

# A DATABASE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEMS, 1870–1939

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This document provides country-specific information about the coding of the three main dependent variables used in Ansell and Lindvall (2013): *centralization*, *secularization*, and *subsidization*. The coding is based on a wide range of secondary sources, which are listed at the end of this document.

As we explain in Ansell and Lindvall (2013), governments have many different instruments at their disposal if they wish to *centralize* primary education, including examinations, curricula, textbooks, grading standards, grants, teacher education, school inspectorates, and the regulation of teacher salaries and employment conditions. Since teachers are highly autonomous public officials – given their education and professional roles – the most crucial factor is arguably to whom teachers are loyal. When we coded the centralization variable, we therefore concentrated on whether teachers were state, regional, or municipal employees, and on the influence that national school inspectors and other national agencies had over hiring, salaries, and promotions. Systems are coded as non-centralized regardless of whether public schools are controlled by municipalities, parishes, or regional or state governments.

With respect to the *secularization* of public primary education, we distinguish between countries with fully secular public education systems and countries where the church was involved in operating public schools (as in the Scandinavian countries, with primary schools operated by the established church, or in Belgium, where municipalities “adopted” Catholic schools). There were also religious schools in systems that we code as fully secular, but these schools were severed from the public system (although they sometimes received government funding, which is captured by the subsidization variable described below). Some systems had a mixed character; we code those systems as religious.

When it comes to *subsidization*, finally, we identify all systems where private schools received some funding as subsidization systems. We should note that while we code this dimension for the majority of private/confessional schools, there are important distinctions to be made within the private sector. In nineteenth century England, for example, most private school students attended private confessional schools, which did receive public funding. However, a small elite also attended “public schools,” which were fees-based schools for the elite (such as Eton, Harrow, and Westminster). Elite private schools existed in small numbers in most of the countries under analysis, but although they were important institutions for elite training, they only represented a small proportion of overall enrollments. We therefore concentrate on the more common private confessional schools.

## 2. RECOMMENDED CITATIONS

Scholars who wish to use the data compiled here in their own work are kindly asked to include the following two references:

- (1) Ansell, Ben, and Johannes Lindvall. 2013. “The Political Origins of Primary Education Systems: Ideology, Institutions, and Interdenominational Conflict in an Age of Nation-Building.” Accepted for publication in *American Political Science Review*.
- (2) Ansell, Ben, Alvina Erman, Carl Gahnberg, Johannes Lindvall, and Henry Thomson. 2013. “A Database of Primary School Systems, 1870–1939.” Version 1.0. Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, and Department of Political Science, Lund University.

TABLE 1. Australia (1901–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1901–1939	0	When the Commonwealth of Australia was created in 1901, education remained under the control of the states (Wilkinson et al. 2006, 20).
Secularization	1901–1939	1	All states had introduced similar, secular school systems when the Commonwealth was created in 1901.
Subsidization	1901–1939	0	By 1901, support for private schools had also been abolished within the states through the adoption of “free secular and compulsory” acts, although the timing of implementation varied between different parts of the country prior to federation. Australia’s Catholic community built its own school system, since Catholics, most of whom were of Irish origin, often regarded the secular state system with suspicion, as an English, Protestant institution. However, Catholic private schools were financed entirely through fees, support from the church, and donations (Wilkinson et al. 2006, 16).

TABLE 2. Austria (1918–1938)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1918–1933	0	The <i>Reichsvolksschulgesetz</i> (1869) delegated responsibility for Austria’s <i>Volksschulen</i> to the municipalities. After the establishment of the First Austrian Republic in the wake of the First World War, imperial school laws remained mostly unchanged. The continuing autonomy of municipal school authorities vis-a-vis the national government became apparent when the socialist council of Vienna carried out its own education reforms in 1919 (Keim 1984).
	1934–1938	1	After the fall of the First Republic and the rise of Austro-Fascism in the early 1930s, a program of centralization and politicization of bureaucracies was carried out in Austria, as in Germany. The new constitution gave high authority ( <i>Grundsatzgesetzgebung</i> ) to the Federal government and saw for its commands to be carried out by state governments (Scheipl and Seel 1985, 102).
Secularization	1918–1938	1	The enactment of the <i>Reichsvolksschulgesetz</i> (1869) shifted authority over primary schools in the Austro-Hungarian Empire from the Catholic Church to the state.
Subsidization	1918–1938	0	The <i>Reichsvolksschulgesetz</i> (1869) allowed for private schools to be opened – for example by the Catholic Church or by companies in their factories – but did not contain any provisions on public funds and stipulated that religious schools must follow the state’s secular policies and curricula (Scheipl and Seel 1985).

