

Volume 5

Number 2

2018

# Nordic Journal of Educational History



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SPECIAL ISSUE:  
EDUCATION AND  
VIOLENCE

Edited by  
Björn Norlin



# Nordic Journal of Educational History

Vol. 5, no. 2 (2018), Special Issue: Education and Violence

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ISSN (online): 2001-9076

ISSN (print): 2001-7766

The NJEdH is published with economic support  
from NOP-HS Grant for Nordic scientific journals

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## INTRODUCTION

# Exploring Violence(s) in the History of Education

*Björn Norlin*

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This special issue addresses the broad theme of education and violence. Its overall aim is to contribute to the understanding of different forms, roles, and meanings of symbolic and physical violence and their significance for past educational practices, and at the same time to give theoretical, methodological, and empirical impetus for future studies in this area. By expanding on the concept, or meta-concept, of *violence* rather than on more common and restricted terms in educational history research such as *discipline*, *punishment*, etcetera, the ambition is that this issue will work as a support for a renewed and broadened dialogue of what might or might not be considered as violence in past educational contexts.

The following pages of this introduction focus on the phenomenon and concept of violence and position it within educational and educational history research. In doing this, specific attention is paid to common matters of interest expressed throughout the issue. Finally, the benefits of an expanded understanding of physical and non-physical expressions of violence in educational history research are discussed, as well as how the concept of violence might be helpful in such a broadening. However, a presentation will first be given of the individual articles in the issue. Because they speak for themselves, the presentation will be kept brief.

### **The contributions, their scopes, and their empirical sources**

The six contributions in this issue are chronologically ordered and offer examinations of a range of topics from Nordic and trans-Nordic contexts. The first article, co-authored by Øystein Skundberg and Harald Thuen, concerns the political and educational debate on the use of corporal punishment in Norwegian schools—and homes—in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and how this debate is connected to historically deep-rooted pedagogical and philosophical traditions conveying very different attitudes regarding the nature of the child and the role of physical chastisement in children's upbringing.<sup>1</sup> In the second article, David Sjögren

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This special issue has been compiled with the help of research funding from Umeå School of Education, Umeå University.

1 Øystein Skundberg and Harald Thuen, "I kjærlighedens tjeneste': Straffens legitimitet i oppdragelse og undervisning," *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (Special Issue: Education and Violence) 5, no. 2 (2018).

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examines formal instructions for corrective practises in the bylaws of the emerging and gradually standardised mass schooling of mid and late nineteenth-century Sweden. He uses his findings to argue for the need of methodological improvements for attaining more systematic knowledge on this specific area of educational practice.<sup>2</sup> The third article is co-authored by Karoliina Puranen and Matti Roitto. It examines the prohibition—but continued use—of corporal punishment in Finnish schools in the 1870s and onwards and highlights how discrepancies between formal legislation and day-to-day school practice can be detected by paralleling different sets of sources.<sup>3</sup> The fourth article by Björn Lundberg revolves around the enactment of corporal punishment as entertainment at a Swedish Boy Scout camp in 1950 and how this single event came to trigger a public debate targeting and questioning the moral basis of the Swedish scout movement and its perceptions of citizenship.<sup>4</sup> The fifth article, authored by Jonas Qvarsebo, examines the debate on education and on the conduct of school pupils in Swedish teacher journals between 1946 and 1962—the formative years of the nation’s comprehensive schools—and gives an account of the central discourses on behaviour and discipline that were activated in this debate.<sup>5</sup> The sixth and final article is co-authored by Cecilie Boge and Anna Larsson. It focuses on the introduction and scientification of the concept of *bullying* in the management of violence between pupils in Sweden and Norway during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and how theoretical tools from the field of the history of science and technology can be used to better define the entanglement of actors, practises, and underlying interests involved in this process.<sup>6</sup>

The individual articles in the issue thus analyse expressions of violence on many different levels and within many different practices of the educational domain, including the discourses and debates, law and research as well as in the intramural practises of schooling. The main emphasis of the articles tends to be on various physical facets of violence, although this somewhat restrictive perception is continuously nuanced and problematised. The sources used in the articles include normative records such as formal legislation, school instructions and bylaws; professional and public sources in the form of academic research, teacher journals, handbooks and manuals for children’s upbringing, scouting magazines, and newspaper articles; and data more closely linked to knowledge about everyday school life such as punishment records, school minutes, and log books. All in all, they provide the reader with a useful palette of potential topics of research as well as data to consider for future studies in this area.

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- 2 David Sjögren, “Kärleksfullt tilltal, kvarsittning eller kroppssaga: En modellgenererande undersökning om korrektionsmedel i 1800-talets folkskolereglementen,” *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (Special Issue: Education and Violence) 5, no. 2 (2018).
  - 3 Karoliina Puranen and Matti Roitto, “Gradual Changes to Discipline: A Case Study of Punishment Records and Corporal Punishment in Three Schools in Finland after the 1872 School Order Act,” *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (Special Issue: Education and Violence) 5, no. 2 (2018).
  - 4 Björn Lundberg, “Discipline and Punish at Camp: Citizenship and the Issue of Violence at a Swedish Boy Scout Camp,” *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (Special Issue: Education and Violence) 5, no. 2 (2018).
  - 5 Jonas Qvarsebo, “Fabricating and Governing the Swedish School Pupil: The Swedish Post-War School Reform and Changing Discourses of Discipline and Behaviour,” *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (Special Issue: Education and Violence) 5, no. 2 (2018).
  - 6 Cecilie Boge and Anna Larsson, “Understanding Pupil Violence: Bullying Theory as Technoscience in Sweden and Norway,” *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (Special Issue: Education and Violence) 5, no. 2 (2018).



*Figure 1* (Cover photo). The Shame Stool (*skampall*). An iconic piece of early modern teaching technology in the important area of moral education, and a very hands-on material example of the school's mandate to use symbolic and physical measures in the upbringing of children. Its purpose was to evoke and put shame on display, but also to work as a warning to pupils to stay on the right moral tracks. By this, future misconduct was to be prevented. Is instilling shame in children to be seen as violence? Is it even a physical act? These are questions that—among other things—are addressed in the introduction of this issue.

Source: Digitalt museum, SKANM.0134265.

### **Conceptions of violence(s) and its presence in contemporary society and education**

How can one grab hold of something as elusive and epistemologically fluid as violence? Let us start with a contemporary lexical approach. A standard definition of *violence* from the Oxford dictionaries gives three parallel explanations: “Behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something;” “The unlawful exercise of physical force or intimidation by the exhibition of such force” (Law), and “Strength of emotion or of a destructive natural force.”<sup>7</sup> Understandably, scientific research is rarely so encyclopaedic, let alone consensus-bound,

<sup>7</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/violence>.

in handling its analytical objects.<sup>8</sup> In previous efforts to study and theorise violence, violence, whether handled on a conceptual level or dealt with as an experienced social phenomena, is instead considered to be highly complex and multifaceted.<sup>9</sup> In contemporary society we regularly meet acts of what can be perceived as violence stretching from warfare and war-related atrocities, to structural mistreatments of collective groups, to single acts of abuse by or between individuals. It is embedded in our society, culture, and everyday life in the doings of governmental agencies (most obvious the military and the police), institutions (like the school), and in the acts of other social agents such as families, peer groups, intimate relationships, and in persons' treatment of themselves and others. It is present in the public sphere in the form of museums and collective memorial places (exhibiting military triumphs and war traumas), in sports, as well as in the media and entertainment industry's frequent visualisation of violence for information or entertainment purposes. Experiences of violence are instilled in, and for some also imprinted on, our bodies. In other words, to use a quote from Jane Kilby, when addressing the challenges in theorising on the concept from a sociologist perspective, violence stands as "a complex reality" in the sense that it is both "material and symbolic; structural and aberrant; collective and individual; visible and invisible; legal, extralegal and illegal; brutal and subtle; sporadic and everyday; and spectacular and banal."<sup>10</sup> Violence emanates from many different contexts and thus exists in many different forms.

Taking this into account, it is not surprising that the definition of what violence is might also vary greatly between different scientific fields (military science, peace studies, criminology, law, sociology, philosophy, pedagogy, history, etcetera), different subareas of research, and among individual scholars regardless of their disciplinary domicile. While some researchers aim to define and clarify an understanding of what violence is from its very condensed meaning of a single act of intentional cause of physical harm between individuals, and to examine the concept from this point of departure, others look for a more structural and context-bound understanding and by this enact violence as a more subtle, non-visible, and non-physical phenomenon.<sup>11</sup>

In contemporary educational debate and educational research, the presence of violence in schools in its various and wide range of forms—from the most extreme such as school shootings and other lethal assaults, gang violence, suicides, self-injuries, and sexual harassment, to teachers mistreatments of pupils, battering and bullying in day-to-day school life, and so on—is something that is frequently addressed as an important field of responsibility for schools that needs to be handled. This could, for instance, be by preventing alienation and countercultures among school

8 The lexical meaning of violence is of course also subjected to historical change, which is an element in need of consideration for historical studies. Cf. the discussion on the historical meaning of the Swedish concept of *aga* in Sjögren (2018).

9 For in-depth discussions on the concept of violence and its individual, cultural, discursive and structural dimensions, see e.g. Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969), 167–91; Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 3 (1990), 291–305; Ryan Bishop and John Phillips, "Violence," *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, no. 2–3 (2006), 377–85; Jane Kilby, "Introduction to Special Issue: Theorizing Violence," *European Journal of Social Theory* 16, no. 3 (2013), 261–72.

10 Kilby (2013), 261–72.

11 Ibid.



youth, strengthening surveillance, discipline, and control in schools, supporting inter-professional cooperation and collaboration with parents and guardians, changing legislation, or assisting in the general work with ethical and social values at the local school level—in other words, acting on and altering the social and structural conditions that provide the contextual frames within which violence subsists.<sup>12</sup> In the present issue, Cecilie Boge and Anna Larsson, in particular, touch upon these kinds of matters in a very contemporary history.<sup>13</sup>

It is notable that this strand of contemporary research is primarily focusing on an area of education that differs quite significantly from research in the history of education in the sense that it is no longer the role of violence as an officially sanctioned element of governing schools, or as a part of common teaching practice, that is emphasised, but rather its various expressions in the social life of schooling.

### A brief historiography of violence in past education

In sociological, pedagogical, and historical research—familiar to many historians of education—issues relating to the understanding of violence as a phenomenon in educational contexts has a lengthy historiography. This body of research includes both empirical studies of the role of violence in school practice and more manifested efforts of theorising on such violence. An early example is provided by historian Hastings Rashdall who in his studies of medieval European universities and secondary schools, published in 1895, highlighted elements such as violent initiation rituals and various other disciplinary practices as central parts of intramural life in regards to both the social relations between students and the general efforts of organising teaching.<sup>14</sup> His work has since been used as an empirical backdrop for analysing and theorising on disciplinary practice in education.<sup>15</sup>

In Émile Durkheim's investigations of different aspects of violence in his contemporary society (suicide, violence and the state, family, etcetera), adding pieces to what by some can be understood as a general theory of violence and its causes, he

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12 Cf. Ingrid Rose, *School Violence: Studies in Alienation, Revenge, and Redemption* (London: Karnac Books, 2009); Mohammad Shafii and Sharon Lee Shafii, eds., *School Violence: Assessment, Management, Prevention* (Washington DC: American Psychiatric Press, 2001). To use Sweden as an example there are today plenty of government reports and research drawing attention to different aspects of violence in schools and, accordingly, different measures have been proposed to handle them. A common denominator is the link between potential violence and value-based prevention work in schools. Cf. Felipe Estrada, Sven Granath, David Shannon and Nina Törnqvist (red.), *Grövve våld i skolan* (Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2009). In 2015 the governmental agency *Barnombudsmannen* (the Children's Ombudsman) launched a package of demands to strengthen children's legal status in relation to teachers, including a proposal to reintroduce the ban on corporal punishment in the school law (this legal clarification was removed in 1986 because it was no longer deemed necessary). The background for *Barnombudsmannen's* proposal was a survey that revealed a widespread occurrence of physical violations between teachers and pupils in Swedish schools, which obviously did not fit with the Swedish school's professed values and self-image. *Välkommen till verkligheten: Barn och unga om samhällets stöd vid kränkningar och trakasserier i skolan* (Stockholm: Barnombudsmannen, 2015).

13 Boge and Larsson (2018).

14 Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), vol. III, Chapter XIV, 376–85, 419–39. For more contemporary research on a similar topic, see Alan Cobban, *English University Life in the Middle Ages* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 198–211.

