

WEAVING IT TOGETHER



Histories of the Textile Industry
in Sweden and International Perspectives

EDITORS

Pål Brunnström & Simon Sirenus Frohlund

**Weaving It Together: *Histories of the Textile Industry
in Sweden and International Perspectives***

© Författarna 2025

Red: Pål Brunnström & Simon Sirenus Frohlund

Formgivning: Sara Andersson

Bilder omslag och kapitelingångar: Pexels

Tryck: Media-Tryck, Lund

ISBN: 978-91-7877-487-6

MAPIUS (Malmö University publications in urban studies), nummer 31

ISSN 1654-6881



Marie Hällander

A PLAYFUL TIME

Working Class Children's Stories in the
History of Textile Industry

Bio & Abstract

Marie Hållander is an associate professor of education at Södertörn University, Stockholm. Her PhD thesis *Det omöjliga vittnandet* was written within the field of Philosophy of Education, and was also published in 2020 in a re-written version as *The Pedagogical Possibilities of Witnessing and Testimonies – Through the Lens of Agamben* (Palgrave Macmillan). She is a published poet, and has written *Tjänster i hemmet* (2013, Kabusa Böcker) and *Stubbrötter* (2023, It-lit).

Abstract:

The article is a philosophical and literary investigation of the relationship between children's work, subjectivity and play situated within the history of textile work as recorded in the textile archives. Child labor has been a widespread reality in the European textile industry and was a major contributing factor in the industrialization of the 18th and 19th centuries. A signpost at Rydal's Spinnery, a textile factory in Sweden, which urged the workers not to play or fight – "Don't play, don't fight – rule out play and fighting at work" – provides a starting point for analyzing children's play in relation to subjectivity and work. The article use a literary formulation, and draws on the work of Giorgio Agamben as well as Eugen Fink's theory of play to develop an understanding of children's play, life, and working conditions in the textile industry.

Down Memory Lane: The Factory

My father worked as a factory worker when I was a child. He was a mechanic at a factory which produced bathroom and toilet equipment, where he serviced and looked after the different machines. He took care of their maintenance.

Evening time we could follow him there, me and my siblings. I was around 7 or 8 years old. The factory was empty during that time, I recall; no shift hours for the workers at that time, I suppose.

It was dark, and we could take the different scooters and follow the paths in the factory. All the lines, passing the different rooms, all the different machines.

It was a hunt, after each other. The three of us children, and our father.

Hiding. Turning. Going fast. Going slow.

It was a playful time.

We did not work. My father did, of course. I cannot recall him saying not to or telling us to stop.

We all went around.

Around, and around.

Again, and again.

*The dark light, the stripes, the oil, the dust, the paint, the machines.
The smell.*

It was a hunt.

I got you!



Rydal's Spinnery 1. Photo: Elin Åström 2021.

Don't Play, Don't Fight: An Introduction

Child labor was a widespread reality in the developing European textile industry and a major contributing factor in the early industrialization of the 18th and 19th centuries.¹ In this article I will focus on one finding from my archival research in relation to children's play within textile work. My example comes from Rydal's Spinnery in Sweden. Today Rydal's Spinnery is a museum, located in Västra Götaland. In this museum one can find a signpost that states:

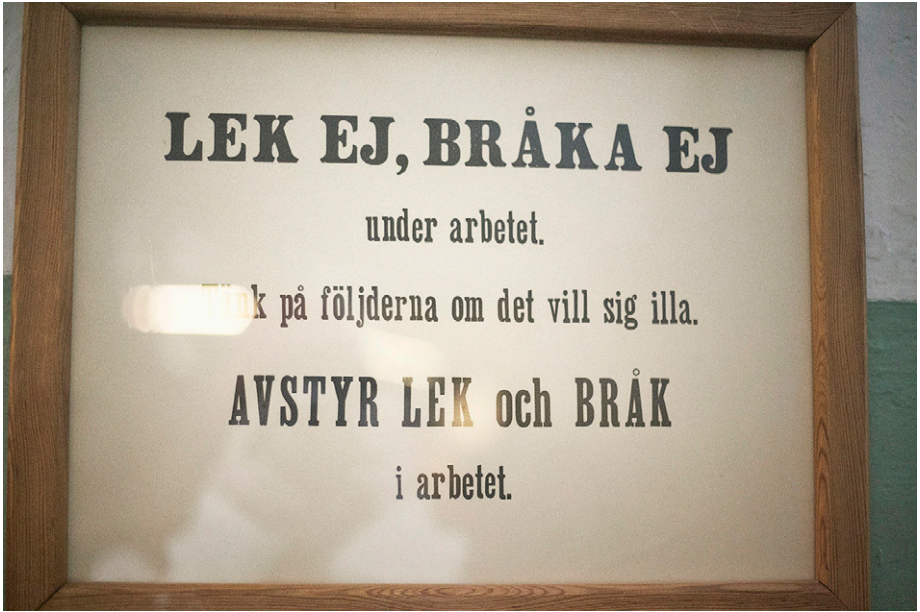
Lek ej, bråka ej under arbetet. Tänk på följderna om det vill sig illa. Avstyr lek och bråk i arbetet.

