

Discipline, decency, and teetotalism at early-1900's teacher training colleges in northern Finland

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Abstract: *The educational trend of Herbart-Zillerism had taken root in Finland and influenced also Finnish teacher training colleges at the beginning of the 20th century. The purpose of this research was to analyze how the atmosphere at the college controlled the teacher students' proper behavior. The research approach was micro-historical-narrative. These following themes were analyzed from archival sources, research literature, contemporary text books, and former students' interviews: (1) How was a teacher student supposed to behave? (2) What kinds of behavioral, dating, and free-time rules featured the spirit of the college? (3) How was students' behavior controlled? According to the results, Herbart-Zillerism affected the education and control over students at Finnish teacher training colleges. Teacherhood was built on the requirements of the teacher's image and the ideal of a model citizen. In the conclusion, the moral position of a teacher is contemplated.*

Keywords: *teacher training college, Herbart-Zillerism, teacher students, teetotalism, model citizenship*

INTRODUCTION

The educational trend of Herbart-Zillerism had taken root in Finland and influenced also the goals, content, and atmosphere of the education and activities at Finnish teacher training colleges at the beginning of the twentieth century (Halila, 1949; Paksuniemi and Määttä, 2011a). This educational trend had emphasis on the teacher's Cristian-moral being and the necessary information and skills needed in teaching (Heikkinen ,1995; Hyyrö, 2006; Isosaari, 1961; Nurmi ,1964; Nurmi ,1995). Teachers were supposed to be model citizens whose style of speaking and dressing and behavior set an example for students. The model citizen should be a decent and civilized human being who behaved restrainedly and was diligent (Nurmi, 1964; Nurmi, 1995; Rantala, 2002; Rinne, 1986). In addition, the teacher was expected to be patriotic who internalized the Finnish cultural heritage (Halila, 1949; Halila, 1963; Hyyrö, 2006; Isosaari, 1961; Kuikka, 1978; Kuikka, 1985; Nurmi, 1995; Paksuniemi, 2009; Rinne, 1989). The model citizenship was mainly defined in the text books that were used at the teacher training colleges; and the books were also grounded on Herbart-Zillerism. The educational trend was at its strongest at the beginning of the 20th century but starting from the 1940s, it began to diminish while the influence of the new school started to get

stronger (Halila, 1949; Isosaari, 1961; Nurmi, 1964; Paksuniemi, 2009).

Previous studies (Rinne, 1986; Hyyrö, 2006; Paksuniemi and Määttä, 2011a) show that strict order, discipline, and respect prevailed at the teacher training colleges. Studying was not only demanding but also teacher students' behavior was watched during their leisure. Students had to be teetotal, talk in a civilized manner, and show exemplary behavior both at the college and during their free-time. Students were raised to moral-Christian patriotism that represented the contemporary values strongly present in the society. Male and female students were strictly separated and dating was not considered favorable. Neither could the teacher go to a restaurant, movies, or dancing. The requirements of a model citizen were quite demanding and those students who could not meet these requirements had to quit their studies (Halila, 1949; Heikkinen, 1990; Heikkinen, 2000; Hyyrö, 2006; Nurmi, 1964; Paksuniemi, 2009; Rinne, 1986).

According to the 1922 decree, the college student had to be well-behaving, diligent, and conscientious (see also Lang, 2010). He or she had to be teetotal, show respect toward teachers, and follow the college schedule and regulations, and other directions given by the rector and teachers (SA 324/58).The student should pursue developing a religious and decent character (Sk

22, 197). Previously, the teacher's requirements had been based on decency, Christianity, and patriotism. However, according to the 1958 decree, the purpose of the college was not to develop a religious or decent character as it was noted in the Minutes of College Committee in 1922 (Sk 22, 197; SA 324/58). Those who wanted to study at the colleges had to participate in several days' long entrance test where the finest material was selected as prospective students (Paksuniemi and Määttä, 2011b). After acceptance as a student, one was allowed to carry on with studies if he or she studied with success and acted irreproachably. The probation was ordained in the 1919 decree and covered all colleges in Finland (Decree 108/1919). It was based on the idea that harked back to 1866 when the one-year probation was put into operation. The probation meant that during the first study year, the student's actual temperament and nature together with his or her behavior were evaluated. A well-behaving, suitable, and successful candidate was not accepted as a permanent student until the one-year probation. If the student did not meet the requirements, he or she would be expelled from the college (Hyyrö, 2000; Hyyrö, 2006; Nurmi, 1995; Paksuniemi, 2009). This study focused on the practical manifestation of the decency rules at northern Finnish teacher training colleges.