15 Cf. Philippe Ariés, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 157, 259.

also gives education and pedagogical practises a central positioning.<sup>16</sup> An evident example is his published lectures on moral education, held between 1902 and 1907, in which he in detail elaborates on “the spirit of discipline” in schools, the role of physical and non-physical punishment in pedagogy and teaching practice, as well as on the relation between corrective practices, psychology, and institutionalised group norms.<sup>17</sup> He also gives accounts for disciplinary violence in past school settings, and in a couple of texts he suggests paradigmatic shifts within the educational domain in this area from the Middle Ages onwards.<sup>18</sup>

Norbert Elias’s work on the process of civilisation in many ways connects to Durkheim’s thoughts about long-term paradigmatic shifts in mentality as a base for theorising about violence, and this is perhaps most evident in his sections about changes in aggressiveness and aggressive behaviour and impulses as well as the general attitudes to war, torture, violent games, etcetera. He argues that different societies—and even different social strata within societies—both in history and in his contemporary time impose different social structures and control mechanisms for handling aggressive behaviour and expressions of violence. These structures and mechanisms are in turn subjected to historical change, which thus presupposes that violence must be understood and examined as a historically situated phenomenon.<sup>19</sup> Following Max Weber, he also elaborates on the role of violence within state-formation processes and on its vital position for state governance and use of power; that is, the monopoly mechanism.<sup>20</sup>

These theoretical approaches to violence might give impetus for research aiming at understanding the specific role of education in the broader landscape of state-governed and institutionalised violence, as well as in sorting out the historical relation between, for instance, the state, church, town administration, school, and home as separate socio-institutional contexts with their own jurisdictions and mandates to use violence.

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16 *International Social Science Journal* (Special Issue: Durkheim and Violence) 58 (2006), passim; In particular Mike Gane “Durkheim’s Theory of Violence,” *International Social Science Journal* 58 (2006), 41–50.

17 Émile Durkheim, *Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education* (New York: Free Press, 1973), in particular chapters 10–13.

18 Émile Durkheim, *The Evolution of Educational Thought: Lectures on the Formation and Development of Secondary Education in France* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1977), chapter 13; Gane (2006), 41–50.

19 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process [Vol. 1]: The History of Manners* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), 191–205.

20 Norbert Elias, *On Civilization, Power, and Knowledge: Selected Writings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), chapter 8–9. Elias is drawing on Max Weber’s *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* [Vol. 1] (New York: Bedminster P., 1968).

1. 20 Apr. 1778.

Högsta v. Rector, de Magister Berlin förtröda  
 & och berättade, at de från nyss Rector  
 Gymnasij i hvar ledet tillkommit anmodan  
 beakt. Rådman Hallström, som vid förändring  
 i magistraten vil af lovorden begärde del af  
 del från magistraten vidgjort, uti saken rörande  
 skole-gossen Erik Augustin Hallström, som  
 för någon tids löslighet i skolan hos magi-  
 straten varit anklagd, de Rådman Hall-  
 ström förade at protokollet på en vägg,  
 hvar för sig Rector anmodades at del från  
 ma hos Notarien Hallström utfordras, till  
 Rector trädde uti rummet uti Notarien Hall-  
 ström, hvilken efter hvar sin upläste ett  
 Protokoll hållet i magistraten öfver den  
 ma sak samt som, hvar medelst  
 skole-gossen Hallström till kropp-  
 straff uti skolan uti skolan, förklar-  
 va, hvar vid skole-gossen uti skolan  
 för öfver den sak uti skolan, som Rector  
 Gymnasij beordrat lagd medelst Notarien  
 Hallström uti skolan, de vi be-  
 va träskuldfonden och följande ej lagat. Denna  
 har uti skolan lagd kropp, som den som  
 nästa månad Gymnasij at uti skolan, de  
 Rector Gymnasij och v. Rector Hallström uti skolan  
 la.

Figure 2. Negotiating the institutional mandate of violence. A (draft) letter from the upper secondary school in the Swedish town of Härnösand from 1778 describing a conflict between the town court and the school regarding the right to punish pupils. Its origin was that a schoolboy, after an alleged stone throwing incident in the harbour, had been called before the town court and subsequently sentenced to physical punishment. This started an infected exchange of words between the school and town representatives concerning the mandate to use violence against pupils. "You have wooden heads (*trähufvuden*) and do not understand the law" was, among other things, stated by the notary of the Magistrate. This small affair can be seen as an example of a larger conflict between two parallel existing juridical systems and indirectly of the relationship between the school (state/church) and the city (magistrate) in exercising power.

Source: Handskrift (30/4 1778), Domkapitlets arkiv G1, Handlingar angående undervisning och skolväsen/läroverken i allmänhet (G1a), Landsarkivet i Härnösand.

In his writings on the history of childhood and family life, Phillippe Ariés also addresses various elements of violence and disciplinary measures as a part of educational governance and practice. Similar to Durkheim, Ariés defines what he sees as the emergence of new disciplinary doctrines in schools and universities—affecting the social relations between students as well as those between student and teachers—in particular from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and onwards. According to Ariés, this period saw a gradual domestication of what had previously been an autonomous student life, a domestication that accompanied more general administrative efforts to standardise schooling. This process was characterised by the introduction of more hierarchical ways of governing schools, a strengthened authoritarian role of the school masters, and the appearance of more fixed views of childhood as something that needed to be governed. The transition to this new disciplinary system was based on three new educational principles, namely, “constant supervision,” the advance of the art of informing to “the level of an institution and a principle of government,” and “the extended application of corporal punishment.”<sup>21</sup> Ariés also elaborates on the introduction of new strategies and technologies for upholding discipline and for exercising punishment in schools and how this connects to new ways of perceiving childhood.<sup>22</sup>

Ariés can be seen as having paved the way for the later works on discipline and punishment of Michel Foucault, although the latter develops them and applies them

21 Ariés (1962), 254–264. Quote from p. 254.

22 Ibid., chapter V in particular.

to a wider societal context.<sup>23</sup> Foucault obviously holds a central position in contemporary research focused on these areas of education and educational governance. With his theories of how different governmental modes of power makes use of different forms of violence and discipline, the long-term transitions of mentalities regarding forms of punishment and techniques for governing, as well as the significance of organising space, time, and social routine in these processes, he provides an extensive theoretical toolbox for research in this area. Education—as an experimental training ground for discipline in western societies—is often the focal point.<sup>24</sup> Foucault’s vital position as a point of departure for the analysis, and as a target for criticism, is also manifest in this present issue in the articles by Qvarsebo, Lundberg, and Puranen and Roitto.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, Pierre Bourdieu’s theories about symbolic power and symbolic violence, developed further by various scholars to match different social contexts—such as gender relations, marginalised groups in relation to societal norms, etcetera—offers yet another analytical backdrop for understanding violence with a more marked focus on its non-physical elements and its entanglement in different power relations as well as social and cultural norms. Even if Bourdieu’s theories are developed on a quite non-figurative level of education (all formal schooling as cultural/symbolic violence embedded and masked in pedagogy), they also appear to supply a link between the individual and the social context and an opening to incorporate the significance of gender, body, and emotions in exploring violence on a micro level.<sup>26</sup>

What connects many of these efforts of understanding and theorising violence in different times and contexts is that they tend to draw our focus from violence as specific idiosyncratic manifestations of human existence towards their causes, hidden and seemingly natural conditions, and discourses. By this they also blur the lines between individual and social context and between violence as a particular act and the objective circumstances, processes, and practices it is embedded in. This relational approach to violence also presupposes an historical understanding, that is, knowledge about the historical processes and ever-changing environments in which violence exists and gains its meaning. However, regarding education they primarily locate violence as a part of formal school practice and governance, which gives them a somewhat restricted scope, limiting the understanding of, for example, violence that exists outside the direct formal educational sphere (in extracurricular life, in social relations between students, etcetera).

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23 See discussion in Jeroen J.H. Dekker, Bernard Kruithof, Frank Simon and Bruno Vanobbergen, “Discoveries of Childhood in History: An Introduction,” *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 1 (2012), 1–9.

24 Michel Foucault, “Governmentality,” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Peregrine Books, 1982), especially part III.

25 See Lundberg (2018); Qvarsebo (2018); Puranen and Roitto (2018).

26 Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture (Book 1: Foundations of a Theory of Symbolic Violence)* [2. ed.] (London: Sage, 1990); Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); C. Samuel, “Symbolic Violence and Collective Identity: Pierre Bourdieu and the Ethics of Resistance,” *Social Movement Studies* 12, no. 4 (2013), 397–413; Monique Scheer, “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion,” *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012), 193–220.

There is obviously a body of more recent research on the present area, and the individual articles in this issue provide plenty of updated discussions on the state of the art.<sup>27</sup>

### On physical and non-physical violence

Discussions about the role of physical violence in past education recurrently appear in this issue. Skundberg and Thuen address the use of corporal punishment and its relation to the general views of the nature of the child as expressed in different pedagogical traditions—including pietism, John Locke’s rationalism, Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s naturalistic philosophy, Herbert Spencer’s naturalism, and social Darwinism.<sup>28</sup> Sjögren goes into schematic detail on the relation between corporal punishment and various other forms of correction in Swedish nineteenth century mass schooling, exposing a range of systematised disciplinary means stretching from mild and tenderly telling-offs to strict physical chastisement,<sup>29</sup> and Puranen and Roitto criticise what they see as anachronistic understandings of corporal punishment in previous research.<sup>30</sup>

Indirectly, this touches upon interesting analytical questions about what physical—and non-physical—violence actually is in the contexts that we are studying. Against the background of what has been discussed in this introduction, corporal punishment can on the one hand be seen as a quite peripheral part of violence in education. On the other hand, the act of physical punishment always appears to have had a distinct position within pedagogical and educational thinking. To cross the line from the solely symbolic, or at least the seemingly non-physical, such as telling-offs, warnings, blaming, pecuniary fines, expulsion, and other types of correctives meant to have social and/or emotional impact, to the corporal in exercising discipline over children seems to have required explicit argumentation as to the reasons for why this should happen. Ariés spends pages writing about how the act of physical chastisement grew to become the most prominent form of scholastic punishment during

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27 Cf. Alan Cumming, “Discipline: An Historical Overview,” *Paedagogica Historica* 9, no. 1–2 (1969); Llyod de Mause, ed., *The History of Childhood: The Untold Story of Child Abuse* (London: Bellow, 1991); Bruce Curtis, “My Ladie Birchely must needs rule: Punishment and Materialization of Moral Character from Mulcaster to Lancaster,” in *Discipline, Moral Regulation, and Schooling: A Social History*, ed. Kate Rousmaniere, Kari Dehli and Ning de Coninck-Smith (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997); Ning de Coninck-Smith, “A History of School Detention, or ‘The Little Confinement:’ A Contribution to the History of Truancy in Denmark from 1875 to ca. 1914,” in *Discipline, Moral Regulation, and Schooling: A Social History*, ed. Kate Rousmaniere, Kari Dehli and Ning de Coninck-Smith (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997); Eric Margolis and Sheila Fram, “Caught Napping: Images of Surveillance, Discipline and Punishment on the Body of the Schoolchild,” *History of Education* 36, no. 2 (2007), 191–211; Frederik Herman, et al., “Punishment as an Educational Technology: A Form of Pedagogical Inertia in Schools?” *Educational Research: Networks and Technologies* 2 (2007), 203–19; Jacob Middleton, “The Experience of Corporal Punishment in Schools, 1890–1940,” *History of Education* 37, no. 2 (2008), 253–75; Matthew Pate and Laurie A. Gould, *Corporal Punishment Around the World* (Oxford: Praeger, 2012); Carles Sirera Miralles, “Enlightened Paternalism: The Prohibition of Corporal Punishment in Spanish Public Schools in the Nineteenth Century,” *History of Education* 44, no. 2 (2015), 156–70; Björn Norlin, “School Jailhouse: Discipline, Space and the Materiality of School Morale in Early-Modern Sweden,” *History of Education* 45, no. 3, (2016), 263–84.

