

# At the Roots of Finnish Elementary Education – How Were Children Raised in the First Finnish Elementary Schools?

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## **Abstract**

This study dissects the history of Finnish elementary education and the way children were raised during the initial phase of Finnish education in the 18th century. The development of Finnish education was studied through contemporary decrees and laws and studies of Finnish school history. The preliminary aim was to focus on the principles and practices of raising children in Finnish schools. This study focuses on (1) describing the birth, goals, and practices of Finnish elementary education and development toward compulsory education, (2) describing the way children were raised toward the contemporary goals, and (3) dissecting the connection between teacher training and the goals of raising children in Finnish schools. All these viewpoints are discussed from the viewpoint of how the aspirations and objectives were realized and implemented in practice in raising children. As a conclusion, we discuss the influence of the past in today's educational practices.

**Keywords:** Education, History of Education, Finnish Educational System, Child Raising, Elementary Education.

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## **Introduction**

Nowadays, in developed countries such as Finland, both parents of the vast majority of families with children under school age are in full-time employment. Along with the changes in working life, the role of day-care centers and schools in rearing has strengthened (Määttä & Uusiautti, 2012). Professionals define what is good child rearing and what kind of rearing should be implemented inside citizens' homes. The rearing task has become professionalized

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(Bimbi, 1992; Greenwood & Hickman, 1991) and from the parents' point of view, parenthood can be considered shared with public education institutions (Bauch, 1994; Björnberg, 1992; Cutting, 1998).

In the society of rapid change, the future generation is likely to differ from the present and therefore, educational systems are in constant change too (Jakku-Sihvonen & Niemi, 2007; Naumanen & Rinne, 2008). The changes cause uncertainty about the norms and what kind of rearing is the best for children (see Lahikainen & Strandell, 1987; Young, 1995) and what would be the best for the society too (e.g. Milligan, Morretti, & Oreopoulos, 2004); and this topic is under constant debate (see e.g. Howard, 2003). This kind of development is evident in the educational history of Finland (Iisalo, 1979; see also Simola, 2005).

In this article, we direct our attention to the past. We dissect the history of Finnish elementary education and the way children were raised during the initial phase of Finnish education. Here, the concept of elementary education refers to the first form of basic education in Finland but which was not yet defined compulsory or comprehensive. Certain educational trends influenced on Finnish educational system laying the foundation of today's Finnish education. Our article focuses on the period that started in the 18th century and the development of Finnish education was studied through contemporary decrees and laws and studies of Finnish school history. The article is based on our previous educational historical studies on the history of Finnish teacher training colleges (Paksuniemi, 2009; Paksuniemi & Määttä, 2011a,b,c; Paksuniemi, Uusiautti, & Määttä, 2012, 2014) complemented with a review of previous research and an analysis of relevant laws and decrees. Our preliminary aim was to focus on the principles and practices of raising children in Finnish schools.

This article focuses on (1) describing the birth, goals, and practices of Finnish elementary education and development toward compulsory education, (2) describing the way children were raised toward the contemporary goals, and (3) dissecting the connection between teacher training and the goals of raising children in Finnish schools. All these viewpoints are discussed from the viewpoint of how the aspirations and objectives were realized and implemented in practice in raising children. As a conclusion, we discuss the influence of the past in today's educational practices.

#### *Socially Acceptable Citizens as the Goal*

Until the mid-19th century, the Christian church defined the content and direction of Finnish citizens' education. Since the Reformation, the cornerstones of education were the Lord's Prayer, creed, and the Decalogue. The 1723 King's decision said that parents had to teach their children to read or send them to be taught by the parish personnel—otherwise, they would be fined. In 1773, all children had to go to confirmation classes and in 1776 it was defined that parishioners' reading skills had to be tested before their take their first communion. Education provided by the church was based on the teaching of reading skills and learning the catechism and dogma of Christianity (Juva, 1995; Lipponen, 2003). The supporters of comprehensive education wanted to remove education from the church to be the society's responsibility but the church did not agree because of the fear of comprehensive education being too liberal (Lipponen, 2003).