TABLE 3. Belgium (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1878	0	The 1842 School Law required of each municipality to provide at least one primary school, and to provide free education for the poor.
	1879–1884	1	An 1878 revision of the School Law, which came in to effect in 1879, was the beginning of a long and protracted conflict between liberals and Catholics. The school system was centralized: the teachers became state functionaries and the government decided the quantity of schools in the municipalities and the quantity of teachers and classes in each school (Mallinson 1963, 85–86).
	1885–1939	0	The Catholic parties won the elections of 1884 and passed a new School Law in the same year. The control over schools was shifted back to the municipalities (Mallinson 1963, 101).
Secularization	1870–1878	0	Municipalities had the option of “adopting” religious (Catholic) schools, incorporating them in the public school system, instead of setting up new schools (Mallinson 1963, 46).
	1879–1884	1	According to the 1878 revision of the School Law, municipalities were no longer allowed to “adopt” religious schools; instead, all municipalities were required to establish their own, secular schools, and the church was no longer allowed to involve itself in school affairs. The Catholics rebelled against the new law. Within months, 30 percent of pupils and 20 percent of teachers had left the public schools in favor of private schools (Mallinson 1963, 85–86, 96).
	1885–1939	0	Following the 1884 elections, the municipalities were again permitted to adopt Catholic schools (Mallinson 1963, 101).
Subsidization	1870–1939	0	We have found no evidence that public funds were provided to non-adopted schools outside the public school system.

TABLE 4. Canada (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1939	0	Education became the responsibility of the Canadian provinces as a result of the 1867 British North American Act, which was an important part of the Canadian constitution. This division of powers persisted throughout the period that we consider here (Johnson 1968, 105; Sandiford 1918, 348). Funding for schools was provided for the greatest part – over 90 percent – by local municipalities, through local school taxes (Sandiford 1918, 381).
Secularization	1870–1939	1	Since education was the responsibility of the provinces, policies with respect to private schools varied. However, secular schools were instituted in all of Canada except Quebec, where the Catholic Church maintained separate confessional schools until the 1960s. On balance, we code the Canadian education system as secular.
Subsidization	1870–1939	1	In provinces other than Quebec, private schools often received some measure of public funding (Johnson 1968, 87–88).

TABLE 5. Denmark (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1939	0	The <i>almueskole</i> (Common School) was controlled by the parishes of the Church of Denmark (Bugge 1982, 69). In 1899, <i>almueskolen</i> became <i>folkeskolen</i> (the People’s School), but the basic institutions remained intact (Korsgaard 2004, 378).
Secularization	1870–1933	0	The public education system was governed by the parishes. In the countryside, parish priests were always chairmen of the School Commissions; in the cities, they were permanent members. The recruitment of teachers was supervised by the bishops (Bugge 1982, 69).
	1934–1939	1	The religious governance of public schools was the topic of many political disputes in the early twentieth century. In 1933, a social democratic–liberal coalition government cut the bond between the national church and the public school system (Korsgaard 2004, 423): parish priests lost their permanent status as chairmen in the School Commissions, and the supervisory role of the bishops was abolished (Bugge 1982, 69).
Subsidization	1870–1939	1	In 1855, a new law concerning “free” (private) schools made it possible for parents to start and run their own schools with significant state support. The principles of the 1855 law and the ideas of parental school freedom that they were based on were given constitutional status in 1915 (Korsgaard 2004, 336, 382). In 1919, a system of equal treatment for private schools was implemented, whereby “free” schools were given an amount of money per child that was equivalent to the expenses of public schools (Christensen 1987, 50).

