

Appendix A – Research programme

Purpose and aims

During the middle of the 20th century the majority of the Swedish people can be described as *liberal democrats*, or citizens in a liberal democracy, at least at a normative level. They took part in general elections, and a large amount of the people also by free will engaged in popular movements. The old pre-democratic conservative system and newer alternatives such as Fascism and Communism were not generally considered potential systems of political governance. By contrast, in the early 19th century the majority of the population did not see democracy as the enclosed political future or the best of all worlds. Sweden was a society of estates and ranks and the majority of the people had probably never even heard of the concept of democratic elections or of the practice of sitting at the same political table as the master of the house or the owner of the factory.

There are many historical factors behind this production of the democratic citizen as the norm. The purpose of this project is to analyse and explain the emergence, production and reproduction of liberal democratic subjects, by studying one of the most important institutions of the process, the popular education¹. There is a prominent democratic ideal around the institution of Swedish popular education in the 20th century – a “popular education ethos” which stresses that popular education is a free occupation outside of the state with an inherent democratic character.²

We will investigate this process in a longer historical perspective, 1830–1940. By the 1940s, the labour movement through the Social Democratic Party had stepped into government, and by then it was fully attached to the liberal democratic ideals.³ It is important to stress that this decade in no way was the end or goal of the historical process of democratisation. However, in an objective perspective the consolidation of the Social Democrat government in the 1930s can be considered a decade of liberal democratic triumph. These characteristic features can be said to have its starting point in the early-industrialised cities in the 1830s and the years surrounding the liberal breakthrough.

The main research questions are the following: In what ways did the popular education nurture a democratic mind, and on the other hand, what were the limits of this project – what habits and thoughts were branded *non-democratic*? Who was *not* considered a democrat, or not trusted to be part of the group of democratic citizens?

The general aim of this project is thus to offer a deepened understanding of the process of democratisation in Sweden, especially through the lens of studying how people from all walks

¹ By popular education we mean adult education that is mostly organised in the civil society sphere and not a mere supplement to the regular school. It is equivalent to the Swedish term *folkbildning*.

² Gunnar Sundgren, *Folkbildningsforskning – en kunskapsöversikt*, del 1 (Stockholm 1998), s. 11–18.

³ Åsa Linderborg, *Socialdemokraterna skriver historia: Historieskrivning som ideologisk maktresurs 1892–2000* (Stockholm 2001); Magnus Dahlstedt, “The Swedish road to democracy? Governmentality, technologies of citizenship and popular movements”, REMESO (Norrköping 2009); Samuel Edquist, *En folklig historia: Historieskrivningen i studieförbund och hembygdsrörelse* (Umeå 2009).

of life learned to practice liberal democracy. This is important because democratisation is a never-ending and on-going process in our globalised society. We are, every day, reproduced as liberal democrats. And a history of the liberal democratic subject casts light on our present times. The long time period – which is unusual in this type of research – is one of the principal points in the undertaking. We concentrate on the middle and lower orders, the mass of the population, in the broadest sense of the word: the working class and the lower middle class, the groups that have been pinned ‘the people’ (*folket*).

The aim is also of a more theoretical nature. As will be mentioned below, democratisation have been described in terms of institutional modernisation, which have granted western countries, such as Sweden, a special place in the historiography of our democratic world. By analysing the making of democratic subjects as a political project in the history of Sweden, our research will problematise the established paradigm that the democratisation processes in the West were natural, successive and uncontested. As we will discuss in the following sections, our way of approaching democracy is inspired by newer research, which originates from Foucauldian and Gramscian approaches.