The father of Finnish elementary education, Uno Cygnaeus, had adopted the basic idea of Pestalozzian pedagogy (Iisalo, 1989). According to the pedagogical trend, it was important to invest in individual education for the development of the society. Every adult had to take care of the balanced development of children's body and mind. Both theoretical and manual skills had to be taught at school, such as handicraft and gym. The school was responsible for turning information into "living conviction" in pupils (Cygnaeus, 1910; Iisalo, 1989; Tuomaala,

2004). According to Cygnaeus, elementary education had to be based on Christianity but it also had to teach practical skills. Consequently, elementary schools were not supposed to be just a place of doing schoolwork. Elementary education was to be the whole nation's basic education. Moreover, Cygnaeus aimed at arousing love toward the underprivileged. His objective was to develop elementary education through practical skills: pupils had to train their coordination, observation, and sense of aesthetics and working with tools (Cygnaeus, 1903; Isosaari, 1961; Tuomaala, 2004).

These thoughts of Cygnaeus differed totally from J. V. Snellman's, one of the most influential Fennomans, ideas: Snellman emphasized "intellectual education" as the most important task of elementary education (Iisalo, 1989, pp. 123–124). Snellman's views were mostly based on Hegel's tenets. According to Snellman, the school had succeeded if it made a pupil fall in love with information seeking (Koski, 1999; Lehmusto, 1951). The most essential difference between Cygnaeus's and Snellman's opinions was that Snellman would emphasize intellectual education whereas Cygnaeus aimed at balanced education. Snellman's thoughts won because elementary education had emphasis on the former. Snellman argued that the route through discipline from the nature to culture, from necessities to freedom, and from insanity to intelligence varied by pupils' ages. Snellman distinguished three educational environments: the home, the civil state, and the society. Strict discipline was to be implemented in schools: "We consider discipline as the strongest support of education at school." Snellman highlighted that the task of school was to educate decent citizens who follow the society's habits and law. Obedience to the law was indirectly taught through discipline and order at school. The primary task was, however, to educate the whole nation (Ojakangas, 2003; Melin, 1980; Paksuniemi, 2009).

The starting point of folk education leaned on the idea of the nation's development as the primary purpose of individuals' lives. The individual virtue was considered to represent the nation's virtue. Every human being has to perceive himself or herself as unique and morally and spiritually responsible individual who is a part of something greater, common earthbound and spiritual good. As Hegelian thinking was combined with the traditional Lutheran ethics prevailing in Finland of that time, the idea of a good child and educated citizen was based on the development of a decent, God-fearing, and useful citizen (Koski, 1999). The general purpose was to educate the people and raise the general level of education in order to avoid conflicts, such as the Civil War in Finland in 1918.

Moral-societal aspirations were based on the Lutheran tradition of upbringing (Koski, 1999). Children were considered a gift from God, not for parents but the Heaven. Lutheran upbringing focused on the devout everyday life and emphasized the divine origin of civic virtues (Cunnigham, 1995, Kuikka, 2003). Snellman and Cygnaeus had disagreements especially on questions related to primary education. Snellman would have left primary education to parents but Cygnaeus wanted to have small children taught at school. Thus, the debate concerned the relation between upbringing at home and at elementary education (Lipponen, 2003).

#### *Education in Elementary Schools – Toward Christian-decency through Order and Discipline*

Decree on elementary education took effect in 1866. Due to the decree, education in Finland started to have uniform and organized features (Decree on elementary education 11 May 1866 § 102, 105; Paksuniemi, 2009; Valta, 2002). According to the decree, elementary education had to be six years long in cities and four years long in the countryside (Nurmi, 1981). In cities, pupils had to be 8–14 years old. Additionally, the law defined the maximum number of pupils per classroom: the first grade could have maximum of 40 children and other grades 60.

(Decree on elementary education 11 May 1866 § 102, 105.) The decree did not aim at making elementary education available for all but at giving directions to the development of education (Halila, 1949a). Elementary schools had to be established in cities so that every 8–12-year-old children who wanted to study could go to school.

Elementary education had two levels: lower and upper elementary education. At the lower level, the primary school, girls and boys were taught together but at the upper level, they were taught in separate classrooms. (Decree on elementary education 11 May 1866 § 104.) The decree was changed in 1889 when in new schools, girls and boys could be taught together if needed (Decree on elementary education 27 Jun 1889; The Merciful Decree of Imperial Majesty, 1989; Finnish Decree Collection no. 26/1889). The decree on elementary education did not make education compulsory and therefore, it could not oblige municipalities and cities to establish elementary schools (Hiltunen, 1983).