Don't play, don't fight during work. Think about the consequences if it goes badly. Rule out play and fight at work.²

When I saw the signpost, I recalled when I used to play in a factory milieu, albeit quite different from the Spinnery. Both my memory and the sign post made me smile.

Play is generally associated with children. It is part of youth and the young, a part of childhood. The call not to play in the Spinnery tells us that play did occur there, but it also tells us something about the place, the view of children and childhood within this industry, and what it could mean to be a child in the textile industry.

Drawing on the sign's call "Don't play, don't fight", the article will take a philosophical and literary approach to explore the relationship between children's work, subjectivity and play within the history of textile work and its archive. Specifically, it seeks an answer to the question: How can children's relationship to textile work, play and subjectivity be understood?



Lek ej, bråka ej. Rydals's Spinnery. Photo: Elin Åström 2021.

Drawing on philosophical sources, mainly from Eugen Fink and Giorgio Agamben, I will explore these children's lives through the lens of the phenomenon of *play*, as well as using the literary form of a “close narration” to present an understanding of these working-class children's play in the factory.³ The outline of the article is as follows. First, I will discuss and develop the method used. Second, I will discuss childhood and children within existing textile industry research. I then come to the main part of the article in which I will develop an account of play in relation to three different philosophical sources: Eugen Fink, Giorgio Agamben, and educational philosophical work on play. In between these sections you will find literary formulations entitled *Down memory lane*.

Down Memory Lane: The Collection

Mama, can you hold these?

And these.

And these.

Don't drop them.

Don't lose them.

You must keep them in your pockets.

I want to have them, they're mine.

Ok.

I want them for later.

Ok.

They're mine.

Radical Imagination: Method

This article takes a philosophical and literary approach. From my archival research I can see that children were present and they conducted textile work, but the children's voices are not well represented in the archive. The history of the textile industry is mostly, but not only, a woman's story.⁴ The woman, as well as the men and children, are often pictured and listed as workers. Sometimes with names, sometimes just nameless faces. Although they do not "speak out loud", it is not a dead end for research on these voices and experiences.⁵ The literary formulation as well as the philosophical work, becomes a way to approach these testimonies in the material, as a "history from below", as Humphries puts it, where voices from the past with reminiscences of child labor can come into a new light.⁶

The work of historian Saidiya Hartman in *Wayward lives, beautiful experiments* offers a model of the expressive literary form

as a possible method for conducting historical research. It provides a way to fill out the gaps and bring historical voices to the fore.⁷ In Hartman's book, the archival research makes the stories come to life, by using the method of "radical imagination."⁸ Hartman describes it "as a form of close narration, a style which places the voice of the narrator and character in inseparable relation, so that the vision, language, and rhythms of the wayward shape and arrange the text."⁹ In this article I have chosen to separate the different texts, and to present the literary formulation under the headings *Down memory lane*. What interests me in my material are the various individual testimonies, narrated or not, such as the reference to play on the sign at the Rydal's Spinnery Museum.¹⁰ Through close (literary) narration, there is the possibility, or an opening, to develop the different testimonies and voices in the archive, with the aim, as Hartman writes, "to convey the sensory experience" of social life.¹¹

Another inspiration is the book *Jag är himmel och hav*, by philosopher Jonna Bornemark, which combines philosophical and poetic work on pregnancy, life, and the limits of the self.¹² This particular method of combining literary and philosophical work is not well developed in educational philosophical research (my main research field), and this article enables exploration of its potential to develop these working-class children's stories, through the chosen literary as well as academic form. By using this kind of mixed academic and literary language, the children's voices can come to the fore and contribute to our knowledge of these working-class children's perspectives, their histories, subjectivity, work, and play.

Down Memory Lane: Catch!