Survey of the field

The research task is relevant to and interacts with two interconnected international research areas: the West European democratic process and the development and establishment of democratic people, and the role of popular education in this process. Democratisation as a term is usually used to describe the political changes when states change from authoritarianism or absolutism to democracy, especially in the view of traditional historiography. This is a very broad classification. There are different forms of democracy (e.g. direct democracy) and we take as a starting point the fact that the West European states have developed into liberal forms of democracy. By that we mean societies where political decisions are made on the basis of free, legal and transparent elections, where people are represented by their peers and that people have the right to gather in associations and speak freely on political topics, and to criticise the state and its officials. It is roughly equivalent to *constitutional democracy*.⁴

The field of research on the topic of democratisation is rich and has been evolving steadily since the end of the Second World War. In the background of war and famine, the main question that researchers asked was why the western states had developed into democratic ones and why, for instance, Germany had not. A range of explanations were formulated which, not seldom, started in the Western heritage from the ancient Greeks, the spread of enlightenment and liberal ideals and also the process of modernity and especially the triumphant capitalistic system and a large emerging middle class. In general terms, three large theoretical schools can be traced in the field of democratic development: the modernisation, transition and structural approaches. The modernisation approach has often explained the liberal democratic societies by tracing the socio-political requirements that were seen as typical to Western societies (often comparing them with non-Western states), for instance, the spread of telephones per capita. The transition approach has often focused on political elites

⁴ The term is seldom defined, but rather used *a priori*, cf. e.g. Michael Gillespie, “Liberal education and liberal democracy”, *Academic questions*, No. 4, Vol. 3 (1990).

and their actions and how these led to a transition from absolute rule to liberal democracy. The structural approach has mainly focused on the ways changing relations of power and historical pre-conditions have supported processes of democratisation.⁵ The last approach is the most paradigmatic.⁶

Traditionally, the democratisation process in Western Europe and the United States during the 19th and 20th centuries has been studied from the perspective of political institutions and their evolution. This is also true in the case of Sweden. The emergence of the parliamentary system, the party system and the implementation of universal suffrage has been favoured topics. There has been a tendency that democracy itself is seen as somewhat the end of a natural historical process, which has been explained in terms of the integration of populations into a specific political system due to some structural preconditions, e.g. the rise of a capitalist economy and the stages of modernisation.

In recent decades this notion has been under attack in the scientific community. In the governmentality school, inspired by Michel Foucault, democratisation has been treated as a process of making people democratic, making them into democratic subjects as an effect of the process of democratic subjection. The emergence of the liberal democratic person is considered a consequence of liberal democratic discourses by which the modern subject emerges. It is a system where the power is internalised in the minds of the individual. This is a starting point we share. Later, researchers such as Nikolas Rose and Patrick Joyce have studied the project of producing the citizen suitable for the modern, liberal government. Joyce, from whom we borrow the concept of *making the democratic subject*, has e.g. shown how men from the working class and the middle class developed a democratic consciousness in Victorian England.⁷

The Gramscian tradition has also gained influence in the later decades. There, a similar stress is made on the production of consent – the reproduction of power is performed through violence but with making people feeling they are part of the system.⁸ These theories point to the importance of discussing liberal democratic knowledge and values in a perspective of power, but also a historical perspective. They underline the importance of studying the socio-political conditions of the emergence of the modern liberal citizen.

These Gramscian and Foucauldian theoretical perspectives have been criticised for forming non-refutable theoretical systems that answers everything in advance, and of course there is a danger of giving the theory a role that makes empirical research unnecessary.⁹ In this project, we wish to avoid this danger by focusing on the actual process of democratic education, regardless of its effects, and instead making room for its actual contradictions and nuances.

⁵ For an overview on these three approaches, see David Potter (ed.), *Democratization* (Cambridge 1997), pp. 10–22.

⁶ Here we must mention works such as Barrington Moore, *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy: Lord and peasant in the making of the modern world* (Boston 1966).

⁷ Patrick Joyce, *Democratic subjects: the self and the social in nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge 1994); Nikolas Rose, *Governing the soul: the shaping of the private self* (London 1989); *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality: with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (Chicago 1991).

⁸ [Antonio Gramsci] *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Quintin Hoare & Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London 1971); Terry Eagleton, *Ideology* (London & New York 1991), pp. 112–123.

