide reaching and thorough manner – The organisation of such a school would constitute a substantial step towards breaking the academic monopoly.

The new higher school of business would, like the erudite school, take 8 years to complete and would contain a number of general [almene] subjects except for the classical languages. And the purpose was, in extension, to develop the students' general cultivation. We here see the concept used in a discursive battle. Schröder also thought that the school of business could give the pupils *almendannelse*, at least in regard to the expanded course, which was established in 1878. Here one must remember that *højskolen* was anything but high-reaching nonsense since half of the classes were reserved for practical subjects such as electronics, geodetic surveying, cattle breeding and plant

anatomy. Schröder transferred his *højskole*-ideals to the Niels Brock School in Copenhagen, in that every subject was to take its starting point in history, which was understood as the sum of human experiences. The various subjects were to be understood as interacting through the perspective of history. The subject of History therefore had a central position in *højskole*-classes, especially the historical narrative was heavily used and this method of knowledge transmission was also to influence the teaching of History in the erudite school. Because of limited applications the school had to close however. Not till 1918 did Niels Brock have a commercial gymnasium-education, but from which the students could not become academic citizens at the university, since they lacked: “the thought provoking and generally cultivating [almentdannende] returns”. In 1967 the students from the commercial schools were allowed to enter a selection of subjects at the university, and not till 2005 did the goal of graduation from commercial gymnasium become *almendannelse* [general cultivation].

Irrigating the heath and filling the bog

The synergy between *højskolen* and the erudite school most likely has many facets. Several academics were inspired by the pedagogies of the popular schools, and the periodical *Vor Ungdom* [Our Youth] could awaken mutual inspiration. The principal of Viborg Cathedral School H.H. Lefolii had good connections to people within the popular people’s schools and did not avoid, in his report to the ministry, pointing out solutions that were influenced by *højskole* approaches. This concerned an increased focus upon oral techniques rather than written ones and a strengthening of the poetic aspects of the languages. The erudite school could also influence teaching in the popular folk schools and an increasing number of academics were employed. One of them was Master of Arts Poul la Cour, who in 1878 was hired as a mathematics teacher for the expanded course at Askov Højskole. His introductory lecture concerned the implication of mathematics for *almendannelse* [general cultivation].

Our knowledge of the mutual interaction is as of yet still fragmented and must be made the object of further study. Senior teacher V. Pingel at Metropolitanerskolen in Copenhagen was engaged in *Studentersamfundets aftenundervisning for arbejdere* [The Students' Society's evening courses for workers], and while he criticised the erudite school for being without spirit [åndeløs], he could not immediately accept the courses given by *højskolen*. In 1878 he expressed a wish for a gymnasium located intellectually somewhere between the old erudite school, the solid and dried up heath which needed continuous irrigation; and the popular people's school, whose flooded and unstable bog needed filling with a solid foundation.

Højskolen in the Gymnasium

In 1919 a school-commission was established to study the educational system in detail and present suggestions for reform. The previous one had occurred in 1903 and experiences from this new three-part gymnasium were still limited. Such a thorough analysis of the collected course of schooling and education was bound to give rise to considerations regarding both the connections and interaction between these sections. In 1918 the main theme for the autumn meeting of the gymnasium teachers was interdisciplinary cooperation between the subjects of the humanities taught at the gymnasium, and, in extension of this, a discussion arose as to which subjects had a special position as regards *almendannelse*. Was it the humanities or the natural sciences? In 1920 Jacob Appel, who was the principal of Askov Højskole, became Minister for Education, whereby he could place free pedagogy in a politically and administratively central position. It is furthermore likely that, among other things, the emphasis upon the scientific subjects and mathematics had influenced the perception of the balance between the two cultures in the gymnasium. The commission presented its report in 1923 and only few concrete changes arose from it. Appel had probably read approvingly of a passage about strengthening the autonomous initiatives coming from the gymnasium students. One of the ways to strengthen the ap-

proaches enhancing independence could be group-work – an almost completely unknown approach in the gymnasium. It was, however, an important part of the project of popular enlightenment and *højskole*-teaching. In 1940 there was a study group in Askov Højskole on Wednesdays and Saturdays. AOF or the Workers Enlightenment League was founded in 1924 and here the study group was to fulfil a central function. The inspiration from this came from England via Sweden, where the concept of ‘study circle’ was known already from before the First World War. In Denmark *The Church Association for the Inner Mission*, a dominating revivalist movement had long been using this format calling it ‘conversation groups’. However, in the gymnasium, class-based teaching dominated and the new approaches were only applied in regard to physical education, experiments in physics and in work connected to an extended essay, which was to be written on History. Associate Professor Haakon Müller could in *Vor Ungdom* recount that he let the pupils work with sources on the situation in Denmark in connection with the outbreak of the First World War, and wrote, among other things, that: “My purpose has not been to create experts [lærde] within my subject, but to awaken the interest of the pupils and convey a certain *almendannelse*; in regard to its approach I have sought the *højskole*- and study circle approach, rather than the university approach.”

In the 1930s there was much talk of character development and outlooks on life – two concepts that were also used in *højskole*-circles – and when J.V. Brøndsted, the principal of Birkerød Statskole in 1945 published *Gymnasiets Fremtid* [*The Future of the Gymnasium*] he saw these two concepts as part of *Almendannelse*. He suggested that the gymnasium in the future organised part of its courses in study circles, such that the pupils chose groups that would work with subjects elected by them selves. Prior to this the school council would approve the subject and cited literature, in addition to which a teacher would be coupled to the group. Study groups were to be offered 2-3 times a year and quality would be assured by student notes and answers being registered in a journal. Since it was permitted to perform interdisciplinary work in the study circles the proposal was reminiscent of the obligatory interdisciplinary collaborations that

were introduced with the 2005-reform. According to Brønsted the study circle would function as a stimulant upon the school-system, such that the “black” school or Grammar school could regain respect – especially in *højskole*-circles – and become the “most elevated and paramount school reform.” 1942 saw the *Højskole*-Act such that the purpose of classes was to be *almendannelse* [general cultivation].

Estimation from 1941 shows that 22 out of 58 *højskole*-principals had an academic degree and that for the permanently employed teaching staff the number was 67 out of 343. There was in other words a basis for an academic dialogue between the two educations.

Thoughts on convergence

All the while agriculture was the dominant occupation in Denmark the basis for recruiting students to *Højskole* was excellent. However, by the 1960s urbanisation was being felt and the popular people’s school had to redefine its function. This could include an expansion of the fraction of students from the cities and a reorientation towards young people with gymnasium-degrees. The proportion of a year that applied to the gymnasium doubled during the 1960s and to this was added the number of young people who applied to the higher preparatory examination, which took in its first students in 1967. Several of the popular folk schools arranged summer courses for students, which would supplement their *almendannelse*, in extension of which the number of pupils in the regular courses that had either a lower- or higher preparatory or a gymnasium degree rose fivefold in the years 1950-75. In connection with the 1963 gymnasium reform special collections of subjects, such as the mathematical-physics combination or social science-linguistic combination had been introduced to strengthen academic insight. Concern was raised in gymnasium circles that this specialisation would damage students’ *almendannelse*. So as to counter this possible deterioration of quality, the history of ideas was introduced so as to present the individual subjects within a wider framework. There is good reason to assume that this concern about sufficient *general character development* was affected by a

perception of teaching in *Højskole* as general [almen] and thereby a tool for developing the personal authority of the pupils.

Prior to the formation of the Higher Preparatory Examination or HF the Social Democratic candidate for the Danish parliament K.B. Andersen, who had previously been a *Højskole*-principal at *Arbejderhøjskolen* or *the Workers Højskole* in Roskilde, stated at a 1964 meeting in The Society for Pedagogy that there would be an increasing need for *almendannelse* or else the specialists would become a peasantry.¹⁰ The growing state sector demanded labour with medium length educations where the requirements for admittance would be more than lower preparatory examinations but less than a gymnasium degree. In this regard K.A. Andersen considered whether *Højskole* and evening school should be admissible for applications to nursing, teaching and social counsellor courses. It was possible for him to refer to a report subjected in 1960 pointing out *Højskole* as preparation to medium length educations including a possible transfer of an introductory course in philosophy from the first year of university to the context of *Højskole*.

In 1964 K.B. Andersen became Minister of Education and gave up the idea of converging popular people's education with the academic degrees. Rather he developed the two year long Higher Preparatory Examination with – among others – the Director for the Gymnasiums Sigurd Højby and professor, but also previous *Højskole* teacher, Roar Skovmand, which from its origin was influenced by *højskole* approaches in that the participants were included in decision making as regards materials and work methods.

Curriculum or Bildung?

In post-war Denmark there was a considerable amount of attention directed at what was going on in Norway and Sweden. One scenario involved the amalgamation of all the upper-secondary educations – that is an emulation of the American High School-model, where the student has several degrees of freedom in combining an education, but at the price of the unity and holistic approach being downgraded.

The advantage of letting the students have a free choice of course combinations is that one may thereby consider the democratic function of education. In Norway the expression “the Higher School” [den højere skole] was discarded because no school was allowed to be higher another, and in Sweden the prestigious upper-secondary school leaving examination was abolished. This frame of mind developed and in the 1950s and 60 the integrated upper-secondary educations became a fact. These changes did not come to affect the major school-reform carried out in Denmark in the period 1958-63. Here the division between the academic and vocational secondary educations was retained instead, such that the aim of the gymnasium was still *almendannelse*. In Norway and Sweden *almendannelse* was no longer the aim however, probably because the vocational educations were not general, but directed at some specific occupational function. Instead one spoke of ‘a common frame of reference’.

It is difficult to demonstrate, but it is my impression that when Denmark did not follow the same approach as its Nordic neighbours this it was because of two reasons; Denmark was yet an agricultural country and the Grundtvigian conception of equality between the work of the hand and spirit was not conducive to the introduction of an integrated upper-secondary education for reasons of democratic ethos. Therefore the incentives to abandon the didactic paradigm were not as heavy as in Norway and Sweden, where the Grundtvigian approach to schooling had much less influence upon values.

During the 1960s the number employed in the primary sector dwindled, while an increasing amount worked in the secondary and tertiary sectors. This weakened popular folk education and perhaps Jacob Appel’s statement from the 1920s was a prophecy coming true? He had said that: “Transmission of knowledge can never be the goal of højskolen – its works are those of revival and therefore it can never cut its connection to the Christian congregation. If it does so it will die.”

Under influence from the second industrial revolution, attention was of course directed at apprenticeships, the gymnasium and higher preparatory examination. There was a political demand for the intelligence-reserve to be activated and that everybody who had the ability

and the drive to have access to the education they wished. It was the so-called demand-approach. The violent process of change opened up space for a radical re-thinking within the Social Democratic party, which now supported an integration of the upper-secondary schools. In 1972 the Social Democratic Minister for Education Knud Heinesen initiated a committee that was to create a plan for the integration of these institutions. The committee's draft was ready in 1973 and comprised a 12 year unitary school, with the exception that the 16-19 year olds would accordingly be able to emphasise either a vocational or preparatory kind of schooling; in principle everybody would still be able to choose freely after finishing however. In 1975 the Social Democratic Minister of Education Ritt Bjerregaard proposed a Bill for parliament that would make it possible to found a unitary school, but it met heavy resistance from the parties on the right-hand side of the political spectrum, who called the bill a socialist experiment. These politicians wished to retain the division between academic and vocational educations, where the latter had become more advanced in theoretical terms following the creation of *Erhvervs Faglige Grunduddannelser* [The Basic Vocational Educations] in 1972. In these years the recession made itself felt, which was probably a contributing factor in dampening the calls for reform, all the while the idea of 'going back to basics' in terms of education began to spread, which could be interpreted as a distancing to inter-disciplinarity and experiments in breaking down the boundaries between various kinds of education. In an often quoted speech from 1975 – the so-called Rushkin-College speech – the British Prime Minister James Callaghan stated that the schools should emphasise the students attaining basic knowledge and refrain from shifting emphasis to the social dimensions. This was also the opinion given by Bertel Haarder from *Venstre* – who had himself been a teacher in Højskole – and every time the Social Democrats sought to move the upper-secondary educations in the way of integration, they were met with massive right-wing resistance. When a rightwing coalition government came to power in 1982 the coordination of upper-secondary educations, and thereby the road to the curriculum construction, was no longer a part of the political agenda – not least because Bertel Haarder became Minister of Education.

One could say that in the absence of a Grundtvigian tradition, developments in the area of education in the years 1972-82 could have been fundamentally different and Denmark may have given up on *Almendannelse* and approached the other OECD-countries. When things happened as they did, it seems that the Grundtvigian coupling to the paradigm of didactics had been decisive in retaining this status quo. Research is still needed to document this claim, but for now I find this explanation to be the most plausible.

In conclusion, one must agree with W.A. Reid when he stresses the importance of national tradition in forming school- and educational policy. The liberal traditions for informing and enlightening the people and popular peoples education, has spread to the whole of the educational system. This vivacious interaction between *højskole* and gymnasium has left deep traces and contributed in bringing Denmark through the 1960s without abandoning the didactic approach, which has resulted in the Danish educational system having a unique constitution in a globalised world. In the next two chapters we will take a closer look at how school structure and aims affected the teaching of History in primary school as well as in the upper-secondary gymnasium educations.

Noter

1. Translators note: *Bildung* or *Almendannelse* has its origin in German philosophical idealism and especially Humboldt went far in defining it within deontological ethics. According to Humboldt's anthropology the self has a number of characters or properties that are the manifestations of the spirit's development; one is not only ethically bound to bring these individual characters to their highest fulfilment, but also into a harmonious synthesis in a totality of the self and also in relation to society. That which is *dannet* or *gebildet* (cultivated, developed or built) is the character, such that it moves from one state or configuration to the next in terms of fulfilling its highest metaphysical goal or *Geist*. The development of the spirit must therefore involve *all* the various characters or properties in general in a harmonious synthesis. In English we may therefore term *Bildung* or *Almendannelse*: *General character development*, with all

the limitations this implies. Popular use in Danish often only refers to facets of formal *Almendannelsen*, given the difficulty in accessing German Idealism and often it is used in isolation from German Idealism in general within other theories.

2. Translators note: This is pronounced with a silent g: Fa'
3. Translators note: Given the proximity of Germany the issue of Schleswig had a fundamental position in the development of Danish nationalism. Indeed this issue led to the Danish-Prussian war of 1864 (also known as the Second Schleswig war) and still stirs emotions to this day among certain elements on the political right.
4. Translators note: Although it has a certain anachronistic ring to it, one could translate it as "synergy". This reading is strengthened if one uses the etymological definition from Greek Syn (together) & Ergos (working). First used around 1660.
5. This word may have several meanings. One could also read it as "universal", "general" or even "most of" or "ordinary". Thus in modern Danish Ordinary or Usual is: "almindelig".
6. Translators note: "Venstre", in fact means "Left" in Danish, which is a name it received when it was in opposition to the royalist conservative party in the period after the introduction of a democratic constitution in 1849. Indeed it has kept this name till this day. However, Venstre in Denmark is considered to be located on the right-hand side of the political spectrum from the time of the emergence of the Social Democratic party in the 1870s.
7. This chamber disappeared after the constitutional revision of 1953.
8. Translators note: The Gründerperiod is the name for the inflated markets of the 1870's, which were to crash later on in the decade.
9. Translators note: In a literal translation "udvortes" reads: "appearance" or "exterior". Thus we are here concerned with the visible world and verifiability. Perhaps this indicates an inspiration from perhaps August Comte's understanding of enlightenment.
10. Translators note: The original reads "Almue". This talk of peasantry may sound strange, but the meaning is clear if one remembers the late industrialisation of Denmark and the pervasiveness of the agricultural lifestyle. In the Danish context the peasantry fulfilled much the same function of the proletariat. Indeed the urban migration of farmhands did result in the growth of the Social Democrats from the 1870s and on.

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III. History Education in Primary School

The Subject of History and Societal Changes

One may wonder why history, during the 1970s, was conceived as a weakened and embattled subject. For more than a century it had been perceived as important, not least as a part of 'nation-building' and it had been a given that the children must learn how *their* Denmark had come about. Why was this story no longer interesting? One of the explanations may be found in economic growth, which in the 1960s resulted in a significant geographical and commercial mobility and, along with internationalisation and an expanded European co-operation, the national discourse was no longer a given. In a society under rapid change things quickly became old fashioned and quaint – was this not also the case for the past? Why should children spend time learning a number of distant events when there were so many new things, which required their attention? They would, in addition, soon forget what they learnt wherefore it was probably better to let them work with the present – that is social studies. In connection with the school-reform of 1975, history became an optional subject, which was found to be chosen only by a few pupils. Luckily this development was conceived as disturbing by many, wherefore there were endeavours to make the subject obligatory again. However, if this were to be the case it must be a new history that was to be told, but it turned out to be difficult to reach an agreement on this paradigm shift.

One of the responses to this didactic challenge was a downgrading of the chronological approach and a corresponding upgrading

of historical methodology, where the concept of 'New History' was lanced as an alternative to the reproduction of the national tradition. Instead of acquiring textbook explanations the pupils were required to work with the actual documents and, on this basis, reach a personal impression of causes and effects in the historical progress through analysis. Critics called this scientific approach 'scientism' and dwelled on all the things pupils did not learn when they were to work in-depth with only a few topics. The supporters defended themselves by stating that the approach had several pedagogical advantages, referring to the children's enthusiasm for the past best being activated by letting them construct their own knowledge, and that this kind of history teaching had an important value of transference to other subjects as well as life after school. However, the disadvantage was that the students were not given the opportunity to acquire coherent understanding.

The perplexity among history teachers was reflected in the reform work, where several groups and committees aimed at reaching a compromise. On the one hand, one found the proponents emphasising courses concerning knowledge of the past and, on the other hand, the proponents who sought to make the pupils' interests the starting point and making it the deciding feature for the choice of topics and methodology. The first group were in the defensive, but were successful in influencing the reform of 1977, where focus was upon pupil-interest, but also a requirement for the children to know tradition before they sought to change it. In connection with the subject again becoming obligatory it was necessary to develop a new curriculum, which was completed in 1981. Thus, while the 1970s had been influenced by the work on methodology, it was characteristic for the 1981-curriculum that historiography was a central part of history education. Instead of developing a narrow conception of methodology, emphasis was now to be placed upon various angles on or perceptions of history. However, this solution was also criticised. According to the critics it was not right to ask of the children to evaluate the normative judgments of historians without them knowing the context, which was a prerequisite. Thus, while the pupils in the 1970s

were made to work with history at the micro-level they were now asked to find an interest for the subject at the macro-level – both approaches were lacking in fundamental ways, since the students were not given the opportunity to work with the subject at the mezzo-level.

After a change of government in 1982, where Bertel Haarder became Minister of Education, a commission was therefore founded, which was to get the primary school history education back on track – that is the pupils were to learn about the past and acquire an overview. The result was *Historie 84*, which only partly lived up to these expectations. Exactly as the pendulum swung back towards a more traditionally oriented history education with emphasis upon certain central areas of proficiency, a new indicator became important in the debates, namely *consciousness of history*. The concept was most likely attained from the German debates – the German researcher into the didactics of history Karl-Erik Jeismann had in any case, in 1979, written about the concept in *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik* [Handbook of the Didactics of History]. He saw it as the tension between the interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and expectations for the future. Courses should qualify the historical consciousness, which had already occurred by arranging it based upon the pupils' interests in the present and future. History teachers rallied to this new aim with surprising speed, perhaps because it was so wide that it may legitimise any kind of approach. In connection with a new curriculum in 1993 the notion of *historical consciousness* attained a fundamental function. This did not, however, improve the quality of history education. A wide reaching OECD-study from 1997 made clear that the state of knowledge among pupils was poor and, in extension, so was the comprehension of coherence. Indeed, there was wide agreement on what the cause was, namely that the course was not, as were many other of the subjects in primary school, an examined course, wherefore those who taught were often not historically educated. A new curriculum from 2002 did not improve this lacking state of affairs. Not till 2005 were initiatives taken to improve the fundamental flaws of the subject.

The 2006-raport

In 2005 a globalisation council was founded, which was to present suggestions as to which strategies Denmark should choose so as best to meet the challenges of globalisation. One of the recommendations was that Denmark should aim at having the best primary and lower secondary school-system in the world. In 2006 a new primary school¹-act was passed where it was, for the first time, emphasised that education should prepare students for more advanced levels of education and that they were to have an intimate knowledge of Danish history and culture. Thereby history had been placed in centre-court and in the following process of formulating the law, the subject was allocated additional time, just like it also became an examined subject. A committee was formed, which was to write a report describing the future structure and content of the discipline. In the committee's terms it said that 25-40 events should be pointed out that every pupil must learn. This was the so called *Canon*, which was to be the object of much public attention. Furthermore, the pupils were to learn all of historical development. The committee, which had been given the assignment of presenting suggestions for the improvement of history education brought other recommendations also, among which, was the formulation of a new purpose for the subject and goals for the various grades. In the summer of 2006 the committee could present its report to the Minister of Education and in this connection, but also later, express that the report was to be the basis for formulating a new curriculum.

Both in 1993 and in 2002 the curricula had indicated *historical consciousness* as the overall goal for courses. The report did not follow this line of reasoning in that it was sceptical about the concept's ability to direct the teaching of children. A number of smaller studies had shown that teachers had understood the concept in many different ways, and that it may be used to legitimise very different didactic approaches. One of the circumstances discussed in the committee was as to when children were able to think abstractly. This is a decisive point in that only then may they understand history education as a process that may qualify the historical culture, which they

necessarily must bring to education – to historical consciousness. However, developmental psychologists are in disagreement as to the age at which children may begin abstract thought, wherefore it is natural that researchers of the didactics of history disagree whether it is expedient to use the concept of historical consciousness as a goal for the teaching of children. The French psychologist and sociologist Jean Piaget claims that the child must be 14 years old before it is able to utilise hypothetical-deductive thought. The German researcher into the didactics of history Dagmar Klose has written about the ontogeny of historical consciousness and points out that:

Empirical studies of historical consciousness are confronted with a number of greater than average difficulties that limit their cognitive value before hand. (*Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*, p. 52f. My translation).

It is not uncommon in psychology, she writes, to come across the impression that differences among children in the same year are greater than the differences between the individual developmental stages. According to Klose, we therefore begin see the contours of a ladder of abstraction, which may look as follows: event, person, action (individual), structures, and creation, ideal or supra-individual. This graduation may, in terms of developmental psychology, be documented to extend until around the age of 12. Klose is of the opinion that empirical studies confirm Piaget's developmental stages to the extent that from the age of 11 or 12 there occurs a development from the concrete to the formal, which may – among other things – be proven through the rise of hypothetical-deductive thought. From a study, it was made clear that 20% of all at the age of 15 had not yet reached the abstract operational level. The committee could also base its findings upon a year-long debate as to whether it was prudent to utilise historical consciousness as a goal, and critics pointed out that there was often too heavy an emphasis upon consciousness rather than history. Instead the committee recommended the following object clause:

The object of the course is to present the pupils with a chronological overview, strengthen their knowledge of and understanding for historical connections and practices their use of this in everyday and societal life.

In the report a new content-description was also made:

The course must make certain that the pupils acquire knowledge on how man has secured its existence through time, affected the distribution of wealth, partaken in the formation of communities and society, as well as understood and sought to affect the controlling forces of existence.

The aim and content therefore indicates that history education must develop three central competencies, namely: Chronological overview, understanding of development and connections, and the use of history. All three competencies must be developed in interplay with each other, such that the course strengthens the pupils' insight into how they themselves, their circumstances of life and society are historically formed and that knowledge of the progress of history is necessary in order to reflect over their possibilities in life.

Canon

With these terms of reference the commission had been assigned with choosing 25-40 events that were to be obligatory in study. Opinions as to whether it was prudent to introduce obligatory topics into the teaching of history were extremely divided among the public and among history teachers. Obligatory subject-matter was reminiscent of the rote learning of old, where the students must learn by heart in preparation for examination, but which also repressed their learning of history in that it was a bad experience. For three decades the teachers of history, who were often not educated history teachers, had had great freedom in choosing subjects and topics for class and this freedom was – of course – highly valued by the teachers. The

Canon would limit this freedom and require of the teachers that he or she, at the very least, acquainted themselves with the problem-complex each point was formulated within. Insofar as the Canon had a strong backing this was connected with the desire for securing the development of understanding coherence among the students and the important point of the common curriculum forming a common frame of reference for higher education to build upon. The hitherto practiced free choice of subjects and topics had resulted in, for example, that the gymnasium not being able to assume a common knowledge among the pupils, wherefore it had to begin from basics. Work with the common curriculum must only take up $\frac{1}{4}$ of the allotted course time over six years, namely from third to ninth grade. At best the common matter would could strengthen democratic dialogue and thereby work against the fragmentation to which children in a knowledge based society were exposed. Without further ado the commission reached 29 points in the Canon:

1. The Ertebølle culture (hunter-gatherer-fisher culture in Southern Scandinavia, ca. 5300 BC-3950 BC).
2. Tutankhamen.
3. The Sun Chariot of Trundholm (Nordic Bronze Age artefact considered to be very much ahead of its time for Northern Europe).
4. Emperor Augustus.
5. The Jelling Rune Stones (The Earliest artefacts of Danish Kingdom from the 10th century).
6. Archbishop Absalon (Danish statesman who lived ca. 1128-1201; his family backed the King in a time when it was weak making possible King Valdemar the Victorious' stunning victories in the Baltic).
7. The Kalmar Union (Union of Denmark, Norway and Sweden lasting from 1397-1525).
8. Christopher Columbus.
9. The Reformation.
10. King Christian IV (Considered one of the defining personalities in Danish history).

11. The Westphalia Peace.
12. The Cue in Denmark of 1660 (The consequence of a war with Sweden, which resulted in Absolutism).
13. Raising the adscription for the peasantry in Denmark (1788).
14. Storming of the Bastille.
15. Abolition of slave trade.
16. The Bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 by Nelson in the Napoleonic wars. Considered essential in the formation of Danish national identity.
17. The Danish Constitution of 1849.
18. The Battle of Dybbøl (The decisive battle of the Second War of Schleswig in 1864, where Denmark suffered a serious defeat. Considered essential in the formation of Danish national identity).
19. The Battle of Fælleden, 5th of May 1872, following the demand for higher wages and social reforms by the unions led to skirmishes.
20. Women's suffrage.
21. Reunification of Northern Schleswig with Denmark in 1920 following a referendum.
22. The Kanslergade Agreement of 1933; the social reforms that were to lead to the Danish Welfare State.
23. 29th of August, 1943: End of the policy of cooperation with Nazi-Germany.
24. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
25. The Energy Crisis of 1973.
26. Fall of the Berlin Wall.
27. The Maastricht Treaty of 1992.
28. The Terrorist Attacks 11th of September, 2001.
29. Globalisation.

In its commentary to the points of the Canon the commission points out that they are formulated as limited events and developments, which comprise an integrated part of the matter of History. The points represent significant ruptures or changes or they are of symbolic value presenting clear indications of content or possibility for

wide historical perspectives. Such perspectives may occur at the synchronous level, that is, events that happened at the same time, or at the diachronic level, such that cause and effect are emphasised. The individual point in the Canon may be treated as a delineated topic in chronological connection with other events, or the topic of the Canon may be a point of reference for an extended study. While the teaching of history in primary school has downgraded the requirements for chronological insight for almost half a century, the commission emphasises that the topics must be treated in chronological order, while a free choice of subjects and topics from all of history may naturally be included between studying the elements of the canon. As such there is also room for cooperation with other subjects and to include current topics in class. The topics of the canon include both national circumstances and those from world history and the commission considers it a quality that the national themes are treated in a global perspective, while the ones from world history must be seen in a national and eventually local perspective. By retaining an absolute chronological treatment of the Canon-topics a goal-oriented, dialectical reflection may occur as to how a 10 year old child may understand the world of Tutankhamen, how a 12 year old may comprehend the breaks of the Reformation and how a 15 year old perceives the consequences of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. In correspondence with this chronological structure, the publishers will develop teaching materials according to the difficulty requirements of certain age groups. The introduction of these obligatory Canon topics therefore has wide reaching consequences for history education in primary schooling; firstly, it now becomes a goal to develop pupil understanding of an absolute chronology, while they were previously only required to attain insight into a relative chronology; secondly, the pupils acquire understanding of the whole course of chronology, while they previously could suffice with delineated subjects and topics; thirdly, the report proposes an integration of the national and global, which must be the deciding point in a time of globalisation; fourthly, it becomes possible for the teachers, both in training and in supplementary education, to emphasise a didactics that may utilise the points in the Canon and

connect the points of the Canon with other subjects. The points of the Canon will most likely attain a central position in history education and the critics have commented that binding one self to topics may result in a re-traditionalisation. This is a danger of course, but the report also contains a suggestion that courses must make it possible for the pupils to live up to some competency goals, and herein is found a guard against re-traditionalisation. This tendency will no doubt be strengthened by the report's requirement that all subjects and topics must be related to the pupils own timeframe.

Competencies

Traditional history education was guided by some requirements on the curriculum; however, since the 1970s this has not been the case. Instead goals have gradually been formulated for the various age levels, but since the subject did not have a final exam the teachers were able to interpret these goals rather freely.

This situation has now been fundamentally changed. By introducing an examination in the course after the ninth year the pupils will be tested in accordance with the set goals. The committee has set relatively few of these, which in unison cover the central parts of the basic school history education. In the report it reads:

By focusing upon the disciplinary goals, teachers, parents and others with a responsibility for the development of the pupils may participate in securing that they progressively construct knowledge such that they acquire a chronological overview, understanding of development and coherence as well as insight into and experience of the use of history.

These goals ought to be understood as competencies, i.e. what the pupil must be able to do. Seen in relationship to Gregory Bateson's Logical Levels of Learning, we here speak of second-order knowledge, which assumes first-order knowledge, i.e. factual knowledge – stated in another manner: second-order knowledge is knowledge

about knowledge or knowledge about how the pupil may use his or her knowledge.

It is exactly the combination of canon points with competency goals that will generate a structure of knowledge and a modality of learning during basic schooling, which will make history a central subject again. As is clear from the taxonomic construction of academic goals there will be a clear progression in the subject, such that the pupils become increasingly able to handle the subject's methodology, concepts and ways of working.

Teacher Training

Since history becomes an examined subject and, by the way, receives more classes there will be an incentive to let the course be managed by teachers with an education in the subject. The history teachers will then, just like the teachers of the traditionally examined subjects, be able to partake in supplementary training. In 2006 a reform of the teachers' education was seen through, where the subject of history was upgraded from 0.6 to 1.2 ECTS. In connection with the designing of the new requirements for the teachers' education the new content and goal descriptions for the history education in basic schooling were repeated and supplemented with a requirement for the student to reflect on the identity and goals of the subject with the intent of planning, seeing through and evaluating substantial and relevant courses that fit the pupils' prerequisites.

The study-plan has incidentally been sectioned into a part concerning competency and central areas of knowledge and proficiency. In the section concerning competency, emphasis is placed upon the student taking his or her outset in practical terms and the use of didactic theory and being able to analyse and evaluate disciplinary issues and possibilities for implementation. The student must, furthermore, perform a selection of materials that are compatible with the level of the pupils and let the points in the canon, which are indicated in the basic schooling curriculum for history, be included in a meaningful interaction with the remaining material. Finally, it is mentioned, as

one competency goal among others, that the student must be able to structure his or her own learning with the aim of attaining insight into and reflecting upon relevant disciplinary connections between scientific subjects, subjects of specialisation and school subjects.

Among the central areas of knowledge and proficiency that we may mention here is that the student must attain insight into various theories of the didactics of history as well as proficiency into using these in his or her profession. Furthermore, the student must acquire knowledge into theories of child and youth learning and prerequisites for learning with the aim of developing their understanding and use of history within and outside the school, understanding of connections and chronology, and understanding of the historically formed and historical forming. Finally, it must here be mentioned that, among the many aim requirements, the student must also view the history of the subject in school in interaction with current expectations for the subject's assignment as regards knowledge.

Unlike in many other countries, teachers' education for primary and lower secondary school is located in special institutions: teacher-training colleges, which as of yet still only have a limited connection to the universities.