TABLE 6. Finland (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1939	0	In 1860, a common educational system was created in the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland. Schools were controlled by municipalities.
Secularization	1870–1939	1	The school system established in 1860 was separated from the church (Kivinen and Rinne 1994, 42; Tegborg 1982, 66). Prior to the passage of the 1860 school law, the church had operated ambulant schools, and some of these ambulant schools were preserved during the final decades of the nineteenth century, but when the public school system grew stronger, other schools gradually disappeared (Kivinen and Rinne 1994, 41–43). This process intensified during the first decades of the twentieth century, and only a few of the church’s ambulant schools remained until the Second World War (Heikkilä 1982, 75).
Subsidization	1870–1939	0	We have found no indications that public funds were provided to private schools.



TABLE 7. France (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1879	0	The elementary school in France was originally governed at the local and regional levels. The communes carried the largest financial burden (53 percent of total costs in 1880), and each department had an academic council, which supervised schools and recruited teachers (Grew and Harrigan 1991, 95, 212).
	1880–1939	1	After the passage of the Ferry Laws (see below), the state became the principal provider of primary education. Its share of total expenditures increased to 66–68 percent of total expenditures, and it assumed the responsibility for paying salaries to public primary teachers in 1889 (Grew and Harrigan 1991, 212; Saville Muzzey 1911, 257).
Secularization	1870–1879	0	Rabbis, Protestant ministers, Catholic bishops, and priests were represented on the academic councils that governed. Since local authorities answered to these academic councils, the whole school system was put under clerical supervision. In many public schools, the teachers were nuns or priests. In particular, Catholic public schools proliferated after the adoption of the so-called Falloux Law in 1850. By 1876, when Catholic school attendance reached its peak, 44 percent of all primary school students attended Catholic schools (private or public) (Grew and Harrigan 1991, 95–97).
	1880–1939	1	The Ferry Laws, passed in 1880–1882, made education free of charge, compulsory, and secular (Kusters and Depaepe 2011; Saville Muzzey 1911). The number of secular state supervisors increased and the number of students attending Catholic schools decreased rapidly between 1881 and 1901, primarily because of the reduction of Catholic public schools. The secularization of the school system paved the way for the separation of church and state in 1905 (Kusters and Depaepe 2011, 23). The sharpest decline of Catholic school attendance took place between 1901 and 1906 (Grew and Harrigan 1991, 108, 280), and by 1906 only 1 percent of all pupils attended Catholic public schools. After the separation of church and state, the Catholic schools turned in to independent schools outside the public school system (Teese 1986, 248).
Subsidization	1870–1939	0	Private schools were denied public funding throughout this period and had to rely on donations and fees (Harrigan 2001).

TABLE 8. Germany (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1933	0	In Imperial Germany (1870–1918), elementary schools were governed by municipalities ( <i>Gemeinden</i> ) and funded for the most part by school fees, school “societies,” and local government (Herrlitz et al. 2005, 53). There was widespread political opposition to the centralization education even within Prussia, let alone the Empire, and the Imperial constitution did not provide for funding from the national government (Wehler 1987, 1192). Schools remained organized by municipalities in the Weimar Republic.
	1934–1939	1	After the transition to authoritarianism in 1933, the education system was centralized: states and municipalities were robbed of their competencies – beginning with the 1934 Laws Ordering the Empire and the establishment of the Ministry for Science and Education – and Nazi officials occupied state governments and the civil service (Langewiesche and Tenorth 1989, 190–192).
Secularization	1870–1918	0	In Imperial Germany, most children went to confessional schools, and school inspectors were typically church officials (Lamberti 1989, 96).
	1919–1939	1	In the Weimar Republic, however, school inspectors were no longer members of the clergy, but civil servants.
Subsidization	1870–1939	0	As statistics from 1901 make clear, there were almost no private schools in the German Empire – only half of one percent of German school pupils attended private primary schools (Statistisches Reichsamt 1908, 252–253). It is difficult to find direct information on how this tiny number of private schools was funded, but judging from the discussion in Gellert and Ritter (1985), they received no public funds, being “under the financial and organisational control of organisations or institutions other than the state or government administrations” (Gellert and Ritter 1985, 341). The constitution of the Weimar Republic and the Primary School Law of 1920 called for private primary schools to be shut down (Herrlitz et al. 2005), a policy that was continued by the Nazi government from 1936 onward.