The social-political background was evident in the elementary school curriculum. The goal was to teach pupils to be diligent and to introduce new livelihoods for example by teaching handicrafts. Finland was the pioneer of handicrafts education in the world. Education emphasized everyday skills and the ability to make everyday utility articles because the idea was that pupils would return farm work after school (Halila, 1949b). Pupils were part of the family workforce and farm work determined children's participation in education. Due to this, children attended school irregularly (Lipponen, 2003).

Christianity was strongly present in teaching and the teacher's task was to instill true fear of God, gratitude, and trust in God into pupils' hearts and to encourage them to show their fear of God by obeying parents and teachers (Cygnaeus, 1910; Haavio, 1941; Salo, 1934). In Christian-decent education, innocent heart, teetotalism, humbleness, obedience, sense of duty, charity, helpfulness, kindness, tidiness, honesty, and bravery were considered the features of a good child as it could enable the relationship between a child and God. Respectively, a bad child would bully, mock, be proud, lie, steal, and be disobedient, sloppy, and lazy (Koski, 1999).

The decree on elementary education also included means of punishment that a teacher could use if a pupil did not, regardless of the teacher's request, follow the school rules. This did not only concern disobedient pupils but also lazy and remiss pupils. Before the actual punishment, the teacher had to give a warning (Valta, 2002). If necessary, the teacher could use the following forms of punishment: to reprehend and give a warning to a pupil in the presence of the whole class, to move a pupil's place lower (pupils would sit in a ranking order and a lazy and careless pupil would be replaced), to separate a pupil from other pupils, to set detention, to punish physically which meant six rod strokes on palms in the presence of the whole class, and finally, to expel a pupil from school (Decree on elementary education 11 May 1866 § 96–97). Furthermore, the decree provided detailed instructions on who could punish and how to use and interpret the punishment directions. For example, reprehending was the immediate way of reacting to a pupil's disobedience and separation from others meant usually standing in the corner. The grosser a pupil's offence was—such as disobedience or questioning the teacher's authority—the more severe was the punishment (Valta, 2002; Heponanta, 1945). Other forms of punishments were pulling hair, hitting with a pointer, and putting a pupil stand behind the blackboard (Valta, 2002).

Consequently, the decree on elementary education formed the basis for punishments, too. The directions were applied in Finnish elementary schools with little changes, such as how the forms of punishments were called. Otherwise, the forms of punishments did not change much

in later decrees and laws. The most significant change happened in 1914 when physical punishments were forbidden (Law on Physical Punishments, 1914 Decree 6 June 1914 N:o 24).

Pupils had to be raised to be God-fearing, patriotic, and obedient to law and authority, to show good manners and diligence, and therefore, discipline at school had to be strict. For example, raising hand during a lesson had separate directions:

*In order to maintain good order, it is necessary to require that children, immediately after the bell ringing, go next to their desks, without any noise and rattle and place their chair close enough to the desk (that is also practicing of nice behavior) while the teacher reads 1, 2, 3 and puts everyone in order and sit straight, in natural positions with hands on the desk, looking at the teacher. The teacher's short and rigorous and otherwise educational question is addressed to the whole class; those who think they can answer the question will raise their right-hand forefinger a little (do not raise and wave their whole arm) and the one, who is allowed to answer, answers with a perfect sentence so that the question is enclosed in the answer. This way of raising hand and perfect answering must not be neglected by any means in elementary schools (Cygnaeus, 1910, p. 525).*

If the aforementioned procedure was followed, the teacher did not have to use punishments (Cygnaeus, 1910). As the elementary education system was new and class sizes were big, strict discipline was needed in schools. Some pupils adjusted in this regimentation but in some pupils it caused hostility to school. Especially, restless pupils found it difficult to sit still because they were not used to it. At the beginning period of elementary education, the number of punishment was high because pupils were not familiar with habits required at school. Their parents had not usually gone to any school and therefore, they could not prepare their children for school. Neither did they appreciate education which was shown in pupils' low motivation toward studies. The occurrence of disturbance was a problem of the beginning phase of elementary education, but as pupils got used to school habits, discipline was not considered a problem. On the other hand, there were also children who were subservient to school and there was no need to punish them. Moreover, elementary education being voluntary made the situation a little easier as ill-bred children quit or did not come to school (Valta, 2002).