METHOD

The purpose of this research was to analyze how the atmosphere at the college controlled the teacher students' proper behavior. In this article, examples and procedures from Finnish teacher training colleges from the 20th century are introduced. However, the main emphasis is on the teacher training college of Tornio, located in northern Finland, at the border between Finland and Sweden, although some attention is paid on the contemporary happening at other Finnish teacher training colleges as well. Before the establishment of the college of Tornio, the previous Finnish colleges were located in Southern parts of Finland. However, after gaining its independency, Finland invested in border districts both in the East and West when new

colleges were established (Lassila, 2005; Rinne, 1989).

The research was focused on the period between 1921 and 1970 when the College of Tornio operated. The purpose of the research was to draw a picture of the spirit at the college, regulations that prevailed there, and strains on students' free-time. The research data were comprised of archival sources, research literature, contemporary text books, and former students' interviews.

The research approach was micro-historical-narrative as it enables bringing out ordinary people's experiences from the history (Elomaa, 2001). Moreover, micro-history does not concentrate only on individuals but also on that community where the individuals live in. Therefore, it is merely about the interaction between the micro and macro levels (Levi 2001). In micro-historical research, the research participants are considered representing their community through their life styles, practices, and values, or to live in interaction with the community. Thus, their personal history can be regarded as a part of the history of the community (Chin, 2011). When the research is focused on the micro level, the fundamental idea is that by studying singular cases and small details it is possible to find out something that is not possible to reach from the micro level; that is, for example, daily matters (Levi, 2001; Peltonen, 2001; Pousi, 2003). In addition, exceptions from the general are considered important in micro-historical research.

In this research, the autobiographic approach was employed. Usually, it is defined as an individual person's perception on his or her own experiences (Dean, 2010) and it is located in the middle ground between memory and history (Chin, 2011). Personal history includes a sort of narrative nature because narrative research creates a narrative about the past, but is not the past as such (Ellis and Bochner 2002). A narrative is a story that can be produced in writing or telling (Gergen and Gergen, 2010) and the purpose is to bring out the research participants' voices and to get close to their own experiences (Phillips, 2011). Not only the experiences represent narration but also their temporal dimension in their own historical context (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994; Hammack and Pilecki, 2012). A narrative is a

means of illustrating human world of experience and lived life as it is the basic human way of structuring the world, organizing the experiences, interaction, and information in relation to the environment (Gergen and Gergen, 2010)

The college of Tornio operated in Lapland, in Finland in 1921-1970, that is almost 50 years. It makes a unique research target because of its northern location: it was the only women's college in the North of Finland. There were fewer women's colleges in Finland than those that were aimed at both women and men (e.g. Halila, 1949; Heikkinen, 1990; Heikkinen, 2000; Hyyrö, 2006; Nurmi, 1964; Paksuniemi, 2009; Rinne, 1986). In this research, it was studied what background factors constituted the statutes of the college and how they were realized in practice. In addition to former students' interviews and archival sources, the data of the research is comprised of contemporary text books, circular books, and memoirs. The circular books were written by the students in 1939-1941 and 1955-1959. The books were called "Lehmäkirja [The Cow Book]" and "Tornion tyttöjä vuosimallia 1959 [The 1959 Model Girls of Tornio]". The circular book means a note book which was to be sent to the next author on the list after having written one's own writing, and so on.