TABLE 9. Ireland (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1922–1939	0	As we explain below, the Irish National System of Education, which dated back to 1831, in practice consisted of locally governed denominational schools.
Secularization	1922–1939	0	The schools that were associated with the National System were meant to be religious but non-denominational, and the commissioners on the national School Board therefore represented the Church of Ireland, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Presbyterian Church, sharing power between the main churches and their affiliates. The schools supported by the Board were known as “vested” schools, and were meant to follow a number of rules, including open admission for all children, separate religious instruction, and the employment of lay school teachers. As the school system expanded, however, the Board became more and more unable to control local schools effectively. Over time, therefore, the National System evolved into a denominational system (Raftery and Nowlan-Roebuck 2007, 356-367; Akenson 1970, 3, 353, 385).
Subsidization	1922–1939	1	Some schools outside the National System – known as “non-vested” schools (typically run by religious orders, such as the Christian Brothers) – received public funds for teachers’ salaries and books (but not for buildings) (Raftery and Nowlan-Roebuck 2007, 367).

TABLE 10. Italy (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1922	0	Elementary schools in the early Italian school system were financed and governed by the communes. It took until the beginning of the twentieth century before schools were established in the whole country, since many communes were constrained financially. The Daneo-Credaro reform (1911) relieved many communes from their financial burdens and managerial responsibilities by centralizing control to the Ministry of Public Instruction. However, provincial capitals were not affected, so we code Italy's school system as decentralized before the early 1920s (Tannenbaum 1974, 233–235).
	1923–1939	1	In the early years of Fascist government, the Gentile reform (1923) centralized the school system further. A national examination system was introduced, which made it possible for pupils from all schools, public and private, to receive the same diplomas upon completion (Tannenbaum 1974, 239).
Secularization	1870–1939	1	The 1859 Casati Law, which created the Italian school system, shifted the responsibility for education from the Catholic Church to the state (Scarangelo 1962, 201–202).
Subsidization	1870–1939	0	The freedom to run private schools was guaranteed in both the Casati and the Gentile reforms, but all indications are that the state did not support private schools (see Palomba 1985, 363 and Scarangelo 1962, 206).

TABLE 11. Japan (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1871	0	Before the introduction of a national school system, the Buddhist temples served as primary schools.
	1872–1939	1	In 1871, the Japanese Ministry of Education was established (Shibata 2004, 78). One year later, Japan’s first educational system was created through the implementation of the Fundamental Code of Education, <i>Gaku-Sei</i> (Yamasaki 2010, 576). The old Temple schools were restored and used as primary schools (Anderson 1959, 4). The Ministry of Education was responsible for the recruitment of teachers, curricula, budgets, and the supervision of local schools. Heads of local schools answered to mayors, who answered to Prefectural Governors, who answered to the Ministry. After a failed attempt to decentralize the school system in 1879, the Revised Education Order of 1880 and additional legal changes in 1890 centralized the system further (Shibata 2004, 79).
Secularization	1870–1871	0	As we noted above, Buddhist temples provided primary education before the early 1870s.
	1872–1939	1	The introduction of a state-run system removed schools from the control of Buddhist temples.
Subsidization	1870–1939	0	We have found no evidence that subsidies were given to non-state schools; in fact, the Meiji regime was criticized for discriminatory policies <i>vis-à-vis</i> private schools (Lincicome 1995, 239).

TABLE 12. The Netherlands (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1939	0	Municipal authorities were responsible for the governance of schools within the national school system that was first created in 1801 (Knippenberg and van der Wusten 1984, 178).
Secularization	1870–1939	1	The school system created in the early nineteenth century was secular (Knippenberg and van der Wusten 1984, 178).
Subsidization	1870–1889	0	The constitution of 1848 guaranteed the freedom to provide education, enabling Catholics and Protestants to start their own schools. The education system became divided into a public and a private sector. At this time, however, there was no public funding for private schools.
Subsidization	1890–1939	1	The absence of public funding for private schools led to the so-called “school dispute” ( <i>schoolstrijd</i> ). Since religious schools had to secure their own funding, they were often unable to meet the standards required by new legislation introduced in 1878, and many of them had to close. In the 1887 elections, an anti-liberal coalition came to power. The School Act of 1889 ruled that private schools would receive state subsidies that covered approximately one third of their costs. The school dispute was finally resolved through the “Pacification of 1917,” when the constitution was amended and all primary schools, public or private, were guaranteed equal financial support (Knippenberg and van der Wusten 1984, 179).