⁹ Cf. Johannes Fredriksson, "Vid ett perspektivs gränser: 'Governmentality' och det historiska studiet av friheten", in M. Börjesson et al. (ed.), *Fältanteckningar: Utbildnings- och kultursociologiska texter tillägnade Donald Broady* (Uppsala 2006).

Our departure point is the fact that the liberal democratic system has been grounded on the production of *democratic subjects*, from the so-called ‘liberal breakthrough’ in the mid-19th century, over the final implementation of liberal democracy in 1921 to the formation of the People’s Home (*Folkhemmet*) with its ideals of compromises over social and political boundaries, and its marginalisation of alternative notions of e.g. direct and/or economical democracy. In this period, the majority of the Swedish population were taught to be democratic subjects. They were incarnated with democratic knowledge and ways of thinking and acting. They were expected to know how to cast votes, solve issues through discussion and reform, work for the greater good of society over the boundaries of social class, and behave respectably in these interactions. However, this ideal-typically liberal individualist democratic ideal had another collectivist side of the coin. Sometimes it was pronounced, sometimes not. The democratic citizen was supposed to defend the democratic principles, to be part of a democratic *community*, against those people and principles that didn’t belong to it. Depending on the actual political and social context, this contradiction has always taken different appearances. By our empirical research, we wish to deepen the understanding of this process and all its inherent differences.

There has been a long and vivid debate within educational science what the connection is between education and democracy, historically as well as in the present. To a large extent it has been normative and/or instrumentalist. It is, however, disputed that the goal of making people democrats by education really made people into democrats with certain knowledge and habits.¹⁰

The making of democratic subjects in the Swedish adult education movement, is an evident theme in history and has been noticed by many previous researchers. The notion that popular education (*folkbildning*) and popular movements (*folkrörelser*) made Sweden into a modern liberal democratic society is almost part of a national identity, a historical myth. In Olof Palme’s words, Sweden was a ‘study circle democracy’.¹¹ It was the cornerstone of most early historiography on the popular education, since it so well filled the internal ideology of the movement itself and it is still alive. In the words of popular education historiographer Gösta Vestlund, the popular education movement was initially a struggle from below against an old feudal and aristocratic order, but around the mid 19th century one had “reached a point in development *where the individual’s value and desire began to be respected and a democratic society initiated*.”¹²

Many previous researchers on Swedish popular education have analysed its pedagogical and ideological tendencies.¹³ Still, the scope and topic of our project has not been done, rather

¹⁰ See Gert Biesta, “Education and the Democratic Person: Towards a Political Conception of Democratic Education”, *Teachers College Record* Volume 109 No. 3, 2007.

¹¹ Karin Nordberg, *Folkhemmets röst: Radion som folkbildare 1925–1950* (Stockholm/Stehag 1998), p. 20, 102.

¹² Gösta Vestlund, *Folkuppfostran, folkupplysning, folkbildning: Det svenska folkets bildningshistoria – en översikt*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm 2010), p. 45 (our transl.). For an older academic example of the whiggish historiography, see Hilding Johansson, *Folkrörelserna och det demokratiska statsskicket i Sverige* (Lund 1952).

¹³ E.g. Bernt Gustavsson, *Bildningens väg. Tre bildningsideal i svensk arbetarrörelse 1880–1930* (Stockholm 1991); Michele Micheletti, “Folkrörelserna och den svenska demokratin”, in J. P. Olsen (ed.), *Svensk demokrati i förändring* (Stockholm 1991); Ingvar Törnqvist, *Oscar Olsson folkbildaren: I synnerhet hans tankar om universitetens roll i folkbildningsarbetet* (Stockholm 1996); Lars Arvidson, *Vett och vetande, hut och hållning. Carl Cederblads bildningssyn, bildningsarbete och forskning* (Stockholm 2002); Crister Skoglund, *Vita mössor under röda fanor. Vänsterstudenter, kulturradikalism och bildningsideal i Sverige 1880–1940* (Stockholm