Nine former students of the college of Tornio were interviewed. The interview method was open interview that resembled an open conversation. However, certain themes were discussed in interview (see Eskola and Suoranta, 1998). In order to protect the participants' anonymity, their names in this article are fictitious. The participants were selected so that each decade when the college operated would be covered. The interviews were transformed as a transcript before the actual analysis. The quantity of data in a qualitative study is case-specific (Eskola and Suoranta, 1998). In other words, the number of interviews is defined by the point of saturation and what is considered necessary for the research (Ollila, 2000).

The participants studied at the college during the following periods: *Briitta* studied there at the end of the 1930s and graduated as an elementary school teacher at primary level. *Onerva* studied at the turn of the 1930s and 1940s. *Miina* and *Pirjo* studied at the beginning of

the 1950s, in a supplementary class. *Ulla* studied after the mid of the 1950s. All previous women graduated as elementary school teacher. *Saara* studied at the beginning of the 1960s. *Kirsti* and *Irma* studied at the mid-1960s. *Ritva* studied at the college at the end of the 1960s. During *Ritva's* studies, the college of Tornio was closed.

The traditional criticism toward the sources in historical research is mostly focused on the truth-value of the source (Lustick, 1996). Therefore, comparisons with other sources have a central role. Thus, the participants were partly selected from the same classes in order to find out how different people had experienced their study time at the college of Tornio.

The analysis is focused on issues such as what was considered appropriate behavior and what kind of a person a teacher student was supposed to be. What kinds of memories do the participants have about the atmosphere or spirit at the college and how it manifested itself in the light of the archival data? These themes are analyzed through the following research questions:

(1) How was a teacher student supposed to behave in practice at northern teacher training colleges?

(2) What kinds of behavioral, dating, and free-time rules featured the spirit of the college?

(3) How was students' behavior controlled in practice?

RESULTS

Dancing and Movies

In the 1920s, dancing and movies became popular free-time activities among the youth in Finland. Yet, teacher students were not allowed to participate in these sorts of entertainments (e.g. Pietilä, 1928). Despite these rules (Halila, 1949; Heikkinen, 1990; Heikkinen, 2000; Hyyrö, 2006; Nurmi, 1964; Nurmi, 1965; Paksuniemi, 2009; Rinne, 1986), students did participate in them like all other youngsters did. A group of *Heinola's* teacher training college students were dancing and received a severe reprimand and their score in meticulousness was lowered. Dancing was also prohibited outside the college of Rauma but

allowed in the college premises since 1949. This concession was made because it was thought that students would go dancing elsewhere, even at dubious places. However, college teachers decided that the number of dancing events would remain as low as possible because dancing was considered doing more harm than good (Nurmi, 1995). In the 1940s, one student was expelled from the women's teacher training college of Hämeenlinna after she was caught up from going dancing (Hyyrö, 2000).

Also few students at the college of Tornio—even under penalty of exclusion from school—dared to go dancing. Saara told about her exciting excursion in the following manner: “I had to come back climbing the ladders and those ladders were located next to the inspector's window. It was really exciting and frightening: whether you will get caught or not (Saara).” The risk the students took was quite big because getting caught would have led to exclusion from the student halls of residence and college. Another student remembered the post-mortem on the dancing trip in the circular book:

Going to the evening parties and dancing was strictly forbidden. I heard that some girls did go and once I went too. Unfortunately, Soilunen's (who was the doctor of the college at whose house some of the students took a room) domestic help was there and who knew me and told my grandfather. This was how our sins were informed to the manageress too. We were examined. We stood in line behind the door of the chancellery. We were asked in one by one. Then, the whole gang was asking the one who exited the room: What did they say? I had my turn as well. – Even you were there even though you were not allowed to? I cried: - Yes, I was. – Who else was there? – I cannot say! – But you have to! And so I nicely listed the scapegoats, tearfully. Behind the door, I was hauled because I had told the names. I was a great perpetrator. After that, I did not attend those parties during the time I studied at the

college (OMA, TSeA, *The Cow Book*, pp. 2, 24.)