28 Skundberg and Thuen (2018).

29 Sjögren (2018).

30 Puranen and Roitto (2018).

the sixteenth century, replacing, for example, pecuniary penance that had previously been very common.<sup>31</sup> Early modern theologians, pedagogical philosophers, and school reformers such as Desiderius Erasmus expressed elaborate thoughts on the use of physical punishment in children's upbringing (giving restrictive guidelines to parents and schoolmasters regarding such punishment),<sup>32</sup> and John Amos Comenius wrote extensively on the matter in his great didactics. Comenius did not at all reject corporal punishment, especially not when it came to abnormal children, but he saw it as a very last resort for corrective practise and in all cases as a sign of inadequately organised teaching. Instead, he advocated various other techniques for upholding discipline without having to become physical with children, such as strategic use of blame and ridiculing in the classroom, enforcing internal competition among children, and establishing hierarchical systems for control and surveillance in schools, that is preventive rather than repressive actions.<sup>33</sup>

In any case, physical expressions of violence seem to hold a distinguished position both in past educational thinking and practice and in educational history research. However, a question is whether too tight a focus on the physical limits our possibilities to discover other ways of perceiving acts of violence and to analytically handle the corporal in relation to seemingly symbolic and non-corporal forms of punishment. It is fairly easy to grasp that the early modern use of hands, birch rods, ferules, switches, foot blocks, and pillories to get pupils back on the morally right track are physically violent acts, but what about other common and parallel forms of penance such as incarceration, social isolation, public admonitions and humiliations, as well as the various forms of measures to evoke hunger, fear, anxiety, shame, stress, and ignominy in children—in other words, emotions with highly negative psychological *and* physiological impacts? Are mere threats of using physical force or instilling the fear of God in children in fact physical acts? Are structural surveillance, measuring, and enforcing competition among children for pedagogical purposes acts of violence? Can even fatherly and tender admonitions be seen as such considering their institutional framing? In other words, what differentiates physical violence from non-physical violence, and what is the common denominator?

This might seem like splitting hairs, but it is nonetheless relevant for how we perceive expressions of violence in past school contexts and how we theorise them and locate them in different dimensions and practices of education. In the end, the concept of violence is not to be found in history per se, but in the heads and analyses of researchers.

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31 Ariés (1962), 257.

32 Cf. William Harrison Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), 91–95. See also Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen, *Da læreren holdt skole: Tiden før 1780* [Dansk skolehistorie, band 1] (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013), chapter 4.

33 *The Great Didactics of John Amos Comenius* (London, A. and C. Black, 1896), chapters 23, 24 and 26; Björn Norlin, "Comenius, the Great Didactics, and its Influence on the area of School Discipline in Seventeenth Century Sweden," paper presented at the session *New Perspectives on School Discipline* at the European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC), Belfast, April 4–7, 2018.

### Concluding remarks: The potentials of a renewed dialogue on violence in educational history

So, what to make of all this? It appears evident that expressions of what can be perceived as violence—including the discursive and institutional level of education, teaching practice, and the social life of everyday schooling—hold a significant place in the history of education. It also seems accurate to claim that there still is plenty left to explore in this area and that such an exploration holds the potential of both broadening and deepening our knowledge of a very important dimension of the educational heritage of the Nordic, European and Western context. Such knowledge would most likely also work as support for a better understanding of the place of violence in contemporary schooling. It also appears accurate to claim that the field of educational history, unlike many other research fields, today is lacking an initiated dialogue on violence of empirical as well as of theoretical nature.

If this is the case, how do we move forward and how can the concept of violence support this process? Kilby addresses a few things that might be helpful to have in mind also for a renewed and expanded dialogue on the area within the history of education. Firstly, which probably has been made clear, she emphasises that violence must be handled as a meta-concept and as subjected to multiple understandings, as *violences* rather than violence. Acknowledging this variation in perceiving and handling violence can be seen as crucial for all research entering the area and as a precondition for a fruitful analytical dialogue. This elasticity might certainly cause some problems, but it also comes with the potential to support a multidimensional and far-reaching exploration of the area in question. Secondly, she proposes a shift in research focus from paying prime attention to subjective forms and physical acts of violence to also incorporating the seemingly neutral circumstances and practices that allow for their existence. Only when individual acts of violence are analysed in relation to the more taken for granted conditions, environments, and practices they are embedded in, can an ampler understanding be achieved. Thirdly, which is related to the second, is that research on violence not only often has the individual act of violence in prime focus, but also its perpetrators rather than its victims and its consequences. This means that important parts of the magnitude of violence often fall outside of the scope of research. The delicate issue is thus to see beyond individual acts of violence while still attend to subjective experiences of it.<sup>34</sup>

For educational historians, researching violence inevitably means “limiting” the scope of it to education, that is, recognising that manifestations of violence in formal legislation, policy, public debate, everyday pedagogical and social school practice, and so on are bound to a specific socio-institutional framing—the school—which at least partly separates them from those of other institutions and social contexts. Violence in education is to a large extent coloured and defined by its own institutional logic and sociality, as well as by its formal collective principles. This is evidently not the same as to claim that education and schooling are freestanding and isolated domains. On the contrary, as has just been discussed, schooling might be best understood in relation to the practice of other institutions and social contexts such as the home, the church, the peer group, etcetera, and to more general societal conditions such as law and legislation as well as to political and professional debates.

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34 Kilby (2013), 261–72.

Moving from an institutional level of understanding violence to its more concrete and adjusted role in pedagogical thinking and practise, this appears to be clearly linked to and defined by how children and childhood in general have been perceived—that is, what it in different times and pedagogical circumstances has meant to be a child. However, it is also important here to recognise that we are often dealing with institutionalised childhood, more specifically, what it means to be a pupil or disciple. The child and the pupil are not necessarily the same constructs.

Furthermore, educational historians appear to follow along the same line as indicated by Kilby regarding the general focus of research in the field. The attention is often top down, on violence as a formal element in governing schools and as a part of pedagogical thinking and practice and on agents such as the headmaster, teacher, parent, or the institution itself. These are the acting subjects of violence. What would happen if the scope of future research also turned towards the victims of violence and its consequences for those that were subjected to it, or towards its manifestations in the multifarious, more unregulated, and therefore also more invisible social life of schooling (as the focus appears to be in educational research nowadays)?

The keys to support such new research trajectories in the area—from focusing on subjective acts of violence and their perpetrators towards their institutional and social conditions as well as their victims and consequences—perhaps lie in paying better analytical attention to non-physical forms of violence (instead of its corporal eruptions), the relation between the use of violence and specific knowledge areas (such as the socio-moral), its ideological foundations (often the classical and religious virtues), its impact on educational space and materiality (spatial reconfigurations and the advance of teaching technologies in managing the use of violence in schools), individual experiences of school violence (in memories, autobiographies, etcetera), its “hidden” manifestations in the social life of schooling and the relations between pupils, the role of emotions and emotional regimes in understanding punishment practice in schools, and perhaps also by putting perceptions of the body—the nexus of physical and symbolical violence—in the centre of research. Such trajectories would not only presuppose different research perspectives, but also new sets of sources.

In any case, if there is an interest for renewing and broadening the scientific dialogue on violence in educational history, the field appears to be a vast, interesting, and important area to explore. In such a process, the concept of violence might work as a common conceptual hub, a joint point of departure for research spreading out in various disciplinary directions. It could be made a concept for continuous problematisation—flexible enough to suit a multidisciplinary field such as that of educational history—and hopefully also work as an aid in discovering new areas for research. A key to a productive research dialogue is conceivably also to actively break down violence into more concrete sub areas—or sub concepts—as well as to clearly define empirical objects of study in order to position them as a part of the broader spectra. It is the editor’s hope that this issue can make a contribution to such a future dialogue.



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## ”I kjærlighedens tjeneste” Straffens legitimitet i oppdragelse og undervisning

*Øystein Skundberg & Harald Thuen*

**Abstract • “In the Service of Love:” The legitimacy of punishment in child rearing and education •** The article attempts to show that the Norwegian attitude towards punishment as a method of child rearing and education changed character during the last half of the nineteenth century. Legal sanctions regulating and prohibiting the use of physical punishment of children was introduced, primarily in schools but much later also in the family. The article suggests that this was the result of an ideological and political development towards valorising the integrity and humanity of children, but that it was controversial to impose restrictions on parents. It also outlines four models or perspectives on the nature of children and childhood that is discernible in handbooks and manuals for parents and educators, and how these models conveyed a particular understanding of the reasoning for and the consequences of punishing children as a part of rearing practices. This influenced both parents’ values and public and political debate.

**Keywords •** punishment [straff], corporal punishment [fysisk straff], upbringing [oppdragelse], school [skole], legislation [lover]

### Innledning

Inntil 1880-årene var de norske lovrestriksjonene i bruk av straff som oppdragelsesmiddel svært begrenset, men nå ble det innført innstramninger både i skolelovene og for foreldrene i hjemmet. Et halvt hundreår senere ble det innført forbud mot all bruk av fysisk straff overfor elever i folkeskolen (1936), og etter nok et halvt århundre innførte barneloven et tilsvarende forbud mot foreldres bruk av fysisk straff (1987).

I denne artikkelen diskuterer vi hvordan oppfatningen om bruk av fysisk straff i oppdragelsen av barn endret seg i lys av nye pedagogiske ideer gjennom 1700- og 1800-tallet, og hvordan spørsmålet ble løftet fra et privat til et politisk anliggende i 1880-årene. Artikkelen stiller følgende spørsmål: Hvordan ble straff av barn legitimert i norsk oppdragelseslitteratur med bakgrunn i ulike pedagogiske tankesett og modeller om hva barnets natur var? Og hvordan gjenspeilet det seg politisk i 1880-årene ved innføringen av de nye folkeskolelovene (1889) og den såkalte hus-tugtloven (1884) som strammet inn foreldrenes bruk av straffemiddelet?

I vestlig politisk historie er 1870/80-årene kjennetegnet ved overgangen fra klas-sisk liberalistisk rettsstatstenkning til sosialstatlige begrunnelser for statsmaktens virke. Mens staten tidligere skulle vise tilbakeholdenhet og blande seg minst mulig inn i private anliggender, som i forholdet mellom foreldre og barn, ble det nå legitimt

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med offentlige regulerende tiltak. Barnas ve og vel var ikke lenger alene en sak for foreldrene. Skiftet kom juridisk til uttrykk i Norge ved lover som regulerte barnarbeidet (Fabrikktilsynsloven 1892), innførte et offentlig barnevern (Vergerådsloven 1896) og søkte å ivareta rettighetene og økonomiske forhold til barn født utenfor ekteskap (de Castbergske barnelovene 1915). Barndommen ble innrammet av en samfunnssolidaritet, der den bærende ideen gikk ut på å skape et rettferdig og identitetsskapende samfunnsfellesskap. Straffespørsmålet i barneoppdragelsen falt slik sett inn i en bredere politisk kontekst knyttet til rettferd og offentlig vern for de som var i behov av samfunnets beskyttelse. Like fullt fordret skiftet faglig pedagogisk legitimitet. Straffespørsmålet i 1880-årene dreide seg ikke alene om en allment mildere og mer human og sivilisatorisk holdning til barna, dypere sett dreide spørsmålet seg om hva en ”god” eller ”riktig” oppdragelse gikk ut på, og her søkte en støtte i samtidens pedagogiske litteratur.

Fysisk straff av barn illustrer tydelig at oppdragelse og undervisning impliserer makt og maktutøvelse. Maktens legitimasjonskrav i oppdragelsen er ikke i prinsippet forskjellig fra det som ellers gjelder i politikk og lovgivning. Utøvelse av makt i relasjoner mellom foreldre og barn, lærer og elev, må begrunnes og rettferdiggjøres: Hvilke formål har straffen, hvilke verdier og normer bygger den på, hvilke midler og sanksjoner tillater den, og hvem skal utøve straffen? Straffens legitimering sikter mot aksept og tilslutning. Med makt er det mulig å påtvinge andre sin vilje, men tilslutning til utøvelsen kommer først når prinsippene som rettferdiggjør den er allment akseptert. Pedagogikkens idéhistorie viser hvordan skiftende ideer til forskjellige tider har fått en hegemonisk stilling og gitt pedagogikken legitimitet. Det har sjelden eller aldri rådet full enighet om ideene og deres legitimitet, men noen har likevel i perioder slått gjennom med slik styrke at de har fått en dominerende posisjon.<sup>1</sup> Vi skal se at det også gjelder for straffens legitimitet i skolens og oppdragelsens historie.