As of late there has been established a cooperation between the teacher-training colleges in *Centres for Higher Education*, the point of which is to strengthen research into basic schooling. A prior requirement for this research is contact to one of the research units of the universities.

Summary

Chronology has often been compared to the skeleton or backbone of history. As such the report suggests – in correspondence with its terms of reference – that the understanding of chronology must again be fundamental in teaching, not merely as rote learning of dates but as a process of reflecting upon development and connections, which may prepare the pupil for life in a complex and global world. While the chronological part of the education has as such been up-

graded, there has occurred a downgrading of the use of historical consciousness, which for decades had been the overall goal for history education in basic schooling, but has not had the capacity to guide the preparation and seeing though of classes. The requirement for all pupils to work with 29 chronologically arranged canon points is to secure that they acquire sufficient knowledge to live up to the competency goals set for the three age levels. The combination of factual historical knowledge and the incentive to use this knowledge sensibly is the crux of the matter for the new history education in the Danish primary school.

Noter

1. Translators note: The original reads: “Folkeskole” which, in a literal translation would read: “peoples school” and referrers to primary education in Denmark. In the following I will merely translate it as “primary school”.

Bibliography

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IV. The 2005-reform of history courses in the gymnasium educations

At the turn of the millennium it was pointed out ever more that the arrangement brought about by the gymnasium-reform of 1988 had become anachronistic. The biggest problem was the difficulty of considering the interest in interdisciplinary. In 1988 it had been decided to meet the challenge posed by late-modern, complex society by presenting the pupils with as many choices as possible, whereby they may follow their interests and compose exactly the kind of education, which they thought they needed. The implication was that the pupils of a class only had a limited number of subjects in common, while they in the remaining time partook in various optional subjects. For this reason it was only possible to establish interdisciplinary cooperation between the common subjects, whereby history came into collaboration with Danish, Religion and Classical studies in particular. The arrangement took into account the many individual preferences, and thereby came to emulate the Anglo-American curriculum model, where each student's freedom to choose combinations of subjects is considered important. As such the 1988-reform weakened the *bildung*-character, which had dominated at least since 1850 (See page 18).

Upper-secondary educations in Denmark are made up of four educational directions – each with its own profile.

- The general gymnasium [Stx], which has developed from the Medieval Grammar School, and which before the reform of 2005 had two sides: mathematical and linguistic. The goal of this edu-

cation is *almendannelse* or general character development with the aim of preparing the pupils for higher education. Roughly 35 % of a year (2003) will take this route, and it lasts for three years.

- Commercial gymnasium [Højere Handels Eksamen, hhx], which was established in 1888 and prepares for further study in commercial and trade oriented higher education. Around 15% of a year will take this route, and it lasts for three years.
- Higher Preparatory Examination [Højere Forberedelseseksamen, hf] was established in 1967 so as to recruit for educations of intermediary length. Approximately 10% of a year will follow this approach, which lasts for 2 years.
- Higher technical Examination [Htx] was developed in the 1980's and prepares for further study in technical educations. Approximately 5 % of a year will take this route, and it lasts for three years.

The new law regarding upper-secondary education was passed in 2004 by an almost unanimous Parliament, where the most substantial innovation was the decision for all pupils to have virtually all their courses in one class. Hereby it became possible for all subjects to partake in interdisciplinary cooperation. The General Gymnasium with two sides was abolished and the first half-year basic course must especially strengthen study-competencies and interdisciplinary work. Interdisciplinary work had previously been optional, and for this reason the pupils had received different challenges in this regard. With the 2005-reform it became required that the interdisciplinary cooperation take up 10% of coursework and in the basic course this must happen in terms of preparation for further study, which must also comprise two of the three main areas: natural science, the humanities or the social sciences. To this are added general language comprehension and a basic course in natural science. Following the basic course, the pupil must choose a direction of study, which is comprised by three subjects such as physics, mathematics and philosophy. These may develop a work relation, which may also include the core subjects, among which are history, and the history teachers

must develop new didactic strategies to answer this challenge. In the new study plan it reads: "Since history has a special responsibility to partake in creating a unity and coherence of the gymnasium-course the pupils must be coached in working with subjects that are implemented in interaction with other subjects, both in the basic course, the carrying out of the chosen direction and in general preparation; no later than at the beginning of the chosen study-direction, a course emphasising historical overview and coherence is seen through in interaction with Danish." In the second grade the pupil must write an extended essay, which may be an interdisciplinary issue in the subjects of Danish or history or in either of the two disciplines.

The Purpose of the History Course

As a precursor to the reform, a subject-committee was formed for each subject so as to maintain current and relevant classes and to be in correspondence with the intensions of the reform. The Stx study plan-committee was made up of a subject advisor, two members of the disciplinary association board and a representative of the specialists in the didactics of history at the universities. For Hhx the committee was likewise made up of a subject advisor, two board members from the Commerce schools' history teachers association and a representative of the specialists in the didactics of history at the universities of which I was the representative in both committees. There was, furthermore, founded a larger committee as regards Hf, since the terms of reference required for the subject of history to interact with religion and social studies.

All the study plans were given the same terms of reference, namely that the subjects' purpose, identity, core materials, goals for proficiency, didactic principles as well as forms of evaluation and tests must be described. In the following the content of the study plan for Stx will be covered in that the history course at Hhx is developed according to the same principles, only it begins at 1750. In Hf courses have a special interdisciplinary structure, which I have chosen not to treat in this connection.

In the latest revision of the previous study plan in 1999 the purpose of the history course was:

- That the pupils develop their historical consciousness and ability to perceive history, to be given the possibility to strengthen their identity through knowledge of their cultural background and to gain clarity as to their options.
- That the pupils attain an overview of historical development, insight into various societies and cultures as well as understanding of historical connections and the interaction between individual and society.
- That the pupils are given an understanding of various perceptions of historical development as well as skills in working with historical issues and materials and in evaluating knowledge dissemination and uses of history, and
- That pupils attain knowledge about important features of society, of which emphasis must be upon the Danish society, and skills in working with social study materials.

In connection with the 2005-reform, social studies were removed from history and were instead to be included in a new joint-subject at the C-level.¹ Hereby to the regret of many historyteachers 46 of 236 classes were taken from history.

Social studies had been a part of history class since the 1903-reform and in the later decades it had become more and more common to integrate social studies with modern history. This construction was problematic however, since a large section of the pupils in a given class chose social studies as a major part of their direction of study after the first year. In any one class there were students that needed to learn the most elementary issues in social studies, but also pupils that were way ahead of this level. In a large, international, comparative study of social studies-proficiency the Danish pupils did well. (Hahn, 1998)

In place of the four-part declaration of purposes from 1999 the study plan committee for Stx developed a new declaration of purposes for history education:

The subject of history serves a *bildungs*-purpose and a preparatory purpose emphasising the pupil's development of personal authority. The subject develops the pupil's historical knowledge, consciousness and identity as well as develops their interest for and ability to ask questions of the past, so as to reach an understanding of the complex world within which they live. The pupils attain knowledge and insight into founding events and trends of development in the history of Denmark, the history of Europe's and World history, about their own cultural background and other cultures. The subject presents tools to assess diverse historical sources and makes it possible for the pupil to adapt and structure the many forms of dissemination of historical knowledge and uses of history with which they come into contact within and outside the school. Through working with the history curriculum the pupils' critical, analytical and creative abilities are developed.

While historical consciousness was given a dominating position in the declaration of purposes from 1999 this had in 2005 to some degree been changed into a combination of knowledge, consciousness and identity. Previously knowledge had only been a requirement in connection with the teaching of social studies, where as this aspect was now in a primary position.

As such there had occurred an indication that the pupils were required to gain factual knowledge as a prerequisite of qualifying their historical consciousness and that these two aspects in unison may contribute in developing their identity. Behind this wording we find an inspiration from Gregory Bateson's four categories of knowledge, where the first – first order knowledge – comprises factual knowledge; the second – consciousness – comprises knowledge about knowledge or what knowledge may be used for, that is competencies; and finally identity as a third order knowledge, where it concerns the pupil acquiring enough insight to de- and re-learn and thereby establish knowledge at a creative level. It is, according to Bateson, not the school's purpose to develop the fourth form of knowledge, since this is an expression of societal development.

Competencies

Until the reform of 2005 the curriculum had an important guiding and structuring function in terms of didactics. Take for example the examination where a certain number of pages must be listed and the subject advisor made sure that the criteria were upheld. The reform changed this approach of controlling courses in a fundamental way – instead it introduced some academic goals, which the course was to help the pupil reach. Here we speak of competencies, that is second order knowledge and thereby requirements for the pupil to know how to use their basic historical knowledge. For this reason the academic goals must also make up the basis for evaluation and examination. The academic goals are therefore the disciplinary-didactic basis for history classes. The committee designed 10 academic goals:

- To document knowledge of central developments and events in the history of Denmark, the history of Europe and world history, including the connection between the national, regional, European and global development.
- Document knowledge about various societal forms.
- Formulate historical issues and relate these to their own time.
- Analyse the interaction between people, nature and society through time.
- Analyse examples of interaction between material circumstances and mentality through time and space.
- Explain societal changes and discuss principles of periodisation.
- Explain methods of shaping and controlling societies and look at the consequences of this for the individual.
- Reflection on humanity as historically shaped and historically creative.
- Collect and organise information about and from the past.
- Treat various historical materials and relate methodologically and critically in regard to documenting examples of the uses of the past.

The academic goals are found at different taxonomic levels, which involve the pupil learning to give an account, to analyse, to evaluate as well as to discuss. In the guide to the overall course it reads about the first academic goal that it may not be reached in one, two or three courses, but will be the result of the three-year education. Knowledge about central developments is acquired in overviews as well as in an in-depth progress within the individual periods. Any course of events must be placed in a wider context so as to fulfil the requirement of the diachronic (vertical) method of treating the matter, while at the same time being viewed in a synchronous (horizontal) manner, where the parallel feature of developments are the central feature.

In developments like the great revolutions and the growth of democracy the synchronous perspective will be laid out in introspection and an external view of the history of Europe and Denmark, while in the diachronic perspective the developments will be placed into a temporal connection, which illuminates the background for these important events. However, in a progress where the class takes an in-depth study of the formation of Denmark 800-1200 for example, this will also contribute to the pupils' knowledge of central development themes. One may here ask: Which level of knowledge is required to reach the goal? The pupils must, for example, have enough knowledge to be able to characterise the most important phases in the development of the agricultural, industrial and information society, and have sufficient knowledge to give an account of central features of the welfare state and the rise and development of democracy, such that they are able to give an account in the main features in European integration.

Core Materials

With the 2005-reform the subjects were, based upon the fundamental terms of reference, bound by certain core materials, which may be perceived as the matter without which the subject could not uphold its own legitimacy for existing. The core matters of the subject of history are the central events, periods and trends of development in the history of Denmark as well as the world, with special emphasis

upon European history. All pupils in the gymnasium must have knowledge of the core materials, where the goal is to give them a common frame of reference. This requirement came to play an importance role for the subject of history. Since 1971 the various study plans had not included any requirements as to the courses containing certain events or periods, but – as it was mentioned in the 1999 study plan – the courses must comprise an overview of the historical development and insight into societies and cultures as well as understanding for historical connections and the relationship between the individual and society. There was no requirement for the acquisition of an absolute chronology – merely an understanding of connections – nor was there a requirement for insight into certain cultures. The absence of emphasis upon chronology was underlined by the decentralised position of the overview-reading. Courses were built upon an analysis of sources for a delineated topic or for characterisation of an extended progress. This changed markedly with the 2005-reform, where history – along with Danish – was to introduce the first year to substantial events in a chronological form, and would be taken up again at the end of the third year. Both the introductory and the finishing work with chronology were inevitably to influence the teaching of periodisation and topics, which would naturally be put into a context.

The committee decided that the general gymnasium was to comprise 21 core matters distributed evenly on chronological form.

Until 1453

Societies of antiquity

The formation of Denmark

Medieval Europe

The meeting of cultures: Christianity and Islam

1453-1776

The Renaissance

The Reformation

Enlightenment

The Meeting of Cultures: Colonisation

1776-1914

Revolutions

Danish Democracy

National Identity

Industrialisation

The Meeting of Cultures: Imperialism

1914-1989

The Battle of Ideologies

The Welfare State

De-colonisation

Human Rights

Fall of the Berlin Wall

1989- Current time

The International Position of Denmark

European Integration

Globalisation

The requirement for core materials must be seen as a “soft” Canon, in that it is the individual class – pupils and teachers – that decides how to work with the renaissance, for instance. It could be developments in Northern Italy, 1300-1500, or the development in France and England, 1450-1550, or the Nordic Renaissance, 1500-1600. To this is added a free choice as to the many teaching sources, including the Internet and various forms of working with the topics. Finally, there will, for many instances, be a case of working with other subjects. The topic of the Renaissance sets the scene for cooperation between history, philosophy and physics. The guidance for teaching describes work with the Reformation by emphasising that the Reformation and Renaissance were two sides of the same historical development. Both concerned the importance of the individual and thereby the personal relationship to God. In working with the Reformation it is of central importance to clarify the theological differences of

opinion, but also to illustrate the economical and political conflicts of interest. It would be natural for courses to take their outset in the rise German Lutheranism and see this development in connection with the adoption of the Reformation in Denmark.

Work with core materials comprises about half of the classes and the other half is reserved for a free choice of supplementary materials and topics, since it is not possible for the pupils to attain the academic goals merely on the basis of the core materials, wherefore it is important with additional subjects. This could be ancient Egypt, the history of Japan, women's emancipation and the history of urban development.

The overall division of historical developments into five periods is also an innovation, since the previous division was made up of three, namely the time up till 1750, 1750-1945 and the time thereafter. 1453 was chosen because of the fall of Constantinople, in that the Turkish influence upon Europe hereafter became incontrovertible, which the later years developments has demonstrated. However, this periodisation may be discussed, in that 1453 was also the end of the 100 years war. This deliberate choice of year has been explained with the intention of provoking the teacher and pupils into discussing whether another choice of dates could have been equally as good, or better? The boundary at 1776 relates to the New World, which then demonstrated its wish for independence from the Old World. 1914 speaks for it self, as does 1989 – but what about 1945, which had previously been a decisive year? 1945 sets the stage for an in depth treatment of the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War. It was the opinion of the committee that events from this period were over-represented in relationship to the development under communist governance in the later years. By choosing 1989 the current perspective could be strengthened and attention directed at the immediate prerequisites for current issues for the pupils, instead of the Cold War, which was the teachers' or alt least the older teachers' personal frame of reference.

Organisation of the Lessons

The planning of the lessons is directed at the attainment of the academic goals, which also make up the evaluative criteria for examina-

tion. It is important in organising the lessons to reflect upon how the pupil must: 'formulate historical issues and relate them to their own time.' – this cannot only happen by working through the core material as knowledge-oriented teaching. If the pupils must be able to formulate historical issues, lessons must be problem oriented and directed at in-depth understanding.

The Committee has formulated some didactic principles, which present courses with new requirements. This includes the requirement for the classes to take their outset at the academic level, which is equivalent to the pupil's level at primary and lower secondary schooling, such that the history education given in the gymnasium orders and qualifies the knowledge acquired by the pupils over the six year period at that level. This also pertains to the requirement that 'all educational processes must either be related to or take their outset in the pupils' era.' The course manual emphasises that if the pupils are to use history in any sense, it must be relevant and have a connection to the present.

The new study plan uses the concepts of *diachronic* and *synchronous*, and is thereby an extension of a long tradition in the didactics of history that goes back to the 18th century. In the regulation on the reform of grammar school from 1775 it is explicitly stated, in regard to the teaching of history, that history must "be learnt periodically, that is synchronously, and the youth is required to pay attention to synchronicity", also "Chronology of the most important sections must be attained with precision." The study plan underlines that both perspectives must be included in preparation for the class, and that 'the pupils must be trained to formulate issues that may utilise the acquaintance with these two ways of working with the material.' As an example the course manual mentions that some topics will be arranged as an overview (diachronic), whereas others will be more in-depth in regard to the relevant topic (synchronous). In connection with the overview it is important to include the synchronous perspective and inversely the diachronic perspective must be included in the in-depth treatment of a delineated topic.

The study-plan accentuates that any topic must be 'treated through various kinds of materials and work must contain examples, different

forms of expressive arts within which the pupil meets history outside the school.' History education must therefore, as the study-plan expresses it, not only be concerned with source criticism of textual material, but any kind of materials, which may result in a greater understanding of a period for the pupils. Here the plan mentions photographs from the pupils' own collections, cartoons, feature length films, documentaries, radio programmes, maps and homepages. It is important that the sources may illuminate the function, which history has in the everyday life of the pupil.

"The academic goals must", as the study-plan states, "co-ordinately and continuously be included in every topic, and classes must ensure the progression through choice of materials and methodology. Progression must ensure the movement towards higher levels of reflection and the development of the pupils' historical consciousness." It is therefore important that the pupils know the academic goals so as to determine when a certain aspect of the course contributes in fulfilling these. The teachers must also develop study-plans for the individual classes and specify which goal the individual topic aims at. A review of chronology at the end of the third and final year, where the matter from the previous three years of courses is placed in a chronological order emphasising ruptures and continuity in historical development may especially be related to the first mentioned academic goal. The pupil will at this juncture have the best chance of, in a qualified manner, constructing a sense of chronology. In this connection it is important that the pupil is able to relate national developments to a world historical perspective and vice versa and that they are familiar with inductive as well as deductive historical methodologies.

A New Subject of History

The reform of the Danish gymnasium history education is founded upon two related elements, namely the academic goals, i.e. competencies, and an obligatory core matter. The courses are no longer determined by a curriculum, but are goal-oriented given the mentioned

competencies. The means of attaining these goals are, among other things, the core matter, which the pupils must spend half of the allotted time working with, whereby they are given the opportunity to build a common frame of reference, which may make the personal as well as the societal conversation more qualified. Attaining the goals also means working with supplementary materials and issues that have been formulated in relation to cooperation with other subjects. The challenge for the subject of history is thus to be able to choose the means so as to live up to these objectives. This may happen in strictly disciplinary tutoring, but also in cooperation with subjects from the three main areas, whereby the subject of history is encouraged to partake in a cooperation, which will happen at its limits or borders to the extent that it is encouraged to do so by societal complexity. The subject of history is thereby centrally positioned in the gymnasium educations and the history teachers will thereby have good possibilities for developing it to become the site at which the pupils may seek answers to their questions.

Noter

1. Translators note: At this level of education in Denmark, subjects are categorised according to difficulty: C being the easiest, A being advanced and B intermediate. Each subject, for example English, may thus be given at various levels of difficulties, having various requirements for examination and curriculum. The student is as such required to have the correct combination of A, B and C courses for access to any given further education at for example university.

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V. Educational policy in Denmark after 1945

From Cultivation of the Heath to Industry

In the first post-war years agriculture was the dominating sector in Danish society. This regarded labour, export and the fields of politics and culture.

The area outside the market towns and the capital had its own arrangement as regards education, namely the village school, where the children received a shorter schooling than those in the town schools. This was most clearly expressed in the winter school-arrangement of West-Jutland, where the oldest children only had two half school-days a week in the summer, while having six full schooldays a week in the winter, when there was less need for child labour. Many rural areas had access to middle school and lower preparatory school, but not a gymnasium. No gymnasiums were found in Central and Western Jutland, and young people from this area had to apply to a boarding school, or move in with relatives in the nearest town with a gymnasium.

Politicians were reluctant to change these circumstances, partly because it was expensive to build a gymnasium and partly because there was wide resistance towards young people seeking an academic way of life. The powerful popular people's schools conceived of the gymnasiums as competitors, and commerce was critical of them because they would lose the best and brightest that they needed in apprenticeships. Fear of academic unemployment, which was real in the inter-war years, was deeply embedded in the older generations among parents and grandparents. When, in 1948, the parish council

in Grindsted, in Central Jutland, applied for permission to establish a gymnasium with the Ministry of Education, they received the answer – after a long wait – that a popular people’s school was in reality more in need in the area of Central Jutland. The parish council had actually presented a solid argument: the number of pupils at the private middle and preparatory school had doubled over 8 years and the cultivation of the heath was progressing. In 1949 the Youth Commission presented its report, within which it read: “The youth, which grows up in the rural areas, is considerably worse off as compared to urban youth in regard to possibilities of education – especially the youth of the larger towns.” Not till 1961 was the council gymnasium in Grindsted serviceable, by which time much of the region had changed: the Lego-factories in Billund had 600 employees; the chemical factory in Grindsted had 400 employees, to which was added a slaughter house. Grindsted and its environs were slowly becoming industrialised, which affected the school- and educational situation in a decisive manner. In the long run this societal transformation also came to influence the teaching of history, which had a static air to it in agrarian society, where the goal was to transfer tradition to the next generation – over and against this, dynamic, industrial society presented wholly new requirements. A world in the midst of change could not suffice in taking over tradition; rather it had to educate children and young people to ask new questions of the future.

The Educational System in Agrarian Denmark

The Social Democrats wished to use the school to reduce differences in society. This regarded the differences between countryside and town, between the haves and have-nots. For this reason the party wanted equalisation between schools in rural and urban areas and for primary and lower secondary education to become a matter for the state rather than that of the parish and town council.¹ Hereby, and through the introduction of an eighth school year, it would be possible to reduce differences. These ideas did not gain any credence

with the right wing political parties of *Venstre* and the *Conservative Peoples Party* that saw these differences as natural. Rural children could make do with less time in school, but on the other hand they would help with farming, which was where their future was to be found.

The individual parish or town council still had much influence upon the local school system. In 1937 a reform was implemented the purpose of which was to reduce the distance between the children that went to middle school and those that remained in school after the fifth grade. A middle school without examination was founded, which was based upon the notion that the gifted children should still receive admission to the examined middle school, while those that were not as gifted were to be given the opportunity to develop their practical abilities in a non-examined middle school, where emphasis was upon physical education, woodwork, needlework, and where the traditional subjects would be organised in project oriented work. The non-examined middle school was to be included in every school having a middle school, which meant that many children who remained in the village school were not affected by the reform. In addition to this was that the non-examined middle school was not seen as an equal to the examined middle school. The policy of the Social Democrats was to make it possible for working class children to go to middle school, in that the party could not accept the class perception that children from more well-off families as being brighter.

Occupation encouraged national unity, and in 1941 the Minister of Education Jørgen Jørgensen, who was a member of the Social Democratic/Danish Social Liberal Party coalition government, could publish a new requirement that was to replace the 1900-requirement. Accordingly, the school must: "develop the children's sense of ethical and Christian values, show reverence towards man and nature, love of the home and our people and our country." In 1945 30% of a year took the middle school exam after 9 years of schooling, and this had risen to 40% already in 1956. The result was that the pupils were sorted after the fifth grade and the teachers began complaining about the remaining pupils not being stimulated by the ones that were academically brighter. The Social Democrats were

of the opinion that the selection was socially lopsided, wherefore it was prepared to change this state of affairs.

In Denmark there was a tradition for school and educational bills to be passed by wide consensus and preferably with the approval of the Teachers' Association. Since the Social Democrats were the biggest party in government, 1953-68, they had the option of taking some legislative initiatives. In 1954 the so-called Askov-committee presented a suggestion for a reform, the purpose of which was to re-establish seven-year, unified basic schooling, a five-year gymnasium and a three-year school of commerce with optional directions.

The Askov-Committee was comprised of members from the Grundtvigian popular people's school and Social Democrats – in fact several of them were both. However, the Gymnasium's Teachers' Association [Gymnasieskolernes Lærerforening (GL)] wished to uphold a seven year gymnasium education (four years middle school and three years gymnasium). The Social Democratic Minister of Education Julius Bomholdt sought to create a compromise between the two positions by suggesting a four year gymnasium, which was to be built upon a prior three years of upper secondary school that had been academically enhanced. This bill was not able to form a majority and when Jørgen Jørgensen again became Minister of Education in 1957 he developed a bill comprising seven years unified basic schooling and five years of gymnasium. GL was very much opposed to what they termed a depreciation of the gymnasium, but when it became possible for Jørgensen to include *Venstre* on division of the pupils in the 6th and 7th year – if the parents were willing – the basis for an agreement became apparent. After basic education it was possible for the pupils to choose working-life or be admitted into the three year preparatory school. After the second year of preparation it was possible to transfer to the three year gymnasium. This bill passed parliament whereby the popular middle school was phased out. Within a few years most of the classes in primary and lower secondary schooling were undivided, and the teachers were able to teach a unified school as they had wanted since the founding of the middle school in

1903. The division into *village schools* and *town schools*, which had become anachronistic was discarded, this gave rise to the occasion of closing down small rural schools and instead collecting them in *district schools*. Many villages thereby also experienced a loss of functionality.

In a parallel development with that of Denmark an equivalent process was happening in Norway and Sweden. Here, a more radical approach was followed in that basic schooling was extended till 9 years of age, where after everybody was to go in the same school, "Youth-school" [ungdomsskolen] or continuation school, regardless of whether they sought a university degree or commerce. These considerations did not have any effect in Denmark, which may seem strange in that the Nordic educational systems had, until then, had parallel developments and were all based upon the inspiration from the German *bildungs*-approach. Continuation school in Norway and Sweden was on the other hand inspired by the American High School – that is, the so-called curriculum approach, where equality was ranked above a unity among the individual disciplines. Why did this development not occur in Denmark? The Danish Social Democratic Party was not as well founded as in the neighbouring Nordic countries, but this would not have prevented them from suggesting a continuation school-solution. There are indications that the answer is to be found in two circumstances: namely that Denmark was less industrialised than Sweden, and that the popular Grundtvigian tradition for education had influenced Danish schooling and educational tradition far more than was the case in Norway and Sweden. The researcher of education from *The Institute of Philosophy, Education and the Study of Religions* at the University of Southern Denmark Jørgen Gleerup has formulated this way of thinking as follows:

The Danish educational traditions are ... characterised by emphasising diverse academic and personal development, democracy and capaciousness as regards values such as immediacy, openness, and interaction as well as much freedom and manifold educational choices, methods and research. These are the

free traditions of people's enlightenment that have spread to the whole of the Danish educational system.

In Denmark the *bildungs*-mentality or approach to didactics was retained, such that general character development [*almendannelse*] was upheld as the overall goal for gymnasium education – also this preserved the distinction between the general gymnasium and the commercial educations.

School and Education in Industrial Society

In the years 1954-1965, 1100 schools disappeared. The most important reason for this was the establishment of district schools that could live up to the new requirements given in the 1958-reform. However, depopulation of the rural regions following migration to the towns was also an important factor. From 1950-80 the sum labour in agriculture was reduced by 68% – that is, by far the most farmhands moved to town. In the 1960s Denmark became a highly industrialised society, which was dependent upon an inclusion of women in the labour force, this in turn created a need for childcare institutions and after-school centres. A growing amount of work within industry was dependent upon highly specialised labour, among which were engineers, economists and salesmen. In 1959 a specialist-commission concluded that:

A sufficient supply of technical and scientific labour requires an expansion of the recruitment base through a mobilisation of the educational reserves that have, till now, been cut off from these educations, either because of a traditional attitude (the girls) or a lack of basic educational ability as a consequence of insufficient educational possibilities, which especially applies to young people from rural areas.

In 1958 the gymnasium received a new Inspector of Education, namely Sigurd Højby who – unlike the previous inspector – advocated

an expansion of capacity for the gymnasium. Denmark was hopelessly behind in terms of student frequency. In 1960 in Denmark it was at 9.1%, 20% in Sweden and 40% in the US. In his opinion, Denmark must mobilise the intelligence-reserve, as the specialist-commission had suggested. The background for these ideas must be found in the conception of education as *human capital*, which on equal footing with labour and raw materials could determine growth in production. The ideological construction was to be *social demand*, which is to say that everybody should have the opportunity to educate themselves as they wanted and were able. So as to facilitate growth in the academic continuation schools, HF was introduced in 1967. This degree gave access to the teachers' seminary, social worker courses, nursing and was directed at adults with a limited degree of schooling – one spoke of the man who ploughed. In 1975 the frequency had risen to 20% and for HF it was 9.4%. To this was added 2.6 % in upper-secondary level evening school. In 1954 there were 70 gymnasiums in Denmark, and in the 80s there were twice as many.

Development of industry and science required experts and this came to affect the new gymnasium, which after the first grade presented the pupils with a choice between various specialisations; for the mathematical side this could be the mathematical-physical line or natural science. For those on the linguistic side this could be modern languages or social sciences. As such, there were good opportunities for interaction between certain subjects, such as physics, mathematics and chemistry, but it was not possible for interaction between common subjects and the elected subjects, which the pupils had in separate classes. This meant that neither Danish nor History could interact with social sciences or physics.

Based upon the hypothesis that popular education had shaped pedagogy in the formal educational system, it is prudent to mention that the Danish parliament in 1968 passed what was called 'the world's best leisure-time-law'. The outset was the very liberal position that: "opportunity must be made for approval of any discipline and subject to which there may be developed a study plan, [and] qualified teachers and materials may be found."

A new School

The Social democrats and the unions saw a great potential in the concepts of *human capital* and *social demand*, since it could be used as a tool in strengthening the welfare state and equality through education. During the 1960s it became increasingly common to retain an undivided school up through the 6th and 7th year in that it was no longer considered an improving factor in the continued education of the children. In 1972 the Social Democratic Minister of Education Knud Heinesen completed a reform of primary and lower secondary school, which would from then on retain undivided classes till the end of the 7th year. To this was added that schooling in the 8-10th year became obligatory. Hereby the preparatory school became superfluous and was abolished as an institution. Access to the gymnasium was allowed from the 9th year and to HF from the 10th. For a number of years to come it would still be common to separate classes in the 8th-10th years however.

Coordination and Man-power mentality

After the general election in 1968 and not long after gymnasium students had thrown their first tomatoes at representatives for the Ministry of Education, a centre-right government came to power. The parliamentary basis for the government was *Venstre, the Conservative Peoples Party* and the *Danish Social Liberal Party*. The Minister of Education was to be gymnasium Dean and historian Helge Larsen. He was a warm supporter of pupil and student democracy and saw through wide reaching reforms in this area in his three year run as Minister – it is therefore an irony of history that he came to be known as “Evil Helge” in pupil and student circles. The student rebellion did not occur because the students were malicious, but because the explosive growth in the number of students went beyond all bounds. We were, for example, 85 in the first year who wanted to study history in 1966. The professor did not meet us with a welcome, but with the dressing-down that: “There were way too many. When I began at

university we were only five and my Professor said: 'There are way too many, in a few years there will only be one left, I'll make sure of it' – and he was right."

In 1965 the Social democratic Minister of Education K.B. Andersen founded a committee on education for the upper secondary school leaving examination. In 1968 this committee was reorganised under the name of *The Committee on the gymnasium and HF educations*. Its terms of reference were to advise the Minister on the pedagogic and structural adaptation of the leaving examination among which was the shift to the five-day week. Furthermore, the committee was to prepare a revision of HF and the initiation of trial courses. In everyday terms it was known as RUGU and was to have a substantial influence upon the gymnasium agenda. The president of the committee was indeed the director for the directorate of gymnasiums and HF Sigurd Højby, and as a novelty the student organisation was also represented. Initially, the government wanted to see through a reform of all continuation educations, perhaps involving a coordination of the academic and commercial educations. However, during 1970 this plan was given up and the government instead sought to see through a reform of the vocational educations, which resulted in the establishment of the Vocational Basic Education as an alternative to apprenticeships, and merely an adaptation of the gymnasium and HF to the five-day week.

During the 1960s the five-day week was introduced in the private sector and schools had to follow. This presented an opportunity to reform both the gymnasium and basic education. In the gymnasium this partly concerned reducing the curriculum and partly an increased focus upon methodology rather than monotonous review of curriculum. The pupils were given influence in the choice of subjects, methods for working and reading lists for examination. This was a considerable expansion of democracy, which the many young teachers being employed in those years could utilise in qualifying their courses.