paradoxically. The old whiggish historiography – still abundant in especially non-academic historiography such as Vestlund's, has led to two things: a) a tendency of promoting the opposite view: the popular education was a means of discipline and control, and b) avoiding the subject. In later years, many researchers have stressed the disciplinarian tendencies of Swedish popular education. They have shown how popular education promoted good character and/or good morale.¹⁴ Sometimes, it has been analysed as bourgeois or elitist tendencies that were gradually expanding even into the left wing of the popular education movement, thanks to its dominating status.¹⁵ Many researchers have also noted the milieu of popular movements and popular education as one where Socialists and Liberals might co-operate, in favour of a vague democratic ideal with the edge both against the Left and the Right.¹⁶

For the period 1880–1920, it is possible to rely on the findings of previous research to a large extent. In many research studies, the practices of democratic education in the popular education movement have been mentioned. There has also been made some shorter studies of e.g. the discussion clubs of the late 19th century in the milieus around popular education and popular movements.¹⁷

However, no studies of these tendencies in Swedish popular education have used our long time perspective. It is obvious that the process of democratic subjection evolved over time, where the reproductive mechanisms, at least hypothetically, changed. There is a lack of studies that on a deeper level analyse the connections and discontinuations between the earliest popular education projects of the mid 19th century and the 'modern' project that was founded in the decades around 1900.

It is also evident from earlier research on popular education that the project of making democrats did not stop with the introduction of general suffrage in 1921. To some extent, it can be said to have been intensified. The popular education in Sweden was from times to times used as a weapon for the democratic spirit to a perceived enemy – defined as the extremes to both the Right and the Left. Leading ideologists of the largest popular education organisation, the Workers' Educational Association (ABF), talked about an "educational ideal of democracy", and taught in following decades a picture of society and history with a bias against the extreme left. They promoted a pan-democratic, anti-totalitarian and nationalist idea that might be termed "democratism".¹⁸

1991); Marion Leffler, *Böcker, bildning, makt: Arbetare, borgare och bildningens roll i klassformeringen i Lund och Helsingborg 1860–1901* (Lund 1999), Cf. also Gunnar Richardson, *Kulturkamp och klasskamp: Ideologiska och sociala motsättningar i svensk skol- och kulturpolitik under 1880-talet* (Göteborg 1963); Victor Lundberg, *Folket, yxan och orättvisans rot: Betydelsebildning kring demokrati i den svenska rösträttsrörelsens diskursgemenskap, 1887–1902* (Umeå 2007).

¹⁴ Ronny Ambjörnsson, *Den skötsamme arbetaren: Idéer och ideal i ett norrländskt sågverkssamhälle 1880–1930* (Stockholm 1988); Kerstin Rydbeck, *Nykter läsning: Den svenska godtemplarrörelsen och litteraturen 1896–1925* (Uppsala 1995); Samuel Edquist, *Nyktra svenskar: Godtemplarrörelsen och den nationella identiteten 1879–1918* (Uppsala 2001).

¹⁵ Ulf Boëthius, *När Nick Carter drevs på flykten: Kampen mot "smutslitteraturen" i Sverige 1908–1909* (Stockholm 1989); Per Sundgren, *Kulturen och arbetarrörelsen. Kulturpolitiska strävanden från August Palm till Tage Erlander* (Stockholm 2007).

¹⁶ Kjell Östberg, *Byråkrati och reformism: En studie av svensk socialdemokratis politiska och sociala integrering fram till första världskriget*, (Lund 1990); Edquist 2001.

¹⁷ *Arbetarna tar ordet: språk och kommunikation i tidig arbetarrörelse*, ed. Olle Josephson (Stockholm 1996).

¹⁸ Cf. Edquist 2009; Dahlstedt 2009.

To sum up, the democratic spirit of the popular education is often mentioned and the ideology itself has been analysed in interesting manners. What we wish to contribute is the more precise question: what were the actual practises of democratic subjection? How and by which techniques did popular education make people into democratic liberal subjects – people with democratic knowledge, values and beliefs?