#### *The Birth of Compulsory Education and Standardization of Education*

One of the most important reforms of the 19th century took place in 1866 when Emperor Alexander the II gave the command for establishing the elementary school. The Merciful Decree of Imperial Majesty in 1898 obliged municipalities to establish schools although compulsory education had not yet taken effect (Decree on School Districts, 1898 § 1, Finnish Decree Collection no. 20/1898; Paksuniemi, 2009; Päivänsalo, 1971). Decree on districts was regarded as the first law on compulsory education in Finland although it did not mean compulsory education as such. However, according to the decree countryside municipalities had to form elementary school districts and to provide elementary education to every school-age children in their native language. A school had to be established if the district had at least 30 children willing to go to school. School commute had to be no more than five kilometers (~3.1 ml) (Decree on School Districts, 1898 § 1–3; Finnish Decree Collection, 20/1898; Nurmi, 1983; Paksuniemi, 2009). This part of the decree was not followed everywhere, for example in sparsely-populated municipalities (Decree on School Districts, 1898 § 2 and 3; Finnish Decree Collection, 20/1898). If a school had over 50 pupils, a new school had to be established or an assistant teacher had to be hired (Decree on School Districts, 1898 § 3; Finnish Decree Collection, 20/1898; Heporauta, 1945). The decree on districts was considered an improvement. During the first year after the decree took effect, the number of pupils increased by 5,000. More and more pupils went to school in countryside. Along the decree on

districts the total number of pupils covered by school districts increased from 68,000 to 190,000 in 1920. The decree solved some of the flaws in the decree of elementary education although primary education still remained scattered and defective. Most importantly, the development of the Finnish elementary education system accelerated (Decree on Elementary Education, 11 May 1866 § 96–97; Paksuniemi, 2009; Tuunainen-Nevala, 1986).

A bill of compulsory education was proposed already in 1910 but was not passed because of the objection of Tsar Nikolai the II. The situation changed after Finland gained independency in 1917 (Männistö, 1994). Compulsory education was objected because of its costs and because it would turn elementary education obligatory. This was considered contrary to the general sense of justice and it was feared of causing reluctance, which, for its part, was believed to weaken the position and appreciation of elementary education (Halila, 1949b). Moreover, children's parents objected the law on compulsory education even more than was expected. One reason was ignorance. In addition to that, parents were afraid that their appreciation as educators would weaken. Some parents considered elementary education as a factory that did not recognize individuality (Oinasmies, 1945).

Traditionally, countryside children had been taught by the church or at home (Werkko, 1903). Until the 1840s, vergers took care of teaching but only a few of them could actually teach writing and math. After the decree of elementary education, it was still possible to hire unqualified staff in primary education and therefore, teachers represented quite a motley group of people (Halila, 1949a; Iisalo, 1989). Parents had the main responsibility for teaching and education but if they were unable to teach reading, Finnish, and the teachings of Christianity adequately, charter schools provided by the church arranged education also in writing, singing, and math (The Merciful Decree of Imperial Majesty 1866 §114; Hyyrö, 2006; Iisalo, 1968; Soikkanen, 1966). Even after the decree took effect, primary education was still mainly provided at homes and was controlled by priests and thus, the quality of teaching varied greatly—resulting to a discussion over the standardization of primary education and the education of primary teachers (Hyyrö, 2006; Paksuniemi, 2009).

The temporary regulation of 1918 stated that as many two-year-long primary education teacher colleges had to be established as needed (Letter of Finnish Senate, Church and educational administration 25 May 1918). This was the incentive to the development of the Finnish primary education and to organizing necessary teacher education. Primary education was organized within elementary education: the lower elementary education comprised grades 1–2 (pupils aged 7–8 years) (Hyyrö, 2006; Melin, 1980; Paksuniemi, 2009.)

After a wide debate, compulsory education took effect on the 15th of April 1921. According to the law on compulsory education, Finnish children had to go to school during the year in which they reach the age of seven until the spring semester of the year in which they reach the age of 13 (Elementary Education Laws and Decrees 1932, 45 § 3; Law on Compulsory Education, 101/1921). The law on compulsory education did not, however, treat school-age children equally. Conditions were greatly different in cities and in the countryside. In cities, children commonly went to school and the law on compulsory education was considered only formal. Economic circumstances, especially during the Great Depression at the beginning of the 1930s, hindered municipalities from establishing new schools. Consequently, compulsory education was fully achieved after the Second World War (Law on Compulsory Education, 101/1921; Jauhiainen, 1993).