These girls were not excluded from the college. The reprimand was one of the mildest punishments while exclusion from the college would be the last and utmost one (Cygnaeus, 1910). According to the interviews, the inhabitants of Tornio also did their share in watching students' behavior in leisure (Saara; Kirsti; Ritva). Kirsti stated in the following manner:

We had been given strict rules that we should not go to any B-class places. The supervisor of our student halls of residence had told us that we couldn't go to any hotels or dancing restaurants because Tornio was such a small city. So the control worked because everyone knew who the college students were. (Kirsti)

Ritva remembered: “We had to behave in a respectable manner and we were not allowed to spend time in the city (Ritva).” Prospective teachers had to adopt the requirements set at their behavior already during their study time (OMA, TseA, Ca: 7. 19 Oct 1959). After graduation, a teacher's inappropriate behavior would be reported to the elementary school inspector of the Lapland district (Jurama and Karttunen, 1990).

Some students went dancing in their places of domicile during holidays but not in Tornio during studies (Miina; Pirjo). The rector of the College of Tornio was aware of the youngsters' dancing hobby. In his speech, he reminded students that excessive revelries were bad. College students had to already when coming to the college notice it and get used to look at it from the teachers' point of view. It was not considered appropriate for a teacher to attend public dancing occasions and thus, college students were not allowed to do it either. They were not allowed to go to restaurants or dancing even in the 1960s. Yet, they still wanted desperately go to dancing and a few of them dared to break the rules.

Some of the students would spend evenings in the city, which was forbidden, and hit upon a variety of ways to get in the student halls

of residence after the doors were closed at 10 p.m. Kirsti recalled: "I and my roommate had our room there, downstairs; we had a good location. We had agreed already beforehand that we would go and open the door when sand was thrown to the window (Kirsti)." One of the students got caught from her evening excursions and she was excluded for a year because of breaking the rules of the student halls of residence. The student in question had gone to meet her boyfriend. (OMA, TseA, Ca: 7. 23 Aug 1960.) In 1966, the doors were closed at 10 p.m. but on Saturdays, students were allowed to stay out until 12 p.m. Exceptionally long stay until 1 a.m. on Saturday or Sunday had to be arranged well ahead with the supervisor of the student halls of residence (Kirsti). At the time of Ritva's studies, students tried to bend the rules: "...defying stood we outside in the evening when we should have been inside at 10 p.m. We would just stand there even though we did not have anything to do. The supervisor of the student halls of residence left the door open for us, in secret, to let us in. (Ritva)" Some changes took place and the trend continued because in 1969, it was decided at the teacher's meeting to "increase the number of keys to the student halls of residence, keep the corridor lights on through the whole night, and remove the obligation to come in at 1 a.m. latest (OMA, TseA, Ca: 9. 7 May 1969)." Going to the movies was forbidden until the 1960s after which one could go to see a movie with a separate permission. "If someone went to the movies, they would check what kinds of movies were available, what she will watch (Saara)."

Saara remembered: "The strictness of rules derived from the fact that the college students were just women (Saara)." Kirsti was of the same opinion: "Perhaps, the strict rules resulted from the college being a women's college. Colleges with both male and female students were more liberal (Kirsti)." Although the discipline at colleges with both male and female students had loosened, strict control prevailed at women's colleges still in the middle of the 20th century as students were watched even during their leisure. They were accountable for where and with whom they would spend their free-time (see Hyyrö, 2006; Syväoja, 2004).

Dating Rules

The image of a decent teacher involved that the teacher had to take care of her moral chastity (e.g. Salo, 1929; Soininen, 1923; Pietilä, 1928). A female teacher's self-sacrifice to her work by staying unmarried meant sacrificing for the fellow humans and was therefore honorable (Salmela, 1931). Indeed, quite strict dating rules were followed at Finnish teacher training colleges: the teachers had to know where and with whom students kept company (Hyyrö, 2006; Paksuniemi, 2009). Breaking the rules was punishable. Two students were excluded from the women's college of Heinola in 1928 because of wanton behavior. In the 1930s, three students were excluded because of dating. One student dared to participate in a beauty contest without permission and she was selected as Miss Finland. The teachers considered that her place was not at the elementary school teacher training college. The principal and one of the lecturers regarded the decision unreasonable and the principle did leave the final decision making to the National Board of Education. It overturned the teachers' decision which was extremely rare in the history of teacher training colleges. The student was allowed to continue her studies. Regardless of the permission to study, she never graduated (Nurmi, 1995). In 1926 at the college of Rauma, the principal gave a severe warning and lowered one female student's score in behavior because she had expressed inappropriate behavior toward one male student. One male student was punished for the same reason because of "his boisterous teasing toward a female student (Nurmi 1996, 90)." In 1951 at the college of Kemijärvi, one male student had a public warning and lowered score in behavior because he had dated with a student from the household education school of Kemijärvi (Nurmi, 1995).