Project description

The project is carried out by Associate Professor Samuel Edquist and PhD Anne Berg in four years, 2012–2015. It is divided into two major studies, divided chronologically. The results will be published in a mutual longer monograph, as well as in a couple of articles.

Our two empirical studies largely share the same set of concrete questions that can be deducted from the above. They both analyse a constant and changing interaction between the two sides of the coin of democratic subjection. The first side is *the ideal liberal democratic citizen*. From the earlier research on the topic, it is possible to single out a few values and forms of knowledge that can be said to characterise the liberal democratic subject which emerged during the period. It was supposed to:

- view liberal types of democratic governance as the only right and just type of democracy
- have a democratic consciousness
- be inclined to discuss with others with reason, not emotions
- be willing to make compromises
- control his or her instincts
- believe in the formal equality of all men

Divided in this way, it is also made clear that the ideal democrat was a combination of features, some of which more directly political than others. Radical and leftist groups in popular education could well use some of them, even if they at the same time widely criticised the liberal democratic idealism.

The constant “other” coin of the democratic subject, can be called the **communitarian and socialising factor**. By this we denote the ways that democratic subjection also meant subordination into larger collectives and delineation against certain others. The communitarian and socialising factor is made evident by a number of research questions: What habits were considered non-democratic? What was considered the limits of the democratic citizenship? Were all inhabitants seen as ready for inclusion? What about the people that are not yet considered having a democratic mind? The factor also brings to light the problem of open conflict in the process of democratic subjection. Were there any strong voices against of the liberal democratic subjection from oppositional groups? What were the strategies vis-à-vis the alleged opponents of this ideal?

This way of looking at democratisation processes is placed in the crossroads of the history of identity and the geneologies of the modern political subject, and the history of education. It is through various forms of creation and opinion-making movements and media that this type of knowledge was transferred. We will study the methods used in “producing democrats” with different practical methods; discussing, how to hold a meeting, how to talk in public, how to vote. This is combined with an analysis of the ideas and values being transferred.

To sum up, we will identify and try to explain a number of mutual questions. How has the process of democratic subjection developed during the period 1830–1940? How, and by which techniques, has liberal democratic knowledge and values been transferred to the mass of the population through popular education? Which democratic popular educational projects existed in Sweden during this period? How did these make people from the middle and lower orders into subjects of liberal democracy? Were there any agents that opposed this project? And from the perspective of the popular educators who transmitted the ideal of the democratic citizen: did they consider any people or specific habits being enemies of the ideal?

Anne Berg's study: The emergence of the democratic liberal subject, ca 1830–1880

Anne Berg studies the period 1830–1880, before the time of the larger popular movements, but yet a period in which the larger part of the population was drawn into politics. Liberal and democratic educational projects arose during the first half of the 19th century. The Reform Societies and the Educational Circles for Craftsmen are two examples.¹⁹ Other important actors were the largely leftist Free Corps movement (*Skarpskytterörelsen*) and the early workers' associations and popular educational societies during the 1860s and 1870s. In earlier research these have often been in focus for questions about their Socialist or nationalist tendencies.²⁰ They have, of course, also been studied according to their status as educational institutions and transmitters of certain values and as important social organisations in the industrialisation process. But they were also, as this research project will show, laboratories for making people of all classes into liberal democrats with certain knowledge on how to conduct in political debates, how to cast votes and how to interact with different classes and groups and solve political questions. Thus, they were projects for making people into liberal democrats before the so-called democratic breakthrough.

The overall purpose with this study is to, through these 'democratic projects', analyse and explain the process of democratic subjection amongst the middle and lower orders in society 1830–1880. During this period the society is characterised by liberal political changes that for example ended the estate society in 1866. Instead of ending the study before this important political reform, this study will shed light on its level of importance in making the population into democrats. The study will for instance show that this political reform came well after a liberal democratic consciousness and knowledge was well embedded in an emergent plebeian or popular culture and public sphere.