The law on compulsory education did not by any means solve problems of education but rather increased them because children of a certain age had to go to school. As teachers could not use physical punishments any longer and pupils could not be expelled from school since

education was compulsory, the forms of punishment were considered inefficient. Especially, forbidding physical punishments was problematic because it could not be replaced with any other form of punishment. It was also found conflicting because the forms of punishment that were previously in use in elementary school were already regarded as relatively few in number. In addition, the law forbidding physical punishments took effect in a bad time because the era was more restless than before. In order to maintain peace in classrooms, physical punishments were allowed in exceptional cases because elementary school was otherwise powerless with ill-bred pupils. Actually, the school system did a bill for restoring physical punishments at school but the National Board of Education never accepted it but instead it encouraged teachers to negotiate with parents about punishments that could be given at home for bad behavior at school (Salmela, 1933). According to the law on compulsory education, teachers had the right to punish pupils who do not follow the orders and regulations at school. The same concerned lazy and remiss pupils, who did not, regardless of warning, change their behaviors (Laurila, 1926).

At the initial phase of elementary education, there were not any clear didactic guidelines. At the beginning of the 20th century, education was unified due to Herbartism and reform pedagogy. While Herbartism emphasized intellectual, teacher-led education, reform pedagogy favored pupils' freedom, teachers' role as guides, and working school ideology. The thought of practicality originated in the societal change and its needs. On the other hand, teacher-led teaching made pupils passive and cause restlessness and concentration problems. Finnish teachers worked using the forms of punishing provided by the decree on elementary education. The decree was complemented by additional directions that were to prevent malpractice of punishments. The most crucial change in punishments took place when physical punishments were forbidden. The change roused discussion both for and against. Education was further developed so that pupils' difficulties could be prevented better. Lessons were planned to be as interesting as possible so that pupils would not have wanted to disturb teaching (Valta, 2002; Syväoja, 2000). On the other hand, carefully planned lessons did not leave room for movements, mimicry, or gesticulation, not to mention free socializing with peers (Syväoja, 2000). Broady (1986) saw discipline as school as an unconscious method to teach pupils who to become patient and fit citizens for work and life in the society.

#### *Features That Formed Teacher Education*

Teacher education was under constant development and by the end of the 1860s, primary education teacher colleges operated in few places and the number increased little by little at the beginning of the 20th century. Still, not all teachers were educated in teacher training colleges. In the 1910s, the state started to take care of elementary school teacher training and in 1917 (Halila, 1950; Hyyrö, 2006; Melin, 1980; Kuikka, 1978; Nurmi, 1989).

Herbartianism influenced the Finnish elementary school system at the beginning of the 20th century. It was considered a didactic deliverance after the non-uniform didactics of the end of the 19th century (Lahdes, 1961; Paksuniemi, 2009). The Herbartian trend emphasized decency, hobbyism, and concentration (Halila, 1949c). Being based on the teacher-led ideology, teachers were responsible for the contents studied in the classrooms (Hyyrö, 2006; Iisalo, 1989; Paksuniemi, 2009). Therefore, teachers had a central position in classrooms and it was accentuated, for example, by situating the teacher's desk on a podium (Koskenniemi, 1944; Paksuniemi, 2009). Mikael Soininen became interested in Herbartianism already in the 1890s and became known as the Finnish protagonist of Herbartianism. Soininen was a Finnish educationalist and politician who specialized in school issues fighting the case of compulsory education and worked as the chief director of the National Board of Education (1917-1924). In line with the fundamental ideology of Herbartianism, Soininen thought that teaching should

be educative, in other words, it should pay a special attention to decency. Teachers' activity was seen as the disadvantage of the trend because pupils were regarded as passive receivers of information (Iisalo, 1989). Already in the 1910s, reform pedagogical ideas took root in Finland and many elementary school teachers tried them in practice in the 1920s and 1930s (Somerkivi, 1977). The new school had many names: it was called for example the school of life, experiential school, and even experiential pedagogy. The new school highlighted the demands for patriotism and socialization. In addition, the importance of sport and environment was emphasized. Furthermore, each classroom was seen as a miniature society (Peltonen, 1989).