TABLE 13. New Zealand (1877–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1877–1900	0	Before the unification of the provinces, regional boards were in charge of education, and each province had its own school system. When the provincial authority system was abolished in 1876, a national educational system was introduced through the 1877 Education Act, which provided for free, secular, and compulsory primary education. An Education Department was created, responsible to the Ministry of Education. At the local level, School Committees were elected, and the School Committees elected the District Education Board. The regional Boards were in charge of the recruitment of teachers, and salaries, and they also administered funds and controlled the inspectorate. The Education Department was in charge of the financing of schools. Funds were distributed to the Boards on the basis of the amount of school-age children in each district. Between 1877 and 1900 the regional Boards had substantial influence over the management of schools (Berrien 1964, 6).
Centralization	1901–1939	1	In the early twentieth century, the school system was centralized, as a result of various changes that undermined the influence of the regional Boards. We draw the line at the introduction of a national scale for teacher's salaries in 1901 and the establishment of a national grading system for the employment of teachers a few years later (Berrien 1964, 9).
Secularization	1877–1939	1	The education system of New Zealand was secular.
Subsidization	1877–1939	0	The Education Act of 1877 stated that no state support was to be given to schools managed by the church (UNESCO 1972, 21).

TABLE 14. Norway (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1939	0	Public schools were initially established locally, with some financial support from the state. In the beginning of the twentieth century, teacher salaries were raised and the overall quality of public schools was improved – particularly after the state subsidy reform of 1929 (Tveiten 1994, 28; Jordheim 1994, 198). Even after this reform, however, municipalities had a lot of influence over local schools. The parliamentary School Commission that prepared the 1936 School Law proposed a central commission responsible for supervision, but the proposal was later dropped (Rust 1989, 185).
Secularization	1870–1888	0	In this period, the parishes of the national church governed schools through local School Commissions, whose members were appointed by the church and in which parish priests were chairmen (Tveiten 1994, 25; Holter 1989, 46).
	1889–1939	1	The 1889 school law changed the structure of the public school administration. The church lost a great deal of influence, since the members of local School Commissions were now elected and parish priest lost their permanent status as chairmen. The name of the public school system was changed to <i>Folkeskolen</i> (the People’s School) (Rust 1989, 111–116).
Subsidization	1870–1939	0	The state did not support any form of primary schooling outside the compulsory public school system (Rust 1989, 117).



TABLE 15. Spain (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1900	0	The 1857 “Ley Morano” laid the foundation for a national school system in Spain, which was not comprehensively reformed until 1970 (Boyd 1997; McNair 1984). This instituted <i>de jure</i> central control of education. However, the state exercised considerably less control than the law intended, with churches and municipal authorities having considerable autonomy in practice.
	1901–1939	1	Reforms in 1900 granted the central Ministry of Public Instruction, also created in that year, the responsibility for paying teachers, along with the authority to make decisions related to hiring.
Secularization	1870–1939	1	There were schools operated by the church under the Ley Morano, and they were free to appoint their own (presumably clerical) teachers (McNair 1984, 18). Church schools were still allowed under the de Rivera regime (1923–1930) and also under the Second Republic (1931–1936), despite government moves to open up a large number of new primary schools (McNair 1984, 25–28), and attempts to reduce the influence of the church on education. The state school system, however, operated outside the control of the church.
Subsidization	1870–1939	0	Central government funding was very meagre until around 1931 (McNair 1984, 25), with the responsibility for paying for schools delegated to municipalities and the church, school fees being very common. There was accordingly no state subsidization for church schools before then. During the Second Republic, a push was made to make school free for all students, and more money flowed into school construction, but the anti-clerical Second Republic avoided state subsidization of church schools.