At the college of Tornio, the decency rules were relatively rarely broken compared with other Finnish teacher training colleges. The students were supposed to stay away from men. Male guests visited, for example, the college of Haaparanta in the fall of 1939. According to Onerva, the principal of the college of Tornio reminded students in the following manner: "girl students are not allowed to have boys visiting

their own student halls (Onerva).” The highlight of the week was the visit at the cafeteria in Haaparanta where visitors would enjoy “coffee and bagels (Briitta; Onerva).” Briitta told about her visit at the café where two young men asked permission to sit at the table with Briitta and her girlfriends: “...It was like a joint decision when we stood up and told them ‘be my guest’! Then, we left. The boys could sit there on the bench as long as they wish. (Briitta)” The educational spirit at the college of Tornio affected Briitta so that she became, according to her own words, “quite serious” also during her free-time. “I attended some Lotta [a Finnish voluntary auxiliary paramilitary organization for women] parties and such but I didn’t go dancing at all!” Before her studies, she had used to go dancing regularly but along studies she forsook this hobby. (Briitta) She adopted the spirit of the college during her studies and followed the rules in free-time.

Dating with men was still forbidden at the college of Tornio in the 1950s. Following the rule was troublesome to some students because two college students were given a public humiliation during morning devotion at the end of the 1950s. According to Ulla, they had been seen “in the city with Swedish boys (Ulla).” Another student at the college of Tornio was also given a public warning and reprimand in front of all students and lowered score in behavior because she had gone dancing several times and associated in public with an intoxicated secondary school student. (OMA, TseA, Ca: 6. 21 Feb 1957.) At the end of the 1960s, according to Saara, students were also warned of hanging around with Swedish men. She reminisced: “We surely knew that we were not allowed to stay out in the evenings and we were not to be seen with boys in the city. You know, Swedish boys came across the state border by their cars and of course they would look at girls! (Saara)” However, dating with men was not totally forbidden. Dating was approved and even encouraged if the fiancé was, for example, a prospective teacher. The common occasion of colleges, *Quiet Days*, was an excellent place to meet male students. Ulla remembered:

Apparently, they wished us to seek company from there. Someone got engages in our class during the last

study year and they would have the newly-engaged pair there, drink coffee and such. They were favorable to it because the fiancé represented a sort of civilized status, or how I could describe it. So, they did not forbid from dating but wished that we would carefully select the dating partner (Ulla).

The principal of the college of Tornio used to guide students in a fatherly manner, even when it came to the partner selection. According to Miina and Pirjo, he had told “Girls, at least, don’t marry the school’s woodchopper” and warned “Be aware of traveling harmonium fixers” (Miina; Pirjo). Nurmi states that quite many students at the college of Rauma got married (Nurmi, 1995). According to Häggman’s study, peers dated with peer already in the 19th century (Häggman, 1994). Female students did not usually marry men from lower social classes in the agrarian society as it would have been considered inappropriate, downright reprehensible (Halila, 1950).

Getting engaged secretly would be the option if a student did not want to bring the fiancé in public. Ulla told: “And many of us published their engagement when studies ended, put the ring in their finger. For example, my roommate was engaged in secret; she didn’t even tell me. (Ulla, 10; *The 1959 girls of Tornio*, p. 56)”. One student wrote in the circular book:

The last look at the familiar view from the train window and at the engagement ring in the left hand’s ring finger. It was not until now that it would become public. I didn’t have to be afraid of being excluded from the college. The doors of the convent had opened and the unknown future was forthcoming. (*The 1959 girls of Tornio*, p. 56.)