Kildegrunnlaget for artikkelen består av norsk oppdragelseslitteratur fra 1700- og 1800-tallet og offentlige dokumenter fra straffedebattene i 1880-årene. Oppdragelseslitteraturens målgruppe var allmenheten, først og fremst norske foreldre i sin alminnelighet. Vi kan betrakte litteraturen som en type popularisert vitensformidling, et kommunikativt bindeledd mellom den pedagogiske lære og folket. De politiske debattene gir oss på sin side et bilde av hvordan de nye perspektivene ble opptatt i politikken. Temaet hadde gjæret en tid i den offentlige debatten og skapte sterke fronter. Behovet for nye tiltak for beskyttelse og vern om barna rådet det bred enighet om, men det skapte uro i skolen når lærerne sto i fare for å miste fysiske straffemidler. Likeledes reagerte foreldrene på innstramninger i deres rett til å straffe sine egne barn. Hustugtdebatten og folkeskoledebatten er de første større politiske debattene som tematiserer straffespørsmålet i undervisning og oppdragelse. Kildene består her fortrinnsvis av referatene fra stortingsdebattene knyttet til de to lovreformene. De indikerer at vi står overfor en brytningstid, spisset i dette: Der oppdragelsens pedagogiske legitimitet tidligere lå i straffens tilstedeværelse, ser vi nå trekk at den omvendt ligger i straffens fravær.

En periodes mentalitet kan defineres som de rådende emosjoner, tenkemåter og

1 Jf. Ove Korsgaard, Jens Erik Kristensen og Hans Siggaard Jensen, *Pædagogikkens idéhistorie* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag 2017).

forestillinger om et bestemt fenomen eller i en bestemt kontekst.<sup>2</sup> Oppdragelseslitteraturen og de politiske reformdebattene hadde til felles at de søkte å påvirke og styre de allmenne holdningene til bruk av straff; oppdragelseslitteraturen i kraft av råd og anbefalinger, reformene gjennom påbud og allmenne rettsholdninger. Til forskjell fra idéhistoriens klassiske litteratur, som forholder seg til elitens ideologier og tanke-systemer, gir oppdragelseslitteraturen og de politiske kildene et bilde av hvordan ideene kunne bli oppfattet, videreformidlet og omsatt i praksis. De gir innsikt i en mentalitet, naturligvis ikke fullt og helt for de er avgrenset til bevisste forestillinger og tankesett og fanger ikke inn menneskenes ubevisste holdninger og følelser. Oppdragelseslitteraturen søker å påvirke de voksnes forestilling om barnet og den voksnes selvforståelse og rolle som oppdrager på bakgrunn av bestemte ideologier og verdsett, mens de politiske kildene kan gi oss innsyn i offentlighetens samtidige aksept og tilslutning til disse.

Ut fra nærlesning av et utvalg oppdragelseslitteratur skiller vi i artikkelen mellom fire hovedperspektiv: Det *pietistiske* perspektivet der barnet ble ansett å være grunnleggende preget av menneskets arvesynd, karakterisert ved syndighet og selvopptatthet, det *rasjonalistiske* og *empiriske* med bakgrunn i John Locke, karakterisert ved barnets fornuft og formbarhet, det *naturidealistiske* etter Jean-Jacques Rousseau som betraktet barnet som grunnleggende godt fra fødsel av, karakterisert ved natur og renhet, og til sist Herbert Spencers *naturalisme*, den sosialdarwinistiske lære som la til grunn en radikal individualisme. Lockes *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), Rousseaus *Émile* (1762) og Spencers *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (1861) ble tidlig oversatt til nordiske språk og ble store salgssuksesser og vedvarende referanse- og påvirkningskilder i oppdragelseslitteraturen.

Karakteristisk for oppdragelseslitteraturen som kilde er at den både beskriver moralske forestillinger om barnets natur og metodiske/materielle anvisninger om foreldrenes oppdragelseshandlinger. Oppfatninger om barnets natur kobles gjerne konkret til bruk av bestemte straffeformer og straffemidler. Dette er vesentlig for vår lesning og kategorisering av kildene fordi det kan være vanskelig å skille mellom de ulike idébakgrunnene ut fra straffeutøvelsen alene. Straffemiddelet, for eksempel bruk av riset, kunne være det samme uavhengig av om forfatteren tilhørte pietismen eller begrunnet seg i rasjonalistiske eller naturidealistiske ideer. En rousseauianer med sans for ”den naturlige straffen” kunne også argumentere for bruk fysiske straffemidler. Denne dobbeltsidigheten i tekstene, moral og metode/materiell, har gjort det mulig metodisk å avgrense de fire mentalitetene eller perspektivene som artikkelen beskriver.

Men oppdragelseslitteraturen speiler også en historisk og ideologisk kontekst. De formidlet et sett med sannheter og ideer til sine lesere samtidig som de beskrev den verdirealiteten leserne befant seg i. Dette metodiske prinsippet er sentralt i mentalitetshistorie, som i de klassiske studiene av Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie<sup>3</sup> og Norbert Elias.<sup>4</sup> Mentalitetshistorikeren Lucien Febvre trakk perspektivet lenger og mente den

2 Jf. Regine Eckardt and Albrecht Classen, *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2005).

3 Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie og Kjell Olaf Jensen, *Montaillou: Katarer og katolikker under inkvisisjonen i en landsby i Pyrenéene 1294–1324* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1986).

4 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process 1: The History of Manners* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

menneskelige psyken var resultat av historiske prosesser og kunne studeres som historisk betinget fenomen. At menneskelig psykologi var uforanderlig, konstant og tidløst mente han var en ”psykologisk anakronisme”.<sup>5</sup>

Oppdagelseslitteraturen var en sammensatt sjanger. I tillegg til de pedagogiske håndbøkene var familiemoral og barnetukt tema i religiøse utgivelser som andaktsbøker, huspostiller og moralskrifter. Svært mye var oversatt fra tysk, men etter hvert som det norske bokmarkedet vokste etter 1830 ble flere danske og norske forfattere solgt og lest i Norge.<sup>6</sup> Kildene i denne artikkelen var utbredte eksempler på sine sjangre, og forfatterne (som pietistene Hans Strøm, Hans Nielsen Hauge og Paul Layritz, rasjonalisten Frederik J. Bech, og Matias Skard) sto for betydelig faglig og ideologisk autoritet, samt at deres bøker hadde et stort nedslagsfelt. De er valgt ut med det kriterium at det er utgivelser tilgjengelige på det norske bokmarkedet, som hadde en viss utbredelse og var beregnet på foreldrene som lesere. Eksakte opplagstall som kunne gitt oss en kvantitativ angivelse av utbredelsen, finnes ikke og lar seg ikke etterspore, men via forfatternes navn, stilling og referanser trer noen kilder fram som viktigere og mer sentrale enn andre.

Det er ikke gjort mange sammenhengende studier av oppdragelseslitteraturen, selv om det ofte blir sitert fra slike kilder for å illustrere en tidsbestemt oppfatning eller norm. I Norge er den anvendt som kilde i noen få studier, som i Åse Gruda Skard: *Kva las dei om barnestell og oppseding før i tida?* (1954); Ida Blom: ”Om Pigebørns Opdragelse” (1979); og Monica Rudberg: *Dydige, sterke, lykkelige barn* (1983). Dette er imidlertid studier av mer generell barndoms- og oppdragelseshistorisk karakter, der straffespørsmål er mer sideordnet. Det finnes ellers svært få norske historiske studier eksplisitt av straff i oppdragelse og undervisning. Med unntak av den allmenne skolehistoriens korte omtaler og enkelte hovedfagsoppgaver,<sup>7</sup> også de fortrinnsvis knyttet reformutviklingen og straffeparagrafene i skolen, er temaet på det nærmeste utforsket i Norge.

## Syndens barn

I den lutherske lære, spesielt i pietismen, ble dogmet om arvesynden forklaringen på barns stadige grenseoverskridelser og misgjerninger, og dermed også styrende for straffens innhold. Grunnet arvesynden var barna født syndige. Mennesket var ”vredens barn” av naturen, og foreldrene var selv ansvarlige for at barna var blitt slik. Derfor lå det til forelderansvaret å rette opp barnet ved å drive ut synden som hadde bosatt seg i sjelen. En god oppdragergjerning var den retteste vei til himmelen, og en dårlig var den retteste til helvete.<sup>8</sup> Barna var en gave fra Gud og oppdragelsen en hel-

5 Dag Jøssens, *Mentalité : En vitenskapsteoretisk studie i mentalitetshistoriske tekster av Ariès, Mandrou og Vovelle* (Bergen: Ariadne, 1990).

6 Jostein Fet, *Lesande bønder: Litterær kultur i norske allmugesamfunn før 1840* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1995); Lis Byberg, ”I bondens hyller: En 1700-talls bonde og hans bøker,” *Heimen* (2011).

7 Kirsten Marie Rode Lycke, *Legemlig straff i allmennskoleverket i Norge fra 1880 til 1936: Debatt, bruk og bestemmelser* (Hovedoppgave i pedagogikk, Universitetet i Oslo, 1973); Rune Ove Svartvatn, *Legemlig straff i Trondheim Folkeskole: En undersøkelse av straffeprotokoller ved skoler i Trondheim kommune, 1890–1936* (Hovedoppgave i pedagogikk, Universitetet i Trondheim, 1988); Bente Halland, *Avskaffelse av fysisk straff av barn i Norge 1889–1936* (Hovedoppgave i historie, Universitetet i Bergen, 2007).

8 Jf. Johan Jacob Rambach, *En alvorlig og kierlig opmuntring baade til Forældre og Børn: om at iakttagge de førte og unge Aar til den saa høyt fornødne og nyttige Skolegang* (Kiøbenhavn: Andreas Hartvig Godiche, 1764).



lig plikt, men også et arbeid som sikret foreldrene en plass i evigheten. Lekmanns-pietismens fanebærer Hans Nielsen Hauge, framsatte lignende perspektiver i sin første bok.<sup>9</sup> Ektefolk måtte vite, skriver han her, at den største nytte de kunne gjøre Gud, kristenheten, verden og barna selv, var å oppdra barn godt.

Forestillingen om at barnet var født ondt og syndig ble formidlet i Norge gjennom en religiøs pedagogikk, i prekenes, husandaktsbøker og postiller. I forlengelsen av reformasjonen og protestantismens innføring i Norge ble pietistisk lutheranisme innført som statsreligion i Danmark-Norge av kong Christian VI. Foreldrene hadde en viktig posisjon i statspietismen, for de sto i Guds sted overfor barna. Den protestantiske ideologien belønnet troskap til de autoriteter Gud hadde utpekt, og det var i første omgang staten, som i sin tur sto over familiene. I følge Martin Luther var orden i hjemmet en forutsetning for orden i samfunnet, som bestod av hierarkiene hjemmet, kirken og staten. Orden og innordning i hjemmet var en forutsetning for orden i staten.

Pietistene henviste til Skriften i oppdragelsesspørsmål, der pålegget til foreldrene var utvetydig: I Salomos Ordspråk (13) het det ”Den som sparer på riset, hater sin sønn, den som elsker, formaner ham sent og tidlig”, og : ”La ikke gutten mangle formaning! Gir du ham ris, skal han ikke dø. Når du slår ham med riset, berger du ham fra dødsriket”.<sup>10</sup> Å rise barnet var et uttrykk for kjærlighet, lot en det være, var det omvendt et uttrykk for hat. I Hebreerne (12) fant foreldrene formuleringen: ”Den Herren elsker, tukter han”.<sup>11</sup> De som ikke underla seg foreldrenes tukte og oppdragelse, fornektet både Gud og Kongen og var på ville veier. Selv om irettesettelse, tukte og straff av barna kunne være tungt og vanskelig å utøve for foreldrene, skulle de vite at de ble belønnet med fred og rettferd hos dem som utholdt tukten.

Et kjennetegn ved den pietistiske pedagogikken er interessen for den psykologiske siden av omvendelse og hengivelse til en større makt. Det var viktig at mennesket, både voksne og barn, var fullstendig ærlige og åpne når de erkjente sine synder og erklærte sin maktesløshet overfor dem. Mennesket ble ansett å være særlig svake for lyster, begjær og fornøyelser. Den tyske presten og professoren August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) ved universitetet i Halle, som er regnet å ha hatt særlig innflytelse på den dansk-norske skolen, mente at oppdragelsen og dermed også straffen skulle virke befriende: Den skulle befri barnet for den medfødte egoismen, egenrådigheten og meningsløse jakten på verdslige gleder som det var født med. Saligheten lå i overgivelsen. Barnet var i stadig utvikling, derfor måtte oppdrageren tre inn fra første dag med en fast og tydelig hånd. Vel var barnet Guds barn, men like fullt Guds uoppdragne barn.

Arvesyndslæren ble formildet av de pietistiske prestene i en rekke skrifter myntet på foreldrene. Presten og naturforskeren Hans Strøm skrev i 1792 at foreldrene hadde ”meddelt deres Børn en syndig Natur, som ei kan blive god, med mindre de ved en fornuftig Opdragelse kom dem til hjelp”.<sup>12</sup> Et sentralt punkt i arvesyndslæren var

9 Hans Nielsen Hauge, *Betragtning over Verdens Daarlighed : forfattet i 5 Capitler og sammenskrevet i Korthed* (Bergen, Jens Ørbek Berg.Hauge 1796), 45.