The inclusion of the pupils in decision making was to play a big role in history education. The hitherto slavish revision of a textbook system, which was to be repeated at examination, was now gradu-

ally changed, so that classes came to be built upon a source-oriented working though of selected topics, such as the Industrial Revolution in England, the French Revolution and the Renaissance in Italy. To be able to treat the texts it had become necessary for the pupils to acquire some historical methodology and experience with source criticism. Hereby history education became more in-depth rather than wide reaching and at best it strengthened the pupils' ability to reflect on some central connections in historical development, but at the price of a firm overview.

When in 1971 the Social Democrat Knud Heinesen replaced Helge Larsen he furthered the work on coordination, and in 1972 he founded a committee, which was to develop an outline for a 12 year unified school where the academic and vocational educations were related. In the newspaper *Kristeligt Dagblad* [The Christian Daily] the minister stated that:

Firstly, we must create the best transitions at various levels, such that common material in one section of the educational process may be accepted in the other that one switches to. Thereafter, the vocational educations must be arranged such that they, after completion, result in professional qualifications, while they at the same time give access to further education, such as the gymnasium and HF.

The president of the committee became the pensioned Sigurd Højby, and in the summer of 1973 it could publicly present *An Outline for a Parliamentary Bill on 12 years Education for Everyone*. The draft intended for 9 years unified schooling and thereafter the 10th-12th years as continuation school, where the education: "must be common [fælles] for pupils in areas of substantial common [fælles] value."

It was clear that the Swedish model had inspired the committee. There was, however, no lack of warning voices. Danish interests in the gymnasium had seen how things worked in Sweden; among others the Danish travelling lecturer from the association *Norden*, Tom Høyem, wrote a very critical article in *Gymnasieskolen* in April of 1969, where the conclusion was that Denmark ought not to copy

the Swedish reform without criticism. In *Gymnasieskolen* the editor Jytte Hilden, who was later to become a Minister of Culture in a Social Democratic led government, could ask the warning question: "Why in the name of sacred integration should well used pillows be re-sown into a common gymnasium patchwork quilt that will not keep anybody warm."

In 1975 the Social Democrats again came to form government. The new Minister of Education was Ritt Bjerregaard, and her first assignment was to pass a new School Bill. In § 2, section 3 it read that: "School prepares the pupils for inclusion into a democratic society and for participatory responsibility in solving common problems. The teaching in school and all of everyday life must therefore be built around freedom of spirit and democracy." Christianity and nationality were no longer core values as they had been in 1937, and the teaching of religion was to be in terms of knowledge and not in terms of proselysing. The other big assignment for the young Minister was to prepare the coordination of the continuation educations. In a bill presented to parliament in 1975 it was stated that: "The Educations in the 10th -12th year must contain subjects of a common cultural and societal content, which applies to all pupils." The bill furthermore contained a section on the expediency of all pupils – not only those seeking to attain vocational training – periodically participating in practical trainee work. This 'practicism' took up the minds of many people within education and was probably an expression of – at least among the Social Democrats – perceiving Denmark as an industrial country in the 1970s and not yet as a knowledge and information based society. The right-wing parties rejected the notion of coordinating the continuation educations and characterised it as a socialist experiment – a discourse, which was retained until a right-wing government could remove the bill from the agenda in 1982. These parties had otherwise been positive towards coordination at the end of the 1960s, but in the course of the 1970s this changed towards outright rejection. In addition to the ideological indications included in this rejection, part of the explanation must also be found in the international debates on education, which took a new direction in the middle of the 1970s. Social demand came under pres-

sure especially because the Western industrialised countries were experiencing a marked recession because of the 1973 energy crisis, but also because full employment had been replaced by elevated levels of unemployment. Social demand was not the appropriate response to this crisis-atmosphere and instead politicians began speaking of considerations to man-power. Society could no longer afford extended educations within the humanities when the result was inevitable unemployment. For this reason the politicians must be responsible and size the educations according to expected needs, therefore limits were set on a number of higher educations on the basis of grade averages in 1976-77.

The many Social democratic attempts to direct continuation educations in a more vocational direction may also be perceived as an attempt to limit interest among the youth in higher education. In *Perspektivplan-redegørelse 1972-1987* (PPII) it is read that, in order to limit unemployment among academics and avoid bottlenecks, it is necessary to hold back on admission to the gymnasium educations until a reform of the continuation educations – hopefully – is able to contribute in the desired diversion.

This crisis did not inspire wide reaching experimentation as regards the continuation educations, but rather focus upon well tried academic methods. It was possible for Danish politicians to be inspired by colleagues abroad, among other places the United States, where the large report on the American educational system: *A Nation at Risk*, contained requirements for education to 'go back to basics'. In 1985 Bertel Haarder founded the terms of reference for a commission that was to reform history education. Here, emphasis was upon the desirability of securing an understanding of connections and overview among the pupils.

Service-, Information- and Knowledge Society

It is difficult to determine the transition from one societal form to another, also when may this transition be registered in the everyday life of schools and educational policy? One could also, as a thought

experiment, claim that it was the schools and educations, which affected the developments that were signified in this transition. The passage from an agricultural society to an industrial society may, as we have seen, be registered in school developments from 1970-75. But when did the knowledge based society begin prevailing over industrial society? In hindsight there are many indicators: ideas of life long learning, the gymnasium reform of 1988 and the school act of 1993 may be viewed as implications of the knowledge based society. However, it is also important to look at global and technological development, and here we find the special relevance of the internet, which on the one hand affected development in the direction of globalisation and was, on the other hand, an important prerequisite for this globalisation to unfold and thereby create the knowledge based society. With the establishment of the Danish Internet Exchange in 1996 the internet became an opportunity for the Danes who took up this new technology within a few years. For this reason it is valid to speak of a Danish knowledge society in the middle of the 1990s, where production did not primarily aim at producing material products but rather knowledge.

As regards the gymnasium a number of trials in the 1970s, among which were attempts at the two experimental state gymnasiums, had indicated a shift towards inter-disciplinarily and project work, preferably in cooperation with the business community. As Minister Bertel Haarder criticised this tendency as inappropriate and instead emphasised the classical disciplinary education, pupil acquisition of factual knowledge and the possibility for an easier combination of subjects. Indeed these preferences came to influence the gymnasium in 1988. Prioritising factual knowledge may be seen as an indication of the knowledge based society, however, in the opinion of many, the downgrading of disciplinary cooperation pointed in the other direction. One may argue that the opportunity to choose a combination of subjects in a freer manner than before was an answer to the global challenge and an up-to-date response to the knowledge based society, however the individual timetables for the pupils made it difficult to coordinate cooperation between the classes. The Minister did not see this as a problem, but in the course

of the 90s it became apparent that the disciplinary cooperation that many had experimented with in the 1970s was very much a thing of the future. It became an increasingly central question in the Social Democratic government of the years 1993-2001, where plans to coordinate the four gymnasium educations, the general gymnasium (stx), HF, commercial school (hhx) and Higher Technical examination (htx) came under consideration. The two vocational educations had, following some experimentation, been extended to three years in 1995 and it was therefore structurally possible to coordinate them with the general gymnasium. In fact the Social Democratic Prime minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen was apparently willing to go even further. In 1997 he made the following statement: "Why must there absolutely be a vocational school in one end of a town, an AMU-centre in the other and a gymnasium in the third? We could consider centres where gymnasium pupils, electricians, apprentices and AMU folk all attend the same place rather than being divided." The goal was, in addition, that more young people were to have a qualifying examination and the section comprising 15% that did not receive any such examination was to be reduced. Everyone was in agreement as regards the aim, but not the means. Minister of Education Margrethe Vestager from the Danish Social Liberal Party presented a plan with five different models for cooperation between the continuing educations in *Uddannelsesredegørelse 1997* [An Account on Education 1997]. Already in 1999 the Danish Parliament was able to pass a declaration of intent as regards the four educations being retained, each with their special profile. These profiles were later specified such that stx was an education where academic skill were connected to the scientific subjects and prepared for higher education. Hhx was intended as vocational training, which took its outset in economic themes that relate to businesses or society. In htx the technical and natural scientific subjects were in focus and the education aimed at higher education as regards technical functions within business. The two year HF had a use-oriented and practical aim.

Ulla Tørnæs became Minister of Education in a centre-right government in 2001 and one of her aims was to see through a reform of the continuing educations. In January of 2003 all the parties of Parlia-

ment, except for *Enhedslisten*,² adopted a plan for reform and within a year a bill was passed, which was to come into force in August of 2005. It is remarkable that an almost unanimous Parliament passed the reform. It is likewise remarkable that a Minister of Education for the party *Venstre* now furthered disciplinary interaction and project based work, which was exactly what Bertel Haarder had done so much to block in the 1980s. This was a paradigmatic shift as regards educational policy and may be explained by the fact that also *Venstre* now acknowledged Denmark as existing in a global, knowledge-based economy, which the pupils would only be able to navigate if they related reflexively to problems that required the cooperation of several disciplines to solve. *Venstre* was still, however, opposed to group-examinations although the pupils were permitted to prepare for exams in groups.

While all previous reforms, as regard the area of the general gymnasium, had solved the issue of greater complexity by adding new subjects, directions or sides, this did not happen with the new reform. Quite the contrary, since the two sides of mathematics and linguistics were abolished, also Latin and cultural geography were revoked. At the same time the 1988-reform's many options and combinations were limited to a number of study-directions and a small number of optional subjects. The reform comprised all four gymnasium educations and was founded upon common principles, namely: Competencies rather than curricula-goals, core-matter rather than free choice, a structure within which all the subjects may interact with *Almendannelse* or general character development as the overarching goal.

No matter how one views it this was a large reform, which was to be a great challenge for the teachers who had no experience with inter-disciplinary cooperation. So as to strengthen disciplinary cooperation, the first half year comprised three inter-disciplinary events, namely: general study preparation, basic natural science and general linguistic understanding. Here the pupils must be accustomed to working in disciplinary combinations and on the boundaries of subjects. It was exactly the many possibilities for combination that was to assure that the courses could contain the issues reflecting modern complex society. Once the pupils had understood the advantages of

interdisciplinary work they would be motivated for the next 2½ years as regards academic issues in this perspective, also they would be attentive of combining the three directions of study and the common subjects of Danish, History, the Classics and Religion.

The optimal circumstances for disciplinary interaction is without a doubt the biggest innovation of the reform, in that these may now be said to be the precondition for an up to date preparation for globalised reality. There is, furthermore, a good reason to emphasise the combination of core matter and competency goals. History in the stx has for example 21 core areas and 10 competency goals. The pupils come to work with the core subject for more than half of the allotted time in history and even though every class has its own approach and various materials there will still be a common frame of reference, which may be assumed at a higher level of education. There could be a danger of the core material taking on the character of Canon and thereby reverting courses to the time before the 1970s, where a textbook system was the curriculum. The introduction of competency goals will without a doubt secure the subject from this becoming the case, but will rather retain the conception of history as a means towards understanding.

The introduction of core material and competency goals is inspired by the American curriculum approach, but thanks to the Danish tradition for *Bildung* the overall goal was retained, namely *almendannelse* or general character development. It may seem curious that it has been possible to retain a nearly 200 year old concept – one important reason for this may be that it is able to contain complexity, which is a suitable response to the global challenge. The point of general character development or *Almendannelse* is exactly to secure that the education comes to comprise the common features of the sciences and subjects, which society needs so as to develop the pupils' personal authority to reflect upon the relationship between themselves and their fellow human beings, nature and society. As such the reform may be seen as a combination of the German *Bildung*-tradition and the American curriculum approach. Until 2005 it was only stx that had *general character development* as an overall aim, but following the reform, all four gymnasium educations received the same overall

goal. The reform set the stage for cooperation between the three year long continuation educations, but the separation between the gymnasium and the vocational educations was retained. Although general character development or *Almendannelse* is a wide concept it cannot contain educations with a specific vocation in mind, such as mechanic, carpenter and so forth.

School

In 1993 a reform of primary and lower secondary school was seen through and the changes in relation to the 1975 reform concerned especially the formulation of the object clause, school subjects, weekly number of classes, and requirements for differentiated teaching, also new interdisciplinary methods and a prompting for development of the school were involved. Within basic schooling, globalisation was expressed by, among other things, comparative studies, where PISA was the most covered. In 2002 one study showed that, among all the primary and lower secondary school systems in the OECD countries, 15 year old Danish pupils were mediocre in several important subjects – almost one fifth of them were for instance described as functional illiterates, and in the subject of nature and technology, which was introduced by the 1993-reform the pupils were among those with worst skills. As regards the subject of History several attempts at improving the situation were made, but it apparently only had a marginal effect, in that History was not an examined course. The same applied to social studies and religion. Bertel Haarder conceived of it as his most important assignment to carry out the recommendations of the globalisation-council, namely that Denmark ought to place its bets on creativity.

The world's best school

In 2005 a school reform was seen through, based upon a wide consensus in Denmark's highly competitive multiparty political system.

The new object clause contained a new requirement, namely that basic schooling was to school pupils with the intent of further education. To this was added a requirement, which was important for the subject of history: that the pupils must have knowledge of the history of Denmark and its interaction with other countries. In the spring of 2006 a number of academic committees, also counting history, were established and their terms of reference were to establish a Canon and develop some competencies, which the pupils must acquire through their education. The committee published its report in June 2006, which established 29 points that the pupil must work with in chronological order, equivalent of $\frac{1}{4}$ of class time over a 6 year period. Hereafter, a list of competencies were formulated for the 3rd-5th years, 6th-7th years and 8th-9th years respectively. Not unlike the gymnasium the requirements for work with defined subjects and topics were to be combined with requirements for competencies. History was in the future to be an examined subject and be allotted more classes. To this was added that the teachers' education was adapted and the subject of history as a direction of study was changed from 0.6 to 1.2 ECTS. It is exciting to see how the teaching of history in basic schooling will change and how it may be utilised in the history courses of the gymnasium educations. Finally, the university subject of history must take into account in that the students have a common knowledge of at least 29 points in the Canon and 21 core-matter areas and that they are accustomed to working with the materials presented, so as to live up to a number of competency requirements.

Developmental trends in Educational Policy

Danish school and educational policy have been through two paradigmatic shifts since 1945; firstly from agricultural to industrial society, and secondly from industrial to a knowledge based society. The requirement for 7 years of schooling for both boys and girls in 1814 was not changed till 1958 and the gymnasium-reform of 1903 was also not changed in any substantial degree till 1958. This continuity says much about the relationship between agricultural society and

its schooling and educational system. Not till the 1990s was it clear that Denmark was presented with a challenge from other western knowledge-based societies, such that the school and gymnasium reforms of 2005 must be seen as responses to this. The development may be seen in the percentage of a year that took a gymnasium education. In the beginning of the 1950s this was around 5%, in the middle of the 70s this increased to around 30 % to increase further till 70% in 2005, of which 40% went to stx.

In spite of two paradigmatic shifts it is viable to speak of continuity in educational policy. The *Bildung*-mentality, which was inspired from Germany, was retained despite Social Democratic attempts at introducing American conditions in the shape of a curriculum approach through the establishment of a 12 year unitary school, including a coordination of continuation educations. The most likely explanation for why this did not occur is that the *Bildungs*-tradition, in combination with a Grundtvigian inspired educational tradition was contributory in Denmark attaining a completely unique schooling and educational system.

School and educational policy was in the main based upon a wide and inclusive parliamentary compromise. The School Law of 1975 and the gymnasium reform of 1988 were exceptions to this. The tendency in school and educational policy has, since 1945, been that of the removal of ideology. The great discussions of principle in the 1950s as regards which position nationality and Christianity were to have, and whether rural and urban areas were to have the same system of schooling were obviously ideologically founded. The period of change in the 1970s was influenced partly by the agricultural society being dismantled and partly by the political left and right side of the parliament being uncertain as to how far tradition would stretch in the face of these challenges, which industrial society posed the educational system. Industry had many requirements and still comprised assembly-work and more knowledge-intensive companies. In 1982 the prime minister stated that it concerned buying Danish goods, which indicated a Danish belief in self-sufficiency, which must have resulted in a smile only 10 years later. When the knowledge-based society, symbolised by the Internet, challenged the school and educational

system in the second half of the 1990s the ideologically based arguments as regards school and educational policy became weakened, since there no longer existed competing spheres of commerce, but a large dynamic knowledge-based society, where conditionality was a basic requirement and where the traditional ideological arguments no longer supplied sufficient meaning.

Noter

1. Translator's note: Not till 1970 did a reform of local government happen whereby integration of rural and urban local government was possible. The result was "kommuner" or councils without differentiation between them.
2. Translators note: The most left-wing party in the Danish Parliament.

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Historiedidaktik og uddannelsespolitik i Danmark

I. Historiedidaktik i Danmark 1715-2005*

*Man lære at kiende sig selv ved at se sit eget
Portrait i Andre. (Ludvig Holberg, 1715)*

Latinskolen fik i løbet af 1700-tallet flere selvstændige fag, og et af dem var historie. Hovedvægten blev lagt på verdenshistorien, da den antikke verden i en latinskole måtte have en central plads; dertil kom fra 1775 fædrelandshistorien og endelig blev geografi som en hjælpe-disciplin nært forbundet med historieundervisningen. Foruden denne opdeling af historieundervisningen, måtte historielæreren tilpasse sin undervisning til den store aldersspredning, nemlig fra 10-18 år.

Med den voksende betydning fædrelandshistorien fik i det nationale opdragelsesprogram, blev det påkrævet ikke blot at erhverve sig kundskaber, men også at føle samhørighed med folket. Det var derfor naturligt at der foregik en debat om, hvilken af de to hensyn, der især burde tilgodeses i historieundervisningen. Det første hensyn kunne klares efter hørermethoden, dvs. en indgående kontrol med elevernes kundskabsniveau. Denne metode slog ikke til, når målet var at socialisere drenge og unge mænd til at vedkende sig en samhørighed med det danske folk, og forstå andre folkeslags særlige forhold. For at opfylde det sidste mål, var det nødvendigt at foretage nogle didaktiske overvejelser, og lærerne måtte derfor interessere sig for metoder til at udvide elevernes refleksionsrum. Denne problemstilling – altså balancen mellem kundskaber og erkendelse – har rammesat den historiedidaktiske debat i Danmark lige siden historie blev et selvstændigt fag. Ludvig Holberg var sig hørermethodens begrænsninger bevidst, og skrev i *Moralske Tanker* herom:

Herudover holder jeg for, at det kunde være nyttigere, hvis Lectores blev forvandlede til Responsores, saaledes, at de paa visse

Tider og Steder lode sig indfinde for at svare til de Spørgsmaal, som af den studerende Ungdom bleve dem foresatte.

Denne 'coach'-tankegang udfoldede han i samme epigram ved at fremhæve, at der var mindst to fordele forbundet med denne metode. For det første ville ingen søge et lærerembede, hvis de ikke var modne og forstandige nok til at kunne svare på spørgsmålene. For det andet ville lærerne hele tiden være tvunget til at holde sig ajour med videnskabens udvikling. Ingen lærere ville være eller forblive ulærde, og eleverne ville kunne sikre sig at blive undervist i de problemstillinger, som de interesserede sig for.¹

Historia magister vitæ

Holberg kan med nogen ret siges at være igangsættereren af historieundervisningen i latinskolen. Hans begrundelser var mange, her må én fra 1715 fremhæves, nemlig at: »man lærer at kiende sig selv ved at see sit eget Portrait i Andre«. Det er en moderne måde at opfatte historieundervisning på, altså et frugtbart møde mellem eleven og det historiske stof. Man kunne tale om en ny antropologi, der var en funktion af det moderne, den antropocentriske udviklingsopfattelse. I 1730 blev Holberg professor i historie og geografi ved Københavns Universitet, og i den nye fundats fra 1732 blev historie for første gang et eksamensfag ved universitetet. Han udarbejdede i denne forbindelse en lille lærebog i historie, som skulle være både for disciplene i latinskolen (afsnit, skrevet med store typer) og de studerende ved universitetet (skrevet med små typer). Bogen er skrevet efter den 'eromathiske metode', dvs. at hvert afsnit begynder med et spørgsmål, som så besvares. F.eks. »Hvad er historie?« og svaret: »Historie er en fortælling om fortiden, som har det Maal for Øje, at Mindet bevares om de Begivenheder, af hvilke vi kunne drage en lære, der fører til et lykkeligt Liv.«²

På trods af Holbergs forestillinger om lærerne som responsorer, blev det ikke desto mindre udenadslæren, der efter de oplysninger, vi har om historieundervisningen, der længe kom til at dominere.

Rektor J.H. Tauber, der i 1750'erne gik i Aalborg Skole, har i sin dagbog skrevet om historieundervisningen: »Ligeledes lærte jeg Fædrelandets Historie efter Holbergs historia universalis med Anmærkninger, Ord til andet udenad; jeg skrev Oversættelsen, Gloser og Fraser af den og det lærtes alt sammen saa færdig, at jeg til Examen fik den største Berømmelse«. ³

Seminarium Pædagogicum

Forestillingen om en opdragende historieundervisning kom til udtryk i 1775-forordningen, hvor der blev lagt mere vægt på modersmålet og fædrelandets historie. Forudsætningen for, at dette kunne ske var udarbejdelsen af en lærebog, der kunne styrke de to fag. Statsministeren, historikeren Ove Høegh-Guldberg, opfordrede den unge Ove Malling til at skrive en sådan, og i 1777 udkom på Søren Gyldendals Forlag: *Store og gode Handlinger af Danske, Norske og Holstenere*. Bogen tilgodeså i høj grad de to fags socialiserende opgave, langt mere end indlæring af årstal og begivenheder. ⁴

Undervisningen blev ikke ændret alene ved, at der blev skrevet en ny lærebog, da de kortfattede, factsprægede 'ledetråde' som f.eks. Abraham Kall's lærebog også havde stor udbredelse. Det blev desuden nødvendigt at ændre læreruddannelsen, hvis historieundervisningen skulle realiseres i overensstemmelse med de nye didaktiske forestillinger. I løbet af 1790'erne blev der forberedt en reform af latinskolen og i forbindelse hermed blev det vedtaget at ændre skoleembedseksamen fra 1788, med oprettelsen af et Seminarium Pædagogicum i 1800. Forbilledet var tysk og målet var, at: »skaffe unge Mænd, der gjøre Ungdommens Dannelse i de lærde Skoler til Hovedstudium, den Forberedelse og Hjælp, som de behøver til at opnaa deres Bestemmelse.« Der var tale om en fireårig uddannelse, hvor de 25 studerende kunne vælge mellem fire linjer, hvoraf fem kunne optages på historie- og geografilinjen. Ud over fagstudiet skulle alle seminarister følge forelæsninger i pædagogik og metodik, og her lære at forholde sig kritisk til de klassiske pædagogiske værker (Locke, Rousseau og Basedow). Den teoretiske

indlæring skulle følges af praktisk undervisningsfærdighed i klasserne på Frue latinske Skole, hvor der fra 1797 var iværksat en forsøgsundervisning med en omfattende fagrække, hvor der i stedet for hørere var knyttet faglærere, der underviste klassen i kun deres ene fag. Seminariets historieundervisning skulle varetages af den i samtiden højtanskrevne Jørgen Kierulf. Seminariets undervisning kunne utvivlsomt have fået stor betydning for den lærde skoles udvikling, men da der allerede i 1805 blev givet flere dispensationer i forbindelse med læreransættelser til kandidater, der ikke havde gennemført uddannelsen, svigtede søgningen, og institutionen blev nedlagt i 1810.⁵

Den universalhistoriske udfordring

I 1800-tallets første halvdel drejede den historiedidaktiske debat sig bl.a. om, hvordan Danmarks historie skulle placeres i forhold til verdenshistorien. Et forslag om at gennemføre historieundervisningen i de ældste klasser på fransk på Sorø Akademi i 1825 førte til indsigelse fra B.S. Ingemann, der som dansklærer måtte insistere på, at fædrelandets historie skulle læres på dansk, og at de historiske opgaver også skulle skrives på modersmålet. Det var et rimeligt forlangende, da de to afsluttende skriftlige opgaver på modersmålet skulle skrives i hhv. religion og historie.

Siden 1775 var der krav om, at historieundervisningen skulle tilrettelægges efter to alternerende metoder, nemlig henholdsvis synkront og diakront. Det blev opfattet som vigtigt, at eleverne fik indblik i flere samtidige kulturer, men også at de fik kundskab om, at kulturernes forskellighed kunne forklares ved deres særlige diakrone udvikling. Professor i klassisk filologi ved Københavns Universitet, J.N. Madvig, skrev i 1832-33 en stor programmatisk artikel *Om den lærde Skoles Underviisning*.⁶ Heri gjorde han sig til talsmand for en ny didaktisk opfattelse. Han kritiserede den hidtidige nyhumanistiske opfattelse, der betragtede de klassiske oldtidskulturer som forbilleder. I stedet skulle studiet af disse kulturer som udgangspunkt have, at de var primitive forstadier til de moderne samfund. Eleverne skulle

i stedet for interessere sig for nutiden og nutidens muligheder, og for at kunne det på en kvalificeret måde, var det nødvendigt at få indblik i det nutidiges historiske betingethed. Derfor var det også hensigtsmæssigt at give den nationale historie en central plads, men ikke for at forherlige den, som Malling havde gjort det, men for at gøre eleverne bekendt med, at Danmark havde udviklet sig på randen af den europæiske kultur. Derfor måtte han også tage afstand fra Grundtvigs og måske især grundtvigianernes ønske om at give oldislandsk og Nordens myter en central plads i den lærde skoles undervisning.

Det var for Madvig vigtigt, at historieundervisningen som mål havde, at eleverne skulle få indblik i de universelle udviklingslinjer, dvs. at det nationale skulle ses i både et europæisk og et verdensperspektiv. Det var denne universalistiske tankegang, som J.G. Herder havde udviklet i 1770erne og som i 1830erne indgik i danske historiedidaktikers overvejelser. De teoretiske og normative overvejelser over historieundervisningens rette form og indhold fylder ganske meget, derimod kniber det med fyldestgørende beskrivelser af historieundervisningen i praksis. En af kilderne hertil er de årlige pensaindberetninger, der fra 1839 skulle trykkes i skolernes programmer for eksamen. Disse skoleprogrammer indeholdt for hver skole en eller flere videnskabelige artikler, og her blev historieundervisningens praksis undertiden berørt.

Sorø som laboratorium

Sorø Akademi indtog en central plads i den didaktiske diskussion, idet institutionen havde en særlig status og et solidt økonomisk grundlag. I 1822 var skole og akademi blevet reorganiseret, og det gav anledning til overvejelser over, hvordan undervisningen kunne nytænkes. Skolens økonomiske ressourcer gjorde det muligt at tiltrække landets førende videnskabsmænd og pædagoger. Dette levende didaktiske miljø muliggjorde spændende diskussioner. Et af emnerne var valget af lærebøger, og her blev diskussionen præget af, at en af lærerne H. Estrup selv havde skrevet en lærebog, som en af

kollegerne kaldte 'compendiøs' og for vanskelig for det klassetrin, den var tiltænkt. I 1830 blev Estrup rektor og kunne dermed iværksætte de planer, han havde for undervisningen, nemlig at »bringe Orden, Enhed og fast Metode ind i Historieundervisningen«. Lærerne blev opfordret til at træde sammen og for hver klasse nå til enighed, om hvilke mål, der skulle nås i hvert fag, og hvilken metode, der burde anvendes. De enkelte lærergrupperes konklusioner blev sammenfattet af rektor til en samlet undervisningsplan for de fire klassetrin, som den seksårige uddannelse omfattede. Estrup ville nok tilslutte sig, at kundskabstilegnelsen var det vigtigste mål i de to nederste klasser, men lærerne burde for at levendegøre stoffet supplere med fortællinger. I de to øverste klasser skulle ikke blot geografien, men også fransk indgå i et tværfagligt samarbejde, og dele af undervisningen foregik på fransk. Det karakteristiske for historieundervisningen var, at lærerens fortælling fik større vægt, og eleverne skulle øves i at indføre begivenhederne på tavler, der stillede krav til både en synkron og en diakron rubricering. I fjerde klasse, altså afgangsklassen, skulle læreren: »paavise på en reen historisk Maade, hvorledes Forsynet havde ladet det Store og det Gode udvikle sig under mange Former og megen Bølgegang; han vække Interessen mere for det Fredelige, Menneskelige og Borgerlige i Historien end for det Blodige.«⁷

Men efter indvundne erfaringer med denne fremgangsmåde, måtte Estrup erkende, at lærerens fortællinger måtte nedtones, og der som tidligere, måtte lægges mere vægt på kundskabsmeddelelse. Eksamenstraditionen var medvirkende hertil, og da karaktererne blev offentliggjort, lå der måske heri en tilskyndelse til at vælge det sikre, den faktuelle viden.

Historiens fortætninger

Denne udvikling blev imidlertid ikke fastholdt uanfægtet. I 1839 havde rektor H.V. Flemmer fra Frederiksborg Skole kritiseret historieundervisningen i den lærde skole som et unyttigt terperi. Efter hans mening burde ni tiendedele af navne og årstal bortfalde. Spørgsmålet var også, på hvilken måde disse personer og årstal

blev brugt i undervisningen. Da Abraham Kalls lærebog fra 1777 blev genudgivet i 1820 af E.C. Werlauff, hed det i forordet: »Bogen bør saavidt muligt læres hel og holden udenad.« Flemmers kritik, fremsat af en centralt placeret og kendt skolemand, vakte furore i historielærernes rækker, og anklagen blev i 1841 gendrevet af C. Paludan-Müller, der da var overlærer på Odense Katedralskole.

Paludan-Müllers begrundelse for historiefagets berettigelse tog udgangspunkt i forordningens ordlyd fra 1809, hvori det hed: »den historiske Underviisning skal bidrage til at uddanne de Unges Evner og Anlæg, og til at forskaffe dem det Forraad af Forkundskaber, som er nødvendigt til fortsættelse af deres Studier ved Universitetet.« Forordningen nævner således kun kundskaber, men Paludan-Müller tolkede dette ganske vidtgående ved at fremhæve, at den unge i historieundervisningen skulle kunne ane de love, »hvorefter den evige Fornuft i Menneskelivet skrider frem«, og dermed erhverve sig det stof, som i de videregående studier kunne befrugte hans tanker og danne udgangspunkt for en selvstændig anskuelse af menneskelivets vilkår. Dette perspektiv på historien, nemlig ikke kun at lære, at noget er sket, men hvad og hvorledes det er sket, var et stærkt argument i gendrivelsen af rektor Flemmers anklage.

I praksis ønskede Paludan-Müller, at historiefaget sammen med de andre fag skulle være med til at danne en enhed i uddannelsen. Han formulerede det således:

Underviisningens Enhed maa ligge deels i det rette Forhold mellem Fagene, deels i en saadan Behandling af de enkelte Fag, at alle Videnskabers indre Slægtsskab bliver om end ikke indseet, saa dog følt og anet af den opvakte Discipel; men aldrig kan den opnaas ved at gjøre det ene Fag umiddelbart til det andets Tjenerinde.

Historiefagets bidrag til denne enhed kunne efter hans mening bedst ske ved ud over anvendelsen af den etnografiske og den synkroniske måde at arbejde på, og ved at anlægge en universalistisk synsvinkel. Udgangspunktet måtte nødvendigvis være indlæring af konkret data, ikke tilfældigt udvalgt, men som forudsætninger

for forståelsen af en større sammenhæng. Der var f.eks. ikke nogen grund til at lade eleverne lære årstal, navne og enkelte begivenheder af pavehistorien i det 13. og 14. århundrede, hvis disse data ikke bliver sat ind i en sammenhæng. At gå til den anden yderlighed, nemlig at præsentere eleverne for konklusioner, uden at de har lært de grundlæggende kundskaber, ville være ligeså skadelig. »Aldrig vil en skeletagtig Oversigt kunne vise Aandens Udvikling, altsaa heller ikke Enkelthedernes indre, sande Betydning.« Det var lærerens vigtigste opgave, at udvælge de universalhistorisk vigtigste momenter, ikke for at sætte dem ind i skemaer, sådan som Estrup i Sorø havde praktiseret det, men:

med Blikket stadigt vendt paa Underviisningens Hovedmaal, ikke lader sig indsnørre i et unaturligt Schema, men søger at bøie og modificere Formen efter Stoffets Eiendommelighed, saa at den snart grupperer Enkelthederne om en Begivenhed eller en Person af overveiende Vigtighed, snart fører dem frem i én colonne, uden at lade sig forstyrre af de sideordnede Rækker, indtil disse griber bestemmende ind i Hovedrækken, snart giver de enkelte Folks Historie, naar de netop i deres afsondrede Stilling have været Aandens Repræsentanter; med ét Ord: lader Formen slutte sig saa tæt som muligt om Begivenhederne selv.