The prohibition of having male guests was in effect still at the beginning of the 1960s but little by little this rule was given up. By the year 1970, the rule was changed so that students were allowed to have male guests at the student halls of

residence during day time (Ritva). Indeed, a change was made in the regulations of the student halls of residence: "With the roommate's consent, a loved one, relative from the other's family may spend one night as an extra resident (OMA, TseA, Ef:2. 5§)." According to Saara, Kirsti, and Ritva, students were not allowed to have boyfriends or husbands as over-night visitors at the college premises. (Saara; Kirsti; Ritva), If, for example, someone's husband visited, according to Kirsti, they "Mr. and Mrs., had to spend their night in the city (Kirsti)."

The Requirement of Teetotalism

Teetotalism was an unconditional requirement of a prospective teacher. Teetotalism and healthy habits were taught at the college especially with specific text books (Kari, 1952; Karpio, 1932; Salokannel and Vartia, 1933; Palmén and Wilksman, 1926; Valtasaari, 1952.) In 1935 at the college of Raahe, teachers contemplated whether students could be allowed to go to restaurants. They made a unanimous decision that going to a restaurant with liquor license would be damaging and dangerous to students. Thus, students were not allowed to consume alcoholic beverages or go to restaurants (Nurmi, 1996). At the college of Tornio, two students broke the rules in 1946. One had been several times at the city hotel with Swedes and had drinks. Her roommate reported that she had not returned in the hall of residence until in the small hours and had Swedish visitors. The other student, for her part, confessed that she had had drinks at the city hotel but denied being drunk. The college principal had verified it by phone from the landlady and she notified that the student had been absent from her apartment several nights. She was seen on the street with three Swedes in the early hours and she did not return before 8 a.m. when her student friend had gone to the college. The teachers came to a conclusion that both students were excluded from the college: the first one for 11 months and the second forever (OMA, TseA, Ca:4, 7 Jun 1946).

At the college of Tornio, students' smoking had remained minimal whereas at the man's college of Rauma, it had been an everlasting problem (Nurmi, 1996). Yet, a change in the rules was introduced in the 1960s. Smoking

was forbidden in the 1961 regulations of the student halls of residence both from the residents and their guests (OMA, TseA, Ef:1. 6§). Two students had to leave the halls of residence because of breaking the regulations: they had been smoking in their room (OMA, TseA, Ca: 8). In 1965, smoking was still forbidden but visitors could smoke in the secretariat of the halls of residence (OMA, TseA, Ca: 8. 2 Nov 1965). One student still had to leave the student halls of residence and move in the city in the middle of study year. The reason for the punishment was her male visitor's smoking: "...her guest was smoking and hanging out from the window and the lector happened to walk there and saw it (Ritva)." The student in question had 9 as her score of behavior when all other students' score was 10 (the scale was from 4-10, 4 being equal to fail). (OMA, TseA, Ca: 9. 12 Dec 1967.) In the study year of 1967-1968, the teachers had to think what would be a suitable place for students' smoking room (The Yearbook of 1967-1968, p. 19). The unconditional teetotalism had been one of the educational ideals of the college for decades (Nurmi, 1996), and it did not change. Although a big change took place when smoking was allowed, not any behavior was tolerated at the college: if a student was smoking in her room, she would be excluded from the student halls of residence. (OMA, TseA, Ca: 8.)

After the World War II, the control over Finnish college students was lowered little by little. The contemporary spirit was more tolerant in general than before the War. This change also occurred because of the fact that some of the college students were over 30-year-old veterans of the War. (Ask 324/1958, 38 §; Syväoja, 2004.) Students' offences were tolerated to some extent as long as veterans of the War were graduating as teachers. Still, punishments were given every now and then. Reasons were, for example at the college of Rauma, a forgery, an unsuitable character, a plagiarized thesis, fighting and stabbing in dances, deception, living with a pride, drinking, disturbance, and indecency. Every so often, the principle of the college of Rauha was given explanations of male students' fun and games (Nurmi, 1996).