10 13–24 og 13–14.

11 6–11.

12 Hans Strøm, *Prædikener over alle Søn- og Festdages Evangelier til Andagtsøvelse for Almuen, tilligemed en Tilskrift til Eger-Menighed i Norge, samt en tilføiet Anviisning for Almuen til at kiende Gud af hans Gierninger i Naturen* (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendals Forlag, 1792), 116.

å forklare foreldrene at også de aller minste barna måtte tuktes. Selv om spebarn ikke hadde noen bevissthet rundt sine handlinger, var deres trass og motstand et uttrykk for at fordervelsen allerede satt i dem. Den tyske pietisten Friedrich Ahlfeld, en autoritet tilknyttet Franckes miljø i Halle, skrev eksempelvis at når et språkløst spebarn skriker og vifter med armer og ben er det egenviljen som rår – og den vokser dag for dag: ”Vi kjende Mødre, som allerede blive underkuede af sine smaa Barn”.<sup>13</sup>

Men det var også mildere stemmer blant pietistene som åpnet for foreldrenes skjønn og vurdering, især gjaldt det i vurdering av de minste barnas atferd. Tolkningen av spebarnas gråt er et eksempel på dette. Var den et utslag av barnets ”Egensind og Utaalmodighet” eller gråt barnet fordi det var sultent eller opplevde ubehag? Det er den tyske pietisten Paul Eugene Layritz som spør slik i et oppdragelsesskrift utgitt på norsk i 1833.<sup>14</sup> Han er et eksempel på at det kunne være variasjoner mellom pietistene i deres forståelse av barnet. Oppdrageren måtte ikke la seg lure til å føye barnet dersom gråten skyldtes ”Egen-Vilien”, da var den simpelthen et utslag av arvesynden. Men kom gråten fra et sultent barn, stilte det seg annerledes. En erfaren voksen ville høre om det er en ”klagende Graad, et Raab om Hjælp, eller en gjenstridig og egensindig Graad”.<sup>15</sup> Selvsagt kan et lite barn gråte av ubehag, sult eller frustrasjon, innrømmer Layritz, og det må da være opp til foreldrene å vurdere hva gråten er et utslag av. Foreldrene skal så langt det er mulig vise tålmodig fasthet og kjærlighet, men hvis vuggebarnet slo sin foreldre, var det legitimt å slå tilbake: ”Naar den lille Haand, som har slaet, nogle Gange bliver slaet igjen, vil Vreden snart legge sig.”

Blant pietistene generelt går et trinnvis straffemønster igjen. Sto man overfor en situasjon der straff var påkrevd, spesielt i situasjoner der barnet er stort nok til å kunne forstå, skulle man først ta barnet til side og snakke vennlig og medlidende med det – medlidende fordi barnet tross alt er offer for en medfødt sjelelig skavank, arvesynden. Særlig viktig var dette overfor barn som evnet å forstå at de hadde forbrutt seg. Hvis barnet etter dette fortsatt ikke innså alvoret i sin forseelse, og kanskje lot til å tro at Jesus ville frelse det fra fordervelsen uten at barnet trengte å gjøre en egeninnsats, da kunne man ty til håndfaste metoder, som avsondring alene på et rom, for bønn og selverkjennelse. Dette vil ha en bedre virkning enn både ris og trusler, spesielt siden mange foreldre gjerne truer med straffer de helst vil unngå. Men hvis ikke hverken formaning, henvisning til englenes sorg eller innestenging på et rom hjelper, må riset frem. Det var fremdeles viktig at barnet ble forklart grunnen til straffen, at den ble tildelt i sorg og ikke sinne, og at mor og far må være ”eet Hierte og een Sjel” i avstraffelsen, altså helt enige.<sup>16</sup>

Opplysningsprestene og senere grundtvigianerne kritiserte pietistene både for en bokstavtro og unyansert tolkning av arvesynslæren, for en manglende forståelse av barnesinnet og for å ville knekke barnets egenvilje. Men for pietistene hadde innvendinger og kritikk som dette liten virkning. For dem handlet det om å beskytte barnet mot seg selv og redde det for Gud. Barnet var kun et uvitende offer for arvesynden,

13 Friedrich Ahlfeld, *Menneskelivet: En christelig Haandbog for Unge og Gamle* (Kjøbenhavn: Wøldike), 57.

14 Paul Eugen Layritz, *Veiledning til en forstandig og christelig Børneopdragelse* (Stavanger, 1833), 49–50.

15 Layritz (1833), 50.

16 Layritz (1833), 87.

og dets anlegg til synd måtte kues, til dets eget beste. Det barnslige opprøret mot foreldrene speilet menneskets opprør mot Gud. Ærgjerrighet, egoisme og hovmod hos barn var manifestasjoner av medfødt fordervelse, og ikke et sunt uttrykk for barnets iboende styrke, frihetsfølelse eller vekst. Derfor skulle man aldri la disse egenskapene få blomstre.

### Fornuftens barn

Rasjonalistisk og empirisk pedagogikk var et britisk og tysk fenomen som gjorde seg gjeldende under opplysningstiden på 1700-tallet, og ble popularisert og spredt i Danmark-Norge gjennom oversettelser, pedagogiske skrifter og oppdragelseshåndbøker. Deres grunnoppfatning var at barnet er en primitiv, uferdig skapning uten andre medfødte egenskaper enn de helt enkleste drifter, som verken er gode eller onde. Barnet handler ut fra enkle, driftsbestemte hensikter, og oppdragerens rolle blir å styre disse driftene til beste for barnets og samfunnets framtid.

I *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) skriver John Locke (1632–1704), en hovedreferanse for fornuftsrasjonalistene, de velkjente ordene: ”Jeg tror jeg kan si, at av alle mennesker vi møter, er ni av ti som de er, gode eller onde, nyttige eller unyttige, på grunn av sin oppdragelse.”<sup>17</sup> I barndomshistorisk forskning er det en gjengs oppfatning at Lockes oppdragelsesskrift medvirket sterkt til å utløse den nye barndomsforståelsen utover på 1700-tallet. Skriftet inneholdt en rekke konkrete oppdragelsesråd, og var skrevet på en lett tilgjengelig måte på oppdrag fra en velstående venn av Locke, Sir Edward Clark, som ba om råd i oppdragelsen av sin sønn – ”en Gentlemans sønn”. Locke opponerte mot geistlighetens kristne morallære, heller enn den gamle Adams undertrykkelse, som han spissformulerte det, var barnet i behov av en sosial moral.<sup>18</sup>

Kjernen i Lockes lære var enkelt sagt dette: Barnet lot seg forme ved forestillingenes påvirkning og ved begjærets eller fristelsens underkastelse. For den intellektuelle siden av barnets utvikling gjaldt tabula rasa-teorien, for den moralske gjaldt begjærets underkastelse. Barnets fristelser måtte styres eller underlegges den voksnes fornuft; siden i livet – for det voksne mennesket – skulle man så være rede til å veie begjæret mot fornuften ved egen hjelp. Målet for den moralske oppdragelsen var via begjærets underkastelse å internalisere fornuftens overtak i mennesket. Den fullkomne moral lå i styrken til å nekte begjærets eller lystens tilfredsstillelse når fornuften tilsa noe annet. Målet var dannelsen av et selvdisiplinerende, rasjonelt og fornuftig menneske.<sup>19</sup>

Biskop i Kristiania og skolereformator Fredrik Julius Bech var rasjonalist på sin hals, og hadde lite til overs for de haugianske pietistene og deres arvesyndslære. Han skrev i sin oppdragelsesbok fra 1792 at det var ”intet som har gjort større Skade i Opdragelsen, end den Tanke om Børns onde Natur”.<sup>20</sup> I spørsmål om oppdragelse og straff lente han seg mer til Locke og de tyske reformpedagogene, filantropinerne, enn luthersk ortodoksi. Bech beskrev med avsky hvordan enkelte foreldre slo små barn

17 John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1693/1989), 83.

18 Locke (1989), 198.

19 Locke (1989), 105.

20 Frederik Julius Bech, *Veiledning til at opdrage en sund, fornuftig, duelig og lykkelig Afkom* (Trondhiem, 1792), 62.

som gråt. Det er like ufornuftig som det er urettferdig, skriver Bech. Små barn gråter når de føler ubehag, og ikke av trass. Større barn gråter også fordi de har det vondt på et eller annet vis, men er det en forbrytelse? spør han, og svarer: Foreldre kan ikke se barnet, verken store eller små, ”ind i Sjelen”. En far eller mor kan ikke kalle det egensindighet og ondskap når barnet ennå ikke vet forskjell på rett og galt! Men så må foreldrene samtidig passe på å ikke bli for ømme og skjemme bort barnet unødige. Et sykt barn som blir bortskjemt under sykdomsleie står i fare for miste styrke og motstandskraft i sitt senere liv. Ettergivenhet hos foreldre avlet lett skrøpeligheit hos barnet.

Foreldrerådene bygget i alt og ett på det rasjonelle. Urimelige og aggressive handlinger fra barnets side skulle møtes med en kontant stoppordre fra foreldrene. Uten aggresjon og sinne skulle foreldrene ”gi dem deres Slag saa følelig tilbage, at de mærke, de haver med deres Overmand at gjøre”. Man skal ikke tirre barna, sier Bech, og heller ikke la seg tirre av dem. Det har ingen hensikt verken å skjelle ut, slå eller straffe på annen voldsom måte, for de har ikke forutsetninger for å skjønne hva de har gjort galt. Men ved å stoppe barna på en kontant måte, vil de kunne sanse at de ikke skal gjøre det samme igjen. Et annet rasjonelt trekk kunne være å innrette seg slik at den uønskede atferden ikke var mulig, eksempelvis ved å rydde unna og skjule saker og ting barnet skulle holde seg unna. Bech er også kritisk til foreldres bruk av frykt. Alt fra trussel til skremser og avskrekkende historier kunne skape frykt hos barnet, men den hadde liten oppdragende virkning.

Som rasjonalist har Bech stor tro på fornuften, også hos barnet. Det vil med årene skjønne at de moralske riktige handlingene ikke bare er riktig fordi de forfektes fra autoritativt hold, Gud, Staten og Foreldrene, men fordi de framkaller en fornuftig livsholdning. Uforsiktighet, dovenskap og ødselhet fører til armod, rot og mangel. Urenslighet fører til sykdommer og smerter. Uorden, utålmodighet, heftighet i vrede, alt dette skader legemet og sjelen. Lastene gjør mennesket ulykkelig, skriver Beck. Såfremt det ikke skader barnet uopprettelig eller urimelig sterkt, skal man la barnet føle konsekvensene av sine handlinger og valg. På samme måte skal man gjøre dem oppmerksom på de gunstige og behagelige konsekvensene av riktig handling. Disse prinsippene gjorde i teorien behovet for straff og belønning i korrigerende av barns handlinger nesten overflødig.

Et hovedprinsipp for rasjonalistene var at straffen skulle være forståelig for barnet, men også rimelig og rettferdig. Straffen kunne være et legitimt redskap i innøvelse av selvbeherskelse og selvkontroll. Hvis straffen ikke var forståelig, rimelig og rettferdig, sett fra barnets side, ville det bli forvirret og frustrert, og i verste fall betrakte foreldrene som ukjærlige ”Tyraner hvilket de ogsaa ere, thi de straffe ikkun, fordi Hovedet ikke staae ret paa dem selv, og fordi de ikke kunne styre sin Arrigskab”.<sup>21</sup> Straffens siktemål for rasjonalistene var at den virket sosialt oppdragende. Barnet bar med seg en mulighet som det var opp til de voksne å gripe fatt i. Det lå til oppdragere å vinne barnet for fornuftens føringer og la det bli herre over sine innskytelser og fristelser. Oppdragergrepet var å innøve og forsterke riktige handlingsmønstre som festet seg og ble til vaner hos barnet.

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<sup>21</sup> Bech (1792), 157.