The research questions that are posed are: *Which liberal democratic projects existed during the period? How, and by which techniques, did they make people into democratic subjects?*

The source material consists of both printed books and press but especially the protocols of the social and popular education movements which had a democratic purpose at the time – such as the ones mentioned above – which gives information on how they conducted their daily work and which practices they engaged in. This e.g. regards the practices of voting and discussing political issues, which is an important democratic knowledge. It is almost only through reading about their daily practices that information on the meaning given to these

¹⁹ Anne Berg, *Kampen om befolkningen: Den svenska nationsformeringens utveckling och sociopolitiska förutsättningar ca 1780–1860* (Uppsala 2011).

²⁰ Berg 2011, pp. 155–187, 227–258.

practises can be analysed. But it is also important to study how the knowledge of liberal democracy was transmitted via the press and educational books, for instance the civic journals and civic educational books that were published during this period. In e.g. the journal *Den Svenska Bonden* (“The Swedish Farmer”) the lower orders in the countryside were supposed to learn how to conduct themselves in a civic way and learn the ropes of how liberal types of representative government functioned. Another example is the journal *Demokratin* (“The Democracy”) in which democratic ideas were transmitted to the lower urban layers. Here they learned that liberal democracy was the only true and rational political government (as opposed to other kinds of political rule).

Samuel Edquist’s study: The reproduction of democrats in a democratic age, 1880–1940

Edquist’s study stretches from the 1880s to the 1930s, a period when popular education grew rapidly in extension from urban milieus to practically every corner of the country. Now, the working class and the lower middle class were the subject for popular education more than ever. The first part of the study, 1880–1920, is the actual birth process of the liberal democratic parliamentary system. It was characterised by the introduction of the Socialist labour movement and the rapid growth of other mass organisations for temperance and revivalism. It is also a period when the urbanisation and industrialisation accelerated. Liberals and Socialists built a broad movement for the introduction of general suffrage, a process where the popular education formed a part. Generally the popular education of Sweden entered a new phase during these decades. The folk high schools (*folkhögskolorna*) grew rapidly in numbers and began to lose their unanimous connection to the agrarian milieus. There was also a sharp uprising in the movement of popular lectures (*arbetarinstitut, föreläsningföreningar*), which had a largely liberal and academic character. First it grew in the 1880s in Swedish cities and towns, but soon afterwards also in the countryside. Finally, in the so-called popular movements – the labour movement and the temperance movement – there was a growth of a partly new form of popular education built on so-called study circles (*studiecirklar*). This was a period when popular education was more than ever considered a central tool for building the new society and the new citizen.

In the second period, c. 1920–1940, after the introduction of general suffrage in 1921, the popular education movement still consolidated and grew in numbers. New actors joined the movement, such as the agrarian youth movement and various religious organisations. But this was also a period when popular education, still formally organised outside the state in the civil society, was more tightly connected to the state. This bond was to a part economical, through a growing system of public funding of popular education. It was also of an ideological character. The forces behind popular education entered the state for real, and from the 1930s the Social Democrats formed the government for decades to come. The People’s Home took its shape, and now popular education was more than before used to *defend* the liberal democratic ideal against its enemies.

The source material for the study is rich. The ideological material can be found in various textbooks, studying materials and magazines that were spread by the various movements and leading actors. Of particular interest is the educational material on how to form associations (*föreningskunskap*) and to hold meetings (*möteskunskap*), topics that were very popular in the popular education of the day. There are also sources concerning methods of discussion.

There is also a lot of material that directly is aimed at forming *citizens* and *democrats*, e.g. in textbooks in so-called citizen knowledge (*medborgarkunskap*). An example is the textbook *Medborgarens bok* ("The citizen's book") by G.A. Aldén, used from the 1880s and well into the 1950s in new editions, particularly in the folk high schools. As to the more general ideas on democracy, I will to a large extent be able to use the previous research. But I will have to supplement that with a deeper analysis on some key figures and their discourse on democracy (e.g. Ellen Key, Knut Kjellberg, Hans Larsson, Emilia Fogelklou, Oscar Olsson, Alf Ahlberg, Gunnar Hirdman and Carl Cederblad).