Hey, you! Are you there? Catch!

Let's count, let's throw that reel.

Let's roll.

Counting one, two, three.

One, two, three.

Let's make it: Faster. Faster. Faster.

Childhood and Children Within Research of Textile Industry

What is childhood? How can we understand childhood in different times? I will develop these two questions in order to frame the discussion of childhood, children's education and textile work. We cannot understand children's lives in the 19th century textile industry using the same concepts and understandings of what it means being a child in the 21st century. Today, *work* is not something that is associated with childhood, even though education and schooling are largely concerned with preparation and qualification for work.¹³ This was not the case a few generations ago, as Elenius points out in his article on 19th-century workhouses (*arbetsstugor*) in Tornedalen (The northern part of Sweden), where the workhouse had a nurturing function, as an early form of after school center.¹⁴ When parents worked, many children were out on the streets, causing a disturbance or begging. In the workhouses in Stockholm, and in northern part of Sweden, the children could instead learn to do a job and get warm food, and the workhouses had a moral function as well as supporting the working families.¹⁵ In my material from Sjuhärad and Rydal's Spinnery, I have not (yet) come across evidence of workhouses; rather, children worked both in the home industry and in the factories. This leaves me with

questions regarding the different contexts of rural and urban areas and the possibilities for education they offered.

The history of the textile industry is a women's history, but not exclusively. In *Taking work home*, Nilsson shows the prevalence of female domestic workers in the textile industry in Sjuhäradsbygden.¹⁶ Nilsson shows how the poor working conditions and low wages could be justified by the idea that this income was not the main source of income for the family. Many women started working as home seamstresses when they had their first child. At the same time many of the women did not change jobs during their lifetime seeing it as a long-term plan and lifelong work. We can see, though, that children are present in these stories.

Children's cultural heritage and circumstances have received limited attention. As Darian-Smith and Pascoe put it in the introduction to *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, there are "limited documentary traces of children's lives in the past."¹⁷ Although the historical traces of children, and especially working class children, are very limited, in fact, "children are, to put it simply, everywhere."¹⁸ Children are present at different times and in different ways in adult life; sometimes at the center, sometimes at the periphery. They may be disturbing, talking, and/or be silent. Simon Sleight concludes, in the chapter "Let children be children: The place of child workers in museum exhibitions and the landscape of the past", that the history of children's work is usually accorded little space within the walls of museums. Instead, the spotlight most often falls on children at leisure or at school, with once-loved toys and ink-splattered desks used to evoke a sense of the past.¹⁹

In Rydal's Spinnery the children's work is represented in different texts. For example, the children's work (or rather play) can be seen, albeit implicitly, in the signpost that reads "Don't

play, don't fight". However, we cannot be sure who the signpost is speaking to, adults can also play, but I find it more likely that children are the target of the signpost's message. The place of children in the museum is placed at the periphery. One text displayed in the museum states, however, that in the early 19th century, children began work at the age of six or seven, until 1833 when a law was introduced that children under nine were not allowed to work. In the 1845 Craft and Factory Order, it was determined that children must be at least 12 years old to be allowed to work in factories and crafts. No enforcement really took place, however, and the law was hardly followed. In my archive findings I found several notes to the effect that "the records on the working hours of minors do not correspond with the information given by the minors themselves."²⁰ In 1881, children under the age of 12 were completely prohibited from working.

As Sleight points out, childhood has "not always been as long as now."²¹ The view of what a child is and how it should be and behave has changed over time and in different contexts. In western culture, Darian-Smith and Pascoe state, "the child is a symbol of vulnerability, which is why debates about children can slip easily into moralizing, whether they concern child labor or children's play."²² In contrast, in the classic 18th century philosophical work on children and childhood, Rousseau's (1712–1778) *Émile, or Education* (1762), this vulnerability cannot be found.²³ In Rousseau's philosophical and literary writing, children are portrayed as close to nature and should be handled as such; their wildness was good, which also implied a view on children's educational process. The character Émile should learn from nature and by himself. If he falls while running and gets injured this is not necessarily bad. Wollstonecraft's (1759-1797) critique of Rousseau's writing on women's upbringings did not totally change

this view; the educational subject is under a loose leadership, but with the important difference that the subjects were females.²⁴ However, in both Rousseau and Wollstonecraft's writing there were still different understandings of children according to social class. As Wollstonecraft puts it:

After the age of nine, girls and boys who are intended for domestic employment or mechanical trades should be transferred to other schools and be given instruction that is to some degree adapted to the destination of each individual pupil; the two sexes should still be together in the morning, but in the afternoon the girls should attend a school where simple sewing, dressmaking, millinery, etc. would be their employment.²⁵

Different children are subject to different kinds of education, and employment, it seems, with working-class children receiving one kind of education and the middle or upper class another.