## Naturens barn

Det tredje oppdragelsesperspektivet har utspring i Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) og hans oppdragelsesfilosofiske hovedverk, romanen *Émile – eller om oppdragelsen* (1762). I åpningssetningen snur Rousseau arvesynslæren på hodet: ”Alt er godt som det udgår fra skaberens hænder; i menneskets hænder udarter alt”.<sup>22</sup> Rousseau deler Lockes avvisning av arvesyndslæren, men ellers inntar han et grunnleggende annet syn enn Locke på barnets oppdragelse. I spørsmålet om bruk av fysisk straff er det likevel vanskelig å spore klare praktiske forskjeller. Ingen av dem fornektet bruk av straff, og for begge var det viktig at straffen framsto som forståelig og rettferdig for barnet.

Men i spørsmålet om straffens legitimitet ser vi ulikheter. Locke og rasjonalistene begrunnet straffen i det som moralsk og sosialt var ”riktig” for barnet, Rousseau og romantikerne i kjølvannet av ham så straffen ideelt som naturens føringer og styring av barnet. For Locke lå oppdragelsens hensikt i barnet som samfunnets kommende generasjon, hos Rousseau i barnet i seg selv. Annerledes sagt: Der Locke ønsket at barna lærte å te seg blant de andre i kulturen, der ønsket Rousseau at barnet fant fram til jegets identitet som et autentisk uttrykk innenfor det sosiale. Rousseau uttrykker forskjellen slik: ”Verdensmanden dækkes fuldt og helt af sin maskering. Da han næsten aldrig lever i sit eget jeg, føler han sig dér som en fremmed og er ilde tilpas, når han tvinges til at være sig selv. Hvad han er i sig selv betyder intet; hvad han synes at være, er alt for ham”.<sup>23</sup>

De praktiske oppdragelsesanvisningene knyttet til Émiles utvikling fanget interesse i borgerskapet og etter hvert også i bredere lag av folket. Bare i England regner man med at det ble utgitt over to hundre Émile-inspirerte oppdragelsesskrifter før 1700-tallet var omme.<sup>24</sup> Det romantiske idealet om det uskyldige barnet gjorde oppdragelseslitteraturen personlig og intens. Relasjonene mellom foreldre og barn ble beskrevet i en langt mer inderlig og romantisk retorikk enn tidligere. ”Mit Barn! Mit eneste elskede Barn! Mit Hjerter strømmer over af Æmhed og Kjærlighed til dig”, skrev bispinnen Henriette Gislesen i *En Moders veiledende Ord til sin Datter* (1843).<sup>25</sup> I Norden var den danske oversettelsen av den tyske legen Samuel Hahnemanns *Haandbog for Mødre, eller Grundsætninger for Børnenes første Opdragelse* (1797) blant de mest utbredte skriftene. Oversetteren mente at den fra sakkyndig hold i Frankrike nærmest var å betrakte som et autorisert utdrag av Rousseaus ”Mesterværk”.<sup>26</sup> Håndboken var skrevet for en bred leserkrets – for dem som ”ikke kunde læse eller eje hint store Værk”. Men boken hadde nok ett fortrinn i forhold til den franske originalen, understreket oversetteren, den var nemlig utvidet og ”berigtiget” med Hahnemanns egne praktiske erfaringer ”som Fader”. Tilføyelsen hadde en kritisk brodd, for det var velkjent at Rousseau selv hadde skjøttet sin farsgjerning dårlig. Men koblet til Hah-

22 Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emile – eller Om opdragelsen* (Bd. I–III) (Kjøbenhavn: Borgen, 1762/1962), bd. I, 13.

23 Rousseau (1962), bd. II: 97.

24 Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (London: Longman, 1995), 68.

25 Henriette Gislesen, *En Moders veiledende Ord til sin Datter* (Christiania: Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, 1843), 60.

26 Samuel Hahnemann, *Haandbog for Mødre, eller Grundsætninger for Børnenes første Opdragelse* (Kjøbenhavn: L. Reistrups forlag, 1797), forordet.

nemanns farserfaringer kunne leserne få innsikt i hvordan Rousseaus lære kunne praktiseres på en fars vis i det virkelige liv.

Émile formidlet et sett av oppdragelsesimperativer, fire er særlig framtrepende:<sup>27</sup> For det første: *Barnet er ikke lastefullt!* I Rousseaus tekst er dette en tilbakevendende grunnsetning. De første impulser fra naturen sikter alltid til noe godt, det eksisterer ikke noen arvesynd, eller som han sier, ”en medfødt fordærvelse i det menneskelige hjerte”.<sup>28</sup> Imperativet ledet til perspektivet om ”den naturlige straffen”: Man skal aldri refse eller tukte barn for å gi dem straff, derimot skal straffen framtre som en naturens reaksjon på barnets atferd.<sup>29</sup> I norsk oppdragelseslitteratur fra første halvdel av 1800-tallet ser vi budskapet til tider i et nærmest identisk ordvalg, eksempelvis slik: ”Det er ikke Opdragelsens Opgave at undertrykke, men kun at lede Natur-Anlæg-gene”, derfor anbefales den straff som ved sine midler ”efterligne Naturen, idet de ere dannede efter Handlingernes naturlige Følger”.<sup>30</sup>

For det andre: *La barnet få utfolde sin virkelyst!* Også denne ”læresetningen” er knyttet til en rekke konkrete råd relatert til ulike utviklingstrinn og oppdragelses-situasjoner. Rådet til foreldrene var at de burde legge minst mulig bånd på barnas bevegelsesfrihet. Heller burde de observere om barnets virksomhetstrang var inn-skrenket, for dette kunne være et første tegn på medfødte defekter. ”Inskrænk den Lilles Selvvirksomhed saa lidet som mueligt. La det raade og virke selv”, sa Nicolai Wergeland i oppdragesskriftet *Hendricopoedie*, forfattet i 1808 ved sønnen Hen-riks fødsel.<sup>31</sup> I barnas virkelyst ”ligge Spirene til en nyttigvirksom, selvstændig, vi-debegjerlig, dristig, retfærdig, uegennyttig, aaben og paalidelig Character”, het det i en annen oppdrageshåndbok.<sup>32</sup>

For det tredje: *La naturen herde ditt barn!* Rousseaus forbilde var det sunne bon-debarnet, den sterke kroppen, som kunne leke i snø og kulde uten å ta notis av vær og vind, som tålte naturens påkjenninger uten skrik og ynk. På norsk kunne bud-skapet lyde slik: ”Skaffer Barnet mange søde Fornemmelser og naturlige – ey kon-stige – Behageligheder; men søger ey at beskytte det imod de naturlige ubehagelige Fornemmelser, som det engang skal og maa fordrage. Væn det at taale Naturen og Verden.”<sup>33</sup> Naturherdingen var langt fra bare av det gode for barn, det fortelles om barn som ble utsatt for ekstreme eksperimenter og lidelser i forsøk på forme dem i bildet av Émile eller Sophie.<sup>34</sup>

For det fjerde: *Hold barnet unna bøkene!* ”Jeg hader bøgerne; de lærer os kun at tale om det man ikke ved noget om.”<sup>35</sup> Bøkene representerte de voksnes ytre kunn-skap. Émile skulle høste av sine egne, intuitive erfaringer og deretter selv språkliggjø-

27 Harald Thuen, *Om barnet: Oppdragelse, opplæring og omsorg gjennom historien* (Oslo: Abstrakt for-lag, 2008), 60ff.

28 Rousseau (1962, bd. I), 88f.

29 Rousseau (1962, bd. I), 100ff.

30 Hans Smith Hjort, *Brev til en Moder om hendes Børns Opdragelse* (Christiania, 1836), 3 og 11f.

31 Nicolai Wergeland, *Hendricopoedie: Kortfattede Love for Opdragelsen fra den spædeste Alder. En Lommebog for Forældre* (Christiania, 1808), punkt VIII.

32 Hjort (1836), 4.

33 Wergeland (1808), punkt VII.

34 Geoffrey Summerfield, *Fantasy and Reason: Children's Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 149ff.

35 Rousseau (1962), bd. II: 33.

re dem: ”Indskrænk altså så meget som muligt barnets ordforråd. Det er meget uheldig at barnet har flere ord enn tanker, og at det siger ting som det ikke selv forbinder noget begreb med.”<sup>36</sup> I tidens utdanningstenkning var dette et kontroversielt syn, og det var vanskelig selv for de ivrigste Rousseau-tilhengerne å holde barna borte fra bøkene. Vi finner heller ikke særlig spor av det i norsk oppdragelseslitteratur.

Rousseaus oppdragsesråd bunnet i et naturbestemt erfaringsbegrep. I barnets møte med naturen blir erfaringen til gjennom en aktiv, selvstendig og kulturelt uavhengig prosess, som en løsning på de problemer barnet selv gjennomlever. Et sentralt spørsmål blir da om det er mulig å forene det ”naturlige” med det ”sosiale”: Hvordan kan naturtilstanden bevares i møte med det siviliserte samfunn? Rousseau tegner ut et tredelt prosjekt: Dels går det ut på å forstå hvordan naturtilstanden i barnets skapning faktisk er, dels i å forstå hvordan denne naturtilstand tapes i møte med en menneskeskapt sivilisasjon, og, endelig, dels i hvordan man ved oppdragelsens grep kan oppløse denne motsetning. Sivilisasjonens normbærere, det være seg i form av oppdragerholdninger, ordforrådet, institusjonelle forordninger eller oppdragelsesinstrumenter som riset og andre strafferedskaper, bryter seg inn på naturens domene.

Naturtilstandens prinsipper skal legge føringer ikke bare for den individuelle oppdragelsen, men også for kollektive innretninger. Idealmodellen er et samfunn som setter menneskene i et avhengighetsforhold til naturens orden. Barnets prosjekt i dette samfunnet går ut på å lære å ”forbli menneske på tross av skjebnen” – å leve et menneskeliv ved å være seg selv i det sosiale, eller som Rousseau sier det, adressert til Locke og rasjonalistene: ”At leve et menneskeliv er den bestilling jeg vil lære ham. Når han forlader mig, er han – det indrømmer jeg – hverken dommer, soldat eller præst, så er han først og fremmest menneske; og alt hvad et menneske bør være, vil han efter behov kunne være lige så godt som enhver anden. Selv om skæbnen tvinger ham at skifte stilling, vil han stadig være på sin plads.”<sup>37</sup>

### Livsdyktige barn

Den britiske filosofen og sosiologen Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), vant bredt gjennomslag i Norden med boken *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (1861), oversatt under tittelen *Om Opdragelse*. Hans naturalistiske filosofi bygde på at biologiske lover, i likhet med Darwins evolusjonsteori, også gjaldt for menneskets individuelle utvikling. Spencers pedagogikk hadde bakgrunn i tidens liberalistiske samfunnsforståelse som tilsa en radikal individualisme. Oppdragelsens og politikens prinsipper var de samme; det gjaldt å fremme individets selvutvikling ut fra de evner og anlegg naturen hadde gitt, med minst mulig innblanding. Målet var å ruste barnet intellektuelt og moralsk til kampen for tilværelsen. I Spencers lære var ikke barnet styrt verken av arvesynd eller en iboende sunn og god natur, men av sine direkte reaksjoner på impulser og inntrykk. Derfor hevdet han sterkt at barnets handlinger skulle avstedkomme kun ”den naturlige Straf”, altså de uunngåelige negative konsekvenser av negative handlinger, på samme måte som gode handlinger fikk gode konsekvenser.

Spencer la et annet innhold i den naturlige straffen enn Rousseau. ”Er det ikke

36 Rousseau (1962), bd. I: 65.

37 Rousseau (1962), bd. I: 20.

aabenbart, skriver Spencer, ”at det er Forældrenes Opgave som ’Naturens Tjener og Fortolkere’ at sørge for, at deres Børn stadig erfare de sande Følger af deres Handlinger, de naturlige Reaktionen, uden at afværge dem eller forstærke dem eller stille kunstige Følger i deres Sted?”<sup>38</sup> I tråd med en utilitaristisk grunnholdning skulle straffen overensstemme med overtredelsen nesten i et matematisk forhold, så opplevelsen av lyst eller smerte varierte med omfanget av ugjerningen. Til forskjell fra Rousseau som hevdet at det var barnets egenerfaringer, uten innvirkning fra de voksnes side, som var grunnlaget for den naturlige straffen, gikk Spencers lære ut på at det var de voksne som hadde hånd om straffen. Det var oppdragerens tolkning av naturen som gjaldt, ikke barnets umiddelbare opplevelse av naturbetingelsene. Men vesentlig var det da at straffen aldri ble utøvd etter de voksnes forgodtbefinnende, i oppfarehet eller aggresjon, men at den alltid ble legitimert i en fortolkning og overveielse av naturen.