TABLE 16. Sweden (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1913	0	The Swedish school system, <i>Folkskolan</i> (the People’s School), which dated to 1842, was governed locally, by the parishes of the Church of Sweden. Local church councils, later school councils, were responsible for the curriculum, and for the hiring of teachers (Jägerskiöld 1959, 57).
	1914–1939	1	There was a gradual process of centralization in the first half of the twentieth century, involving the amount of national funding, control over curricula, and the expansion of school inspectorates. We draw the line in 1914, when all hiring decisions had to be approved by national school inspectors (Jägerskiöld 1959, 82).
Secularization	1870–1929	0	The 1862 municipal government reform distinguished, for the first time, between civil municipalities and church municipalities (which were often coextensive with the parishes), but crucially, church municipalities became responsible for education; the church councils became school councils, chaired by parish priests.
	1930–1939	1	Beginning in the early twentieth century, many larger municipalities established secular school councils, largely because the coordination between different parishes and school councils within larger cities had become very involved (Tegborg 1969, 138–139). We draw the line, however, in 1930, when the church lost most of its remaining influence over primary schools. The school reforms of 1927 and 1929, when the responsibility for schooling was moved from church municipalities to secular municipalities, and the municipal reform of 1930, when parish priests lost their permanent status as members of school councils, were some of the most important steps toward a fully secular school system (Jägerskiöld 1959, 62–63, 83).
Subsidization	1870–1939	0	Although small private schools were not uncommon in Sweden in the mid- to late nineteenth century, particularly in remote areas, the state did not fund private education for compulsory schooling-age school students (SOU 1981:34, 18; Sörensen 1942, 196–197).

TABLE 17. Switzerland (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1939	0	Cantonal governments jealously guard their “almost exclusive authority in educational matters” (Poslethwaite 1995, 638). This authority was enshrined in the federal constitution of 1874 (Guyer 1936, 102). At least in the period that we consider here, each canton had its own school law ( <i>Schulgesetz</i> ), and these laws varied considerably from one canton to another (see the case studies in Guyer 1936, 233–364). In many large cities, such as Zurich, Lucerne, and Berne, although formal authority remained with the canton, funding and administration were delegated to municipalities.
Secularization	1870–1939	1	Neither of Switzerland’s churches were involved in the operation of public schools.
Subsidization	1870–1939	0	We have found no evidence that private schools received public funding.

TABLE 18. United Kingdom (England) (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1939	0	On August 9, 1868, parliament passed the Elementary Education Act, which established local school boards in the municipalities, elected by the taxpayers. These boards set up schools in areas where the church parishes did not already supply education (Boli and Ramirez 1987, 9; Murphy 1968, 24).
Secularization	1870–1939	0	A large proportion of all public schools were, and are, operated by the Church of England.
Subsidization	1870–1939	1	A dual system of religious and secular schools emerged in the nineteenth century (Rodhe 1994, 81). The 1870 Education Act provided churches with building grants in return for the construction of new schools in areas where schools were needed. After six months, the building grants expired, but funding for confessional schools remained. Statistics from the mid-1870s show that at that time, 60.9 percent of school students attended Anglican schools, 5.7 percent attended Roman Catholic schools, and 16.7 percent attended secular public schools. The 1902 Education Act guaranteed denominational schools as much funding for running costs as secular schools, on the condition that non-religious education within denominational schools was overseen by local authorities (Murphy 1968, 24–27).

TABLE 19. United States (1870–1939)

Variable	Period	Value	Comments
Centralization	1870–1939	0	Formal authority over schools was held by the states, but they delegated the actual control of schools to school boards constituted at a local level. These school boards were secular and, in many cases, elected (Butts and Cremin 1959; McAfee 1998; Sandiford 1918).
Secularization	1870–1939	1	The public school system in the United States is secular.
Subsidization	1870–1875	1	Until the mid-1870s, there was no clear trend as to the funding of private (especially religious) schools – this varied greatly from one state/school district to another.
	1876–1939	0	In the 1870s, public funding of confessional schools became a major political issue, but there was funding for private schools in at least some states until after the failed Blaine Amendment in 1876, which sought to ban public funding for sectarian private schools. The bill did not pass in the Senate, but it spurred most states to amend their constitutions in order to prohibit state funding for religious schools (McAfee 1998). As Jorgenson (1987, 20) notes, “The prohibition of aid to non-public schools and of religious observances in public schools constitutes our basic public policies on church-state relationships in education.”

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