In Ellen Key's *Barnets århundrande* (1900) she states that the 20th century will be the children's century.²⁶ The course of 100 years (and more) has changed the view of children and their play. As Vallberg-Roth writes, the early curriculums in Sweden (1840–1890), including *folkskolestadgan* (1942), *småskolan* (1858), and *arbetsstugan* (1887), differ from the turn of the century (1890–1930/40) focus on the “good home”, from the psychological view that dominated during the aftermath of World War II, and from the later curriculums (1980–2000) where the “child of the world” became the focus, as a role model for educating children to become cosmopolitan citizens.²⁷ The view of what a child is, shall be, shall do (or not do), has changed over time and place, and will continue to change in the future. Given this, and the fact that I am left with little knowledge of children's lives at Rydal's Spinnery, I want to be clear with that this article seeks to offer an

account of these children that imbues them with agency rather than mere victimhood. A similar approach is taken by Hartman and Sleight in their research on the history of children of working classes, black families, and poverty, in order to understand their subjectivity, play and life.²⁸

Children's Play, Learning and Subjectivity

Play is a distinctive phenomenon, and a central concept in the understanding of childhood. I will develop this understanding here, particularly in relation to the subjectivity of the children of the textile industry. Play is a philosophically interesting phenomenon in terms of how we understand different aspects of life and childhood, as well as in relation to politics, society and democracy. Alice Koubová, Petr Urban, Wendy Russell and Malcolm MacLean start from this perspective in the book *Play and Democracy: philosophical perspective* in which they develop different theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches to studying play in relation to democracy.²⁹ They develop different perspectives on how children are asked to play in order to learn something, but also as a form of engagement in something. A child that does not play is regarded as an anomaly. Childhood should, in modern society, be filled with play.³⁰ Article 31 of the UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child* states: "States Parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts."³¹ Therefore, children's access to and possibility to play is today an important part of childhood.

Existing research has discussed the understanding of play as being *a thing of its own*, or a means to *something else*; for example, playing in order to learn something else.³² In the Swedish

curriculum for preschool, play is considered to be a means to achieve something, such as a particular learning outcome, even though the formulation of play in Lpfö18 stresses that play is also something in its own right, for example when it states that: “For children, playing is an important activity in its own right.”³³ This formulation is rather new and differs from previous curriculum documents.

Leaning towards one or the other understanding of play (play as a mean or as an end) also gives a picture of how children’s play in the factory milieu at Rydal’s Spinnery can be understood. Did they play in order to learn to do the work? Did they play in order to do something other than work? Was it a form of break? Of resistance? These questions will not be answered as such but returned to and developed throughout the article. However, I imagine that play was all of these things.

Sundal and Øksnes draw on Agamben (which I will draw more on later on) to argue that, even though there is a strong connection between the two concepts of play and learning, they “are two different phenomena, both important in their own right.”³⁴ Just as teaching and learning are two closely interrelated phenomena, they are not the same. One can consider playing without the act of learning, and vice versa. Play is an *end*, in that sense. Playing is not a *means* for something else, even though outcomes of playing may be welcomed. Following the understanding of play as something specific – something in its own right – I will consider what play consists of, its ontology.

Down Memory Lane: Running

*Hey, are you up for running down the lane?
I bet I can do it faster than you!*



Rydal's Spinnery 2. Photo: Elin Åström 2021.

The Ontology of Play

What is play? To answer this question, I will discuss play in relation to the understandings given by the philosopher Eugen Fink. Eugen Fink argues that play has its own ontology in the 1957 essay *The Ontology of Play*.³⁵ Play is a phenomenon that belongs to children, but not exclusively. Fink writes that in an age characterized by the machine, the role of play becomes more and more apparent. Fink quotes Schiller, who wrote: “man is only whole when he plays.”³⁶ We have all been players, states Fink. It is an act that is more than individual, it is a public act in which we all can participate, in one sense or another. Even if we do not play anymore, most

of us, perhaps all of us, have memories of playing. Play is an accepted and enduring phenomenon of the social world. In Fink's understanding of play, we can see the traces of a phenomenological philosophical standpoint, where we find our self not imprisoned in ourselves, but rather in relation to others. Playing is not solitary, but relational (even though we can also play by ourselves).³⁷ Fink writes: "Play is life that moves within its own orbit. However, the moving forces of play do not coincide with other forces of life."³⁸ Play differs from other forms of life, whether it be sleeping, eating, working, nurturing, caring, loving, or learning. Fink regards it as an opening. Within all of these aspects of life, we can play.³⁹ One can love, and play. One can eat, and play. One can care, and play. One can feel, and play. Fink writes for example about pain as follows:

In play we do not experience "real pain" – and, yet, the emotion of play gives rise to a strange type of pain, which actually but not really moves us, seizes us, touches us, shakes us. The sorrow is only played, but even modified by play it is still a power that moves us. It has this capacity only because the delight of play includes it.⁴⁰

In play, things that are normally in use are set free.⁴¹ Human play has the need of playthings, as Fink calls them. We play with different things. These things are open, can become something different. A stick is no longer a stick but something different. Something that can be used. In whatever way they, the children, want to. It can become a sword, a horse, a line, a throwing machine. Many sticks together can become a hut.

Even though play is free, it always involves rules, states Fink. In play there are always rules and it is established by a commitment to and is bound by the rules; it is limited by the players and is in that sense not entirely free. The players set the rules.

Down Memory Lane: The Collection

Mama.

Do you still have my things in your pockets?

Let me see them?

How many are they?

One, two, three, four.

Five. Six.

Yes, let's keep them there.

Hold them.

They're mine.

Play as a loophole

Writing about the rules of play makes me wonder what kind of rules the textile children had for their games. Did they have games that they came back to, over and over again? Did they learn, with the older kids teaching the younger? Or did the parents and elderly play in order to teach the kids to do the work? Playing can have different roles and functions, both outside and inside the factory.

Michael Burawoy argues in his book *Manufacturing consent* that play is a way to increase productivity.⁴² He argues also that, in order to survive the mechanical and methodical nature of their work, workers use play to survive. Burawoy states that hard work produces feelings not only of distress or discomfort but also of joy and satisfaction. This joy can also be used by bosses, where the labor process becomes a game built on consent. This consent, Burawoy argues, “rests upon – is constructed through – playing the game. The game does not reflect an underlying harmony of interest; on the contrary, it is responsible for and generates that harmony.”⁴³ Through this lens the play performed by the workers – of consent – becomes an end in itself and a part of (or even a way to increase) productivity.

In the context of Rydal's Spinnery I cannot really regard (all?) play as, only, a part of productivity, since it was *unwanted*. Rather, I regard it as something that disrupted productivity in the factory. As Burawoy writes, even if the system is tightly routinised and monitored, it can also create certain loopholes for the workers, where there are chances to escape the routine. The unwanted play could perhaps be regarded as such a loophole. Burawoy cites William Baldamus and writes how the workers (and in my case, the children) actually find "it possible now and again to enjoy the luxury of self-determination."⁴⁴ I wouldn't perhaps call it a luxury, but it does seem appropriate to call it self-determination, or in my terms, the possibility of children's own subjectivity that emerges in the loophole of play.

Down Memory Lane: Going Fast, Going Quick

My hands. The work of the hand.

I follow it, how it folds, and unfolds itself.

Slowing down, doesn't run as fast as I want. Its stiffness. Its brokenness.

It doesn't do what I want it to do. Doing the same movement over and over again. How some threads become beautiful. Others do not. I can see that they are shifting, moving backwards. Moving forwards.

Dammit. It got stuck.

Stop!

Let's do it all over again.

See. Now. Hey.

Play as free time

Fink states that: "The player feels himself master of his own creation, play becomes a possibility scarcely limited by human freedom, at

the highest point in play freedom prevails.”⁴⁵ In what follows I will argue that play is something different than work, perhaps even opposite to work, or as stated before, as a loophole where there are chances to escape the routine and where subjectivity can take place. It can, I will argue, be regarded as a place of freedom, if play is regarded as something that is not productive. I will elaborate this by drawing on the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben’s work on *profanation* and *play*.