Det gjaldt for historielæreren om, at udvælge og dermed fravælge, sådan at hovedmomenterne kunne få mulighed for at få form i elevens bevidsthed. Det var historiefagets bidrag til gymnasieundervisningens enhed, og dermed til udviklingen af elevernes almendannelse. Men skulle Danmarks historie præsenteres i et universalhistorisk perspektiv, ville den blive stedmoderligt behandlet i forhold til målet, nemlig at »vække Kjærlighed til Fædrelandet«. Men det betød ikke efter Paludan-Müllers mening, at 'Lyspartierne' skulle have mere Plads end 'Skyggesiderne', men: »ved at lade Nationens Liv træde klart frem for Disciplenes Bevidsthed som en Totalitet, i hvilken de satte og føle deres egen Tilværelse som en Partikel.«

Disse historiedidaktiske overvejelser blev i Paludan-Müllers undervisningspraksis udmøntet på den måde, at han i de lavere

klasser gennemgik Kofods fragmentariske lærebog, dernæst blev Danmarks historie gennemgået på grundlag af 'Suhms Udtog', hvor Paludan-Müller i sine mundtlige fremlæggelser føjede meget til, og eleverne fulgte undervisningen med »levende Deeltagelse og deres hyppige Spørgsmaal, Bemærkninger og hele Holding gjøre det umiskendeligt, at det fornøier dem at lytte til lærerens fortælling«. I tredje klasse, dvs. da eleverne var 14 år, begyndte det 'høiere Cursus', dvs. universalhistorien. Hvad har så de elever lært, som har fulgt dette syvårige forløb?: »... de have et, til bestemte Data knyttet, nogenlunde omfattende Overblik over Gangen i den historiske Deel af Menneskehedens udvikling og over Hovedbegivenhedernes Sammenhæng; men kun om Fædrelandet og nogle af Hovedfolkene har de en ethnografisk sammenhængende Kundskab.«⁸

Almendannelse og historiedidaktik

Paludan-Müllers forestillinger om den ideelle historieundervisning blev udnyttet i reformlovgivningen i årene 1845-50, hvor studentereksamen blev flyttet fra universitetet til skolerne, og hvor en del af de fag, der indtil da var placeret i det første universitetsår, blev overført til skolerne, der nu skulle bringe eleverne frem til en afsluttet almindelig dannelse. Skolegangen blev forlænget med et år til otte år, og historieundervisningen blev mere omfattende. I bekendtgørelsen af 13. maj 1850 hed det:

Historie. Heri undervises der igjennem samtlige Klasser, og maa Disciplene, uden at overlæsses med for stor Mængde Enkeltheder af Navne, Aarstal o.s.v., især de mere underordnede Partier af Historien, ledes til at erhverve en anskuelig Kundskab om og et sikkert Overblik over de mærkelige Begivenheder i den gamle og nye Verdenshistorie, med Indsigt i deres indbyrdes Forbindelse og sammenhæng; og bør der efterhaanden som Underviisningen skrider frem, tages et stedse mere omfattende Hensyn til Culturens Udvikling og Folkenes indre Tilstande. At

Fædrelandets Historie læses efter en noget udførligere Plan, er en selvfølge.⁹

Videnstilegnelsen skulle have et formål, nemlig at tilvejebringe en udviklings- og sammenhængsforståelse med klare progressionskrav.

Madvig måtte som undervisningsinspektør (1848-74) ofte formane historielærerne om at nedtone detaljer og i stedet lægge vægt på de store linjer. I de årlige rapporter om undervisningen, kritiserede han ofte historieundervisningen. Han kunne udtale sig på et ret sikkert grundlag, idet han på inspektionsrejser og som censor ved studentereksamen kunne nå at møde de fleste elever i den lærde skole. I 1850 var der kun 82, som tog studentereksamen. Både i cirkulærer i hhv. 1858 og 1864 ligesom i den løbende debat om revision af skoleordningen, blev det fra Madvigs side bemærket, at lærerne havde vanskeligt ved at begrænse indlæringen af perifer detailviden. Bl.a. blev det påtalt, at der ikke alle steder: »tilstrækkeligt sørges for ved en nogenlunde hurtig Gjennemførelse af det første Begynderkursus at tilvejebringe en foreløbig Orientering og Forestilling om en Helhed, der siden kan give det udførligere Kursus en vis Interesse og Sammenhold under den langsomme gennemgang heraf.«¹⁰ Det er interessant, at 2005-læreplanen netop kræver et kort begynderkursus i kronologi med stort set den samme begrundelse.

Undervisningens enhed og historiefaget 1871-1971

I 1871 blev der gennemført en principiel reform af den lærde skole. Madvig havde satset på skolens enhed og helhed, men vedholdende angreb på skolen for at overbebyrde eleverne, og en iøjnefaldende vækst i naturvidenskaberne, skabte et pres på den eksisterende skoleordning, og det førte til tvedeling af skolen i to linjer, nemlig en sproglig-historisk og en matematisk-naturvidenskabelig. Reformen berørte ikke direkte historieundervisningen, men indirekte fik faget en ny samlende funktion, da eleverne på den matematisk-naturvidenskabelige linje i stedet for græsk fik mere naturlære.

Dermed blev historie som et alment fællesfag af flere opfattet som garant for helheden og elevernes almindelse. Den kgl. Anordning af 5. august 1871 var meget kortfattet, og om historie hed det: »Historien, saavel Verdenshistorien kortere behandlet som særlig Nordens Historie, maa være gennemgaaet inden udgangen af 4de Klasse.«, dvs. da eleverne var 16 år. Det var første gang Nordens historie indgik i læreplanen. I de to øverste klasser hed det om kravene til historieundervisningen: »Det hele Kursus Gjenoptages og afsluttes, Verdenshistorien (særlig Perioden efter 1789) i noget større Omfang.«

1871-ordningen blev kritiseret fra flere sider, og mange plæderede for at få retableret enhedsskolen. To førende skolemænd, J.V. Pingel og S.L. Tuxen ønskede en genindførelse af enhedsskolen, og historie-faget centralt placeret. Pingel understregede i 1878, at eleverne her mødte livets fylde i sin højeste udvikling, og at faget var nøglen til forståelse af al menneskelig virken og stræben. Faget burde derfor have dobbelt så mange timer. Den historiske oversigtslæsning var en »nødvendig Bestanddel af den almindelige Dannelse«, men indtæring af detailviden ødelagde denne del af undervisningen. Efter hans opfattelse var det bedre at tilrettelægge undervisningen efter et 'knudetovsprincip', altså i tråd med Paludan-Müllers måde at tilrettelægge universalhistorien på. Faget skulle appellere til fantasien og dermed bidrage til at sikre, at undervisningen blev båret af elevernes interesse og engagement. Det var den didaktik, han havde mødt i den grundtvigske højskoleundervisning og selv videreførte i Studentersamfundets aftenundervisning. Tidens problematiseringer af historieundervisningens vægtning af detailviden, resulterede i en ændring af eksamenskravene, sådan at der i 1882 skete en reduktion af middelalderens og den nyere tids historie.

S.L. Tuxen var leder af N. Zahles kvindelige Artiumkursus, og han udgav i 1884 et debatskrift, hvori også han argumenterede for retablering af skolens enhed, og i en sådan enhedsskole skulle hovedfagene være græsk og historie. Tuxens historieopfattelse var stærkt præget af historismen og den positivistiske måde at arbejde med faget på. Målet skulle være, at gøre faget mere objektivt og dermed kunne det fortrænge de naturvidenskabelige fag fra den

førerstilling, som han mente de uretmæssigt indtog. For at sikre elevernes engagement var det vigtigt at lade dem få mulighed for at læse kilderne selv og danne deres egen opfattelse, som kunne indgå i diskussionen på klassen. Målet for en sådan undervisning skulle være »Aandsmodtagelighed, Aandstilbøjelighed og Aandsfrihed«, der tilsammen kunne give eleverne en historisk dannelse.¹¹

De to skolefolks opfattelse af historiefagets funktion var præget af ønsket om at elevens interesse blev tilgodeset. Det kunne ske ved at kombinere kundskabsindlæring med fantasi, og give rum for arbejdet med centrale kernestofsområder. Tuxen ønskede, at denne måde at arbejde med historien på skulle ske på en overvejende induktiv måde, og dermed kunne der skabes en ny balance mellem kundskabsindlæring og erkendelsesmuligheder.

I 1886 udgav professor i filosofi og midlertidig docent i pædagogik ved Københavns Universitet, Kristian Kroman, en debatbog om den højere undervisning. Han gik også ind for en retablering af enhedsskolen. Som fagpædagog opfattede han det i 1883 indførte pædagogikum som en stor landvinding for den lærde skole: »Med det nævnte Skridt er Pædagogikken for alvor bleven officielt anerkjendt som veiledende Magt paa Opdragelsens Omraade. Den er ikke længere foragtet eller blot taalt; den er ligefrem blevet knæsat.«

Kroman havde den grundholdning, at mens det 18. århundrede var rationalismens tid, så var det 19. århundrede historiens tid. Alle var enige om at ville lære af historien, rette fortidens fejl, og i øvrigt gøre det sammen som forfædrene. Det var efter hans opfattelse helt galt. Når Tuxen netop havde ønsket, at historie sammen med græsk burde være den lærde skoles hovedfag, så var det vigtigt at gøre indsigelse imod:

at vi opdrage Ungdommen – danske Drengene i det nittende Aarhundrede – væsentlig ved græsk poesi og historie, serveret på Græsk, – et Forslag, som visseligt ville være faldet igjennem i selve det gamle Grækenland for to tusind Aar siden; Platon ville aabenbart have udbedt sig en Del Mathematik endnu, og Aristoteles havde aabenbart stærkt savnet Naturvidenskaberne.

Matematik og naturvidenskab burde efter Kromans opfattelse have en langt stærkere placering i den lærde skole, end det var sket i 1871, også fordi disse fag var langt bedre opdragelsesmidler end de klassiske fag. Men hvilken funktion burde historien have? Historie var et vigtigt fag, der var en tendens til, lige som på højskolerne, at dyrke fagets fantasiskabende sider. Det var farligt, understregede Kroman, og det ville være både upsykologisk og upædagogisk at gøre historiefaget til pædagogisk universal middel. I hans billedrige fremstilling sammenlignede han den lærde skoles fagrække med et måltid, hvor matematikken var kødet, naturfagene brød, fisk og grøntsager og historien var vinen. »Den samler, løfter og beaander, men maa ikke gjerne nydes alene.«¹² Måske var udeladelsen af sprog og litteratur en tilfældighed.

I løbet af 1890erne blev det for stadig flere skolefolk klart, at et kompliceret samfund krævede en sammensat skole. I Norge havde man i 1896 gennemført en reform med tre linjer, dvs. de to eksisterende var blevet suppleret med en nysproglig. Sådan gik det også i Danmark. I 1903 kunne I.C. Christensen underskrive den nye lov, og denne tredeling gav formodentlig historiefaget flere muligheder end en enhedsskole ville have gjort. Desuden blev historie sammen med dansk gymnasiets store fællesfag, og hvis forestillingen om undervisningens enhedspræg skulle opretholdes, var det nødvendigt at give de to fællesfag en stærk placering. De to fag skulle sikre skolens almene præg, og dermed almendannelsen.

Speciale og samfundskundskab

I anordning angående undervisningen i gymnasiet af 1.dec. 1906 hed historie herefter: Historie og Samfundskundskab. Denne nyskabelse havde længe været debatteret og var til dels blevet aktualiseret ved de indlæg i debatten, som den unge historiker P. Munch havde fremført. Han havde på et studieophold i Frankrig set, hvordan man her integrerede samfundskundskab med faget moral, og fandt, at denne konstruktion burde tilgodeses i forbindelse med reformen, blot i Danmark i forbindelse med historieundervisningen. Lærebøgerne i

dette fag og i historie var skrevet af fremtrædende universitetsprofessorer, og lå i kvalitet over danske lærebøger. I forbindelse med en reform af skoleembedseksamen i 1901 blev historie suppleret med samfundskundskab, og de unge lærere var derfor forberedt på at undervise i denne disciplin. P. Munch skrev en lærebog, hvori der var lagt vægt på en beskrivelse af det bestående danske samfund, der blev sammenlignet med udenlandske forhold og med historiske eksempler. I anordningen fik pensum i samfundskundskab et omfang af 80 sider, hvor der i høj grad var lagt vægt på institutionsbeskrivelsen.

P. Munch havde også i Frankrig set, hvordan eleverne læste kilder som supplement til lærebøgernes fremstillinger, og kildekritiske kurser ved universitetet gav historielærerne et grundlag for at kunne arbejde metodisk med historien i gymnasiet. I 1906-anordningen blev der indført et speciale. Herom hed det: »Foruden den almindelige Behandling af Historien skal der desuden med særlig Udførlighed gennemgås som Speciale, dog ikke paa Grundlag af egentlige Kildestudier, et eller andet vigtigt og betydningsfuldt Afsnit inden for det historiske Pensum.« I praksis blev det frivilligt for lærerne om de ville læse et speciale med klasserne, og Undervisningsinspektionen skulle godkende indholdet; specialelæsning eksisterede indtil 1988, da historieopgaven blev indført. Om historieundervisningen i øvrigt hed det, at verdenshistorien fra de ældste tider til nutiden skulle gennemgås, og det skulle ske i kronologisk orden med vægt på en synkron fremstilling. Danmark-Nordens historie skulle ses i et europæisk perspektiv og læses efter en særlig fremstilling. Der skulle lægges særlig vægt på tiden efter 1750. Dette punkt blev understreget i eksamensordningen, hvor der, for at undgå at der blev brugt for megen tid på repetition, kun skulle stilles spørgsmål i tiden efter den franske revolution.¹³

I 1905 blev pædagogikumordningen fra 1883 ændret således, at den blev obligatorisk for alle lærere, der skulle ansættes i gymnasiet. Tidligere kunne to års ansættelse ved en kommunal eller privat skole, hvor kandidaterne kunne ansættes uden pædagogikum, give adgang til ansættelse på de eftertragtede stillinger i statsskolen. Da

S.L. Tuxen i 1906 blev undervisningsinspektør ville han bl.a. via pædagogikum sikre, at kandidaterne blev fortrolige med klasseundervisningen, som dermed skulle fordrive overhøringsmetoden. Ikke mindst for historiefaget var denne udvikling af stor betydning, idet klasseundervisningen kunne bidrage til at styrke undervisningens induktive og refleksive sider.¹⁴

Historieundervisning før verden gik af lave

Det var undervisningsinspektionens opgave at sørge for at lovens bogstav blev fulgt. I 1914 redigerede undervisningsinspektøren, S.L. Tuxen en beretning om undervisningen i gymnasieskolerne. Heri blev historieundervisningen indgående karakteriseret.

Grundlaget for denne karakteristik var både hans besøg på skolerne samt censurindberetninger. Desuden indgik en vurdering af lærebøgernes kvalitet og diskussionerne på de årlige efterårsmøder i Gymnasieskolernes Lærerforening. I en indledende karakteristik af historieundervisningens udvikling, blev det fremhævet, at historieundervisningen frem til 1870erne var »slet og ret Hukommelsesfag, med et ret fjernt Forhold til den virkelige Verden.« Først omkring 1900 blev ifølge beretningen oplysningstidens ideer ført ud i livet. Det skete med nye lærebøger, nemlig Johan Ottosens *Nordens Historie*, hvori krigshistorien var indskrænket noget til fordel for 'indre Forhold' og gennemgangen af billeder og kort. Desuden skete der i de følgende år endnu en forskydning fra den politiske historie til den sociale og kulturelle. De gamle lærere klagede sig og mange var utrygge ved situationen. Men Undervisningsinspektionen tilskyndede til brug af lærebøger, der var i overensstemmelse med de nye krav, der meget svarede til De principper, som Johan Ottosen havde lagt til grund for sin lærebog. Den nye verdenshistorie var skrevet af P. Munch og begyndte at udkomme i 1906, umiddelbart før 1903-reformen trådte i kraft.

Der eksisterede 45 gymnasier i 1914, og af dem havde 43 anskaffet Ottosens moderne lærebog i *Nordens historie*, og 35 var gået over til at bruge P. Munchs *Verdenshistorie*. De nye lærebøger havde, efter

inspektionens opfattelse, medvirket til, at historieundervisningen »nu opfattedes med en Interesse, saavel af Lærere som Elever, som ikke tilnærmelsesvis tidligere.« Hertil kunne også specialet have bidraget, men da der kun var afsat 20 timer hertil, og da lærerne i voksende udstrækning også lagde grundbøger til grund for denne del af undervisning, var nyskabelsen af ringe værdi. Navnlig, når det gik så vidt, at læreren overhører eleverne i »en saadan Bogs tørre Data«. Hørermetoden var under afvikling og klasseundervisningen gjorde det lettere for læreren at »gøre Historietimerne frugtbringende og fornøjelige.«

Historiefaget var således blevet mere differentieret og eleverne skulle holde styr på flere udviklingslinjer og årsagssammenhænge. Det var en landvinding. Men mangfoldigheden gjorde det vanskeligere for dem at fastholde det nødvendige skelet af årstal og fastholde det klare kronologiske overblik. Da den ældre historie ikke skulle opgives til eksamen, blev den ikke repeteret, og eleverne havde da oftest kun det kronologiske overblik over tiden efter ca. 1750.

Inspektionens beretning havde også en vurdering af den nye disciplin, samfundskundskab, og det blev både af lærere og elever opfattet med levende interesse, og »det har bidraget til at give Undervisningsformen en friskere og friere Karakter.«¹⁵

P. Munch æraen

Den historiedidaktiske udvikling havde i første halvdel af det 20. århundrede kontinuitetens præg. P. Munchs *Verdenshistorie* var toneangivende til langt op i 1960erne, og klasseundervisningen den dominerende undervisningsform. Men kontinuiteten blev undertiden udfordret, ja, måske blev den udfordret i mange klasser hver dag, men ingen kilder kan fortælle herom. I 1918 holdt adjunkt A. West talen på GL's efterårsmøde. Foredraget havde titlen »Historiens Stilling i Gymnasiet«. Han var ikke begejstret for specialet, men ville hellere bruge tiden på at arbejde med de store linjer. Men på et punkt var han fremsynet, idet han ville styrke historieundervisningen ved at udvikle et tværfagligt samarbejde mellem historie og en række

beslægtede fag inden for humaniora. De andre fag kunne i deres tekstgennemgang knytte an til historieundervisningen og omvendt. Tekstanalysen ville give eleverne et autentisk og mere facetteret indblik i den historiske udvikling og langt bedre sammenhæng i deres verdensbillede. I den efterfølgende diskussion fik West kraftig støtte fra professor Aage Friis, der udtalte: »West har ramt Centrum: Der maa finde Samarbejde mellem Fagene Sted, for at Eleven kan faa den nødvendige almindennende Undervisning.«¹⁶

Forslaget om tværfagligt samarbejde havde, så vidt vides, ikke været nævnt siden Paludan-Müller bemærkning i 1841, og var da også i 1918 en enlig svale, som dog må være indgået i reformovervejelserne. I alt fald blev det nævnt i forbindelse med en revision af 1903-ordningen i 1935. Heri var der en opfordring til parallellæsning mellem de humanistiske fag, og det var vigtigt at lærerne vidste, hvad kollegerne underviste i, for at kunne udnytte deres viden i deres eget fag. Derfor skulle skolerådet forhandle om en fælles arbejdsplan og på grundlag heraf udarbejde en plan for samarbejdet mellem fagene. Alvoren blev understreget ved, at denne plan hvert år skulle indsendes til undervisningsinspektøren.¹⁷

I 1933 skrev adjunkt Svend Norrild en artikel i *Gymnasieskolen* med titlen 'Pædagogisk Funktionalisme', hvori han plæderede for at læse historien omvendt kronologisk, nemlig at begynde med de nære forhold og derfra arbejde sig tilbage til fjerne tider. Dermed ville man sikre sig, at det blev en historieundervisning på elevernes præmisser og knytte til deres egen verden. Efter hans opfattelse havde 1. verdenskrig grundlæggende ændret perspektivet og skabt et troværdighedsproblem for en traditionspræget kronologisk undervisning. Norrilds tanker kom ikke til at præge 1935-revisionen af gymnasiets undervisning, og ville da også kræve nogle grundlæggende revisioner af den historiedidaktiske tænkemåde, og bl.a. være en udfordring til arbejdet med årsagsslutninger.

I 1935-bekendtgørelsen blev det understreget, at eleverne på den ene side nøjagtigt skulle tilegne sig lærebogens fremstilling og på den anden side på grundlag af et dokumentarisk materiale skulle lære at drage slutninger. Der var således tale om en didaktisk dobbeltstrategi, som var en ny variation over et gammelkendt tema, men

nu med mere vægt på den sidste, og derfor blev specialelæsningen opprioriteret og skulle nu omfatte 1/5 af undervisningstiden i faget. En anden nyskabelse var en prioritering af de økonomiske udviklingslinjer før de politiske, kulturelle og sociale. Lærerens metodefrihed blev understreget, men han var forpligtet på at lægge vægt på en klar og sammenhængende mundtlig fremstilling.

Den større fokus på det dokumentariske arbejde, skabte et behov for kildehæfter, og den faglige forening tog snart initiativ til udarbejdelsen af en serie af 'Kilder til Danmarks historie'. Haakon Müller udarbejdede i 1935 en tekstsamling, der belyste krisen i 1914, da Tyskland stillede krav til danske politikere om at minere bælteerne. I tidsskriftet *Vor Ungdom* redegjorde han for sine intentioner: »Mit formaal har ikke været at skabe lærde indenfor mit fag, men at forsøge at vække elevernes interesse og bringe dem en vis almindannelse; i formen har jeg snarere tilstræbt højskole- og studiekredsformen end universitetsformen.«¹⁸

1930ernes krise og besættelsestiden var en udfordring til historieundervisningen. Det gjaldt i højere grad end før om, at bevidstgøre de unge for eller imod ismerne. Der blev talt meget om karakterdannelse, og her kunne både kristne, kommunistiske og fascistiske forbilleder spille en rolle, men det kunne også være et ønske om at selvstændiggøre den unge, sådan at han eller hun kunne tage selvstændig stilling til disse og flere ismer. Her blev historiefagets indoktrinerende og frigørende potentialer diskuteret, og der var en tendens til, at de frigørende intentioner knyttede sig til elevens selvarbejde og dermed den dokumenterende undervisning. Det kom til udtryk på mange måde, bl.a. i H.V. Brøndsteds pjece, *Gymnasiets Fremtid*, hvor han i 1945 argumenterede for at indføre studiekredsen i gymnasiet, bl.a. i historieundervisningen. Længe før der var noget der hed logbog ønskede han at indføre længerevarende gruppearbejde, hvor resultaterne blev nedskrevet time for time og kunne danne grundlag for eksamen.¹⁹

Befrielsen og de første efterkrigsår appellerede nok til reformer af historieundervisningen, men først i 1950erne kunne tankerne samles i nogle helhedsforestillinger. En revision af 1935-ordningen blev gennemført i 1953, hvor der blev lagt vægt på fagets internationale

forpligtelse, og hvor det økonomiske fik en mindre dominerende plads. Først med skolereformen af 1958, der gav anledning til et udvalgsarbejde omkring gymnasiets fremtidige form og indhold, skete der ændringer i historiedidaktikken.

2100 sider grundbog i verdenshistorien

Grengymnasiet, der blev et resultat af 1958-reformen, betød en højere grad af differentiering af gymnasiet, og at: »dette let medfører, at eleverne ikke alene overser det samspil, der er mellem fænomenerne på vidt forskellige fagområder, f.eks. mellem humaniora og naturvidenskab, men at de også mister det historiske perspektiv bag fortidige og nutidige problemstillinger, som er så værdifuldt for deres forståelse af tingene.« Denne tænkning førte til beslutningen om at indføre en idéhistorie, som skulle kunne inddrages i undervisningen i alle fag. Derimod blev der ikke lagt op til et egentligt formaliseret tværfagligt samarbejde. Klasseundervisning var stadig den dominerende arbejdsform, men der blev også peget på lærer- og elevforedrag, og tilføjedes det: »I andre tilfælde vil gruppearbejde kunne anvendes.«

Historieundervisningen skulle ifølge *Den røde Betænkning* bygge på lærebøger med en sammenhængende kronologisk fremstilling. Der er derfor god grund til at antage, at undervisningen stadig havde et reproduktivt præg, og at den enkelte elevs refleksionsrum ikke var blevet meget større. Det blev ganske vist som noget nyt markeret, at der i tiden før 1900 kunne 'springes over', altså i nogle perioder lade den kronologiske sammenhæng bygge på en kursorisk læsning. Arbejdet med lærebogen skulle »i vid udstrækning« suppleres med inddragelse af kildetekster, billeder og statistisk materiale. Den didaktiske konstruktion kunne være, at eleven, efter at have tilegnet sig lærebogens beskrivelse af en periode, med en kildekritisk tolkning af et supplerende materiale kunne få indblik i grundlaget for udformningen af lærebogens tekst. Som eksempel anførte betænkningen, at en gennemgang af Danmarks historie i perioden 1660-1814 kunne suppleres med Kongeloven, Danske Lov, enevældens administration, merkantilismen, bondens stilling og landsbyfællesskabet, neutra-

litetspolitikken og dens følger, samt materiale til belysning af enkelte fremtrædende personligheder og tidens kunst. Undervisningstiden skulle fordeles med 4/5 til lærebogsgennemgang og 1/5 til kildestudier. Det var i princippet det samme som blev krævet i 1935, det der i samtiden blev kaldt den store skolereform, var således ganske konservativ på det historiedidaktiske felt.

Det er vanskeligt at vurdere, om fjernelsen af det maksimale side-tal for lærebøger i historie, var et fremskridt. Resultatet blev f.eks. Gads fembinds *Verdenshistorie* på tilsammen 2.100 sider. Derimod må det have virket fornyende, at det nu fremover var læreren selv, der skulle udforme eksamensspørgsmålene, mod tidligere censor, der nu blot skulle godkende spørgsmålene. Denne friere stilling af læreren i eksamenssituationen, kunne øge kreativiteten og medvirke til at skabe fornyelse i undervisningen. Nogle få år efter begyndte de første forsøgsansøgninger om indførelse af forberedelsestid til eksamen. I 1968 blev der givet 30 tilladelser. Begrundelserne var ofte, at den dokumenterede måde at arbejde på naturligt forudsatte, at eleven fik tid til at gennemgå materialet i relation til den stillede problemstilling. Denne videnskabeliggørelse af historieundervisningen forudsatte indretning af særlige historielokaler, hvor der var let adgang til en håndbogsamling.²⁰

Formanden for Historielærerforeningen argumenterede for kilde-læsningen og kildeanalysen på bekostning af lærebogslæsningen. »De gamle historie-bøger«, skrev hun »gav jo slet ikke historien i sammenhæng, men blot visse vigtige landes historie i hovedtræk. Derfor har jeg ikke problemer med at springe over.« De perioder, der ikke blev gennemgået så grundigt, kunne alligevel belyses ved at læreren opstillede et par »skrappe« konklusioner og illustrerede vigtige forhold ved hjælp af nogle få kilder. Lærebogen skulle efter hendes mening i højere grad bruges som håndbog, og undervisningen drejes i retning af kildeanalyse, gruppearbejde og global historie. Derfor måtte eksamensformen også ændres, og hun begrundede det med, at: »Når vi skal lære eleverne større selvstændighed, nytter det ikke at eksamensformen er den gamle, hvor eleverne kan komme og lire et eller andet stof af; det får os nemlig til at bruge for megen tid derpå til daglig.«²¹

Status 1871-1971

Med det nye historiedidaktiske paradigme, var den reproduktionsprægede historieundervisning kommet under pres. Da femdages ugen skulle indføres i gymnasiet, blev det nødvendigt at ændre radikalt på stofmængden, og da '1968-oprøret' havde sat medbestemmelsen på dagsordenen, talte meget for at ophæve kravet til den kronologiske sammenhæng. Det skete da også med gennemførelsen af 1971-reformen, hvorefter tiden før 1930 kun skulle belyses ved 3-5 perioder eller emner, medens det interperiodale stof kunne nedprioriteres. I stedet for »at lire et eller andet stof af«, skulle eleven kunne demonstrere sin selvstændighed og kritiske sans ved at analysere tekster.

Det var ikke tilfældigt, at det skete i begyndelsen af 1970erne. Velstand og velfærd prægede 1960erne, elitegymnasiet blev erstattet af massegymnasiet, og den hastige samfundsmæssige vækst og gennemgribende forandringer på både de sociale, økonomiske, mentale og politiske områder, var medvirkende til en svækkelse af traditionen, og at der dermed var en tilskyndelse til at stilles flere spørgsmål til fremtiden. Dermed blev der også behov for at stille nye spørgsmål til fortiden, og eleverne skulle selv lære at stille dem. Det stillede store krav til historiedidaktikken, der nu ikke længere blot kunne tilgodeses ved at tale om stofudvælgelse og undervisningsmetode, men måtte opfattes bredere, også fordi eleverne i 1971 fik medbestemmelse ved valg af stof, arbejdsformer og opgivelser til eksamen.

Den posttraditionelle historiedidaktik

1971-reformen skabte uro historielærerkredse. Den kom til udtryk i tidsskrifter og på møder, herunder ikke mindst på Historielærerforeningens generalforsamling. Reformen var blevet lanceret som en knudetovs-løsning, men kritikken hæftede sig især ved, at tovet i mange tilfælde enten var meget tyndt eller helt manglede, og at det var fagets falliterklæring at opgive kravet om, at eleverne skulle erhverve sig en solid sammenhængsforståelse. Unge reformtilhæn-

gere ville også sikre sammenhængsforståelsen, men det skulle ske på elevernes og ikke på stoffets præmisser. Elevernes medbestemmelse måtte nødvendigvis udfordre den kronologiske læsning og betyde, at mange perioder blev nedprioriteret. Denne udfordring tog Historielærerforeningen op, og gav i *Noter om historie og undervisning*, nr. 49 fra 1976 et bud på, hvordan en moderne historiedidaktik kunne udformes. I indledningen anførte bestyrelsen en udtalelse, som var blevet fremsat som begrundelse for at oprette et fremtidsforskningsinstitut: »For at kunne forme fremtiden, må man have kendskab til fortiden«. Desuden bragte de et citat fra Elsa Gress' bog *Om Kløfter*, hvori hun gav udtryk for, at nutidens unge: »er slettere udrustet end mellemkrigstidens unge. De forstår med andre ord ikke, at den globale sammenhæng ikke kun går på tværs rent geografisk og i nutiden, men på langs ned gennem tiden, at fortiden er hos os og i os, og at intet kan forklares uden den.«²²

Hermed blev den synkrone og diakrone behandling af fortiden reformuleret, og denne måde at strukturere arbejdet med fortiden på, blev da også udgangspunktet for bestyrelsens måde at håndtere 1971-reformens udfordring til historieundervisningen. Bestyrelsen søgte at udforme en didaktik, der ikke kun omfattede målformulering og stoffets organisering, men også medtænkte elevernes forudsætninger. Udgangspunktet var en amerikansk undersøgelse af Walter Küppers fra 1961, hvor 1000 børn og unge mellem 9 og 18 år var blevet spurgt om, hvad der interesserede dem i historien. Først fra 16-års alderen var de i stand til at tænke i tidssammenhænge og bearbejde problemer hypotetisk deduktivt. Der måtte derfor være en væsentlig forskel på folkeskolens og gymnasiets historieundervisning. Bestyrelsen anførte fire funktioner, nemlig historie som kommunikation, som støtte for selvforståelsen, som forudsætning for aktiv samfundsmedleven og til modvirkning af manipulation. Bestyrelsen måtte tage afstand fra den isolerede problemløsningsmodel, hvor alle problemer var lige vigtige, blot de var problemer.