Hvis en liten gutt eksempelvis snubler over dørtrinnet, vil smerten han kjenner være nok til å lære ham å være mer forsiktig når det gjentar seg flere ganger. På samme måte som smerten ved å snuble, eller å stikke seg i fingeren med en nål er umiddelbar, gjentakende, konsekvent og uten unntak, skal straffen fra oppdrageren ikke komme nølende, variere etter oppdragerens humør eller tålmodighet eller komme lenge etter handlingen den straffer for. ”Ingen Trusler, men en tavs, streng Fuldbyrkelse”, anbefaler Spencer.<sup>39</sup> I den ”uorganiske naturen” fungerer det på samme måte. Naturen straffer og belønner enhver handling likt, naturen ”lytter ikke til nogen Undskyldning” og lar seg ikke appellere til. Dette skjedde også når et barn vokser opp; hvis du er lat, upresis eller ødsler med penger, vil den naturlige og unngåelige følgen være at du mister jobben, mister tillit eller blir fattig.

Den norske skolemannen, skoledirektøren og pedagogen Matias Skard (1846–1927) var sterkt inspirert av Spencer, og skrev en innføring i hans oppdragelsestanker i 1890. Skard var også tilhenger av den naturlige straffen, og Spencers tanke om at barnets sjel, i den grad den eksisterte, var absolutt utilgjengelig. Når Spencer snakket om barnets sjel, mente han summen av alle erfaringer, vekselvirkninger mellom organismen og omgivelsene. Derfor måtte oppdragelsen anvende straffen etter utviklingslærens lover, der den atferd som var god og hensiktsmessig belønnet seg selv. Men Skard mente at jo mer alvorlig overtrampene var i moralsk forstand, jo mindre strakk naturvitenskapens lover til. De ga kanskje en kunnskap, men ikke nødvendigvis styrke til å overvinne fristelser til å gjøre gale handlinger.

Skard er kritisk til at så mange lett griper til fysisk straff, et dask eller en ørefik ”ligger så nær for hånd”. Den voksne reagerer impulsivt, og ”foranledning, dom og eksekusjon går i ett”, skriver Skard.<sup>40</sup> Hvis en straff skal komme som en naturlig konsekvens, slik Spencer hevdet, måtte den voksne være avbalansert og kalkulert i straffen. Likevel ser ikke Skard bort fra at fysisk avstraffelse må til i ytterste nødsfall, hvis oppdrageren ikke klarer å beherske barnet med ”åndelige midler”. Spesielt hvis man skal disiplinere barnets trass eller løgn, for å unngå at barn sniker seg unna, begynner å forhandle eller setter seg opp mot den voksnes moralske autoritet. Har ikke den voksne myndighet til å sette barnet på plass uten fysiske maktmidler, må de tas i bruk. Det aller viktigste er at barnet aldri må bli seierherre, for da er hans (Skard

38 Herbert Spencer, *Om oppdragelse* (Kjøbenhavn: Høst, 1895), 82.

39 Spencer (1895), 85.

40 Matias Skard, *Barneopdragelsen i hjemmet* (Oslo: Olaf Norlis forlag, 1925), 62.



forutsetter at det er far som utøver slik straff) autoritet knekket. Straffeplikten er en av foreldrenes tyngste plikter, og det er opp til dem å sørge for at den faktisk virker etter hensikten. Den burde da også bli utført med en ”bedrøvet kjærlighet”, skriver Skard.<sup>41</sup> Han tror at kun hvis barnet er overbevist om at foreldrene straffer i beste mening, vil straffen ha den naturlige oppdragende effekt den er ment å ha. Slik sett hadde Skard stor tiltro til at barnet tolket straffen og slagene rasjonelt. Selv om slagene smertet, var de levert med kjærlighet, derfor lå den en god hensikt bak.

### Foreldrenes konservatisme

Inntil 1870-årene var straffeanvendelsen blant foreldre og lærerne i skolen lite diskutert i offentligheten. I politikken var det på det nærmeste et ikke-tema. Pietismen og arvesyndslæren hadde ennå godt fotfeste i skolen og hjemmet. Men i løpet av 1880-årene inntreffer en juridisk dreining på begge arenaer. Vi kan se det som innledningen til et langsomt mentalitetsskifte utover på 1900-tallet. For familiens del skjedde det ved den såkalte hustugtdebatten som blant annet munnet ut en innstramning av forelderens rett til å straffe sine egne barn (1884), og for skolens del ved de nye folkeskolene (1889) der lærernes straffebruk ble et av de store temaene.

For hjemmets del gjaldt fortsatt Norsk Lov av 1687 som hadde egne punkter om ”hustugt” (6–5–5 og 6). Den ga husfar rett til å refse sine barn og tjenestefolk med ”Kæp eller Vond” såfremt de ikke fikk varig fysisk skade av straffen.<sup>42</sup> Loven innførte et skille mellom lovlige og ulovlige former for straff og tugt. Dersom foreldrenes straff førte til fysisk skade på barna, kunne de selv bli straffet hardt, slik innrømmet loven barna en viss form for rettssikkerhet. 1687-lovens regler gjaldt inntil lov om ”indskrænkninger i Anvendelse av legemlig Revselse” ble innført i 1891. 1687-loven inneholdt også paragrafer om straffebruken i latinskolen. Som for barna i hjemmet påpekte loven at elevene ikke måtte komme fysisk til skade. En lærerinstruks av 1834 for landsallmueskolen søkte å mildne straffebruken ved å oppfordre lærerne til å behandle elevene ved ”kjærlig Tale”, hjalp ikke det ble lærerne anmodet om først å prøve med irettesettelser, ”Hendsetten i en Krog” eller ”Udelukkelse fra at deltage i Fritiden og deslige”.<sup>43</sup> Var også dette nytteløst, burde lærerne anvende ”legemlig Revselse”, men da på en slik måte at den ikke er ”skadelig for Barnets Sundhed, eller anstødelig for Sædligheden”.<sup>44</sup>

I grove trekk var dette det juridiske bildet før debattene i 1880-årene. De mer nyanserte og kritiske stemmene i oppdragelseslitteraturen satte ikke nevneverdig spor etter seg i straffespørsmålet før 1870-tallet. De ble heller ikke tydelig artikulert da debatten tok til. Straffetemaet i familien og skolen hadde politisk nærhet til samtidige debatter om bruk av fysisk straff overfor militære, i fengselet, håndverksopplæringen og i sjøfarten, og også med straffebruken i oppdragelsesanstaltene og barnevernet. Det var mer den allmenne politiske situasjonen, liberalisering av straffejustisen i offentlige institusjoner og i arbeidslivet, enn nytt pedagogisk tankegods som var den utløsende faktor for reformdebattene.

Selv om hustugtdebatten kom noen år i forveien, var det skoledebatten som førte

<sup>41</sup> Skard (1925), 64.

<sup>42</sup> Norsk Lov av 1687: 6 – 5 – 5/6.

<sup>43</sup> *Plan hvorefter Undervisningen og Disciplinen i Almueskolene paa landet skal indrettes, og Instrux for Lærerne ved Almueskolerne* (1834), § 13.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. § 15.

an og tematiserte de pedagogiske spørsmålene knyttet til straffebruken. Den offentlige debatten forgikk for skolens del på flere arenaer; i den liberale pressen, tidsskriftene *Den norske Folkeskolen* og *Norsk Skoletidende* og på en rekke møter i Arbeidersamfunnene i de største byene. Spørsmålet om foreldrenes anvendelse av straff kom helst i etterkant. Hustugtdebatten hadde utgangspunkt i et forslag om begrensninger i hustukturen av 1687. Forslaget gikk ut på å innføre en øvre aldersgrense for straff av egne barn og tjenestefolk, 12 år for jenter og 15 år for gutter (§ 1), og forby ”Slag, der rammer Hovedet eller Hovedets Organer” (§ 2). Siktemål var å hindre at barna ble påført ”brutale og sørgelige” følger av straffen, som det var mange eksempler på. Fra venstresiden<sup>45</sup> ble paragrafen begrunnet i behovet for vern og beskyttelse av barnet, i tråd med klassisk sosialstatlig ideologi. Loven måtte sette en grense som gjorde det mulig å rettsforfølge foresatte som anvendte ”voldsomme Midler”, mishandlet og skadet barna. Høyresiden opponerte ut fra prinsippet om foreldreretten. Paragrafen var ”et Mistillidsvotum mod de norske Husfædre og Husmødre”, hevdet en av Høyre-representantene, og en annen: ”At en Fader, naar han straffer sin Søn ved at lugge ham eller at give ham en under Øret (...) for et saadant Forhold skulde trækkes for Domstolene, finder jeg i den Grad afstødeligt, at det er en Grund mere for mig til at stemme mod Paragrafen”.<sup>46</sup>

Hustugtdebatten i 1884 var på det nærmeste fri for pedagogisk refleksjon. Foreldrenes straff av barna var et privatanliggende, om de gjorde det i kraft av pietistisk overbevisning eller ut fra andre pedagogiske ideer, fikk være deres sak. De kunne søke råd og veiledning i oppdragelseslitteraturen, men det offentlige ga ingen føringer. Heller ikke Venstre ønsket å gripe inn i foreldrenes oppdragelsesfrihet. Foreldreretten skapte et konservativt vern om strafferetten i hjemmet. Det gikk et hundreår før det ble satt grenser for foreldrenes frihet i spørsmålet om fysisk straff av egne barn. Undersøkelser fra 1980-årene viser at 60–70 prosent av foreldrene fortsatt mente at de burde ha adgang til å gi sine barn fysisk straff.<sup>47</sup> Forbudet kom i 1987 ved en tilføyelse i barneloven (1981) der det het: ”Barnet må ikkje bli utsett for vald eller på anna vis bli handsama slik at den fysiske eller psykiske helse blir utsett for skade eller fare”.

### Lærernes motstand

Straffedebatten i skolen var mer sammensatt enn hustugtdebatten. Her dreide det seg både om likebehandling av elevene, disiplin og ”riktig” pedagogikk. Byskolenes kraftige vekst i siste halvdel av 1800-tallet skapte nye disiplin- og ordensproblemer. På arbeidermøter ble skolene kritisert for inhuman og hard behandling av barna, straffebruken viste dessuten at barn fra arbeiderklassen var mer utsatt for riset og lærernes vrede enn andre barn fra høyere sosiale lag i samfunnet.<sup>48</sup> Avisoppslag kun-

45 Venstre- og høyresiden viser her fortrinnsvis til partiene Venstre og Høyre, som ble etablert som de to første partiene etter parlamentarismens innføring i 1884. Venstre stilte krav om et bredere folkestyre, reiste kamp mot det gamle embetsmannsstyre og ble etter hvert definerte som et sosialliberalt parti med stor støtte bl.a. fra lærerstanden. Høyre definerte seg som et konservativt parti med støtte i borgerskapets og den gamle embetsstanden, og i opposisjon til Venstre som vant regjeringmakten i 1884.