In Agamben’s work, play has a function in the act of profaning things. He uses the concept and phenomenon of profanation to understand politics, capitalism, and consumption.⁴⁶ The concept takes us to the world of religions, and an understanding of that which is sacred (or holy, belonging to the god(s)) and that which is profane (that which is worldly). Profanation means to treat something (or someone) as worldly and as something “that can be played with”. It is an act that separates the thing from its context (from the sacred) and makes it *free*.⁴⁷ There is a line between using and profaning, Agamben writes, and in this act of profaning things, play has a central role:

Children, who play with whatever old thing falls into their hands, make toys out of things that also belong to the spheres of economics, war, law, and other activities that we are used to thinking of as serious. All of a sudden, a car, a firearm, or a legal contract becomes a toy.⁴⁸

Children’s use of things – sticks, cars, pots, chairs – shall be understood not as sloppy or negligent but rather as showing that the children have the capacity to make something new of the old thing As Koubová et al. write: “It should be understood as a new usage that children give to humanity.”⁴⁹ Drawing on Agamben, one can regard *play* as freeing things from their normal use. Play

is characterized by its changing and transforming of both actions and things into something new. It is not about restoring things to an original state.⁵⁰

This action of profaning things can also be related to *time*, a free time that is not productive.⁵¹ Within Agamben's work this is also a critique, or perhaps *a place*, in which to understand situations and places in (late) capitalist society that are not productive, where human beings can live more freely.

This understanding of play stands in contrast to Buroway's writing on play as consent and a way to increase productivity.⁵² Rather, for Agamben, play is a way to break free from that logic of productivity. In the book *The State of Exception*, Agamben develops this further and states that "one day humanity will play with law just as children play with disused things, not in order to restore them to their canonical use but to free them from it for good."⁵³ The centrality of play in Agamben's theory of politics and law is, as Sundal and Øksnes write, that it highlights its particular capacity for changing and transforming actions and things into something new.⁵⁴ It is an opening, a possibility for transformation, rather than fixing, of subjects, ideas and, in the end, also society and states.

Going back to the signpost, "Don't play, don't fight", I want to remind readers where this was hanging: in the factory. A very specific site of human exploitation, profit and class inequality. Playing in an unwanted way in this milieu is, or can be regarded as, breaking from that productive time. This is one way to look at the children's play; as a space and place that breaks productive time.

Down Memory Lane: Tired

Papa.

Can we do something else?

I am tired.

I don't want to do this anymore.

Can we throw that ball?

A Way of Living Their Childhood: Conclusion

The children's play, the play that was unwanted in the factory, can be understood as a way for the children to recognize themselves as such. As children. As a way of living their childhood. In its own right. Play in this context, I have argued, can be regarded as a sphere for the children to recognize themselves as (playful) children. And I wonder, what did they play, there in the spinning factory? Did they hurt themselves? Was play also a form of resistance? Little of this is recorded; we are left with our imagination.

In this article I have argued that the (unwanted) play at Rydal's Spinnery is a space of a non-productive time, and a space for the children's freedom and subjectivity. This is not meant to deny or neglect the difficult situations these children were in, but rather to give them a possibility to be presented in terms other than those of hard work, productive time, poverty, slavery, and/or misery. Rather, to paraphrase Agamben, the children of the textile industry are subjects who give something new to humanity through their play. They disrupted the time of productivity with their unwanted play, and stepped in as children.

Notes

1. Jane Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution*, *Economic History Review*. Vol. 66, No. 2. 2013: 395–418.
2. *Lek ej, Bråka ej*, Rydals Spinnery museum, N.D. In correspondence with the museum, they write: “Vi vet inte så mycket mer om den skylten, förutom att den har hängt i spinn-salen sedan det var fabrik här. Det är alltså ingen museipersonal som har hängt dit den. Det står dessvärre inget årtal på den heller eller annan information. Tyvärr kan jag inte berätta så mycket mer om den.” [We do not know much about the sign post, besides that we know that it’s been hanging there since it was a factory. It is not one of the museum’s staff who hanged it there. It does not say any year, or give any other information. We cannot tell anything more about it.]
3. Saidiya V. Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Uproar*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2019, xiv.
4. cf. Malin Nilsson, *Taking Work Home: Labour Dynamics of Women Industrial Home-workers in Sweden during the Second Industrial Revolution*. Göteborg: Department of Economy and Society, School of Business, Economics and Law, University of Gothenburg, 2015, <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/38239>.
5. cf. Marie Hållander, *The Pedagogical Possibilities of Witnessing and Testimonies: Through the Lens of Agamben*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
6. cf. Humphries, ‘Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution’: 395.
7. Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*.
8. Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, xiii.
9. Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, xiv.
10. cf. Hållander, *The Pedagogical Possibilities of Witnessing and Testimonies*.
11. Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, xiii.
12. Jonna Bornemark. *Jag är himmel och hav: En filosofisk undersökning av graviditet, liv och jagets gränser*. Stockholm: Volante, 2022.
13. Gert Biesta, *Good Education in an Age of Measurement: Ethics, Politics, Democracy*. Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm Publishers, 2010; Tyson E. Lewis, *On Study: Giorgio Agamben and Educational Potentiality*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
14. Lars Elenius, ‘Ett nationellt metasystem för utbildning och fostran i Tornedalen’, *Nordic Journal of Educational History* vol 1, no. Issue 2. 2014: 63–85.
15. Elenius.
16. Nilsson, *Taking Work Home*.
17. Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pascoe, *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, 7.
18. Darian-Smith and Pascoe, *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, 2.
19. *Darian-Smith and Pascoe, Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, 127.
20. Also published as a remark in the poem: Marie Hållander, ‘The Archive, The List’, in *The Cry of the Poor: An Anthology of Radical Writing about Poverty*, ed. Fran Lock, trans. Freke Råihä (Newcastle: Culture Matters Co-operative Ltd, 2021).
21. Sleight, Let children be children, 132.