Det er som om man i en periode har betragtet det metodiske værktøj som både middel og mål, medens vi nu er på vej til en helt anderledes frugtbar situation, hvor en større vægt lægges

på historiens brede linier og helhedsopfattelser vil blive meningsfuldt styrende for udvælgelsen af de problemer, man vil arbejde med.

Løsningen var, ifølge bestyrelsen, at satse både på dybde og bredde, på det induktive og det deduktive, det synkrone og diakrone. Problemet var, at der ikke fandtes noget oplagt materiale til at arbejde med korte oversigtsforløb. Forlagene udgav koncentratrater af deres store lærebogssystemer, men de manglede det rette greb. Selv skrev jeg en verdenshistorie efter tilbagerulningsprincippet, som viste sig heller ikke at være det rette svar på tidens udfordring.²³

Historieundervisningen i det danske gymnasium var i 1970erne underlagt en 'double bind' udfordring. På den ene side var problemløsningsmetoden kommet for at blive og på den anden side var der bred tilslutning til at faget skulle kunne give eleven en udviklings- og sammenhængsforståelse. Dette dilemma var en overordentlig frugtbar udfordring for faget, og debatten foregik ikke kun i historikerkredse, men bredt i samfundet. Dertil kom, at massegymnasiet stillede helt nye krav til historiedidaktikken. Elever fra bogfremmede miljøer manglede ofte hjemmets kendskab til faget, og det var derfor nødvendigt at læreren brugte mere tid på at argumentere for fagets eksistensberettigelse. Dermed blev det nødvendigt at anlægge en bred historiedidaktisk synsvinkel, og medtænke elevforudsætninger i et bredere perspektiv, der senere i 1980erne kom til at hedde historiebevidsthed.

En levende historie?

I 1980 besluttede det faglige udvalg for historie at udgive en samling af almenpædagogiske og didaktiske overvejelser. Tanken var, at: *En levende historie*, skulle bruges i forbindelse med de faglige kurser og give anledning til at udvikle nogle historiedidaktiske forestillinger, både de didaktisk-teoretiske, nemlig forestillinger om, hvordan eleverne bedst lærer historie, og didaktisk-metodiske, altså hvordan undervisningen skal tilrettelægges, for at nå de opstillede mål. Bogen

indeholdt artikler om Basil Bernsteins sprogekodeteori, Wolfgang Klafkis tanker om kategorial dannelse, Jean Piaget om kognitionspsykologi. Dertil kom en præsentation af henholdsvis en behavioristisk og en konstruktivistisk måde at tænke undervisning på. I redaktionsgruppen mente vi, at det var nødvendigt at tilføje historiedidaktikken en pædagogisk-teoretisk dimension, men var da også på det rene med, at hvis lærerbevidstheden virkelig skulle udfordres, måtte det ske ved hjælp af forskning i gymnasiets hverdag, og det var der dengang ikke realistiske muligheder for. I 1980 blev den første Nordiske konference i historiedidaktik afholdt, og det var karakteristisk, at de bærende kræfter kom fra de pædagogiske højskoler og ikke fra gymnasieverdenen eller universitetet. Siden har disse konferencer været afholdt hvert andet år, og de publicerede resultater har været med til at præge debatten også i Skandinavien.²⁴

1988-reformen

I 1985 fremsatte undervisningsminister Bertel Haarder krav om at sammenhængsforståelsen måtte opprioriteres, evt. med et obligatorisk pensum. Det var en klar stramning i forhold til 1971-bekendtgørelse. Det nedsatte udvalg nåede frem til, at: »Formålet med historieundervisningen er, at eleverne udvikler deres historiske bevidsthed.« Dette begreb blev brugt i Tyskland i 1970erne og var derfor forholdsvis nyt i dansk sammenhæng. Når det så hurtigt kom ind i læseplansdiskussionen, kan det hænge sammen med, at netop dette begreb kunne koble elevinteresse og stofvalg. Begrebet var derfor en del af den brede didaktikopfattelse, og kunne rumme det analytiske arbejde med tekster og sammenhængsforståelsen. Ved at bruge historisk bevidsthed havde man valgt et begreb, der havde et højere abstraktionsniveau. Formål nummer 2 hed: »overblik over den historiske udvikling«, og 3: »indsigt i hvorledes historie bliver til.« Dermed var der skabt kontinuitet i kraft af det dybdegående arbejde med kildekritikken, udviklings- og sammenhængsforståelsen, samtidig med at der var skabt et nybrud ved at opstille et nyt mål for undervisningen, nemlig historisk bevidsthed.

1988-reformen afskaffede specialet og i stedet blev en obligatorisk historieopgave indført i 2.g, og det blev muligt for eleverne at vælge at skrive den større skriftlige opgave i 3.g i historie, hvad mange gjorde. Med disse to opgaver var historie blevet et skriftligt fag, sådan som det også havde været før 1850, hvor den ene af de to opgaver på modersmålet skulle have et historisk indhold. Begrebsforklaringen på historisk bevidsthed i vejledningen til læseplan omfatter ganske vist ikke alle de betydninger, som begrebet i dag identificeres med. F.eks. var fremtidsaspektet ikke eksplicit nævnt, og begreberne historieskabte og historieskabende ej heller.

Historieundervisningens fortid, nutid og fremtid

Et fags historie er en vigtig del af fagdidaktikken. Historiefagets historie og didaktiske udvikling indgår, bevidst eller ubevidst, i undervisningens tilrettelæggelse og gennemførelse.

Målformuleringen er historiefagets pejlemærke. Her er der sket en udvikling fra at lægge hovedvægten på stoffet, hvad skal der læres, til en stadig mere markant fokusering på eleven. Man kunne også sige at accenten var skiftet fra en undervisnings- til en lærings-synsvinkel. I 1809 f.eks. hed det, at eleven skulle erhverve sig så mange kundskaber, at han kunne gennemføre det videnskabelige studium. I 1988 lægges der vægt på at kvalificere elevernes historiske bevidsthed. Der er således over to århundreder sket en bevægelse fra stof til elev.

Kronologien har altid været historieundervisningens hovedopgave, selv om denne opgave er blevet løst på mange forskellige måder. Bag ældre tiders krav om, at lærebogens stof skulle tilegnes grundigt og præcist, lå der en høj prioritering af den kronologiske sammenhæng, og bruddet i 1970'erne med denne sammenhæng, kastede faget ud i en kreativ krise. Gradvist heledes dette brud, hvilket blev kodificeret i den seneste reform i 2005, som skildres i den fjerde forelæsning på side 165.

En konklusion på dette fugleperspektiviske blik på historiedidaktikkens udvikling i det danske gymnasium fra begyndelsen af 1700-tallet

til årtusindskiftet må være, at trenden er gået fra en stoforienteret til en mere elevorienteret historieundervisning. Udgangspunktet var en stærk material præget undervisning, der i 1970erne blev afløst af en mere formal orienteret tilgang, som i de seneste to årtier i stadig højere grad er blevet præget af en kategorial dannelses- og læringstankegang. Det er også rimeligt at fremhæve, at den ældre undervisning var overvejende deduktiv anlagt, mens tendensen i den sidste menneskealder er gået i retning af en induktiv fremgangsmåde, og at den daglige undervisning, der oprindeligt byggede på udenadslære, i det sidste halve århundrede er gået i retning af en konstruktivistisk præget undervisning.

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II. Den danske dannelsesstradition*

Nationale paradigmer og historieundervisning

Historieundervisningen vil altid være præget af skolesystemets struktur og mål. Selv i kulturelt nærtbeslægtede lande er der på disse områder væsentlige forskelle, som det er vigtigt at have kendskab til, hvis der blot i en europæisk sammenhæng skal skabes et grundlag for en meningsfuld dialog. Da jeg for mange år siden begyndte at sammenligne forskellige landes skolesystemer, viste det sig, at nogle begreber, som vi bruger i Danmark, ikke var oversat til f.eks. engelsk og fransk. Et af disse begreber var almindelse, som har været en central del af dansk undervisningssprog siden 1830'erne. Det nærmeste man kommer det på engelsk er 'general character development' eller 'liberal education' og på fransk 'enseignement general', og disse to begreber dækker ikke tilnærmelsesvis den danske almindelse. Et andet begreb er fag, som på engelsk oversættes ved 'subject' og på fransk ved 'la discipline' eller 'la matière', men kenderne fremhæver, at der er nuanceforskelle. Vanskeligheder ved oversættelse gælder også begrebet 'didaktik', som på dansk i den bredeste fortolkning omfatter både stofudvælgelse, metode, elevforudsætninger og sigte med undervisningen. Det engelske 'didactics' oversættes ganske vidst ofte ved didaktik, men har alligevel normalt en langt snævrere funktion, nemlig som instruktion. For at kunne begå os i en global verden er det vigtigt at kunne kommunikere om uddannelse og almindelse, men som den forskellige opfattelse af blot tre begreber viser, er kommunikationsvejene i denne globale uddan-

nelses- og dannelsesdiskussion brolagt med mange 'bump'. Undtagelsen er dog kommunikationen mellem dansk og tysk, hvor de tre begreber tankevækkende nok kan oversættes en til en.

Bildung og Allgemeinbildung

Differentieringen på uddannelsesområdet kom til udtryk i 1700-talet, hvor pietismen, filantropismen og nyhumanismen manifesterede sig, og i løbet af 1800-tallet blev til to institutionelle hovedretninger, nemlig realskoler og gymnasier. Det nyhumanistiske gymnasium tog form omkring 1800 med de klassiske sprog som de grundlæggende fag. Det var denne skoleform, der konstituerede didaktiktænkningen. Det teoretiske grundlag blev skabt af Johann Friedrich Herbart, og den praktiske implementering blev præget af Wilhelm von Humboldts skolereformer i Preussen i 1810. Det overordnede mål for undervisningen var almendannelse, og hvordan den enkelte lærer nåede frem til dette mål, var i vid ustrækning overladt til hans egen afgørelse. Den preussiske stat havde endnu i årene efter Napoleonskrigene et svagt bureaukrati, og ud over at opstille en 'Lehrplan' og centralt stillede opgaver til 'Abitur' havde læreren metodefrihed. Det forudsatte, at han havde fået en universitetsuddannelse, der satte ham i stand til selvstændigt at tilrettelægge sin undervisning, og det var netop, hvad Humboldts universitetsreform i 1810 skulle sikre. Naturligvis gik meget af undervisningstiden med at lære de klassiske sprog, og det forudsatte udenadslære, men sproget var kun midlet, målet var diskussionerne af indholdet. Lærerne sluttede sig sammen i en efterhånden indflydelsesrig Philologenstand, der stærkt selvreferentielt kom til at give det tyske gymnasium et konservativt præg. Set fra dansk side var udviklingen i de tyske stater vigtig, da den danske åndselite i høj grad lod sig inspirere herfra. I 1824 skrev H.C. Ørsted en kronik i *Nyt Aftenblad*, hvor han som nok den første i Danmark brugte det tyske begreb 'Allgemeinbildung' og oversatte det til dansk som almendannelse. »Det er« skrev han »ikke saa meget Mængden af Kundskaber det kommer an paa at erhverve i den lærde Skole, men det Fornuftens Stempel, som skal sættes paa Kundskaberne«.

Dermed var almindannelsens funktion introduceret i Danmark, og dermed også didaktiktænkningen. Almindannelsen blev en central del af den debat, der førte frem til det moderne gymnasiums tilblivelse i 1850, hvor skolens formål blev en undervisning, »der kan føre til en sand og grundig almindelig Dannelse og med det samme, saavel ved Kundskab som ved Sjeleevnernes Udvikling paa bedste Maade forbereder til det academiske Studium af de Videnskaber og Fag, til hvilke den Enkelte føler Kald.«¹

I dag er almindannelse stadig det overordnede mål for de gymnasiale uddannelser, og didaktiktænkningen er da også stadig dominerende, selv om der i de seneste årtier er sket en vis prægning fra curriculumtænkningen. Mens didaktiktænkningen oprindeligt var tysk, er curriculumtænkningen amerikansk, og blev udformet i bl.a. Chicago i anden halvdel af 1800-tallet. Den massive indvandring stillede store krav til skolevæsenet, og det blev derfor påkrævet at 'industrialisere' undervisningen. De enkelte stater opstillede for deres grundskoleuddannelse en række målbare detailkrav, som det var lærerens opgave at få børnene til at honorere. For at sikre dette blev der udarbejdet centralt fremstillet undervisningsmateriale, og periodiske tests skulle sikre, at målene var nået. Lærernes metodefrihed var derfor begrænset, og deres undervisning fik mere præg af instruktion end pædagogiske overvejelser. John Dewey søgte at udvikle curriculumtænkningen med begrebet 'Learning by doing'. I 1916 udgav han et af sine hovedværker *Education and Democracy*.

Det danske uddannelsessystem er stadig stærkt præget af didaktiktænkningen, og uden eksplicit at nævne didaktiktænkningen, må det være i overensstemmelse hermed, når den danske uddannelsesforsker Jørgen Gleerup skriver om den danske uddannelsestradition, der:

betone(r) alsidig faglig og personlig udvikling, demokrati og rummelighed med værdier som nærhed, åbenhed og samspil samt stor frihed og mangfoldighed vedrørende uddannelsesvalg, metode og forskning. Det er de liberale traditioner for folkeoplysning, der har bredt sig til hele det danske uddannelsessystem.²

Med udgangspunkt i denne påstand vil jeg i det følgende se nærmere på samspillet mellem den frie undervisning og undervisningen i den lærde skole og senere de gymnasiale uddannelser. Min tese er, at Gleerup har ret, at de gymnasiale uddannelser i Danmark har en helt særlig karakter takket være indflydelsen fra højskolen og folkeoplysningsarbejdet i det hele taget. Hvis Humboldt har præget det tyske, og Dewey det amerikanske, så har Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig og Chresten Kold på afgørende måde sat deres præg på det danske uddannelsessystem. Modsætningen mellem didaktik- og curriculumtænkningen kan kort illustreres med disse nøglebegreber:

Didaktik: Almendannelse, hvad og hvorfor, refleksion, lærerens metodefrihed, eksamen, forskel

Curriculum: Hvordan, instruktion, centralt udformet fagindhold, paratviden, tests, fagvalg, lighed. (*Didaktik and/or Curriculum*, 1995, p. 25).

De to retningers nøglebegreber skal opfattes som typer i Webersk forstand, og ikke som absolutte karakteristikker af den faktisk gennemførte undervisningen, hvor der eksisterer mange blandingsformer.

Grundtvig og Madvig i vekselvirkning

Den danske teolog og filosof N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) ville næppe opfatte sig selv som uddannelsestænkner, men ikke desto mindre var det hans tanker og formidlingen af dem, der bredte sig og inspirerede ikke blot til udviklingen af den frie men også den offentlige skole. I løbet af 1830erne udformede Grundtvig sit folkelige uddannelsesprogram, der skulle bygge på en undervisning af ungdommen på modersmålet. Forudsætningen var, at alle borgere havde fået syv års undervisning, sådan som 1814-skoleanordningen foreskrev det. Ungdomsundervisningen kunne bygges på det grundlag, at alle kunne læse, skrive og regne samt

kende hovedlinjerne i fædrelandets og kristendommens historie. I modsætning til den ungdomsundervisning, der fandt sted i den lærde skole, skulle den folkelige undervisning finde sted på Sorø Akademi. Disse planer udviklede han efter tre studieophold i England i årene 1829-31 bl.a. i et skrift fra 1838 *Skolen for Livet og Akademiet i Soer*.

Dermed kom Grundtvigs folkelige uddannelsesplaner i konflikt med den etablerede eliteuddannelse. Højskolen i Soer, som Grundtvig arbejdede på at få gennemført, og som Christian 8. støttede, blev ikke til noget. Men i 1844 blev den første folkehøjskole oprettet i Rødding i hertugdømmet Slesvig med et klart dansk nationalt sigte. I 1851 oprettede læreren Christens Kold højskolen i Ryslinge og året efter en friskole i Dalby. Mens Rødding Højskole havde et nationalt sigte, var det Kolds mål at skabe en højskole, der skulle være »et Bedested paa Livsvandringen« og skulle oplive før den oplyste. Den lærde skole blev således udfordret fra folkelig side, både fordi undervisningen byggede på modersmålet og havde en både national og kristelig etos.³

Grundtvig kan vel ikke entydigt placeres i hverken didaktik- eller curriculumafdelingen, men selv om han var modstander af eksamen og ville kunne tilslutte sig den måde, som Dewey arbejdede med stoffet på, ville han tage afstand fra en undervisning, der overvejende byggede på lærerinstruktion og statsligt foreskrevet indhold. Han ville afgjort foretrække didaktiktænkningen, hvor der er plads til refleksion og lærerens metodefrihed. Det er vel også grunden til, at Grundtvig har kunnet inspirere ikke blot den frie undervisning, men også har sat sit præg på eksamensskolens undervisning.

Den lærde skoles førstemand var filologen og professor ved Københavns Universitet, Johan Nicolai Madvig (1804-1886). Han var i 1848 blevet undervisningsinspektør for den lærde skole og tillige kultusminister i årene 1849-51. Grundtvig var valgt til Folketinget, som i 1850 behandlede hans forslag om oprettelsen af en folkelig højskole i Sorø. Grundtvig udtalte: »Den Høiskole, som Christian den 8de vil have dannet i Sorø, og som jo udtrykkelig var bestemt til voxne Mennesker, og blandt andet bestemt til at give de voxne

af alle Classer og af alle Stænder, at give dem Kundskab og Oplysning om Fædrelandet, saavel i dets nuværende Stilling, som i dets historiske Udvikling...« Madvig understregede i sit svar, at den lærde skole var nødvendig, ikke kun for at forberede til embedsstudier, men også for at kunne give andre en almindelig dannelse. Hans hovedsynspunkt var:

at for at der kan være til alle Punkter i de store Kredse udbredt almindelig Dannelse, maa der være en højere Dannelse, som, fordi den er højere, ikke kan udbrede sig til saa Mange – og hvis Udbredelse maa indskrænke sig til færre og bevæge sig indenfor en snæver Kreds, men de skulle begge gennemtrænge hinanden.

Med begge mente han den folkelige undervisning af unge på den ene side og af unge i den lærde skole på den anden side. Madvig gjorde sig dermed til talsmand for en vekselvirkning, som kom til at præge det danske uddannelsessystem. Grundtvig var på sin side nok en markant kritiker af den lærde skole med dens vægtning af de døde sprog, men understregede han, at når bl.a. Madvig som kultusminister »talte om den folkelige og den lærde eller videnskabelige Dannelse som 2 Ting, der jo ingenlunde maatte staae i Modsætning til hinanden. Thi derom ere vi aldeles enige.« Et af Grundtvigs centrale begreber var 'vekselvirkning' og her fra Folketingets talerstol markerede han, at det også gjaldt forholdet mellem de to former for dannelse.

Madvig havde som kultusminister formuleret den lærde skoles nye mål og fagindhold. Formålet var »en sand og grundig almindelig Dannelse« og i overensstemmelse med Johann Friedrich Herbarts tanker om at tilgodese elevernes mangesidede interesse, skulle de stifte bekendtskab med en bred fagkreds. Efter min opfattelse kan Madvigs forestillinger om almindelig dannelse defineres som resultatet af:

En uddannelse, der omfatter de almene dele af de videnskaber og fag, som samfundet har brug for med henblik på at udvik-

le elevernes personlige myndighed til at reflektere over deres eget forhold til medmennesker, natur og samfund.⁴

Almendannelsen består således af to hoveddele: Stofudvælgelse og læring. Begrebet er rummeligt, men kan ikke rumme alt, f.eks. blev hebraisk ikke taget med i den nye fagkreds, netop med den begrundelse, at dette fag ikke hørte med til almindelig dannelse. Det er også vigtigt at bemærke, at almindannelse er et éntalsord, som dermed postulerer at undervisningen har et helhedspræg, og historieundervisningen vil da få en central rolle i at tilvejebringe denne helhed.

Folkeliggørelse af den lærde skole

Den lærde almindannelse udfordrede den folkelige ungdomsuddannelse, som foregik på de mange højskoler der voksede frem i 1900-tallets anden halvdel. Det var især de indflydelsesrige gårdmandskredse, der sendte deres unge til højskolen, som udbød undervisning til karlene i fem vintermåneder og til pigerne i tre sommermåneder. Højskoleundervisningen var således i forhold til den lærde skoles 8 år en meget kort uddannelse, men da kun modersmålet blev anvendt, kunne undervisningen koncentrere sig om indholdet. De udenlandske tekster, herunder tekster på græsk og latin, blev oversat, og højskolerne kunne derfor reducere udenadslære til et minimum, dels fordi der ikke skulle bruges tid på at lære gloser og grammatik, dels fordi undervisningen ikke skulle afsluttes med eksamen. Talrige erindringer vidner om den 'empowerment' som et højskoleophold gav de unge, og det har utvivlsomt bidraget til, at det gav mening at tale om ligeværdighed mellem håndens og åndens arbejde. Fortællingen og dialogen var en central del af undervisningen, der havde sit tyngdepunkt i det nationale og det kristne. Dertil bidrog også de landsdækkende folkelige vækkelser, og de fraktioner, der tilsammen udgjorde partiet Venstre, fra 1870 havde flertal i Folketinget.

Akademisering af højskolen

I forbindelse med en reform af den lærde skole i 1871, hvor eleverne i de ældste klasser fik mulighed for at vælge mellem en klassisk sproglig og en matematisk-naturvidenskabelig linje, havde venstrefolkene arbejdet for at få oprettet en tredje linje, nemlig den oldnordiske. Hovedfagene skulle ikke være de klassiske sprog, men oldislandsk, nordiske myter og historie.

Madvig, der stadig var undervisningsinspektør og medlem af Landstinget, kaldte forslaget for 'sygeligt' og det lykkedes ham at begrænse oldnordisk til en disciplin i forbindelse med danskfaget.

Mange lærere havde den opfattelse, at oldnordisk ikke kunne bidrage til skolens almindelse, og ved en reform i 1935 forsvandt det ud af fagkredsen.

Selv om Grundtvigs forslag om et folkelig højskole i Sorø var blevet vraget af folkets første valgte repræsentanter i 1850, fremkom der i de følgende år flere forslag, der skulle give projektet nyt liv. Et af de mest omtalte blev udformet af grundtvigianeren Otto Müller, der var præst i Gylling i Østjylland. Müllers udgangspunkt var, at den, der indførte almenvalget, også måtte indføre en almindelse baseret på modersmålet, ellers var det bedre at gå tilbage til umyndige tider. Den påtænkte udvidede højskole skulle især henvende sig til »de mest formaende Mænd af Almuen, hvem de andre see op til og søge Raad hos.« I 1879 udsendte præsten og botanikeren J.S. Deichmann Branth en pjeces, *Om det danske Akademi*, hvori han fremhævede, at almindelsen måtte være encyklopædisk og alsidig. Her skulle mennesker og ikke fagmænd erhverve oplysning(er) for livet. Optagelsesbetingelserne skulle – ud over folkeskolegangen – være den lærde skole, realskolen eller en folkehøjskole, og uddannelsen skulle vare 2½-3 år, hvor eleverne skulle stifte bekendtskab med en omfattende fagkreds, der dog ikke omfattede de klassiske sprog. Efter at have gennemgået en sådan udvidet højskolegang, der skulle placeres i Sorø, skulle kandidaterne kunne bestride nogle embeder og dermed være med til at bryde med universiteternes monopol på embedsstillingerne. Ingen af de to forslag blev realiseret, men både Askov Højskole (1878) og senere Haslev Højskole oprettede et udvidet højskolekursus.

Den merkantile uddannelse – folkelig eller akademisk?

Undervisningen i realskoler og realklasser, som var i stærk vækst i 1800-tallets anden halvdel, var ikke rettet specielt mod de merkantile fag, men var i højere grad en almen ikke klassisk uddannelse. Derfor var handelsborgerskabet optaget af at få etableret en handelsgymnasial uddannelse. Niels Brock havde i 1796 efterladt sig en formue, der skulle bruges til unge handelsmænds uddannelse. Endnu 100 år senere var der ikke sket, og da midlerne skulle administreres af Grosserersocietetet, var det naturligt for C.F. Tietgen som societetets dynamiske formand at foreslå oprettelsen af en realskole bestemt for vordende købmænd samt en handelshøjskole i København. Tietgen var en af Danmarks mest fremtrædende erhvervsfolk i Gründerperioden. Han overlod i 1885 det forberedende arbejde til Ludvig Schrøder, der var forstander på Askov Højskole. Schrøder rejste til en række europæiske lande for at få selvsyn for, hvordan man havde udformet unge handelsmænds uddannelse. På rejsen blev han ledsaget af Poul la Cour, som stod for den naturvidenskabelige undervisning på Askov Højskole. Schrøder skrev en rapport, som kunne danne grundlag for et udvalgsarbejde, der resulterede i oprettelsen af en handelsgymnasial institution. Den var tydeligt nok tænkt som et alternativ til den lærde skole.

Indretningen af en Handelsskole, som omfattede mere end den blotte Fagdannelse, idet den satte denne i et levende Forhold til en rig Oplysning om det historiske Menneskeliv og om den udvortes Verden, eller, for at bruge de gængse Kunstord, tog den humane og realistiske Dannelse med paa en videstfavnende og grundig Måde, – Indretningen af en saadan Skole vilde være et væsentligt Skridt imod det Maal at bryde det akademiske Monopol.⁵

Den nye højere handelsskole blev lige som den lærde skole 8-årig, og indeholdt en række almene fag bort set fra de klassiske sprog. Formålet skulle da også være at udvikle elevernes almindelse. Her ser vi begrebet brugt i en diskurskamp. Schrøder mente nemlig også, at højskolens undervisning kunne give eleverne almindan-

nelse, i alt fald på det udvidede kursus, som blev oprettet i 1878. Her må man huske, at højskolen var alt andet end bragesnak, idet halvdelen af timerne var reserveret til praktisk fag, som elektricitetslære, landmåling, kvægopdræt og plantefysiologi. Schrøder overførte sine højskoleidealer til Niels Brock-skolen i København, idet alle fag skulle tage udgangspunkt i historien forstået som summen af menneskelivets erfaringer. De forskellige fag skulle ses i et samspil gennem et historisk blik. Historiefaget havde en central plads i højskolernes undervisning, især var historiefortællingen meget anvendt, og denne formidlingsmåde kom også til at præge den lærde skoles historieundervisning. Imidlertid var der ikke tilstrækkelig søgning til skolen, som snart måtte lukke. Først i 1918 fik Niels Brocks Handelsskole en handelsgymnasial uddannelse, men studenterne herfra kunne ikke blive akademiske borgere ved universitetet, idet de manglede »det tankekæmpende og almendannende udbytte«. I 1967 fik handelsstudenterne adgang til udvalgte fag på universitetet, og først i 2005 blev målet for Højere Handels Eksamen: almendannelse.

Hedevanding og mosefyld

Vekselvirkningen mellem højskolen og den lærde skole var sikkert ganske mangesidet. Flere akademikere blev inspireret af højskolernes pædagogik, og tidsskriftet *Vor Ungdom* kunne bidrage til en gensidig inspiration. Rektor H.H. Lefolii på Viborg Katedralskole havde gode kontakter til højskolens folk og undlod ikke i sine indberetninger til ministeriet at pege på løsninger, der bar præg af højskolens virksomhed. Det gjaldt mundtlighed frem for skriftlighed og en styrkelse af sprogfagenes poetiske sider. Den lærde skole kunne også påvirke højskolernes undervisning, og stadig flere akademikere fik ansættelse. En af dem var cand.mag. Poul la Cour, der i 1878 blev ansat som matematiklærer på Askov Højskoles udvidede kursus. Hans indledende forelæsning drejede sig om matematikkens betydning for den almene dannelse.⁶

Vor viden om den gensidige påvirkning er endnu glimtvis og må gøres til genstand for flere undersøgelser. Overlærer V. Pingel ved

Metropolitanskolen i København engagerede sig i Studentersamfundets aftenundervisning for arbejdere, og mens han kritiserede den lærde skole for åndløshed, kunne han ikke uden videre godtage højskolens undervisning. I 1878 gav han udtryk for, at han ønskede et gymnasium midt imellem den gamle lærde skole, hvis faste og tørre hedegrund til stadighed måtte overrises, og folkehøjskolen, hvis vandrige men usikre mose, måtte tilføres fast fyld.⁷

Højskolen i gymnasiet

I 1919 blev der nedsat en skolekommission, der skulle kulegrave hele undervisningssystemet og fremkomme med forslag til reformer. Den foregående reform var blevet gennemført i 1903, og erfaringerne med det nye tredelte gymnasium var endnu få. En så grundig analyse af det samlede skole- og uddannelsesforløb gav naturligt anledning til overvejelser over både sammenhængen og samspillet mellem dem. I 1918 var det tværfaglige samarbejde mellem gymnasiets humanistiske fag hovedtemaet på gymnasielærernes efterårsmøde, og der foregik en diskussion om hvilke fag, der i særlig grad var almindendende. Var det de humanistiske eller de naturvidenskabelige? I 1920 blev Askov Højskoles forstander, Jacob Appel undervisningsminister, og fik dermed den frie undervisning politisk og administrativt centralt placeret, og det er sandsynligt, at bl.a. den vægt Askov Højskole lagde på de naturvidenskabelige fag og matematik, har påvirket gymnasiets opfattelse af balancen mellem de to kulturer. Kommissionen afgav sin betænkning i 1923 og gav kun anledning til få konkrete ændringer. Appel har sikkert med velvilje set på en passus om, at gymnasieelevernes selvvirksomhed burde styrkes. Forslaget herom kom dog ikke fra højskole side, men fra universitets konsistorium. En af de måder, hvorpå den selvstændighedsfremmede undervisning kunne styrkes, kunne være gruppearbejde. Men denne arbejdsform var stort set ukendt i gymnasiet. Derimod var det en vigtig del af det folkelige oplysningsarbejde og af højskolernes undervisning. På Askov Højskole var der i 1940 studiekredse onsdag og lørdag. Arbejdernes Oplysnings

Forbund blev oprettet i 1924, og her fik studiekredsen en central funktion. Inspirationen kom fra England via Sverige, hvor begrebet 'study circle' allerede før første verdenskrig var kendt. I Danmark havde Indre Mission, en dominerede vækkelsesbevægelse, længe brugt formen under betegnelsen 'samtalekreds'. Men i gymnasiet dominerede klasseundervisningen, og kun i forbindelse med idræt, eksperimenter i fysik og arbejdet med specialet i historie, blev nye arbejdsformer brugt. Lektor Haakon Müller kunne i *Vor Ungdom* berette, at han lod eleverne arbejde med kilder til situationen i Danmark i forbindelse med udbruddet af 1. verdenskrig, og skrev bl.a.: »Mit formål har ikke været at skabe lærde indenfor mit fag, men at forsøge at vække elevernes interesse og bibringe dem en vis almindelse; i formen har jeg snarere tilstræbt højskole- og studiekredsformen end universitetsformen.«⁸

I 1930'erne blev der i gymnasiekredse talt meget om karakterdannelse og livsanskuelse, to begreber, som også blev brugt i højskoleverdenen, og da rektor på Birkerød Statsskole, J. V. Brøndsted, i 1945 udgav *Gymnasiets Fremtid*, så han de to begreber som del af almindelsen. Han anbefalede, at gymnasiet fremover organiserede en del af sin undervisning i studiekredse, sådan at eleverne valgte sig ind i grupper, som skulle arbejde med et selvvalgt emne. Forud for arbejdet skulle skolerådet godkende emnet og den anførte litteratur, og der skulle knyttes en lærer til gruppen. Studiekredse burde udbydes 2-3 gange om året, og kvaliteten skulle sikres ved, at elevernes notater og besvarelser blev indført i en protokol. Da studiekredsene gerne måtte være tværfaglige, lignede forslaget det obligatoriske tværfaglige samarbejde, som blev indført med 2005-reformen. Studiekredsen ville efter Brøndsteds opfattelse virke som en stimulerende surdej i skolesystemet, sådan at den sorte skole igen kunne vinde respekt, især i højskolekredse, og blive »samfundets højeste og betydningsfuldeste skolereform.« I 1942 havde højskolen fået sin egen lov, og formålet med undervisningen skulle være almindelse. En opgørelse i 1941 viser, at ud af 58 højskoleforstandere havde 22 en akademisk uddannelse, og for lærergruppen var forholdet for de fastansatte 67 akademisk uddannede ud af i alt 343. Der var dermed basis for en akademisk-folkelig dialog mellem de to uddannelser.⁹

Tanker om konvergens

Så længe landbruget var det dominerende erhverv i Danmark, var der et godt rekrutteringsgrundlag for højskolerne. Men afvandringen fra landet i 1960erne kunne mærkes, og højskolen måtte omdefinere sin funktion. Det kunne være en udvidelse af andelen af unge fra byerne, og en orientering mod unge med studentereksamen. Andelen af en ungdomsårgang, der søgte gymnasiet blev fordoblet i løbet af 1960erne, og dertil kom de unge, der søgte ind på Højere Forberedelseseksamen, der optog de første kursister i 1967. Flere højskoler arrangerede sommerkurser for studenter, der kunne supplere deres almindelige, og på de almindelige elevhold skete der i årene 1950-75 en femdobling af elever, der enten havde real, hf eller studentereksamen. I forbindelse med gymnasireformen i 1963 var der med indførelse af særlige fagkombinationer i 2. og 3.g, f.eks. en matematisk-fysisk gren og samfundssproglig gren satset på at styrke den videnskabelige fordybelse. I gymnasiekredse blev der udtrykt bekymring for, at denne specialisering ville skade elevernes almindelige. For at bøde på denne mulige forringelse af almindelsen blev der indført idehistorie, sådan at eleverne kunne se de enkelte fag i en større sammenhæng. Der er god grund til at antage, at denne bekymring om en tilstrækkelig almindelse, var påvirket af en opfattelse af, at højskolernes undervisning var almen og dermed et redskab til at udvikle elevernes personlige myndighed.