The Teacher's Appropriate Appearance

Prospective teachers had to learn to speak in a civilized manner, dress up decently, and behave tactfully. They had to make an impress of a fully educated person (e.g. Salo, 1924). College students had to wear skirts; trousers were allowed only in PE-lessons. One of the college rules was that students had to wear skirt in the morning devotion. If their first lesson would be PE, students would have wanted to wear trousers already when leaving the student halls of residence because they did not have much time for changing clothes after the morning devotion. Young women who had started studying in 1955 did not approve this impractical rule and agreed that they would come to the morning devotion wearing trousers. Principal Törmälä had observed the happenings for a while and, according to Ulla, had stated that: "Seemingly, I have to change and go with the flow (Ulla; The 1959 girls of Tornio, pp. 10, 56)." The event was therefore significant that for the first time, college students of Tornio dared not to follow the rules with high-profile. Ever since, students could attend the morning devotion wearing trousers if the following lesson was PE. (Ulla; The 1959 girls of Tornio, p. 56.)

Students' clothing was expected to be discreet. Ulla remembered: "Blouses could not have too low necklines" (Ulla). Nor could students wear "blouses that would reveal womanly figure", reminisced Miina. In addition, contemporary fashion jewelry, Kalevala jewelry, was not allowed. "One student was given a reprimand because she had worn Kalevala jewelry at her teaching demonstration lesson (Miina)." Prospective teachers were wished to adopt discreet clothing style because in their job, they were to be observed and set an example to the whole village. In the 1950s' countryside, life was still quite modest. An overdressing teacher would not have been accepted as a member of the community, as was the purpose (e.g. Rinne, 1986). Wearing make-up was forbidden from teacher students and the rule was obeyed dutifully (Miina; Ulla; The 1959 girls of Tornio, p. 13).

CONCLUSIONS

This research shows that Herbart-Zillerism affected to the education and control over students at Finnish teacher training colleges. The image of a teacher, defined by text book authors and based on Herbart-Zillerism was reflected at the requirements aimed at students both at the college and during their free-time. College personnel watched that the rules were followed.

Text books, that were used that the women's college of Tornio, guided prospective teachers about organization, mastery over subjects, and use of various teaching materials. Especially, skills required of teachers were emphasized in text books. Teachers had to feel vocation and self-directedly work for the pupils with joy. Teachers had to live simple life and follow healthy life style. They had to be teetotal, sportive, and morally pure (Kari, 1952; Karpio, 1932; Salokannel and Vartia, 1933; Palmén and Wilksman, 1926; Valtasaari, 1952). Teachers were not allowed to go dancing or to theater (Pietilä, 1928) as they had to act decently during their leisure as well. Moreover, teachers were supposed to behave tactfully, diligently, and a civilized manner. They had to speak like civilized people do and cloth tidily (Salo, 1924). Teachers had to adopt a Christian character and maintain their Christianity by acting as active parishioners and co-operating with the parish. Furthermore, teachers had to be patriotic (Pietilä, 1928; Rantala, 2011; Salo, 1926; Salmela, 1931; Soininen, 1923; see also Paksuniemi, 2009; Paksuniemi and Määttä, 2011a; Paksuniemi and Määttä, 2011b; Paksuniemi and Määttä, 2011c).

Relatively strict regulations that were in effect at the college of Tornio in the 1920s were loosened little by little when entering the 1970s. In the 1920s, the regulations were binding, in other words students lived under the control of authorities, but the regulations were changed during the decades. At the same time, punishments that followed from breaking the rules were loosened. Teacherhood was built on the requirements of the teacher's image—the ideal of a model citizen—and students were raised in that already during their studies. However, the temptation to take part in entertainments was too strong to some students and a few of them broke the rules regardless of the punishments (see Kempainen, 2011).