The new school had emphasis on active pupils who could follow their nature. Teachers had to recognize their individualism and societal demands. In teaching, teachers were supposed to highlight the life outside school and its demands. The new school was considered a working school that pursued finding pupils' own resources. Studying had to be true-to-life and pupils' working autonomous. They could, for example, set their own goals and find suitable means and plan their action by themselves. In the new school, information had to be useful, self-sought. All action highlighted independent initiative that was based on children's natural action. Teaching was expected to emphasize pupils' socialization, autonomy, and the needs of the society. The purpose of increasing pupils' freedom and diversifying teaching methods was to diminish disturbances of conduct (Hyyrö, 2006; Paksuniemi, 2009; Valta, 2002).

The teacher was regarded as the most important motivator who maintains working peace in the classroom. For the success of teaching, teacher education, teaching facilities, classroom sizes, and curricula were considered the most important. Teachers themselves acted as embodiments of discipline: they had to practice strict and coherent self-discipline in their behavior and inner thoughts. Teachers had to be able to maintain peace through their own personality, calm behavior, and first and foremost, fair attitude. The more demanding a teacher was to himself or herself, the better teacher he or she was considered. Furthermore, much was dependent of how well teachers knew their pupils in order to be able to read their thoughts. Teachers had to have a many-sided picture their pupils' characters, aptitudes, and habits. Thus, discipline was adjusted to individual pupils' needs. To do this, teachers had to observe pupils during breaks and excursions in addition to lessons. These expectations were taught at teacher training colleges of Finland and they laid the foundation of the pedagogy applied in Finnish teacher training colleges (Halila, 1949b; Paksuniemi, 2009; Tuomaala, 2004; Valta, 2009).

Elementary school teachers had to work diligently for children and earn parents' respect and trust. Teachers had great responsibility as they had to show through their work that they are genuinely working for children's good. Teachers also had to be up to date and aware of happenings in the surrounding environment (Mäntyoja, 1951). Teachers had to visit homes—and not just when problems occurred. Parents were invited to school to discuss issues concerning their children's studies. In order to enhance cooperation between the school and home, various parties were arranged with the emphasis on parents. In addition to these occasions, parents meetings were organized where participants discussed, socialized, and gave relevant presentations. The school could arrange theme days, for example that focused on homes. Likewise, the school arranged mother's, father's, and parents' day celebrations (Laurila, 1926). Successful cooperation was based on mutual trust, respect, and understanding. The school and home had to have a common goal: to raise and educate children. Parents had to be convinced that teachers at school acted as parents' substitutes (Etelälahti, 1920).

## Discussion

The review provided in this article showed that at the time the Finnish nationhood was constructed, the education responsibility was moved from parents to the state. Moreover, education was strongly ideologically oriented: all teaching and education aimed at forming a moral character and the Christian-decent civilization ideal. The very same educational trend lied behind the curriculum for elementary education teacher training and for elementary schools. Welfare was not just considered provision by the state but also what people can do for each other, the goal was active, for-the-nation-style citizenship in all education (see also Milligan, Morretti, & Oreopoulos, 2004). Although this active societal orientation is a sum of many factors and the school is not the only source of civic skills and active attitudes, teaching was and still is considered to have strong effect on behavior as citizens (Campbell, 2008)—but the objectives of citizenship education change along the change in the society (Eränpalo, 2012). Furthermore, the history shows the importance of finding a suitable educational ideology was crucial in forming the unified educational system. In Finland, the science of education as a key component of teacher education was and is a sustained and consistent tradition (Jakku-Sihvonen et al., 2012; Kansanen, 1990).

Rearing practices have changed, but still today, parents have the main responsibility for rearing their children (Määttä & Uusiautti, 2012). According to Kemppainen's (2001) study on Finnish child-rearing across three generations, Finnish parents use fewer and milder punishments today than they did before. Instead of punishing, children are rewarded, guided, and advised more often. Principles in raising children have moved from authoritarian to more guiding practices where children's opinions are taken into account. Although strict methods have been replaced by more constructive options, Finnish parents still want to hang on to limits and rules.

Indeed, the review also showed how the responsibility for raising children moved from parents into a more professionalized form where the responsibility in raising children was shared between parents and educators. The history shows that even rather strict punishments were used in raising children. The elementary education was at its infancy but the ideology behind the way children were raised and punished at school was in line with the national endeavors of becoming an independent national state—on the other hand, the raising methods and forms of punishments did not differ from the ones used at homes.



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