Forud for dannelsen af hf havde den socialdemokratiske folketingskandidat K.B. Andersen, der havde en fortid som højskoleforstander på Arbejderhøjskolen i Roskilde, på et møde i 1964 i Det Pædagogiske Selskab udtalt, at der ville blive et voksende behov for almenuddannelse, ellers ville specialisterne blive almue. Den stærkt voksende offentlige sektor efterspurgte folk med mellem-lange uddannelser, der som optagelseskrav forudsatte noget mere end realeksamen, men mindre end studentereksamen, og bl.a. K.B. Andersen overvejede, om højskolen og aftenskolen kunne bruges som adgangsgivende uddannelse til optagelse på de mellemlange uddannelser som sygeplejerske, folkeskolelærer og socialrådgiver. Han kunne henvise til en betænkning, som et udvalg havde afgi-

vet i 1960, og heri pegede man på højskolerne som forskoler til de mellemlange uddannelser og en mulig overførsel af filosofikum fra det første universitetsår til højskoleregi.

I 1964 blev K.B. Andersen undervisningsminister og opgav da tanken om at lade den akademiske og den folkelige undervisning konvergere; i stedet udviklede han sammen med bl.a. direktør for Direktoratet for Gymnasieskolerne, Sigurd Højby, og professor, tidligere højskolelærer, Roar Skovmand den toårige uddannelse hf, der i sin oprindelse bar præg af højskoleundervisningen, idet kursisterne fik udstrakt frihed til at sammensætte deres undervisning samt fik medbestemmelse med hensyn til stofvalg og arbejdsformer.¹⁰

Curriculum eller Bildung?

I efterkrigstiden var der fra dansk side en betydelig opmærksomhed på, hvad der skete i Norge og Sverige. Et af scenarierne var en sammenlægning af alle ungdomsuddannelser, altså en overtagelse af den amerikanske high school-model, hvor eleven har en udstrakt frihed til at sammensætte sin uddannelse, men hvor til gengæld undervisningens enhed og helhed blev nedprioriteret. Fordelen ved at lade de unge få frit valg på alle hylder er, at man derved kan tilgodese uddannelsens demokratiske funktion, idet man kunne hævde, at alle har lige muligheder. I Norge afskaffede man udtrykket 'den højere skole', fordi ingen skoler måtte være højere end andre, og i Sverige fjernede man den prestigeprægede studentereksamen. Denne tankegang modnedes i Norge og Sverige i løbet af 1950erne, og i 1960erne blev den integrerede ungdomsuddannelse en kendsgerning. Denne udvikling kom ikke til at påvirke den store skolereform, der i 1958-63 blev gennemført i Danmark. Her opretholdt man adskillelsen mellem de boglige og de erhvervsfaglige ungdomsuddannelser, og formålet med gymnasieundervisningen var stadig almendannelse. I Norge og Sverige var almendannelsen ikke længere målet, nok fordi erhvervsuddannelserne ikke var almene, men rettet mod en bestemt erhvervsfunktion. I stedet talte man om 'en fælles referenceramme'.¹¹

Det er vanskeligt at påvise, men det er mit indtryk, at når Danmark ikke fulgte vore nordiske naboer i curriculumretning, så var der to grunde hertil: Danmark var endnu et landbrugsland og den grundtvigske opfattelse af ligheden mellem håndens og åndens arbejde lagde ikke op til at indføre en integreret ungdomsuddannelse af hensyn til en demokratisk etos; derfor var grundene til at forlade didaktiktænkningen ikke så tungtvejende som i Norge og Sverige, hvor den grundtvigske skoletænkning var langt mindre værdisættende.

I løbet af 1960erne faldt antallet af beskæftigede i den primære sektor, mens stadig flere fik job i den sekundære og tertiære sektor. Det svækkede højskolen og måske var Jacob Appels udtalelse fra 1920erne en profeti, der var ved at gå i opfyldelse? Han havde da udtalt, at: »Kundskabsmeddelelse kan aldrig blive Højskolens Maal, Højskolens Gerning er en Vækkelsesgerning, og den kan derfor aldrig overskære Forbindelsen til den kristne Menighed. Gør den det, vil den dø.«

Under påvirkning af den anden industrielle revolution samlede opmærksomheden sig naturligt nok omkring lærlingeuddannelsen og gymnasiet og hf. Fra politisk side lød der et krav om, at intelligensreserven skulle aktiveres og at alle, der havde evner og lyst, skulle have adgang til den uddannelse, de ønskede. Det var det såkaldte social demand-tænkning. Denne voldsomme transformationsproces åbnede for en radikal nytænkning i bl.a. Socialdemokratiet, der nu gik ind for en integration af ungdomsuddannelserne. Den socialdemokratiske undervisningsminister, Knud Heinesen, nedsatte i 1972 et udvalg med Sigurd Højby som formand, som skulle udforme en plan for en integration af ungdomsuddannelserne. Udvalgets skitse forelå i 1973, og forslaget var 12 års enhedsskole dog sådan, at de 16-19-årige kunne vælge at tone deres uddannelse i enten en erhvervsfaglig eller en studieforberevende retning. Men i princippet skulle alle kunne vælge frit efter afsluttet ungdomsuddannelse. Den socialdemokratiske undervisningsminister Ritt Bjerregaard fremsatte i 1975 et forslag til folketingsbeslutning, der skulle muliggøre oprettelsen af denne enhedsskole, men mødte hård modstand fra de borgerlige partier, der kaldte forslaget et socialistisk eksperiment.

De borgerlige politikere ønskede at opretholde adskillelsen mellem de boglige og de erhvervsfaglige uddannelser, hvor de sidste med oprettelsen af Erhvervs Faglige Grunduddannelser i 1972 havde fået et teoretisk løft. Netop i disse år slog recessionen igennem, hvilket nok generelt var medvirkende til at neddæmpe reformønskerne, og samtidig med bredde der sig en uddannelsesmæssig forestilling om, at det drejede sig om at 'go back to basics', hvilket kunne tolkes som en afstandtagen til tværfaglighed og eksperimenter med at nedbryde grænserne mellem uddannelserne. Den britiske premierminister, James Callaghan udtalte i en ofte citeret tale i 1975, den såkaldte Ruskin-College-Speech, at skolerne skulle lægge vægt på at eleverne erhvervede en grundlæggende viden, og afholdt sig fra at flytte vægten til de sociale dimensioner. Det var det synspunkt Venstres Bertel Haarder, der selv havde været højskolelærer, også gav udtryk for, og hver gang socialdemokraterne søgte at bevæge ungdomsuddannelserne i retning af integration, blev de mødt med massiv borgerlig modstand. Da den borgerlige regering kom til magten i 1982 var samordning af ungdomsuddannelserne, og dermed vejen til curriculum-konstruktion, ikke mindst fordi Bertel Haarder blev undervisningsminister, ikke længere en del af dagsordenen.¹²

Udviklingen på uddannelsesområdet i årene 1972-82 kunne have været ændret grundlæggende, og Danmark kunne have opgivet almendannelsen og nærmet sig de fleste andre OECD-lande. Når det gik, som det gik, synes den grundtvigske sammenkædning med didaktiktænkningen at have været afgørende for en fastholdelse af status quo. Der mangler stadig en forskning, der kan underbygge denne opfattelse, men selv finder jeg denne forklaring den mest plausible.

Afslutningsvis må man give W.A. Reid ret, når han fremhæver den nationale traditions betydning for udformning af skole- og uddannelsespolitikken.¹³ De liberale traditioner for folkeoplysning og højskoleundervisning har bredt sig til hele uddannelsessystemet. Den levende vekselvirkning mellem højskolen og gymnasiet har sat sine dybe spor og har medvirket til at Danmark kom igennem 1960erne uden at forlade didaktiktænkningen, hvilket har medvirket til, at det danske uddannelsessystem i en global verden har sin helt

egen konstitution. I de følgende to kapitler skal vi se nærmere på, hvordan skolens struktur og mål påvirkede historieundervisningen i såvel grundskolen som de gymnasiale uddannelser.

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III. Historieundervisningen i grundskolen

Historiefaget og samfundsforandringer

Man kan undre sig over, at historiefaget i løbet af 1970erne blev opfattet som en svækket og truet fag. I mere end 100 år havde faget været opfattet som et vigtigt, ikke mindst som et led i 'nationsbuilding', og børnene havde som noget selvfølgeligt lært om hvordan deres Danmark var blevet til. Hvorfor var denne historie ikke længere interessant? En af forklaringerne var den økonomiske vækst, der i 1960erne resulterede i en markant geografiske og erhvervsmæssige mobilitet, og med internationalisering og et udvidet europæisk samarbejde, var denne nationale diskurs ikke længere en selvfølgelighed. I et samfund i hastig forandring blev tingene hurtigt gammeldags og umoderne, og var det ikke også sådan med vores brug af fortiden? Hvorfor skulle børnene bruge tid på at lære en række fjerne begivenheder at kende, når der var så meget nyt som krævede deres opmærksomhed? Desuden ville de jo snart glemme det, de havde lært, så det var sikkert bedre at lade dem arbejde med nutiden, altså samfundsfag. I forbindelse med skolereformen i 1975 blev historie i folkeskolen et valgfag, som det snart viste sig, kun få elever valgte. Heldigvis var der mange, der anså denne udvikling for foruroligende, og begyndte at arbejde for igen at gøre faget obligatorisk. Men i så fald skulle det være en ny historie, der skulle fortælles, og dette paradigmeskifte viste sig at være vanskelig at nå til enighed om.

Et af svarene på denne didaktiske udfordring var en nedtoning af den kronologiske læsning, og en opprioritering af historisk metode og kildekritik. Inspirationen hertil kom fra England, hvor begrebet

'New History' blev lanceret som et alternativ til reproduktionen af den nationale tradition. I stedet for at tilegne sig lærebøgernes forklaringer, skulle eleverne selv arbejde med dokumenterne, og på den baggrund gennem analyse nå frem til en personlig opfattelse af årsager og virkninger i det historiske forløb. Kritikerne kaldte denne videnskabeliggørelse af grundskolens historieundervisning for 'scientisme', og hæftede sig ved, alt det som eleverne ikke nåede at lære, når de skulle gå i dybden med blot nogle få emner. Tilhængerne forsvarede sig med, at fremgangsmåden havde væsentlige pædagogiske fortrin, og henviste til børnene for at blive engageret i fortiden selv måtte konstruere deres viden, og at denne form for historieundervisning havde en vigtig overførselsværdi på både andre fag og livet efter skolen. Men ulempen var, at eleverne ikke fik mulighed for at erhverve sig en sammenhængsforståelse.

Rådvildheden blandt historielærerne afspejlede sig i reformarbejdet, hvor flere grupper og udvalg bestræbte sig på at nå frem til et kompromis. På den ene side var der fortalere for at undervisningen skulle dreje sig om viden om fortiden og på den anden side dem, der ville tage udgangspunkt i elevens interesser og lade det være bestemmende for valg af emne og metode. De første var defensiven, men formåede dog at få indflydelse på reformen i 1977, hvor der nok var fokus på elevinteresser, men også et krav om, at det var vigtigt at børnene kendte traditionen, inden de forsøgte at ændre den. I forbindelse med at faget igen blev obligatorisk, skulle der udarbejdes en ny læseplan, som blev færdig i 1981. Mens 1970'erne havde været præget af metodearbejdet, var det karakteristisk for 1981-læseplanen, at det historiografiske skulle være en central del af historieundervisningen. I stedet for at dyrke det smalle metodebegreb, skulle hovedvægten nu lægges på synsvinkler eller historiesyn. Men også denne løsning blev kritiseret. Det var efter kritikernes mening uholdbart at forlange, at børnene skulle vurdere historikers værdidomme, uden at kende den sammenhæng, som var forudsætningen. Mens eleverne i 1970'erne skulle arbejde med historie på et mikroplan, skulle de nu især interessere sig for faget på makroplanet, og begge dele var forbundet med væsentlige mangler, da eleverne ikke fik lejlighed til at arbejde med faget på mezzoplanet.¹

Efter regeringsskiftet i 1982, hvor Bertel Harder blev undervisningsminister, blev der derfor nedsat et nyt udvalg, der skulle få folkeskolens historieundervisning tilbage på sporet, dvs. at eleverne skulle lære om fortiden og erhverve sig overblik. Resultatet blev *Historie 84*, som dog kun til dels levede op til disse forestillinger. Netop som pendulet var ved at svinge tilbage til en mere traditionel historieundervisning, med fremhævelse af central kundskabsområder, begyndte en ny markør at gøre sig gældende i debatten, nemlig historiebevidsthed. Begrebet var sikkert hentet fra den tyske debat; i alt fald havde den tyske historiedidaktiker Karl-Erik Jeismann i 1979 skrevet om begrebet i *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*. Han definerede det som spændingen mellem fortidstolkning, nutidsforståelse og fremtidsforventning. Undervisningen skulle kvalificere den historiebevidsthed, som vi jo alle har ved at tilrettelægge undervisningen ud fra elevernes nutids- og fremtidsinteresse. Historielærerne tilsluttede sig forbavsende hurtigt dette nye målbegreb, måske fordi begrebet var så rummeligt, at det kunne begrunde en hvilken som helst undervisning. I forbindelse med en ny læseplan i 1993 fik historiebevidsthed da også en helt central funktion. Imidlertid hjalp det ikke på historieundervisningens kvalitet. En omfattende OECD-undersøgelse i 1997 afslørede, at det stod sløjt til med elevernes viden og dermed også sammenhængsforståelse. Der var da også bred enighed om, hvad årsagen hertil var, nemlig at faget ikke, i modsætning til mange af grundskolens andre fag, var et prøviefag, og at det derfor ofte var ikke-historieuddannede, der underviste i faget. En ny læseplan i 2002 afhjalp ikke denne mangel. Først i 2005 blev der taget initiativ til, at fagets grundskader kunne blive udbedret.²

2006-rapporten

I 2005 blev der nedsat et globaliseringsråd, som skulle komme med anbefalinger til hvilke strategier Danmark skulle vælge, for mest hensigtsmæssigt at besvare de globale udfordringer. En af anbefalingerne var, at Danmark skulle bestræbe sig på at få verdens bedste folkeskole. I 2006 blev der vedtaget en ny folkeskolelov, hvor

det for første gang blev understreget, at folkeskolens undervisning skulle forberede eleverne på videre uddannelse, og at de skulle have et indgående kendskab til dansk historie og kultur. Dermed var historiefaget blevet centralt placeret, og i den efterfølgende lovproces fik faget tildelt flere timer, lige som det blev et prøvfag. Der blev nedsat et udvalg, som skulle udforme en rapport, hvori fagets fremtidige struktur og indhold skulle beskrives. I udvalgets kommissorium hed det, at der skulle peges på 25-40 begivenheder, som alle elever skulle lære at kende. Det var den såkaldte kanon, som blev genstand for megen opmærksomhed fra offentlighedens side. Desuden skulle eleverne lære hele det historiske forløb at kende. Udvalget, der i det hele taget havde som opgave at komme med forslag til historieundervisningens forbedring, kom med en del andre anbefalinger, herunder formulering af et nyt formål for faget og kompetencemål til de forskellige klassetrin. I sommeren 2006 kunne udvalget aflevere rapporten til undervisningsministeren, og han gav både i denne forbindelse og senere udtryk for, at rapporten skulle danne grundlag for udformningen af en ny læseplan.

Både i 1993 og 2002 havde læseplanerne anført historiebevidsthed som det overordnede mål med undervisningen. Rapporten fulgte ikke denne linje, idet man var skeptisk over for begrebets retningsgivende karakter i børneundervisningen. Flere mindre undersøgelser havde vist, at lærerne forstod noget temmelig forskelligt ved begrebet, og at det kunne bruges til at legitimere meget forskellige didaktiske fremgangsmåder. Et af de forhold, der blev drøftet i udvalget var, hvornår børn er i stand til at tænke abstrakt. Det er et vigtigt punkt, idet først da kan de forstå historieundervisningen som en proces, der kan kvalificere den historiekultur, som de altid bringer med ind i undervisningen til historiebevidsthed. Udviklingspsykologerne er imidlertid uenige om tidspunktet for, hvornår børn kan begynde at tænke abstrakt, og det er derfor også naturligt, at der blandt historiedidaktikere er delte meninger om det hensigtsmæssige i at anvende historiebevidsthedsbegrebet som mål for børneundervisningen. Den franske psykolog og sociolog Jean Piaget antager, at barnet må være mindst 14 år gammel, før det er i stand til at tænke

hypotetisk-deduktivt. Den tyske historiedidaktiker, Dagmar Klose, har skrevet om historiebevidsthedens ontogenese, og fremhæver, at: »Empiriske undersøgelser af historiebevidsthed står over for en række store vanskeligheder, som forlods vil begrænse værdien af sådanne undersøgelser.« (*Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*, s. 51f.) Ikke sjældent, skriver hun, støder man i psykologien på den opfattelse, at forskellene mellem børn på samme trin er større end forskellen mellem de enkelte udviklingsstadier. Der tegner sig således ifølge Klose en abstraktionsstige, der kunne se sådan ud: begivenhed, person, aktion (individuel), strukturer, skabelse, det ideelle eller overindividuelle. Denne graduering kan udviklingspsykologisk begrundes som gældende indtil omkring 12 års alderen. Klose mener, at empiriske undersøgelser bekræfter Piagets udviklingsfaser i den udstrækning, at der mellem 11 og 12 års alderen sker en udvikling fra det konkrete til det formale, hvilket bl.a. kan påvises ved udviklingen af evnen til hypotetisk-deduktiv tænkning. Af en undersøgelse fremgår det, at 20% af alle 15-årige endnu ikke har nået det abstrakt operationelle stadium. Udvalget kunne også støtte sig til en årelang diskussion om det hensigtsmæssige i at bruge historiebevidsthed som mål, og kritikere påpegede, at der ofte var alt for meget tale om bevidsthed frem for historie. I stedet anbefalede udvalget denne formålsformulering:

Målet for undervisningen er at eleverne kronologisk overblik, styrke deres viden om og forståelse af historiske sammenhænge og øver dem i at bruge denne forståelse i deres hverdags- og samfundsliv.

I rapporten blev der også udformet en ny indholdsbeskrivelse af historiefaget:

Undervisningen skal sikre, at eleverne erhverver sig viden om, hvordan mennesket gennem tiderne har sikret deres eksistens, påvirket fordelingen af goder, deltaget i dannelsen af fællesskaber og samfund samt opfattet og søgt at påvirke tilværelsens styrende kræfter.

Mål og indhold lægger således op til at undervisningen skal udvikle tre hovedkompetencer, nemlig:

Kronologisk overblik, udviklings- og sammenhængsforståelse og brug af historie. Alle tre kompetencer skal udvikles i et samspil, sådan at undervisningen styrker elevernes indsigt i hvordan de selv, deres livsvilkår og samfund er historieskabte, og at et kendskab til væsentlige dele af det historiske forløb er nødvendigt for at kunne reflektere over deres muligheder i tilværelsen.

Kanon

Udvalget have med kommissoriet fået til opgave at vælge 25-40 begivenheder, som obligatorisk læsning. I offentligheden og blandt historielærerne var meningene om det hensigtsmæssige i at indføre obligatoriske emner i historieundervisningen stærkt delte. Et obligatorisk stof mindede mange om gamle dages terperi, hvor eleverne lærte udenad med henblik på eksamen, men i øvrigt snart derefter fortrængte deres historiske viden som en dårlig oplevelse. I tre årtier havde underviserne i historie, som ganske ofte ikke var en uddannet historielærer, haft stor frihed til at vælge emner og temaer for undervisningen, og denne frihed blev naturligt nok højt værdsat af lærerne. Kanon ville indskrænke denne frihed og kræve af læreren, at han eller hun i det mindste satte sig ind i de problemkomplekser, som hvert kanonpunkt var placeret i. Men når mange alligevel var tilhængere af en kanon, hang det sammen med et ønske om at sikre udviklingen af elevernes sammenhængsforståelse, og den vigtige pointe, at det fælles stof ville give eleverne en fælles referenceramme, som de videregående uddannelser kunne bygge på. Den hidtil praktiserede frie valg af emner og temaer havde medført, at f.eks. gymnasieundervisningen i historie ikke kunne forvente en fælles viden, og derfor måtte begynde helt fra bunden. Arbejdet med det fælles stof skulle kun optage $\frac{1}{4}$ af undervisningstiden over seks år, nemlig fra 3.-9. klasse. I bedste fald ville det fælles stof kunne styrke den demokratiske samtale og dermed modvirke den fragmentering, som børn i et videnssamfund er ud-

sat for. Uden større besvær nåede udvalget frem til at foreslå 29 kanonpunkter, nemlig:

1. Ertebøllekulturen
2. Tutankhamon
3. Solvognen
4. Augustus
5. Jellingestenene
6. Absalon
7. Kalmarunionen
8. Columbus
9. Reformationen
10. Christian IV
11. Den Westfalske Fred
12. Statskuppet 1660
13. Stavnsbåndets ophævelse
14. Stormen på Bastillen
15. Ophævelse af slavehandel
16. Københavns bombardement
17. Grundloven 1849
18. Stormen på Dybbøl
19. Slaget på Fælled
20. Kvindernes valgret
21. Genforeningen
22. Kanslergadeforliget
23. 29. august 1943
24. FN's Verdenserklæring om Menneskerettighederne
25. Energikrisen 1973
26. Murens fald
27. Maastricht 1992
28. 11. september 2001
29. Globalisering.

Udvalget fremhæver i sin kommentar til kanonpunkterne, at de er formuleret som afgrænsede begivenheder og forløb, som udgør en integreret del af det historiefaglige stof. Kanonpunkterne repræsente-

rer væsentlige brud eller forandringer eller de har symbolværdi, der giver klare signaler om indhold og muligheder for perspektivering. Sådanne perspektiveringer kan ske på det synkrone plan, altså begivenheder der var samtidige, eller diakrone, hvor årsags-virkning aspektet betonens. Det enkelte kanonpunkt kan behandles som et afgrænset emne i kronologisk sammenhæng med andre begivenheder, eller kanonpunktet kan danne udgangspunkt for et længerevarende arbejdsforløb. Mens historieundervisningen i grundskolen i næsten et halvt århundrede har nedtonet kravene til kronologisk indsigt, understreger udvalget, at kanonpunkterne skal behandles i kronologisk rækkefølge, dog naturligvis sådan, at frit valgte emner og temaer fra hele det historiske forløb kan indgå imellem arbejdet med kanonpunkterne. Der er således også plads til samarbejde med andre fag og til at inddrage aktuelle problemstillinger i undervisningen. Kanonpunkterne omfatter både national- og verdenshistoriske forhold, og udvalget ser det som en kvalitet, at de nationale emner også behandles i et globalt perspektiv, mens de verdenshistoriske emner skal ses i et nationalt og eventuelt lokalt perspektiv. Ved at fastholde en absolut kronologisk bearbejdning af kanonpunkterne, kan der ske en målrettet didaktisk refleksion over hvordan en 10-årig kan forstå Tutankhamons verden, hvordan en 12-årig kan begribe reformationens brudkarakter og hvordan en 15-årig opfatter konsekvenserne af murens fald i 1989. Forlagene vil i overensstemmelse med denne kronologisk struktur udvikle læremidler med netop den sværhedsgrad, som passer til alderstrinnet. Indførelsen af de obligatoriske kanonpunkter har derfor vidtrækkende konsekvenser for grundskolens historieundervisning. For det første bliver det nu et mål, at udvikle elevernes forståelse af en absolut kronologi, mens de tidligere kun skulle erhverve sig en relativ kronologisk indsigt. For det andet får eleverne kendskab til hele det kronologiske forløb, mens de tidligere kunne nøjes med at arbejde med afgrænsede emner og temaer. For det tredje lægger rapporten op til, at der sker en integration af det nationale og globale, hvilket netop i en globaliseringstid må være væsentligt. For det fjerde bliver det muligt for lærerne, både i uddannelsen og efteruddannelsen at lægge vægt på at udvikle en didaktik, der dels kan udnytte kanonpunkternes potentiale, og dels

koble kanonpunkterne til andre emner. Kanonpunkterne vil givetvis komme til at stå centralt i undervisningen, og kritikerne har anført, at emnebinding kan føre til en retraditionalisering af undervisningen. Det er der naturligvis en fare for, men rapporten indeholder også et forslag om, at undervisningen skal gøre det muligt for eleverne at opfylde nogle kompetencemål, og heri ligger der formodentlig en sikring mod retraditionaliseringen. Denne tendens vil formodentlig blive styrket af rapportens krav om, at alle emner og temaer skal relateres til elevens egen tid.³

Kompetencer

Den traditionelle historieundervisning blev styret af nogle pensumkrav, men siden 1970'erne har det ikke været tilfældet. I stedet er der gradvist blevet opstillet mål på de forskellige alderstrin. Men da faget ikke havde en afsluttende prøve, kunne lærerne vælge at tolke disse mål ganske liberalt. Denne situation er nu grundlæggende ændret. Med indførelse af prøve i faget efter 9. klasse, vil eleverne blive prøvet i forhold til de opstillede mål. Udvalget har opstillet forholdsvis få mål, som tilsammen skal dække de centrale dele af grundskolens historieundervisning. I rapporten hedder det: »Ved at holde de faglige mål for øje kan lærere, forældre og andre med ansvar for elevernes udvikling være med til at sikre, at de i stigende grad opbygger en viden, så de erhverver sig kronologisk overblik, udviklings- og sammenhængsforståelse samt indsigt i og erfaring med brug af historie.«

Målene skal opfattes som kompetencer, altså hvad eleven skal kunne. Set i relation til Gregory Batesons vidensniveauer, er der tale om videns af anden orden, som forudsætter første ordens viden, nemlig den faktuelle viden. Sagt på en anden måde er viden af anden orden viden om viden eller viden om, hvordan eleven skal bruge sin viden. Det nedsatte læreplansudvalg arbejder netop nu i efteråret 2007 på at formulere sådanne kompetencemål for undervisningen. Netop kombinationen af kanonpunkter og kompetencemål vil i skoleforløbet generere en vidensstruktur og en læringsmodus, der

igen vil gøre historie til et centralt fag i grundskolen. Som det fremgår af den taksonomiske opbygning af de faglige mål, vil der være en tydelig progression i faget, således at eleverne gradvis bliver i stand til at håndtere fagets metoder, begreber og arbejdsformer.⁴

Læreruddannelsen

I og med at historie bliver et prøfefag og i øvrigt får flere timer, vil der for skolerne være en tilskyndelse til at lade undervisningen varetage af lærere med en uddannelse i faget. Historielærerne vil nu på lige fod med lærerne i de traditionelle prøfefag kunne få del i efteruddannelsen. I 2006 blev der gennemført en reform af læreruddannelsen, hvor historiefaget blev opnormeret fra 0,6 til 1,2 årsværk. I forbindelse med udformningen af de nye krav til læreruddannelsen blev den nye indholds- og målbeskrivelse for grundskolens historieundervisning gentaget, og suppleret med et krav om, at den studerende skal kunne reflektere over fagets identitet og mål med henblik på at planlægge, gennemføre og evaluere væsentlig og vedkommende undervisning, der passer til elevernes forudsætninger.

Læreplanen er i øvrigt opdelt i en kompetencedel og i centrale kundskabs- og færdighedsområder. I kompetencedelen lægges der vægt på, at den studerende med udgangspunkt i praksis og med anvendelse af didaktisk teori, bliver i stand til at analysere og vurdere professionsfaglige problemstillinger og handlemuligheder. Desuden skal den studerende kunne foretage stofudvælgelse, der passer til elevernes niveau og lade kanonpunkterne, som er anført i grundskolens læreplan for historie, indgå i et meningsfuldt samspil med det øvrige stof. Endelig nævnes der blandt flere kompetencemål, at den studerende skal kunne strukturere sin egen læring med henblik på at opnå indsigt i og at reflektere over professionsrelevante sammenhænge mellem videnskabsfag, linjefag og skolefag.

Blandt de centrale kundskabs- og færdighedsområder kan her fremhæves, at den studerende skal erhverve sig indsigt i forskellige historiedidaktiske teorier samt færdighed i at bruge disse i professionsfeltet. Desuden skal den studerende erhverve sig indsigt i teorier

om børns og unges læring og læringsforudsætninger med henblik på udvikling af deres forståelse og brug af historie i og uden for skolen, forståelse af sammenhænge og kronologi og forståelse af at være historieskabt og historieskabende. Endelig skal der her, blandt de mange målkrav nævnes, at den studerende også skal kunne se skolefagets historie i et samspil med samtidens forventninger til fagets kundskabsmæssige opgaver.⁵

I modsætning til mange andre lande er uddannelsen af lærere til folkeskolen placeret på særlige institutioner, seminarier, der endnu kun har en begrænset forbindelse til universiteterne.

På det seneste er der etableret et samarbejde mellem en landets seminarier i et antal Centre for Videregående Uddannelse, bl.a. med henblik på at styrke forskningen på grundskoleområdet. Forudsætningen for denne forskning er en kontakt til et af universiteternes forskningsenheder.

Sammenfatning

Kronologien er ofte blevet sammenlignet med historiefagets skelet eller rygrad. Rapporten anbefaler således, i overensstemmelse med dets kommissorium, at den kronologiske forståelse igen skal stå centralt i undervisningen, ikke som en blot og bar indlæring af årstal, men en reflektiv udviklings- og sammenhængsforståelse, der kan forberede eleven på at leve i en kompleks og global verden. Mens den kronologiske del af undervisningen således er blevet opprioriteret, er der sket en nedtoning af brugen af historiebevidsthed, som ikke i årti, det har været det overordnede mål for grundskolens historieundervisning, har formået at virke tilstrækkelig retningsgivende i forbindelse med tilrettelæggelsen og gennemførelsen af undervisningen. Kravet om at alle elever skal arbejde med de 29 kronologisk opstillede kanonpunkter skal sikre at de erhverver sig tilstrækkelig viden til at kunne indfri de kompetencemål, som er opstillet for de tre alderstrin. Kombinationen af faktisk historisk viden og tilskyndelser til at bruge denne viden fornuftigt, er omdrejningspunktet for den nye historieundervisning i den danske grundskole.