22. Darian-Smith and Pascoe, *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, 13.
23. Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *Émile, or Education*. London: Penguin Classics. 1991.
24. Mary Wollstonecraft. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. London: Norton & Company, INC, 168. See also: Anders Burman. *Pedagogikens idéhistoria: uppfostringsidéer och bildningsideal under 2500 år*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. 2019.
25. Burman, *Pedagogikens idéhistoria*.
26. Ellen Key, *Barnets Århundrande*. Stockholm: Bonniers. 2017.
27. Ann-Christine Valberg Roth, Läraplaner för de yngre barnen. Utveckling från 1800-talets mitt till idag. *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige*. Årg. 6 Nr. 4 2001: 241–269.
28. Simon Sleight, Let children be children: the place of child workers in museums exhibitions and the landscapes of the past, in: *Darian-Smith and Pascoe, Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, 2013, 128; Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*.
29. Alice Koubová et al., eds., *Play and Democracy, Philosophical Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003122289>.
30. Koubová et al., eds., *Play and Democracy*.
31. Convention on the Rights of the Child, OHCHR, accessed 16 May 2023. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child>.
32. Maria Sundsdal & Einar Øksnes. Play and the Pedagogical Apparatus. In: Koubová, Alice; Urban, Petr; Russell, Wendy & MacLean, Malcolm, eds. *Play and Democracy, Philosophical Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2022.
33. Lpfö18, Läroplan för förskolan, Skolverket, accessed 31 January 2023. <https://www.skolverket.se/undervisning/forskolan/laroplan-for-forskolan>.
34. Sundsdal & Øksnes, Play and the Pedagogical Apparatus.
35. Eugen Fink, The Ontology of Play, *Philosophy Today* 4, no. 2. 1960: 95–109, <https://doi.org/10.5840/philtoday19604229>. See also: Hällander, Marie. *Demokratin mår bra av sexuella lekar*. OBS Radioessä P1 Sveriges Radio . Sändes 12 mars 2024. <https://www.sverigesradio.se/avsnitt/demokratin-mar-bra-av-sexuella-lekar>
36. Eugen Fink, Ute Saine, and Thomas Saine, “The Oasis of Happiness: Toward an Ontology of Play”, *Yale French Studies*, no. 41, 1968: 20, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2929663>.
37. Fink, “The Ontology of Play”, 147–48.
38. Fink, The Ontology of Play, 151.
39. Fink, The Ontology of Play, 151.
40. Fink, The Ontology of Play, 153–54.
41. Giorgio Agamben, *Profanations*. New York: Zone Books, 2007.
42. Michael Burawoy. *Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labor Process under Monopoly Capitalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
43. Burawoy, *Manufacturing Consent*, 82.
44. Burawoy, *Manufacturing Consent*, 78.
45. Fink, “The Ontology of Play”, 157.
46. Agamben, *Profanations*.

47. Agamben, *Profanations*; Marie Hällander, Inhabiting a Place in the Common: Profanation and Biopolitics in Teaching, *Studier i Pædagogisk Filosofi* 6, no. 1, 2017: 69–82, <https://doi.org/10.7146/spf.v6i1.102661>.
48. Agamben, *Profanations*, 76.
49. Koubová et al., *Play and Democracy*, 215.
50. Sundal & Øksnes, Play and the Pedagogical Apparatus, 216.
51. Jan Masschelein & Maarten Simons, *In Defence of the School. A Public Issue*. Leuven: E-ducation, Culture & Society Publisher, 2013. cf. Lewis, *On Study*.
52. Burawoy, *Manufacturing Consent*.
53. Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005: 64.
54. Sundal & Øksnes, 'Play and the Pedagogical Apparatus', 216.