The democratic *practices* will also be analysed, foremost with archival studies of folk high schools and local popular education associations such as ABF and IOGT. There are many well-kept archives from folk high schools, where it is possible to study formal rules in the schools: how to behave, how to be a good comrade, and so on. The actual training in holding meetings and discussions is also possible to study from a variety of sources from the popular education close to the temperance and labour movement. The archival material of the latter is well kept in a number of places.

Significance

The research task is relevant in regards to both the international research on the democratisation in the west during the modernisation process and to the contemporary political situations and conflicts. In the international democratisation research the Western European societies are often cited as examples of organic natural democratic societies. Unlike, for example Germany or Italy, the Western states developed into democratic states from below. We want to problematise this ingrained image by highlighting the democratisation process and its directions in Sweden. Swedish research has only sporadically analysed democratic education before our own age. We will thus be able to add important knowledge about this key issue in the Swedish political and social history.

The research task is also a public interest and contemporary social relevance - it says something about our present time and how democracy works. By focusing on the ways Swedish democracy has been an educational process, it is possible to question the well spread picture that there is a paradigmatic difference between the old Western democratic states and the new ones. Our research will therefore put the creation of democratic people into the debate and this has an enormous topical relevance.

Thanks to the choice of the popular education movement, spread within civil society, the study of the process of democratic subjection is a tool not only to enrich our knowledge on democracy but also on the larger question of the relationships between the state and civil society. What was the role of the latter in the forming of a mainly political disposition?

Preliminary results

In our earlier research we have studied popular education from different angles.²¹ Through these studies we can draw a few preliminary results or starting hypotheses. Our project will

²¹ Edquist 2001; Edquist 2009; Berg 2011; Anne Berg, "En skiktad nationell gemenskap", in Esbjörn Larsson (ed.), *Ny utbildningshistorisk forskning* (Stockholm 2009); Anne Berg & Samuel Edquist, "Folkbildning", in

show that the production of a liberal democratic population was the effect of a long historical process. Furthermore, we will show the ways in which this process changed historically and how liberal democratic citizens was *reproduced* through a constant struggle over ‘the democratic’ – transferred as a part of battles. We will also bring more light to the fact that the liberal democratic subject was a political creation, directed against other possible ways of being a democrat.

The process of democratic subjection was thus a process of learning to understand liberal representative types of democracy as the only valid choice (as opposed to direct democracy, socialistic or conservative types). Our own previous research has shown that this knowledge and identity making processes were matters of conflict and power struggles, and we will be able to deepen that analysis with the proposed project.

Part of project cost

For this project, 100 % of the total sum is requested from *Vetenskapsrådet*. There is no other funding of the project.

Budget

Samuel Edquist will be researching on 25 % in 2012 and 2013, 55 % in 2014, and 75 % in 2015. Anne Berg will be employed for 85 % in 2012 and 2013, 70% in 2014, and 20 % in 2015.

In that way, Edquist can finish his ongoing research (see below) in the beginning of the period, and still both can finish at the same time since the part studies are woven together. We also apply for a laptop for both, which is needed for archival studies, and travel and accommodation costs for archive and conference journeys.

International and national collaboration

The project is placed in a environment at the Department of Education, Uppsala University, with well established national and international networks, not least in the shape of the SEC research group (Sociology of Culture and Education). Edquist and Berg are already affiliated to that group.

Other grants

Edquist is until 2014 leading the research program *The financing of popular education* ”Folkbildningens finansiering” (scholarship, funded by *Handelsbankens forskningsstiftelser*), which has some indirect connection to the proposed research project. The topics of the two projects are rather different. Edquist is also applying to *Riksbankens jubileumsfond* for a project on archival appraisal practices in Sweden 1980–2010, a project with no connection at all to this proposed project.