Noter

1. V.O. Nielsen: *Hvad vil vi med historie i folkeskolen. Analyser af historie som dannelsesfag i læseplaner og historiebøger for folkeskolen*, København 2002, s. 103ff.
2. K. Bergmann et al.: *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik*, 5. ed, Seelze-Velber 1997, s. 127f.
3. *Rapport fra Udvalget til styrkelse af historie i folkeskolen*, København 2006
4. L. Qvortrup: *Det vidende samfund – mysteriet om viden, læring og dannelse*, København 2004, s. 113ff.
5. *Bekendtgørelsen om uddannelsen til professionsbachelor som lærer i folkeskolen* UVM, 2007

IV. Reform af historieundervisningen i de gymnasiale uddannelser 2005

Omkring årtusindskiftet blev det stadig oftere bemærket, at den ordning, som gymnasireformen i 1988 havde tilvejebragt, ikke længere var tidssvarende. Det største problem var vanskelighederne ved at tilgodese det tværfaglige arbejde. I 1988 havde man valgt at besvare udfordringen fra det senmoderne komplekse samfund ved at give eleverne så mange valgmuligheder som muligt, dermed kunne de jo følge deres interesser og komponere netop den uddannelse, som de mente at have brug for. Det betød at eleverne i en klasse kun havde nogle få fællesfag, men resten af tiden indgik i flere forskellige valgfag. Derfor kunne der kun etableres et tværfagligt samarbejde mellem fællesfagene, og historie kom dermed til at samarbejde især med dansk, religion og oldtidskundskab. Ordningen tilgodeså de mange individuelle præferencer, og kom dermed til at ligne den anglo-amerikanske curriculummodel, hvor den enkelte elevs frihed til at vælge fagkombinationer vægtes højt. 1988-reformen svækkede således på dette punkt det bildingspræg, som i alt fald siden 1850 havde været dominerende.¹

De gymnasiale uddannelser i Danmark består af fire retninger med hver sin profil:

- Det almene gymnasium, stx, som er udviklet fra middelalderens latinskole, og som inden reformen i 2005 havde to linjer: en matematik og en sproglig. Målet for denne gymnasiale uddannelse er almindelse med henblik på at forberede eleverne på videregående uddannelser. Ca. 35% af en ungdomsårgang (2003). Uddannelsen er 3-årig.

- Højere Handels Eksamen, hhx, som går tilbage til 1888, og som har et merkantilt studieforbereende indhold. Ca. 15% af en ungdomsårgang. Uddannelsen er 3-årig.
- Højere Forberedelseseksamen, hf, blev oprettet i 1967 for at rekruttere til især de mellemlange uddannelser. Ca. 10% af en ungdomsårgang. Uddannelsen er 2-årig.
- Højere Teknisk Eksamen, htx, blev udviklet i 1980'erne som har et teknisk studieforbereende indhold. Ca. 5% af en ungdomsårgang. Uddannelsen er 3-årig.

Den nye lov om gymnasiale uddannelser blev vedtaget i 2004 af et næsten enigt Folketing, og den væsentligste nyskabelse er beslutningen om, at alle elever skal have næsten hele deres undervisning i den samme klasse. Dermed blev det muligt for alle fag at deltage i et tværfagligt samarbejde. Det almene gymnasiums to linjer blev nedlagt, og det første halvår, grundforløbet, skal især styrke studiekompetencen og det tværfaglige samarbejde. Det tværfaglige samarbejde havde tidligere været frivilligt, og derfor havde eleverne fået forskellige udfordringer på dette område. Med 2005-reformen skal det tværfaglige samarbejde omfatte 10% af undervisningen, og i grundforløbet skal dette foregå i almen studieforbereelse, der skal omfatte mindst to af de tre hovedområder: naturvidenskab, humaniora og samfundsvidenskab. Dertil kommer almen sprogforståelse og naturvidenskabeligt grundkursus. Efter grundforløbet skal eleven vælge en studieretning, der omfatter en fast kombination af tre fag, f.eks. fysik, matematik og filosofi. Disse tre fag kan udvikle et samarbejde, som også kan inddrage fællesfagene, herunder historie, og historielærerne må udvikle nye didaktiske strategier, for at besvare denne udfordring. I den nye læreplan hedder det: »Da historie har et særligt ansvar for at medvirke til at skabe helhed og sammenhæng i gymnasieforløbet, skal eleverne trænes i at arbejde med emneforløb, der afvikles i samspil med andre fag, både i grundforløbet, i studieretningsforløbet og i almen studieforbereelse. Senest i starten af studieretningsforløbet gennemføres i samspil med dansk, et forløb med vægt på historisk overblik og sammenhæng. I 2.g skal eleven skrive en opgave, som kan være

en tværfaglig problemstilling i fagene dansk og historie, eller i et af de to fag.²

Formålet med historieundervisningen

Der blev som optakt til reformen nedsat fagudvalg for alle fag med henblik på at sikre en tidssvarende undervisning, der var i overensstemmelse med reformens intentioner. Læreplansudvalget for historie for stx bestod af fagkonsulenten, to medlemmer af den faglige forenings bestyrelse og en repræsentant for de historiedidaktiske miljøer ved universiteterne. For hhx bestod udvalget ligeledes af fagets fagkonsulent, to bestyrelsesmedlemmer fra Handelsskolernes Historielærerforening og en repræsentant fra de historiedidaktiske miljøer ved universiteterne, som jeg repræsenterede i begge udvalg. Desuden blev der nedsat et større udvalg vedrørende hf, idet kommissoriet her forudsatte at historiefaget skulle samarbejde med religion og samfundsfag.

Alle læreplanudvalgene fik det samme kommissorium, nemlig at fagets formål, identitet, kernestof, kompetencemål og didaktiske principper samt evaluerings- og prøveformer skulle beskrives. I det følgende vil indholdet af læreplanen for stx blive behandlet, idet historieundervisningen på hhx er udformet efter de samme principper, blot begynder undervisningen ved 1750. På hf har undervisningen en særlig tværfaglig struktur, som jeg har valgt ikke at behandle i denne sammenhæng.

I den seneste revision af den foregående læreplan i 1999 var formålet med historieundervisningen:

- at eleverne udvikler deres historiske bevidsthed og evne til oplevelse af historie, får mulighed for at styrke deres identitet gennem kendskab til deres kulturbaggrund og få klarhed over deres handlemuligheder.
- At eleverne opnår overblik over den historiske udvikling, indsigt i forskellige samfund og kulturer samt forståelse af historiske sammenhænge og samspillet mellem individ og samfund.

- At eleverne får kendskab til forskellige opfattelser af den historiske udvikling samt færdighed i at arbejde med historiske problemstillinger og historisk materiale og i at vurdere formidling og brug af historie, og
- At eleverne får viden om væsentlige træk i det nutidige samfundsliv med hovedvægten på det danske samfund og færdighed i at arbejde med samfundsfagligt materiale.

I forbindelse med 2005-reformen blev samfundskundskab fjernet fra historie og skulle i stedet indgå i et nyt fællesfag på C-niveau. Dermed blev 46 af 236 timer til mange historielæreres beklagelse fjernet fra historiefaget. Samfundskundskab havde været en del af historieundervisningen siden 1903-reformen, og i de seneste årtier var det blevet stadig mere almindeligt at integrere samfundskundskab i den moderne historie. Men konstruktionen var problematisk, da en del af stamklassens elever også efter 1.g havde valgt samfundskundskab som et stort grenfag. Der var da i samme klasse elever, der havde behov for at lære de mest elementære samfundsfaglige problemstillinger, og elever, der for længst havde stiftet bekendtskab hermed. I en større international komparativ undersøgelse af elevernes samfundsfaglige niveau, klarede de danske elever sig godt.³

I stedet for den firdelte formålsformulering fra 1999, udformede læreplansudvalget for stx et nyt formål for historieundervisningen:

Historiefaget tjener på en gang et dannelsesmæssigt og studieforberedende formål med vægt på elevernes udvikling af personlig myndighed. Faget udvikler elevernes historiske viden, bevidsthed og identitet, samt stimulerer deres interesse for og evne til at stille spørgsmål til fortiden for at nå forståelse af den komplekse verden, de lever i. Eleverne opnår viden og indsigt i centrale begivenheder og udviklingslinjer i Danmarks historie, Europas historie og verdenshistorie, om egen kulturel baggrund og andre kulturer. Faget giver redskaber til at vurdere forskelligartet historisk materiale og sætter eleverne i stand til at bearbejde og strukturere de mange former for historieformidling og historiebrug, som de stifter bekendtskab med i og

uden for skolen. Gennem arbejdet med det historiske stof opøves elevernes kritisk-analytiske og kreative evner.

Mens historiebevidsthed havde en dominerende plads i 1999-formålsformuleringen, var dette i 2005 nogen grad ændret til en kombination af viden, bevidsthed og identitet. Tidligere var viden kun et krav i forbindelse med samfundskundskabsundervisningen, men nu blev vidensaspektet anført først.

Der var således sket en markering af, at eleverne skulle erhverve sig en faktisk viden som forudsætning for at kunne kvalificere deres historiebevidsthed, og at de to aspekter tilsammen kunne være medvirkende til at udvikle deres identitet. Bag formuleringerne ligger en inspiration fra Gregory Batesons fire videnskategorier, hvor den første, viden af første orden, netop omfatter faktisk viden, den anden, bevidsthed, omfatter viden om viden eller hvad viden kan bruges til, altså de såkaldte kompetencer, og endelig identitet som en tredje ordens viden, hvor det drejer sig om at eleven har erhvervet sig indsigt nok til at kunne af- og omlære og dermed etablere viden på et kreativt niveau. Den fjerde vidensform er ifølge Bateson ikke skolens opgave at udvikle, da den er en funktion af samfundsudviklingen.⁴

Kompetencer

Indtil reformen i 2005 havde pensum en vigtig didaktisk styrings- og struktureringsfunktion. F.eks.: til eksamen skulle der opgives et vist antal sider fra læsepensum, og fagkonsulenten kontrollerede at normerne var overholdt. Reformen ændrede grundlæggende på denne traditionelle måde at styre undervisningen på, og indførte i stedet for nogle faglige mål, som undervisningen skulle sætte eleverne i stand til at nå. Der er tale om kompetencer, altså viden af anden orden, og dermed krav om, at eleverne skulle kunne vide, hvordan de skal kunne bruge deres grundlæggende historiske viden. Derfor skal de faglige mål også danne grundlag for evaluering og eksamen. De faglige mål er derfor det fagdidaktiske grundlag for historieundervisningen. Udvalget udformede 10 faglige mål:

- dokumentere viden om centrale udviklingslinjer og begivenheder i Danmarks historie, Europas historie og verdenshistorie, herunder sammenhænge mellem den nationale, regionale, europæiske og globale udvikling
- dokumentere viden om forskellige samfundsformer
- formulere historiske problemstillinger og relatere disse til deres egen tid
- analysere samspillet mellem mennesker, naturgrundlag og samfund gennem tiderne
- analysere eksempler på samspil mellem materielle forhold og mentalitet i tid og rum
- forklare samfundsmæssige forandringer og diskutere periodiseringsprincipper
- forklare måder at forme og styre samfund på og se konsekvenserne heraf for individets vilkår
- reflektere over mennesket som historieskabt og historieskabende
- indsamle og systematisere informationer om og fra fortiden
- bearbejde forskelligartet historisk materiale og forholde sig metodisk-kritisk dokumenterende til eksempler på brug af fortiden.

De faglige mål befinder sig på forskellige taksonomiske niveauer, hvilket indebærer, at eleven skal lære både at kunne redegøre, analysere, vurdere og diskutere. I vejledningen til undervisningen hedder det om det første faglige mål, at det ikke kan nås i et, to eller tre forløb, men vil være et resultat af den 3-årige undervisning. Viden om centrale udviklingslinjer tilegnes både i oversigtsforløb og i forløb med fordybelse inden for en afgrænset periode. Ethvert forløb skal sættes ind i en større sammenhæng for at opfylde kravet til den diakrone (vertikale) måde at arbejde med stoffet på, og samtidig med ses i en synkron sammenhæng (horisontal), hvor udviklingens parallelitet er det centrale.

I forløb om de store revolutioner og udviklingen af demokratiet vil det synkrone perspektiv anlægges i indblik og udblik mellem Europas og Danmarks historie, og i det diakrone perspektiv vil

forløbet skulle sætte ind i en tidsmæssig sammenhæng, der belyser baggrunden for revolutionerne og etablering og udvikling af demokrati. Men i et forløb, hvor klassen fordyber sig eksempelvis i Danmarks tilblivelse fra ca. 800-1200, vil også bidrage til elevernes viden om centrale udviklingslinjer. Man kan her spørge: Hvilket vidensniveau kræves der for at opnå målet? Eksempelvis skal eleverne have tilstrækkelig viden til at kunne karakterisere de væsentligste faser i landbrugs-, industri- og informationssamfundets udvikling; og have tilstrækkelig viden til at kunne redegøre for centrale elementer i velfærdsstaten og demokratiets opståen og udvikling, sådan at de er i stand til at redegøre for hovedtrækkene i den europæiske integration.

Kernestof

Fagene blev med 2005-reformen ud fra det grundlæggende kommissorium forpligtet på dets kernestof, der kan opfattes som det stof, uden hvilket faget ikke kan opretholde sin eksistensberettigelse. Historiefagets kernestof er centrale begivenheder, perioder og udviklingslinjer i såvel Danmarks historie som verdenshistorie med særlig vægt på Europas historie. Kernestoffet skal alle gymnasieelever have kendskab til, og målet er at give dem en fælles referenceramme. Dette krav kom til at spille en stor rolle for historiefaget. Siden 1971 havde de skiftende læreplaner ikke haft noget krav om, at undervisningen skulle omfatte bestemte begivenheder eller perioder, men som det blev anført i 1999-læreplanen, erhverve sig overblik over den historiske udvikling og indsigt i samfund og kulturer samt forståelse af historiske sammenhænge og forholdet mellem individ og samfund. Der var ikke noget krav om tilegnelsen af en absolut kronologi, men blot forståelse af sammenhænge. Der var heller ikke noget krav om indsigt i bestemte kulturer. Fraværet af en vægtning af kronologi blev understreget af den ikke særlig centrale rolle, som oversigtslæsningen havde. Undervisningen byggede på analyse af kilder til et afgrænset emne eller til en tematisering af et længere forløb. Det ændrede sig markant med

2005-reformen, hvor historie sammen med dansk skulle indlede undervisningen i 1.g med oversigt over væsentlige begivenheder i et kronologisk forløb, og ved afslutningen af undervisningen i 3.g skulle der igen arbejdes med kronologien. Både det indledende og afsluttende kronologiforløb kom uvægerlig til at præge undervisningen i perioder og emner, der naturligt ville blive sat ind i en sammenhæng.

Udvalget besluttede, at der i det almene gymnasium skulle arbejdes med 21 kernestofområder fordelt over hele det kronologiske forløb:

Indtil 1453:

- antikkens samfund
- Danmarks tilblivelse
- europæisk middelalder
- kulturmøde: Kristendommen og Islam

1453-1776:

- renæssancen
- reformationen
- oplysningstiden
- kulturmøde: kolonisering

1776-1914:

- Revolutioner
- dansk demokrati
- national identitet
- industrialisering
- kulturmøde: imperialisme

1914-1989:

- ideologiernes kamp
- velfærdsstaten
- afkoloniseringen
- menneskerettigheder
- Murens fald

1989- i dag:

- Danmarks internationale placering
- europæisk integration
- globalisering.

Kravet om et bestemt kernestof skal opfattes som en 'blød' kanon, idet det er det enkelte hold – elever og lærer – der bestemmer, hvordan der f.eks. skal arbejdes med 'renæssancen'. Det kunne være udviklingen i Norditalien 1300-1500, udviklingen i Frankrig og England 1450-1550 eller den nordiske renæssance 1500-1600. Dertil kommer, at der er et frit valg mellem mange læremidler, herunder internettet, og afvekslende arbejdsformer. Endelig vil der i mange tilfælde være tale om, at historie skal samarbejde med andre fag. Renæssanceemnet lægger op til et samarbejde mellem historie, filosofi og fysik. Vejledningen til undervisningen beskriver arbejdet med reformationen ved at fremhæve, at reformation og renæssance var to sider af samme historiske udvikling. Begge understregede individets betydning, og dermed det personlige gudsforhold. I arbejdet med reformationen er det centralt at afklare de teologiske meningsforskelle, men også at belyse de økonomiske og politiske interessemodsatninger. Det vil være naturligt i undervisningen at tage udgangspunkt i den tyske kirkekamp og se denne udvikling i et samspil med reformations gennemførelse i Danmark.

Arbejdet med kernestoffet omfatter ca. halvdelen af undervisningstiden, og den anden halvdel af tiden er der frit valg af supplerende stof. Eleverne kan nemlig ikke opfylde de faglige mål alene på grundlag af arbejdet med kernestoffet, og det er derfor vigtigt, at dette stof suppleres. Det kunne være det gamle Ægypten, Japans historie, kvindernes historie og byudviklingens historie.

Den overordnede inddeling af den historiske udvikling i fem tidsafsnit, er også en fornyelse, idet opdelingen tidligere var tredelt, nemlig tiden indtil ca. 1750, 1750-1945 og tiden derefter. 1453 er begrundet med Constantinopels fald, fordi den tyrkiske påvirkning af Europa herefter blev uafviselig, hvilket udviklingen de seneste årtier har dokumenteret. Men periodiseringer kan diskuteres, og netop 1453 var også afslutningen på Hundredårskrigen. Det bevidste

valg af konkrete årstal er begrundet i, at det skal provokere lærer og elever til at diskutere, kunne et andet valg ikke have været lige så godt eller bedre? Skellet ved 1776 relaterer til den nye verden, som da markerede sit ønske om uafhængighed af den gamle verden. 1914 taler vel for sig selv lige som 1989. Men hvad med 1945, som tidligere var et skelsår? 1945 lægger op til en indgående behandling af 2. verdenskrig og den kolde krigs opstart. Det var udvalgets opfattelse, at emner fra denne periode var overpræsenteret i forhold til udviklingen i de seneste år under kommunistisk styre. Ved at vælge 1989 kunne nutidsperspektivet styrkes, og fokus kunne rettes mod de umiddelbare forudsætninger for elevernes samtidsproblemer, i stedet for den kolde krig, som mere er læreres, i det mindste den ældre lærergruppes, personlige referenceramme.⁵

Undervisningens tilrettelæggelse

Planlægningen af undervisningen er rettet mod opfyldelsen af de faglige mål, som også udgør bedømmelseskriterierne til eksamen. Det er vigtigt ved tilrettelæggelsen af undervisningen, at reflektere over, hvordan eleven skal kunne 'formulere historiske problemstillinger og relatere dem til deres egen tid.' Det kan ikke ske alene ved en gennemgang af kernestoffet som en vidensorienteret undervisning. Hvis eleverne skal kunne opstille historiske problemstillinger, må undervisningen være problemorienteret med fokus på fordybelse.

Udvalget har formuleret nogle didaktiske principper, som stiller nye krav til planlægningen af undervisningen. Det gælder kravet om, at undervisningen skal tage udgangspunkt i et faglig niveau, der svarer til elevernes niveau fra grundskolen, sådan at gymnasiets historieundervisning systematiserer og kvalificerer den viden, som eleverne har tilegnet sig i den seksårige historieundervisning, som eleverne har fået i grundskolen. Det gælder også kravet om, at 'alle forløb skal enten relateres til eller tage udgangspunkt i elevernes egen samtid.' Undervisningsvejledningen understreger, at hvis eleverne skal kunne bruge historieundervisningen til noget, skal den være relevant for dem og have forbindelse til nutiden.

Den nye læreplan bruger begreberne diakron og synkron, og skriver sig dermed ind i en lang historiedidaktisk tradition, som går helt tilbage til 1700-tallet. I forordningen om latinskolens reform i 1775 fremhæves det om historieundervisningen, at historien skal »læres periodisk, det er synchronistisk, og de Unge anføres til at agte nøye paa Synchronismum,« og »Chronologien i de vigtigste Tildragelser maa med Nøyagtighed fordres.« Læreplanen understreger at begge perspektiver skal medtænkes ved tilrettelæggelsen af undervisningen, og at 'eleverne skal opøves i at formulere problemstillinger, der kan udnytte kendskabet til de to måder at arbejde med stoffet på.' Undervisningsvejledningen nævner som eksempel, at nogle forløb vil være tilrettelagt som oversigtslæsning (diakront), og andre forløb vil være mere dybtgående i forhold til arbejdet med et emne (synkront). Det er vigtigt i forbindelse med oversigtslæsning at medtænke det synkrone perspektiv, og omvendt må det diakrone perspektiv indgå i arbejdet med en dybtgående behandling af et afgrænset emne.⁶

Læreplanen lægger vægt på, at der i alle forløb skal 'arbejdes med forskellige materialetyper, og arbejdet skal rumme eksempler på forskellige udtryksformer, i hvilke eleven møder historien uden for skolen. Historieundervisningen skal derfor som vejledningen udtrykker det, ikke kun beskæftige sig med kildekritik på historiske tekster, men alt tænkeligt materiale, der kan bibringe eleverne en større forståelse af en bestemt tid. Her nævner vejledningen fotos fra elevernes egen samling, tegneserier, reklamer, ugeblade, avisartikler, statistik, digte, tegnefilm, spillefilm, dokumentarudsendelser, radioudsendelser, kort og hjemmesider. Det er vigtigt at materialet kan belyse den rolle, som historien spiller i den enkelte elevs hverdag.

»De faglige mål skal«, som det hedder i læreplanen, »sideordnet og løbende, indtænkes i hvert emne, og undervisningen skal sikre progression gennem materialevalg og arbejdsformer. Progressionen skal sikre bevægelsen mod højere refleksionsniveauer og udvikling af elevernes historiske bevidsthed.« Det er derfor vigtigt at eleverne kender de faglige mål for at kunne se, hvornår et bestemt aspekt af undervisningen bidrager til at opfylde et de faglige mål.

Lærerne skal også udarbejde studieplaner for de enkelte klasser, og her anføre, hvilke mål et bestemt emne sigter mod at belyse. F.eks. kan det kronologiforløb, som gennemføres i slutningen af 3.g, hvor stoffet fra de 3 års undervisning skal indplaceres i en kronologisk sammenhæng med fokus på brud og sammenhæng i den historiske udvikling, især relateres til det førstnævnte faglige mål. Eleverne vil på dette tidspunkt have optimale muligheder for kvalificeret at opbygge en kronologisk tidsfornemmelse. I denne sammenhæng er det vigtigt, at eleven er i stand til at relatere den nationale udvikling i et verdenshistorisk perspektiv og omvendt, og at de er fortrolige med både induktive og deduktive måder at arbejde med historie på.

Et nyt historiefag

Reformen af den danske gymnasiale historieundervisning bygger på to forbundne elementer, nemlig faglige mål, dvs. kompetencer og et obligatorisk kernestof. Undervisningen er ikke længere pensumbestemt, men målrettet ved hjælp af de anførte kompetencer. Midlerne til at opfylde disse mål, er bl.a. kernestoffet, som eleverne i halvdelen af deres undervisningstid skal arbejde med. Dermed får de lejlighed til at erhverve sig en fælles referenceramme, der kan gøre både den personlige og samfundsrelaterede samtale mere kvalificeret. En opfyldelse af målene forudsætter også arbejdet med et supplerende stof og problemstillinger, der er formuleret i relation til samarbejdet med andre fag. Historiefagets udfordring er da at kunne vælge de rette midler til at opfylde målene. Det kan ske i både en fag-faglig undervisning, i et samarbejde med fag fra alle tre hovedområder, og dermed bliver historiefaget tilskyndet til at indgå i et arbejde, der ofte vil komme til at foregå på fagenes grænseflader i den udstrækning, at den samfundsmæssige kompleksitet tilskynder til det. Historiefaget er således centralt placeret i de gymnasiale uddannelser, og historielærerne vil dermed have gode muligheder for at udvikle faget til at blive stedet, hvor eleverne kan få svar på mange af deres spørgsmål.

Noter

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2. Lov om uddannelse til studentereksamen (stx) 5. februar 2004
3. C. Hahn: *Becoming political. Comparative perspectives on Citizenship Education*, New York 1998
4. L. Qvortrup: *Det vidende samfund. Mysteriet om viden, læring og dannelse*, København 2004
5. *Læreplan for historie*, www.uvm.dk
6. *Forordning om Skolevæsenets Forbedring ved de publique og latinske Skoler*, København 1775

V. Uddannelsespolitik i Danmark efter 1945

Fra hedeopdyrkning til industri

Landbruget var i de første efterkrigsår den dominerende sektor i det danske samfund. Det gjaldt både med hensyn til arbejdskraft, valutaindtjening og på det politiske og kulturelle område.

Landet uden for købstæderne og hovedstaden havde sin egen ordning, nemlig landsbyskolen, hvor børnene fik mindre skolegang end i den købstadsordnede skole. Det kom klart til udtryk i den vestjyske vinterskoleordning, hvor de ældste børn kun gik i skole to halve dage om sommeren mod til gengæld at gå seks fulde dage om vinteren, hvor der ikke var så stor brug for børnenes arbejdskraft. I mange landområder var der nok adgang til mellem- og realskole, men ikke til et gymnasium. I det midt- og vestjyske område var der f.eks. ikke noget gymnasium mellem Esbjerg, Tarm og Herning. De unge, der fra disse egne ønskede at komme i gymnasiet, måtte søge en kostskole eller flytte ind hos slægtninge i den nærmeste gymnasieby.

Politikerne var forsigtige med at ændre disse forhold. Dels var det dyrt at bygge et gymnasium, og dels var der i brede kredse modstand mod, at flere unge skulle gå den akademiske vej. De magtfulde højskoler opfattede gymnasierne som konkurrenter, og erhvervslivet så skævt til dem, fordi de dermed ville gå glip af de bedst begavede unge til lærlingeuddannelsen. Angsten for den akademikerarbejdsløshed, som havde været en kendsgerning i store dele af mellemkrigstiden, sad dybt i forældre- og bedsteforældregenerationen. Da sognerådet i

Grindsted i 1948 indsendte en ansøgning til Undervisningsministeriet om tilladelse til at oprette et gymnasium, fik de efter lang tids venten det svar, at der nok i virkeligheden var mere brug for en højskole til befolkningen i det midtjyske område. Sognerådet havde ellers argumenteret godt for deres sag: Elevtallet på den private mellem- og realskole var blevet fordoblet på 8 år, og hedeopdyrkningen var i fremgang. I 1949 afgav Ungdomskommissionen sin betænkning, hvori det hed: »Den Ungdom, der vokser op på landet, er med hensyn til uddannelsesmuligheder betydelig ringere stillet end byernes, især de større byers ungdom.« Først i 1961 kunne det kommunale gymnasium i Grindsted tages i brug. Men da var meget på egnen også forandret. Legofabrikken i Billund havde da over 600 ansatte, kemifabrikken Grindstedværket havde næsten 400 ansatte, og desuden var der et slagteri i byen. Grindsted og omegn var så småt ved at få et industrielt præg, og det påvirkede på afgørende måde skole- og uddannelsessituationen. På lidt længere sigt kom denne samfundstransformation også til at præge historieundervisningen, der i det agrare samfund havde et statisk præg, hvor målet var at overføre traditionen til næste generation, men i et dynamisk industri-samfund blev der stillet helt nye krav. En verden i forandring kunne ikke nøjes med at overtage traditionen, men måtte uddanne børn og unge til at stille nye spørgsmål til fortiden.¹

Skolevæsenet i det agrare Danmark

Socialdemokratiet ønskede at bruge skolen til at mindske forskellene i samfundet. Det gjaldt forskellene mellem land og by og mellem ubemidlede og bemidlede. Derfor ønskede partiet en ligestilling mellem skolerne på landet og i byen, og at folkeskolen ikke længere skulle være et kommunalt anliggende, men være en statsopgave. Dermed ville ulighederne kunne mindskes og hertil skulle også et ottende skoleår bidrage. Disse tanker vandt ikke tilslutning hos Venstre og Det konservative Folkeparti, som så forskellene som naturgivne. Børn på landet kunne nøjes med færre timer og til gengæld hjælpe til i landbruget, hvor de skulle have deres fremtidige virke.

De enkelte kommuner burde fortsat have afgørende indflydelse på det lokale skolevæsen. I 1937 blev der gennemført en reform, der skulle mindske afstanden mellem de børn, der kom i mellemskolen og dem, der forblev i folkeskolen efter 5.klasse. Der blev oprettet en eksamensfri mellemskole ud fra den opfattelse, at de bogligt begavede børn fortsat skulle optages i eksamensmellemskolen, mens de ikke bogligt egnede til gengæld skulle have lejlighed til at udvikle deres praktiske anlæg i den eksamensfri mellemskole, hvor der blev lagt vægt på gymnastik, sløjd, håndgerning, og de traditionelle fag skulle organiseres som emneundervisning. Den eksamensfri mellemskole skulle oprettes ved alle skoler, der havde en mellemskole; det betød, at mange børn, der forblev i landsbyskolen, ikke blev berørt af reformen, dertil kom, at den eksamensfri mellemskole ikke blev noget ligeværdigt sidestykke til eksamensmellemskolen. Socialdemokratiets politik blev da at gøre det muligt for arbejderbørnene at komme i mellemskole, idet partiet ikke kunne acceptere den klasseprægede opfattelse, at børn fra bedrestillede familier var bedre begavede. Besættelsestiden tilskyndede til national samling, og i 1941 kunne undervisningsminister Jørgen Jørgensen i den socialdemokratisk-radikale regering udsende et nyt cirkulære, der skulle afløse den eksisterende cirkulære fra 1900. Ifølge det nye cirkulære skulle skolen: »udvikle Børnenes Sans for etiske og kristelige Værdier, give dem Ærbødighed for Mennesket og Naturen, Kærlighed til Hjemmet og vort Folk og vort Land.« I 1945 tog 30% af en ungdomsårgang efter 9 års skolegang mellemskoleeksamen, og allerede i 1956 var andelen vokset til 40%. Det medførte, at eleverne blev delt efter 5.klasse, og folkeskolens lærere klagede over, at de elever, der blev tilbage, ikke blev stimuleret af de bedre bogligt begavede elever. Socialdemokraterne havde den opfattelse, at delingen vendte den tunge sociale ende nedad, og var derfor indstillet på at ændre denne deling.²

I Danmark var der tradition for, at lovgivningen omkring skole og uddannelse forudsatte brede forlig og gerne med tilslutning fra lærerorganisationerne. Socialdemokratiet var det bærende regeringsparti 1953-68, og havde derfor mulighed for at tage nogle lovgivningsmæssige initiativer. I 1954 fremlagde det såkaldte Askovudvalg et forslag til en reform, der gik ud på at retablere en syvårig

udelt grundskole, et femårigt gymnasium og en treårig linjedelt erhvervsskole.

Askovudvalget bestod af grundtvigske højskolefolk og socialdemokrater, ja, flere af dem var både og, men Gymnasieskolernes Lærerforening (GL) ønskede at opretholde et syvårigt gymnasieforløb (4 års mellemskole og 3 års gymnasium). Den socialdemokratiske undervisningsminister Julius Bomholdt søgte at skabe et kompromis mellem de to positioner ved at forslå et fireårigt gymnasium, der skulle bygge på en forudgående treårig boglig toning af folkeskolen. Dette forslag kunne ikke samle flertal, og da Jørgen Jørgensen i 1957 igen blev undervisningsminister, lod han udarbejde et forslag med en udelt syvårig folkeskole og et femårigt gymnasium. GL gik massivt imod, hvad de kaldte en forringelse af gymnasiet, men da det lykkedes Jørgen Jørgensen at få Venstre med til at åbne for en deling af eleverne i 6. og 7.klasse, hvis forældrene ønskede det, var der basis for et forlig. Efter folkeskolen kunne eleverne vælge at gå ud i arbejdslivet eller blive optaget i en treårig realskole. Efter 2.real var der en overgangsmulighed til et treårigt gymnasium. Dette forslag blev vedtaget i Folketinget, og dermed var den populære mellemskole nedlagt. I løbet af få år blev de fleste af folkeskolens klasser udelt, og folkeskolens lærere kunne undervise i den enhedsskole, som de så meget havde ønsket sig lige siden oprettelsen af mellemskolen i 1903. Den efterhånden anakronistiske opdeling af folkeskolen i landsbyskoler og købstadsskoler ophørte, og det gav anledning til nedlæggelse af mange små skoler på landet, som blev samlet i centralskoler. Dermed blev også mange landsbyer funktionstømte.