References

Printed Sources

- Agamben, Giorgio. *Profanations*. New York: Zone Books, 2007.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Biesta, Gert. *Good Education in an Age of Measurement : Ethics, Politics, Democracy*. Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm Publishers, 2010.
- Bornemark, Jonna. *Jag är himmel och hav: En filosofisk undersökning av graviditet, liv och jagets gränser*. Stockholm: Volante, 2022.
- Burawoy, Michael. *Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labor Process under Monopoly Capitalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1982.
- Burman, Anders. *Pedagogikens idéhistoria: uppfostringsidéer och bildningsideal under 2500 år*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. 2019.
- Darian-Smith, Kate & Pascoe, Carla. *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Elenius, Lars. Ett Nationellt metasystem för utbildning och fostran i Tornedalen. *Nordic Journal of Educational History* vol 1, no. Issue 2, 2014: 63–85.
- Fink, Eugen. The Ontology of Play. *Philosophy Today* 4, no. 2, 1960: 95–109. <https://doi.org/10.5840/philtoday19604229>.
- Fink, Eugen, Ute Saine, and Thomas Saine. The Oasis of Happiness: Toward an Ontology of Play. *Yale French Studies*, no. 41, 1968: 19. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2929663>.
- Hällander, Marie. *The Pedagogical Possibilities of Witnessing and Testimonies: Through the Lens of Agamben*. Chams: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
- Hällander, Marie. Inhabiting a Place in the Common: Profanation and Biopolitics in Teaching. *Studier i Pedagogisk Filosofi* 6, no. 1. 2017: 69–82. <https://doi.org/10.7146/spf.v6i1.102661>
- Hällander, Marie. The Archive, The List. In: *The Cry of the Poor: An Anthology of Radical Writing about Poverty*, ed. Fran Lock, translated by Freke Råihä. Newcastle: Culture Matters Co-operative Ltd, 2021.
- Hällander, Marie. Demokratien mår bra av sexuella lekar. OBS Radioessä P1 Sveriges Radio . Sändes 12 mars 2024. <https://www.sverigesradio.se/avsnitt/demokratin-mar-bra-av-sexuella-lekar>
- Hartman, Saidiya V. *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2019.
- Humphries, Jane. Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution. *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 66, No. 2. 2013: p. 395–418.
- Jan Masschelein & Maarten Simons. *In Defence of the School. A Public Issue*. Leuven: E-ducation, Culture & Society Publisher, 2013.
- Key, Ellen. *Barnets Århundrande*. Stockholm: Bonniers. 2017.
- Koubová, Alice; Urban, Petr; Russell, Wendy; & MacLean, Malcolm eds. *Play and Democracy, Philosophical Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003122289>.

- Lpfö18, Läroplan för förskolan. Accessed 31 January 2023. <https://www.skolverket.se/undervisning/forskolan/laroplan-for-forskolan>.
- Lewis, Tyson E. *On Study: Giorgio Agamben and Educational Potentiality*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Nilsson, Malin. *Taking Work Home: Labour Dynamics of Women Industrial Homeworkers in Sweden during the Second Industrial Revolution*. Göteborg: Department of Economy and Society, School of Business, Economics and Law, University of Gothenburg, 2015. <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/38239>.
- OHCHR. 'Convention on the Rights of the Child'. Accessed 16 May 2023. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child>.
- Sleight, Simon. Let children be children: the place of child workers in museums exhibitions and the landscapes of the past, in: *Darian-Smith and Pascoe, Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Sundsdal, Maria & Øksnes, Einar. Play and the Pedagogical Apparatus. In: Koubová, Alice; Urban, Petr; Russell, Wendy & MacLean, Malcolm, eds. *Play and Democracy, Philosophical Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2022.
- Vallberg Roth, Ann-Christine. Läroplaner för de yngre barnen. Utveckling från 1800-talets mitt till idag. *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige*. Årg. 6 Nr. 4 2001: 241–269.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. London: Norton & Company, INC.

Unprinted source

Rydal's Spinnery Museum, *Lek ej, bråka ej – avstyr lek och bråk i arbetet*, Sign post. Nd.