The college of Tornio was not the only college where strict rules prevailed. When referring to colleges, the spirit of colleges is commonly brought up: small-mindedness, intolerance, and strict control describe this spirit (Hyyrö, 2006; Paksuniemi, 2009; Rinne, 1989). The educational trend, Herbart-Zillerism, had its influence on the spirit of colleges (Halila, 1949; Heikkinen, 1990; Heikkinen, 2000; Hyyrö, 2006; Nurmi, 1964; Paksuniemi, 2009; Rinne, 1986) and on how the spirit was maintained. Furthermore, the thought of the spirit of colleges is based on the basic principle defined by Uni Cygnaeus according to which strict discipline and order had to prevail at the colleges and first and foremost, morals and decency had to be carefully maintained among students (Cygnaeus, 1910). Students were guided to make such choices concerning their free-time that would be suitable for a teacher who was supposed to set an example of a model citizen.

DISCUSSION

Studies about the existing teacher training (Kansanen, 2006; Kynäslähti et al., 2006; Maaranen, 2009; Niemi, 1996) have shown that both the classroom practice (Norris, 1996; Simola, 2002; Simola, 2004) and curriculum (Jakku-Sihvonen, Tissari, and Uusiautti, 2008) lean on conservativeness and tradition where a teacher as an authority is respected, where his or her role is in guaranteeing discipline, order, and security, and where a teacher acts as a relatively distant adult example. Indeed, Finnish teachers still are politically quite conservative (Rinne, Kivirauma, and Simola, 2002) and they are appreciated exceptionally much among every social class in Finland. In addition, Finnish teachers still seem to prefer the old pedagogical traditions: teacher-led, subject-centered teaching prevails instead of student-centered studying (Norris et al., 1996).

It seems that the teacher role and position involve so many status-related demands that affect even modern teachers' work (Byrne-Jimenez & Orr, 2012). Certainly, the traditions are deeply rooted but teachers' work involves such a high responsibility that concern today's teachers equally much as it did the teachers of the

twentieth century. Namely, the teachers' authority and example that they set are of equally great importance (Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop, 2004). Indeed, the original meaning of pedagogy is said to be grounded in the relational and intentional responsibility of an adult to a child (Hatt, 2005). Unpleasant memories, such as public humiliation in front of other people, ridicule, and fear leave lifelong negative impressions about teachers (Lahelma, 2002; Walls, Sperling, and Weber, 2001). Alternately, encouraging feedback given by a teacher can even be a significant turning point for the rest of a student's life. Good teachers are aware of the importance of students' emotional health to their academic success and therefore (Huebner, Gilman, Reschly, and Hall, 2009).

Dunbar and Taylor think that a teacher's authority consists of formal and informal authority (Dunbar and Taylor, 1982; see also Eväsoja and Keskinen, 2005). A teacher's formal authority is created through education, school laws, statutes, and the school's own definition of policy. Informal authority is earned, and it is based on a teacher's personal characteristics, personality, and talents. A teacher's leadership skills, personality, behavior, prowess, and the interaction between the teacher and students influence the formation of personal authority (see also Price and Osborne, 2000). Flexible authority means being capable of bending according to children's needs and qualifications (see Määttä and Uusiautti, 2011).

Childhood may be the optimal time to promote healthy attitudes, behavior, adjustment, and prevention of problems by, for example, recognizing the children's strengths and building on those strengths (Brown Kirschman, Johnson, Bender, and Roberts, 2009). Therefore, it is not unimportant what kind of surroundings day care or school or other institutions provide for children's development and growth (e.g. Hagegull and Bohlin, 1995).

This article shows the significance of teacher education in the actual outcome, the teacher, and the ways of trying to educate children by educating decent and civilized teachers. Although the emphases may have changed during the past few decades, the teacher's profession still is something that arouses feelings in everyone and teachers' work is in the spotlight. At the time of

the operation of the college of Tornio, the common goal was to civilize the Finnish nation, to further the life in independent Finland through the irreplaceable work of decent teachers. Teachers' work is still and always will be irreplaceable. However, today's teachers could rather be seen as role models for children and youngsters in difficult situations and as future makers: they have to maintain their beliefs and strive to create a better growing environment and a more humane world in this ever-turbulent modern world.

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