Sideløbende med de danske reformbestrebelse foregik der en tilsvarende proces i Norge og Sverige. Her gik man mere radikalt til værks, idet man forlængede grundskoleforløbet til 9 år, hvorefter alle unge skulle gå i den samme skole, ungdomsskolen, uanset om de sigtede mod en universitetsuddannelse eller et erhvervsarbejde. Disse overvejelser spillede slet ingen rolle i Danmark, og det kan undre, da de nordiske uddannelsessystemer indtil da havde været parallelle, og alle bygget på den tyskinspirerede bildungstænkning. Ungdomsskolen i Norge og Sverige derimod var inspireret af den amerikanske high school, altså den såkaldte curriculumtænkning,

hvor lighedsmålet blev prioriteret over enhed i de enkelte adskilte uddannelser. Men hvorfor skete den tilsvarende udvikling ikke i Danmark? Det danske socialdemokrati stod ganske vist ikke så stærkt som i de to nordiske broderlande, men derfor kunne de jo godt have foreslået en ungdomsskoleløsning. Meget tyder på, forklaringen skal søges i to forhold: nemlig at Danmark var mindre industrielt udviklet end Sverige, og at den grundtvigsk prægede folkelige oplysningstradition har præget dansk skole- og uddannelsestænkning langt mere end tilfældet var i Norge og Sverige. Uddannelsesforskeren Jørgen Gleerup fra Institut for Filosofi, Pædagogik og Religionsstudier ved SDU har formuleret denne tankegang således:

De danske uddannelsestraditioner er (...) karakteriseret ved at betone alsidig faglig og personlig udvikling, demokrati og rummelighed med værdier som nærhed, åbenhed og samspil samt stor frihed og mangfoldighed vedrørende uddannelsesvalg, metode og forskning. Det er de liberale traditioner for folkeoplysning, der har bredt sig til hele det danske uddannelsessystem.³

I Danmark blev den tyske bildungstankegang eller didaktik-tænkning fastholdt, sådan at almindelse blev opretholdt som det overordnede mål for gymnasieundervisningen, og adskillelsen mellem de gymnasiale uddannelser og de erhvervsfaglige uddannelser blev opretholdt.

Skole og uddannelse i industrisamfundet

I årene 1954 til 1965 forsvandt 1100 folkeskoler. Den væsentligste grund hertil var oprettelsen af centralskoler, der kunne leve op til de nye krav, som 1958-reformen medførte. Men det spillede også en vigtig rolle, at der i løbet af en kort årrække skete en afvandring fra landet til byerne. Fra 1950-80 reduceredes den samlede arbejdskraft i landbruget med 68%, dvs. at langt de fleste medhjælpere forsvandt ind til byen. Danmark blev i 1960erne et højt

industrialiseret samfund, som forudsatte, at kvinderne i stigende grad kom ud på arbejdsmarkedet, og det skabte et behov for flere børneinstitutioner og fritidsordninger. En voksende del af arbejdet i industrien krævede højt specialiserede arbejdskraft, herunder ingeniører, økonomer og salgsfolk. En teknikerkommission konkluderede i 1959, at:

en tilstrækkelig tilgang af teknisk og naturvidenskabelig arbejdskraft, kræver en udvidelse af rekrutteringsbasen gennem en mobilisering af de uddannelsesreserver, der hidtil har været afskåret fra disse uddannelser, hvad enten det skyldes en traditionel indstilling (pigerne) eller manglende skolemæssige forkundskaber som følge af utilstrækkelige uddannelsesmuligheder, hvad der især gælder de unge fra landet.⁴

I 1958 fik gymnasieskolerne en ny undervisningsinspektør, nemlig Sigurd Højby, der i modsætning til den tidligere inspektør advokerede for en udbygning af gymnasiekapaciteten. Danmark var håbløst bagud når det gjaldt gymnasiefrekvensen. I 1960 var den i Danmark 91%, i Sverige 20% og i USA 40%. Danmark måtte efter hans opfattelse mobilisere intelligensreserven, sådan som også teknikerkommissionen havde udtalt. Baggrunden for denne tankegang skal findes i forestillingen om uddannelse som en 'human capital', der på linje med arbejdskraft og råstoffer kunne betinge en vækst i produktionen. Den ideologiske konstruktion blev 'social demand', dvs. at alle skulle have tilbud om at uddanne sig til det, de havde lyst og evner til. For at befordre væksten i de boglige ungdomsuddannelser blev Højere Forberedelseseksamen indført i 1967. Denne eksamen gav adgang til seminarierne, til uddannelsen som socialrådgiver, sygeplejerske og folkeskolelærer, og var rettet mod voksne, der ikke havde fået nogen fortsat skoleuddannelse. Man talte om manden fra ploven. I 1975 var gymnasiefrekvensen vokset til 20 og frekvensen på hf til 9,4%. Dertil kom 2,6% på studenterkurser. I 1954 var der 70 gymnasier i Danmark og i 1980erne var der mere end dobbelt så mange. Industri- og videnskabsudviklingen efterspurgte eksperter, og det kom til at påvirke det nye

gymnasium, der efter 1.g ud over fællesfagene stillede eleverne over for et valg mellem flere grene, hvor der kunne ske en videnskabelig fordybelse. For elever på matematisk linje kunne det være den matematisk-fysiske gren eller den naturfaglige gren. For eleverne på den sproglige linje kunne det være den nysproglige gren eller den samfundsfaglige gren. Der var således gode muligheder for, at eleverne kunne samarbejde med fagene på grenen, f.eks. fysik, matematik og kemi, men det var ikke muligt at samarbejde mellem grenfag og fællesfag, som eleverne havde på adskilte hold. Det betød f.eks., at hverken dansk eller historie kunne samarbejde med samfundsfag eller fysikgrenen.

Ud fra tesen om, at folkeoplysningen har formet pædagogikken i det formelle uddannelsessystem, kan det være på sin plads at nævne, at Folketinget i sommeren 1968 vedtog, hvad i almindelighed blev kaldt 'verdens bedste fritidslov'. Udgangspunktet var det meget liberale, at »der må skabes mulighed for godkendelse af ethvert fag og emne, hvortil der kan udarbejdes undervisningsplan, skaffes kvalificerede lærerkræfter og fornødne undervisningsmidler.«⁵

En ny folkeskole

Socialdemokratiet og fagbevægelsen så store muligheder i 'human capital' og 'social demand'-tankegangen, idet den kunne bruges som et redskab til at styrke velfærdsstaten og lighed gennem uddannelse. I løbet af 1960erne blev det stadig mere almindeligt at gennemføre undervisningen i 6. og 7. klasse udelt, idet man ikke mente, at en deling virkede befordrende for elvernes videre uddannelse. I 1972 gennemførte den socialdemokratiske undervisningsminister Knud Heinesen en reform af folkeskolen, der herefter skulle have udelt undervisning til og med 7. klasse. Dertil kom, at undervisningen i 8.-10. klasse blev obligatorisk. Dermed blev realskolen overflødig, og i 1977 blev denne skoleform nedlagt. Der blev adgang til gymnasiet fra 9. klasse og til hf fra 10. klasse. Endnu i en årrække var det almindeligt at kursusdele 8.-10. klasserne.

Samordning og manpower-tænkning

Efter folketingsvalget i 1968, netop som gymnasieelever havde smidt deres første tomater mod repræsentanter for Undervisningsministeriet, kom en borgerlig regering til magten. Dens parlamentariske grundlag var Venstre, Det konservative Folkeparti og Det radikale Venstre. Undervisningsminister blev gymnasierektor og historiker, Helge Larsen. Han var en varm tilhænger af elev- og studenterdemokrati, og fik i sin treårige ministerperiode gennemført vidtgående reformer på dette område. Det er derfor skæbnens ironi, at han i elev- og studenterkredse fik øgenavnet 'onde Helge'. Studenteroprøret fremkom selvfølgelig ikke, fordi studenterne var onde, men fordi den eksplosive vækst i antallet af studerede sprængte alle rammer. Vi var f.eks. 85 på mit rushold i 1966, der ville læse historie. Professoren i middelalderhistorie mødte os ikke med en velkomst, men med den salut: »Det er alt for mange, da jeg begyndte på universitetet var vi fem, og min professor sagde: 'Det er alt for mange, om et par år er der kun én tilbage, det skal jeg nok sørge for', og han fik ret.«

I 1965 havde den socialdemokratiske undervisningsminister K.B. Andersen nedsat et Udvalg om uddannelse til studentereksamen. Dette udvalg blev i november 1968 reorganiseret under betegnelsen: Udvalget om studenter- og HF-uddannelsen. Dets kommissorium var at rådgive ministeren med den pædagogiske og strukturelle tilpasning af studentereksamen, herunder overgangen til femdagesugen. Desuden skulle udvalget forberede en revision af hf-uddannelsen og oprettelse af en forsøgsundervisning. I daglig tale blev udvalget kaldt for RUGU og det fik en betydelig indflydelse på den gymnasiale dagsorden. Formanden var da også direktøren for Direktoratet for Gymnasieskolerne og HF, Sigurd Højby, og som noget nyt var også elevernes og kursisternes organisationer repræsenteret. VKR-regeringen ønskede oprindeligt at gennemføre en reform af alle ungdomsuddannelser, evt. med en samordning af de boglige og erhvervsfaglige uddannelser. Men i løbet af 1970 blev denne plan opgivet, og regeringen ville i stedet gennemføre en reform af de erhvervsfaglige uddannelser, der førte til oprettelse af de

erhvervsfaglige grunduddannelser som alternativ til mesterlæren, og blot tilpasse gymnasiet og hf til femdagesugen.

I løbet af 1960erne blev femdagesugen indført i virksomhederne og skolen måtte følge med. Det gav anledning til en reform af både gymnasiet og folkeskolen. I gymnasiet drejede det sig dels om et reduceret pensum, dels om mere vægt på metodeanvendelse i stedet for en ensidig pensumtænkning. Eleverne fik medbestemmelse i forbindelse med valg af emner, arbejdsformer og opgivelser til eksamen. Det var en betydelig demokratisk landvinding, som de mange unge lærere, der i disse år blev ansat i den hastigt voksende sektor, kunne bruge til at kvalificere undervisningen.

Elevernes medbestemmelse kom til at spille en stor rolle for historieundervisningen. Den hidtidige slaviske gennemgang af et grundbogssystem, der skulle kunne reproducere til eksamen, blev nu gradvist ændret til at undervisningen bygge de på en dokumentarisk gennemgang af udvalgte emner, f.eks. den industrielle revolution i England, den franske revolution og renæssancen i Italien. For at kunne bearbejde teksterne var det nødvendigt at eleverne tilegnede sig historisk metode og øvelse i kildekritik. Historieundervisningen kom dermed til at gå mere i dybden end i bredden, og i bedste fald styrkede denne udvikling elevernes evne til at reflektere over nogle centrale sammenhænge i udviklingen, men omkostningen var tabet af overblik.

Da socialdemokraten Knud Heinesen i 1971 afløste Helge Larsen, arbejdede han videre med samordningstanken, og nedsatte i 1972 et udvalg, der skulle udforme en skitse til en 12-års enhedsskole, hvor de boglige og erhvervsfaglige uddannelser blev samordnet. Ministeren udtalte til Kristeligt Dagblad:

For det første må vi skabe de bedste overgange på forskellige trin og sådan, at alment stof, lært på det ene uddannelsesforløb kan godskrives på det andet, man skifter til. Dernæst måtte de erhvervsfaglige uddannelser indrettes sådan, at de ved afslutningen giver erhvervskompetence samtidig med, at de giver adgang til videre uddannelse som gymnasiet og HF.⁶

Formanden for udvalget blev den nu pensionerede Sigurd Højby. I sommeren 1973 kunne udvalget præsentere offentligheden for Udkast til folketingsbeslutning om 12 års uddannelse for alle. Forslaget indebar, at eleverne skulle have 9 års udelt skolegang og derefter i 10-12 år fortsætte i en ungdomsskole, hvor uddannelsen »skal være fælles for eleverne på væsentlige områder af fælles værdi.«

Det var tydeligt, at den svenske model havde inspireret udvalget. Det skortede ellers ikke på advarende røster. Danske gymnasiefolk, der havde set hvordan ungdomsuddannelsen i Sverige fungerede, bl.a. foreningen Nordens danske rejselektor i Sverige, Tom Høyem, skrev i april 1969 en meget kritisk artikel i *Gymnasieskolen*, hvor konklusionen var, at Danmark ikke kritikløst burde kopiere den svenske reform. I *Gymnasieskolen* kunne redaktøren, Jytte Hilden, advarende skrive: »Hvorfor i den hellige integrations navn sy vel-tjente puder om til et fællesgymnasialt kludetæppe – det varmer da vist ingen«

I 1975 blev Socialdemokratiet igen regeringsparti. Den nye undervisningsminister var Ritt Bjerregaard, og hendes første store opgave var at få vedtaget en ny folkeskolelov. I § 2 stk. 3 hed det: »Folkeskolen forbereder eleverne til medleven i et demokratisk samfund og til medansvar for løsningen af fælles opgaver. Skolens undervisning og hele dagligliv må derfor bygge på åndsfrihed og demokrati.« Det kristne og nationale var ikke længere som i 1937 kerneværdier i folkeskolen, og religionsundervisningen skulle være kundskabsmeddelende i stedet for forkyndende. Den anden store opgave for den unge minister var at forberede samordningen af ungdomsuddannelserne. I et forslag til folketingsbeslutning fremsat i 1975 hed det: »Uddannelserne i 10-12. uddannelsesår skal indeholde fag af almen kulturelt og samfundsmæssigt indhold, der er fælles for alle elever.« Endvidere indeholdt forslaget en passus om det hensigtsmæssige i, at alle elever, ikke blot dem der satsede på en erhvervsuddannelse, periodisk skulle deltage i erhvervspraktik. Denne 'practicisme' optog mange uddannelsesfolk og var nok et udtryk for, at i det mindste Socialdemokratiet i 1970erne opfattede Danmark som et industriland, og endnu ikke som et videns- og informationsamfund. De borgerlige partier afviste forslaget om

samordning af ungdomsuddannelserne, og karakteriserede det som et socialistisk eksperiment, og denne diskurs blev opretholdt indtil en borgerlig regering i 1982 kunne fjerne forslaget fra dagsordenen. De borgerlige partier havde ellers i slutningen af 1960'erne været positive over for en samordning, men i 1970'erne ændrede det sig til en klar afvisning. Bortset fra de ideologiske markeringer, der måtte ligge i en afvisning, var en del af forklaringen formodentlig også den internationale uddannelsesdebat, som i midten af 1970'erne tog en ny retning. 'Social demand' kom under pres, især fordi de vestlige industrilande bl.a. på grund af energikrisen i 1973 oplevede en markant recession, og fuld beskæftigelse blev ændret til høj arbejdsløshed. I denne krisestemning var 'social demand' ikke svaret, og i stedet begyndte politikerne at tale om 'manpower'-hensynet. Samfundet havde ikke længere råd til at give langvarige uddannelser til humanister, der alligevel blev arbejdsløse. Derfor måtte politikerne tage ansvaret på sig og dimensionere uddannelserne efter det forventede behov. Derfor blev der i 1976-77 indført adgangsbegrænsning til en række videregående uddannelser på grundlag af karaktergennemsnittet.

De mange forsøg på fra socialdemokratisk side at dreje ungdomsuddannelserne i erhvervsorienteret retning, kan også opfattes som et forsøg på at begrænse de unges interesse for videregående uddannelser. I *Perspektivplan-redegørelse 1972-1987* (PPII) hed det, at for at begrænse arbejdsløsheden blandt akademikere og undgå flaskehalse »(...) må man holde mest mulig igen ved optagelse til de gymnasiale uddannelser, indtil en reform af ungdomsuddannelserne – forhåbentlig – kan bidrage til den ønskede aflastning.«⁷

Krisen inviterede ikke til vidtgående eksperimenter med ungdomsuddannelserne, men til besindelse på velafprøvede faglige kvaliteter. Danske politikere kunne lade sig inspirere af kolleger i udlandet, bl.a. i USA, hvor den store rapport om det amerikanske uddannelsesvæsen, *A Nation at Risk*, indeholdt krav om i undervisningen at 'go back to basics'. I 1985 udformede undervisningsminister Bertel Haarder et kommissorium for et udvalg, der skulle reformere historieundervisningen. Heri blev der lagt vægt på det ønskværdige i at sikre at eleverne tilegnede sig sammenhæng og overblik.⁸

Service-, informations- og videnssamfundet

Det er vanskeligt at konstatere overgange fra en samfundsform til en anden, og hvornår kan overgange aflæses i skolens hverdag og i uddannelsespolitikken? Man kunne også hypotetisk antage, at det var skolen og uddannelserne, der påvirkede den udvikling, der kom til udtryk i overgangene. Overgangen fra landbrugssamfund til industrisamfund kan, som vi har set det, aflæses i skole og uddannelsesudviklingen i årene 1970-75. Men hvornår begyndte videnssamfundet at dominere over industrisamfundet? Set i bakspejlet er der mange indikatorer: Tankerne om livslang læring, gymnasireformen i 1988 og folkeskoleloven i 1993 kunne opfattes som affødt af videnssamfundet. Men det er nok vigtigt også at se på den globale og teknologiske udvikling. Her knytter der sig en særlig interesse til internettet, som på den ene side påvirkede udviklingen i retning af globalisering, og på den anden side var en væsentlig forudsætning for, at denne globalisering kunne udfolde sig og dermed skabe videnssamfundet. Med oprettelsen af Danish Internet Exchange i 1996 blev internettet en mulighed for danskerne, som i løbet af få år valgte at bruge denne nye teknologi. Derfor er det holdbart at tale om et dansk videnssamfund ved midten af 1990erne, hvor produktionen ikke primært skulle frembringe konkrete produkter men i højere grad frembringe viden.

På gymnasieområdet havde en række forsøg i løbet af 1970erne, herunder forsøgene på statens to forsøgsgymnasier, peget i retning af tværfaglighed og projektundervisning, gerne i et samarbejde med erhvervslivet. Bertel Haarder kritiserede også som minister denne tendens som uhensigtsmæssig, og fremhævede i stedet den fag-faglige undervisning, elevernes erhvervelse af faktisk viden og mulighed for friere at kunne kombinere skolens fag. Disse præferencer kom også til at præge gymnasiet i 1988. Prioriteringen af den faktuelle viden kunne godt pege frem mod videnssamfundet, men nedprioriteringen af fagsamarbejdet pegede efter manges opfattelse den modsatte vej. Ganske vidst kunne man godt argumentere for, at muligheden for, at den enkelte elev friere end i grengymnasiet kunne kombinere sine fag var et svar på den globale udfordring og en tidssvarende foran-

staltning i et videnssamfund, men elevernes individuelle skemaer gjorde det vanskeligt at tilrettelæge et fagsamarbejde. Det så ministeren og hans folk ikke som noget problem, men i løbet af 1990erne blev det klart, at det fagsamarbejde, som de mange forsøg i 1970erne havde eksperimenteret med, i høj grad havde fremtiden for sig. Det blev et stadig mere centralt spørgsmål under den socialdemokratiske regering i årene 1993-2001, hvor også planer om en samordning af de fire gymnasiale uddannelser, det almene gymnasium (stx), hf, Højere Handels Eksamen (hhx) og Højere Teknisk Eksamen (htx) blev overvejet. De to erhvervsgymnasiale uddannelser var efter nogle forsøgsordninger blevet treårige i 1995, og det var derfor strukturelt muligt at samordne dem med det almene gymnasium. Ja, den socialdemokratiske statsminister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen var åbenbart parat til at gå endnu videre. I 1997 udtalte han: »Hvorfor skal der i en by absolut være en teknisk skole i den ene ende, et AMU-center i den anden og et gymnasium i den tredje ende? Vi kunne tænke på centre, hvor gymnasieelever, elektrikere, lærlinge og AMU-folk går sammen i stedet for at være adskilt.« Målet var i øvrigt, at mange flere unge skulle have en kompetencegivende eksamen, og den andel på 15%, der ikke fik en sådan, måtte nedbringes. Målet kunne alle enes om, men om midlerne var der uenighed. Undervisningsminister Margrethe Vestager fra Det radikale Venstre fremsatte i *Uddannelsesredegørelse 1997* en plan med fem forskellige modeller for samarbejdet mellem de gymnasiale uddannelser.⁹ Allerede i 1999 kunne Folketinget vedtage en hensigtserklæring om, at de fire gymnasiale uddannelser skulle opretholdes med hver sin særlige profil. Disse profiler blev senere præciseret således, at stx er en uddannelse, hvor faglighed er nært forbundet med videnskabsfagene og som forbereder de unge til længerevarende uddannelser. Hhx har et erhvervsrelateret studieforberedende indhold, der ofte tager udgangspunkt i virksomheds- og samfundsøkonomiske temaer. I htx er de teknisk-naturvidenskabelige fag centralt placeret, og uddannelsen sigter især mod en videreuddannelse inden for erhvervslivets tekniske funktioner. Det to-årige hf har et anvendelsesorienteret og praktisk sigte.

Ulla Tørnæs fra Venstre blev undervisningsminister i den borgerlige VK-regering i 2001, og et af hendes stor mål var at få gennemført en

reform af de gymnasiale uddannelser. I januar 2003 enedes partierne i Folketinget, bortset fra Enhedslisten, om planerne for en reform, og et år senere kunne lovforslaget vedtages med henblik på ikrafttræden i august 2005. Det er bemærkelsesværdigt, at et næsten enigt Folketing stod bag reformen. Det er ligeledes bemærkelsesværdigt, at en undervisningsminister fra partiet Venstre nu satsede på fagsamspil og projektarbejde, netop hvad Bertel Haarder i 1980'erne gjorde meget for at bekæmpe. Dette paradigmeskift i uddannelsespolitikken kan især forklares på den måde, at også Venstre nu erkendte, at Danmark eksisterer i en global vidensøkonomi, som eleverne kun kan begå sig i, hvis de reflektivt forholder sig til problemer, der kræver flere fags samarbejde at bearbejde. Venstre var dog stadig modstander af gruppeeksamen, selv om eleverne måtte forberede sig til eksamen i grupper.

Mens alle tidligere reformer på det almengymnasiale område har løst behovet for større kompleksitet ved at tilføje flere fag, linjer eller grene, skete dette ikke i forbindelse med den nye reform. Snarere tvært imod, idet de to linjer matematisk og sproglig blev nedlagt, og latin og kulturgeografi blev afskaffet. Samtidig med blev 1988-reformens mange kombinationsmuligheder indskrænket til valg af studieretningsfag og et par mindre valgfag. Reformen omfattede alle fire gymnasiale uddannelser, og byggede på ens principper, nemlig: Kompetencer i stedet for pensummål, kernestof i stedet for frit valg, en struktur, hvor alle fag kunne samarbejde med almindelse som det overordnede mål.

Set under enhver synsvinkel er der tale om en stor reform, der ikke mindst blev en stor udfordring for de lærere, der ikke havde erfaringer med fagsamarbejde. For at styrke fagsamarbejdet blev der i det første halvår indført tre tværdisciplinære forløb, nemlig almen studieforberedelse, naturvidenskabeligt grundforløb og almen sprogforståelse. Her skulle eleverne vænnes til at arbejde i fag, i fagkombinationer og på fagenes grænseflader. Netop de mange kombinationsmuligheder skal sikre, at undervisningen kan rumme de problemstillinger, som det moderne komplekse samfund indeholder. Når eleverne først har indset fordelene ved at arbejde tværfagligt, vil de være motiverede for i de næste 2½ år at se faglige problemstillinger i dette perspektiv,

og være opmærksomme på at kombinere de tre studieretningsfag og fællesfagene dansk, historie, oldtidskundskab og religion.

De optimale muligheder for fagsamspil er utvivlsomt reformens største nyskabelse, idet disse muligheder må siges at være forudsætningen for på en tidssvarende måde at forberede de unge på den globale virkelighed. Dernæst er der god grund til at betone kombinationen af kernestof og kompetencemål. F.eks. i historie på stx er der 21 kernestofsområder og 10 kompetencemål. Eleverne kommer til at arbejde med de 21 kernestofsområder mere end halvdelen af historietimerne, og selv om hver klasse har sin egen fremgangsmåde og forskellige læremidler, vil der alligevel være en fælles referenceramme, som de aftagende institutioner, herunder universitetet kan forudsætte kendt. Der kan være en fare for, at kernestoffet vil antage kanonkarakter, og dermed føre undervisningen tilbage til tiden før 1970, hvor et lærebogssystem var pensum. Indførelsen af kompetencemål vil utvivlsomt sikre faget imod at blive et mål, men vil fastholde det som et middel til forståelse.

Indførelsen af kernestof og kompetencemål er inspireret af den amerikanske curriculumtænkning, men takket være det danske skole- og uddannelsessystems lange tradition for bildungstænkning, blev det overordnede mål fastholdt, nemlig almindelse. Det kan undre, at et næsten 200 år gammelt begreb kunne fastholdes, men en væsentlig forklaring er nok, at begrebet netop kunne rumme den kompleksitet, som er svaret på den globale udfordring. Almindelse skal netop sikre, at undervisningen kommer til at omfatte de almene dele af de videnskaber og fag, som samfundet har brug for med henblik på at udvikle elevernes personlige myndighed til at reflektere over deres eget forhold til medmennesker, natur og samfund. Reformen kan således ses som en kombination af den tyske bildungstradition og den amerikanske curriculumtænkning. Indtil 2005 var det kun stx, der havde almindelse som det overordnede mål, men med reformen fik alle fire gymnasiale uddannelser det samme overordnede mål, almindelse. Reformen lagde op til et samarbejde mellem de tre treårige gymnasiale uddannelser, men adskillelsen mellem gymnasiale uddannelser og erhvervsfaglige uddannelser blev opretholdt. Selv om almindelse er et rumme-

ligt begreb, kan det ikke rumme uddannelser, der har et specifikt erhvervs sigte: Mekaniker, snedker osv.

Folkeskolen

I 1993 blev der gennemført en reform af folkeskolen, og ændringerne i forhold til 1975-reformen angik især formålsformuleringen, skolens fag, elevernes ugentlige timetal, krav om undervisningsdifferentiering, nye tværfaglige arbejdsformer og tilskyndelse til skoleudvikling. Globaliseringen kom i folkeskolen til udtryk i bl.a. komparative undersøgelser, hvoraf PISA-undersøgelserne blev de mest omtalte. I 2002 viste en undersøgelse af alle OECD-landes folkeskoler, at 15-årige danske elever i flere vigtige fag klarede sig middelmådeligt, f.eks. blev næsten $\frac{1}{5}$ af eleverne betegnet som funktionelle analfabeter, og i natur og teknikfaget, som blev indført i forbindelse med 1993-reformen, var eleverne blandt de dårligste. For historiefagets vedkommende blev der strammet op flere gange, men det hjalp tilsyneladende kun lidt, da der historie ikke var et prøvofag. Det samme gjaldt samfundsfag og religion. Bertel Haarder så det som sin vigtige opgave at følge globaliseringsrådets anbefaling om, at Danmark skulle satse på at skabe

Verdens bedste folkeskole.

Ved et bredt forlig blev der i 2005 gennemført en reform af folkeskolen. Den nye formålsformulering indeholdt et nyt krav, nemlig at folkeskolen skulle uddanne eleverne med henblik på videre uddannelse. Dertil kom en for historiefaget vigtig tilføjelse til formålsparagraffen, nemlig at eleverne skulle have kendskab til Danmarks historie og samspillet med andre lande. I foråret 2005 blev der nedsat en række fagudvalg, herunder historie og udvalgets kommissorium var at forslå en kanon og udforme nogle kompetencer, som eleverne skulle erhverve i undervisningen. Udvalget afgav sin rapport i juni 2005, der opstillede 29 kanonpunkter, som eleven i kronologisk rækkefølge skulle arbejde med, svarende til $\frac{1}{4}$ af undervisningstiden over 6 år. Dernæst blev der formuleret nogle kompetencekrav for hhv. 3.-5. klasse, for 6.-7. klasse og for 8.-9. klasse. Ligesom i

gymnasiet skulle kombinationen af krav til arbejdet med fastlagte emner og temaer kombineres med kompetencekrav. Historie skal fremover være et prøvofag og have flere timer. Dertil kommer, at læreruddannelsen blev ændret, og historiefaget som linjefag blev ændret fra 0,6 til 1,2 årsværk. Det bliver spændende at se, hvordan historieundervisningen i folkeskolen vil ændre sig, og hvordan den kan udnyttes i de gymnasiale uddannelsers historieundervisning. Endelig må universitetsfaget også tage højde for, at de studerende har et fælles kendskab til i alt fald 29 kanonpunkter og 21 kernestofsområder, og at de er vænnet til at arbejde med stoffet med henblik på at opfylde nogle kompetencekrav.

Hovedlinjer i uddannelsespolitikken

Dansk skole- og uddannelsespolitik har siden 1945 gennemgået to paradigmeskift, dels fra landbrugs- til industrisamfund og dels fra industri- til videnssamfund. Forordningen om indførelse af syv års undervisningspligt for både drenge og piger i 1814 blev først ændret i 1958, og gymnasiereformen af 1903 blev også først grundlæggende ændret i 1958. Denne kontinuitet siger noget om forholdet mellem et landbrugssamfund og dets skole- og uddannelsesvæsen. Først i 1990erne blev det tydeligt, at Danmark stod over for udfordringer fra et globalt videnssamfund, og reformerne i 2005 for både folkeskolens og de gymnasiale uddannelsers vedkommende må ses som svar herpå. Udviklingen kan også aflæses i den procentdel af en ungdomsårgang, der tog en gymnasial uddannelse. I begyndelsen af 1950erne drejede det sig om 5%, i midten af 70erne voksede andelen til 30% for i 2005 at omfatte næsten 70%, heraf de 40% på stx.

På trods af de to paradigmeskift er det holdbart at tale om en kontinuitet i uddannelsespolitikken. Den tyskinspirerede bildungstænkning blev fastholdt på trods af socialdemokratiske forsøg på at indføre amerikanske tilstande i form af en curriculumtænkning med etableringen af en 12 års enhedsskole, herunder en samordning af ungdomsuddannelserne. Når det ikke skete, er den mest sandsynlige forklaring, at den bildungstraditionen kombineret med en

grundtvigsk inspireret uddannelsestænkning var medvirkende til, at Danmark fik et helt særligt skole- og uddannelsessystem.

Skole- og uddannelsespolitikken blev som oftest fastlagt i brede forlig. Skoleloven i 1975 og gymnasireformen i 1988 var undtagelser herfra. Tendensen i skole- og uddannelsespolitikken har siden 1945 været en afideologisering. De store principielle diskussioner i 1950erne om, hvilken plads det nationale og det kristne skulle have, og om land og by skulle have sammen skoleordning, havde tydelige ideologiske forankringer. Opbrudstiden fra 1970-90 bar dels præg af, at landbrugskulturen var under afvikling, dels af, at højre og venstre side i Folketinget var usikre på, hvor langt traditionen kunne bære i forhold til de udfordringer, som industrisamfundet udsatte uddannelsessystemet for. Industriens krav var mangesidede, og omfattede endnu både samlebandsarbejde og videnstunge virksomheder. I 1982 udtalte statsministeren, at det drejede sig om at købe dansk, hvilket signalerede en dansk selvhjulpethed, som blot 10 år senere måtte kalde på smilet. Da videnssamfundet, symboliseret ved internettet, i anden halvdel af 1990erne udfordrede skole- og uddannelsessystemet, blev de ideologiske begrundede argumenter i skole- og uddannelsespolitikken svækket, da der ikke længere eksisterede konkurrerende erhvervssfærer, men et stort dynamisk videnssamfund, hvor kontingensen er et grundvilkår, hvor traditionelle ideologiske argumenter ikke giver tilstrækkelig mening.

Noter

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