46 St.tid. 1884, O: 235 og 234.

47 Ibid.

48 Jf. Hans-Jørgen Dokka, *Fra allmueskole til folkeskole: Studier i den norske folkeskoles historie i det 19. hundreåret* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1967), 380; Kirsten Marie Lycke, *Legemlig straff i allmennskoleverket i Norge fra 1880 til 1936* (Hovedfagsoppgave, Universitetet i Oslo, 1973), 23f.

ne fortelle om stygge prylehistorier. I Bergen var eksempelvis et barn blitt straffet til døde i skolen.<sup>49</sup> Foreldrene reiste rettssak, men den førte ikke fram. Foreldreretten var et sentralt tema også her, men nå i en omvendt mening av det vi så i hustugtdebatten: I hjemmet gikk foreldreinteressen ut få å beholde strafferetten, men i skolen argumenterte foreldrene mot lærernes bruk av straffemiddelet

Interessemotsetning mellom lærerne og foreldrene var åpenbar. Lærerne står ikke i ”Forældrenes Sted”, men er deres ”Medhjælper”, poengterte en Venstremann.<sup>50</sup> Det hører til foreldrenes rett å selv bestemme om ”Fremmede Folk skal tugte deres egne Børn”, het det fra en annen Venstre-representant,<sup>51</sup> og en tredje sa det slik: ”Jeg kan tale med hvilkesomhelst Forældre, jeg vil, af hvilken Stand de end er, saa finder de allesammen at det er oprørende dette, at en Lærer saaledes skal have Lov til at lægge Haand paa deres Barn.”<sup>52</sup> Høyresiden så det motsatt. I hustugtdebatten argumenterte de for foreldrenes rett til å straffe egne barn, men i skoledebatten ønsket de å utvide dette rettsprinsippet til også å gjelde lærerne. Lærerne sto i foreldrenes sted og måtte ha anledning til å straffe barna på samme måte som foreldrene: ”den Omstændighed, at Børnene ved, at det ikke er Læreren tilladt at bruge legemlig Straf paa Skolen, vil have den Virkning, som kan være i høieste Grad nedbrydende på Disciplinen.”<sup>53</sup>

Debatten endte ut i et lovvedtak som fortsatt ga lærerne strafferett, men med betydelige innskrenkninger (§ 65 og § 74 i 1889-lovene). Legemlig straff kunne nå bare tildeles ”efter Samraad og i Overvær” av medlemmer fra skolens tilsynsråd eller medlærere, og jenter over ti år kunne ikke straffes. For landsskolenes del kunne der til skolekretsen bestemme at legemlig straff ikke skulle være tillatt i det hele tatt. Til tross for innstramningene, synes det å være et paradoks at skolen beholdt den legemlige straffen ennå i nær femti år, mens den i andre institusjonssektorer ble avvirket. Hjemmet og skolen sto i en annen stilling enn andre samfunnsinstitusjoner fordi det dreide seg om oppdragelsesinstitusjoner. Riksadvokat og jussprofessor Bernhard Getz, som var en nøkkelperson i arbeidet med hustugtloven, det nye barnevernet og ellers i samtidens straffedebatt, poengterte at straff på kroppen var avleggs og forkastelig i alle sammenhenger der hensikten var ren avstraffelse. Men den var berettiget som virkemiddel til ”fremme af Opdragelsens Øiemed”, derfor kunne det gjøres unntak for foreldre eller de som stod i deres sted.<sup>54</sup> Sagt annerledes: Pedagogikken ga legitimitet til bruk av fysisk straff, ikke som tidligere ut fra moralske, pietistiske begrunnelser, men simpelthen som et disiplinierende oppdragelsesmiddel.

Til forskjell fra hustugtdebatten var skoledebatten likevel også en pedagogisk debatt. 1889-lovenes mantra var å skape en skole ”overensstemmende med selve Barneaturens Krav og Tilegnelsesevne”.<sup>55</sup> Fra venstresiden ble det advart mot straff som bare hadde ”ydre Disciplin” til hensikt, et korreksjonsmiddel der og da ”i samme Øieblikk” uten videre mening. Fortsatt kunne man høre pietismens stemmer,

49 *Morgenbladet*, 27. aug. 1881.

50 Sitert etter Lycke (1973), 54.

51 Representanten Viggo Ullman. St.tid. 1889, O, 500.

52 Ibid. 501.

53 Ibid. 500.

54 Harald Thuen, *Den norske skolen: Utdanningssystemets historie* (Oslo: Abstrakt forlag, 2017), 340ff.

55 *Indstilling fra den ved Kongelig Resolution af 14de November 1885 til Revision af Lovgivningen om Folkeskolerne paa Landet og i Byerne nedsatte Kommission, I. Udkast til Love om Folkeskolen* (Christiania, 1888), 40.

eksempelvis hos Høyres ledende skolepolitiker Niels Hertzberg, som argumenterte for en straff ”paa frisk Gjærning”, en straff som ”tugtes paa eller i Kjødet; kun legemlig Smerte er i stand til at knække de raa Egenvilje, Trods og Frækhed”.<sup>56</sup> Straffens pedagogiske legitimitet var hos Høyre utledet av ”Menighetsskolen” og en ”kristelig Livsanskuelse”, som de selv sa, og hos Venstre ”en borgerlige eller verdslig Kommuneskole” bygget over det liberale demokrati.<sup>57</sup> For Hertzberg var den ”pedagogiske Straf” gitt av ”Guds hellige Vilje”. Han hadde ingen tro på den ”naturlige Straf” som venstresiden argumenterte for. Standpunktene i straffespørsmålet fulgte de tradisjonelle skillelinjene i utdanningspolitikken: Høyresiden sto for en konservativ linje uten vesentlige endringer i skolens disiplin- og straffetradisjoner, venstresiden ville humanisere og liberalisere i tråd med tiden progressive pedagogiske strømninger, ikke minst etter mønster av Spencers naturalistiske tenkning.

### Avslutning

I denne artikkelen har vi vist hvordan oppdragelsesdebatten i Norge gradvis tok innover seg og reflekterte ideer fra Locke, Rousseau og Spencer. Opplysningstiden bidro generelt til forskyvning i pedagogikkens legitimitet. Teosentriske verdensbilder ble avløst av antroposentriske. Pietismens barnesyn ble erstattet av ideer om barnets frihet, fornuft og selvstendighet. Pedagogikkens handlingsrom åpnet seg for barnets individualitet og egenutvikling. Den norske oppdragelseslitteraturen i kjølvannet av opplysningstiden spiller at straffespørsmålet ikke var et statisk tema med fastlåste svar og løsninger.

Innenfor og mellom de fire ideretningene finner vi forskyvninger både i spørsmålet om straffens legitimitet som oppdragelsesmiddel og om dens praktiske anvendelse i bestemte oppdragelsessituasjoner. Over århundrene kan vi iakttå en gradvis mildere og mer human behandling av barna, slik tidligere historisk forskning like tilbake til Philippe Ariès (1962) og Lloyd deMause (1975) klassiske verker har vist. Oppdragelseslitteraturen gir likevel et mer nyansert og sammensatt bilde av utviklingen ved å vise hvordan de pedagogiske ideene ble transformert og formildet til en bredere leserkrets, nedfelt i moralske formaninger, veiledning og praktiske råd. Det var ikke slik at ideene bygde på hverandre etter en kronologisk linje, heller eksisterte de side om side. Men mellom pietismen og de tre øvrige retningene går en markert skillelinje ved arvesyndslæren.

Fra Rousseau og framover trer naturbegrepet fram som en motsats til arvesynden. I den pietistiske litteraturen finner vi knapt ordet ”natur”, men siden trer det fram som et kjernebegrep. Etter Rousseaus lære gir litteraturen anvisninger om hvordan den voksne skal forstå barnets natur som en individuell og selvstendig tilstand i barnet, uavhengig av kulturens negative påvirkning, og hvordan den voksne som oppdrager skal utlede sine handlinger overfor barnet i lys av naturtilstanden. I den senere litteraturen er det likevel Spencers biologisk-evolusjonistiske naturbegrep som vinner tydeligst gjenklang. Dette ser vi også i de politiske kildene fra straffedebatten i 1880-årene. Skolemannen Matias Skard er blant de som skarpest omsetter Spencers ideer i praktisk-pedagogiske råd her hjemme, hans hovedpoeng er at oppdragerens og pedagogens handlinger skal ha legitimitet i vitenskapen, det vil si i biologiske og psykologiske forklaringer på barnets utvikling.

<sup>56</sup> Niels Hertzberg, *Opdragelse og Undervisning* (Kristiania, 1891), 90.

<sup>57</sup> Thuen (2017), 97.

Hvilke gjennomslagskraft oppdragelseslitteraturen i praksis hadde overfor de voksne vet vi mindre om. Men forbudene mot bruk av fysisk straff lot vente på seg, og straffetradisjonen hadde et godt mentalt feste både blant foreldre og lærere. Ennå langt ut i etterkrigstiden viser spørreundersøkelser at en stor majoritet av foreldrene mente de burde kunne anvende fysisk straff av barna i oppdragelsesøyemed. De politiske debattene i 1880-årene viser likevel at straffetemaet nå ble et offentlig anliggende som avkrevde statlig initiativ og ansvar. De innstramningen hustugtloven og skolelovene innførte var inspirert av den pedagogiske idédebatten, særlig Spencers naturalistiske perspektiver som stilte krav om at straffen var utledet av forseelsens karakter og tilpasset barnets utviklingsnivå. Straffens pedagogiske legitimitet skulle være forståelig for barnet, ikke fortrinnsvis ved sin avskrekkende virkning, men ideelt sett ved sitt pedagogiske læringsinnhold. Venstresiden, som reiste saken og var den drivende part i politikken, hadde ikke som ærend å nedlegge et absolutt forbud, men å bringe inn fornuften og naturen som legitimitetsgrunnlag for straffen. Politikken tok slik til orde for nye rettsholdninger og krav til begrunnelser i de voksnes straffeutøvelse. Det varslet at et mentalitetsskrifte var på gang.

Familie- og skoleinstitusjonen var likevel fortsatt tungt styrt og influert av kristne moralske tradisjoner. Innordning, ærefrykt og lydighet overfor lærere, foreldre og andre autoriteter definerte barnets rolle og atferdsnormer, og hvilke straffemetoder og reaksjoner som var hensiktsmessige. Å vinne foreldrene og lærerne for et holdningsskrifte i straffebruken var ingen enkel sak. De to politiske debattene som vi har sett på, avslører hvordan foreldrene og lærerne på hver sitt vis reiste motstand mot de nye ideene. Felles for dem var at de så straffen som et nødvendig disiplineringsmiddel. Om det var legitimert i religiøs moral eller i vitenskapelig rasjonalisme, var mindre viktig, det vesentlige var at de på sine respektive arenaer mestret å opprettholde ro og orden. Mistet foreldrene og lærerne straffemiddelet, ja, så mistet de også sin autoritet. Foreldrene forsvarte sine interesser juridisk med utgangspunkt i foreldreretten: Barna tilhørte foreldrene, og de avgjorde selv hva som var rett og galt i oppdragelsen av egne barn. Lærernes utgangspunkt var klasserommet: Mistet de straffemiddelet, ville det gå utover undervisningen og elevenes læring. Som lærerne så det, sto de i foreldrenes sted når barna oppholdt seg i skolen. Derfor burde foreldreretten, som ga myndighet til straffeanvendelse, i prinsippet også gjelde for dem.

Det kan umiddelbart se ut til at lærerne og foreldrene reiste felles sak i sin motstand mot innstramningene i straffebruken. Men det var langt fra tilfelle. Foreldrene godtok ikke at lærerne kunne straffe barna på lik linje med dem ut fra foreldrerettsprinsippet. Så lenge foreldrene ikke var fratatt foreldreretten og omsorgen for sitt barn var det ene og alene de som i prinsippet kunne påberope seg foreldreretten. Når lærerne nå hevdet at de sto i foreldrenes sted og hadde rett til å straffe barna tilsvarende foreldrenes rett, så brøt det med forelderettes idé. Foreldrerettens hensikt var jo det stikk motsatte: å sikre at ingen utenforstående tok seg til rette overfor barna. Men det var ikke alene det juridiske overgrepet foreldrene reagerte på, det var også lærernes inhumane straffep praksis. Foreldrene opposisjon var tosidig: dels dreide den seg om lærernes autoritære stil overfor foreldrene, og dels deres harde behandling barna. Det siste var det viktigste og utløsende for det første. Foreldreraksjonen i 1880-årenes straffedebatter kan vi se som et mentalitetsopprør – en reaksjon rettet mot skolens autoritære tradisjoner, symbolisert ved lærerens forestillinger og sensibilitet for elevene og foreldrene.

Et par tiår senere ga Ellen Key stemme til kravet om et mentalitetsskifte med verket *Barndommens århundrade* (1900). Hun så til Rousseau og ideen om barn-  
dommens som barnets eget naturgitte prosjekt, og til Spencer og hans naturalistiske  
visjoner om hvordan vi best kunne legge til rette for barnets utvikling og vekst. I  
straffespørsmålet var det liten tvil om hvor hun ville: ”De barn, som slå igen når de  
bli slagna, äro av alla de mest löftesgivande.”<sup>58</sup>

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58 Ellen Key, *Barnets århundrade* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1911–12), bd. II, 27.

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## Kärleksfullt tilltal, kvarsittning eller kroppssaga: En modellgenererande undersökning om korrektionsmedel i 1800-talets folkskolereglementen

*David Sjögren*

**Abstract • Compassionate Corrections, Detention or Corporal Punishment: A Model-Generating Study on Correctional Methods in Nineteenth Century Comprehensive School Bylaws •** This article aims to develop a systematising model to analyse correction and punishment in the nineteenth century elementary school in Sweden. The model is used to identify and compare the different forms of correction, to systematise mutual relationships between milder corrections and more harsh punishments, and to find patterns between faults and correction. The model is also used to systematically identify how expressions about correction and punishment change over time. The model is developed on the basis of normative material, which regulated how to maintain order in classrooms.

**Keywords •** elementary school [folkskola], conduct [uppförande], discipline [disciplin], punishment [straff]

Det svenska folkskoleväsendet expanderade kraftigt under 1800-talets andra hälft. Antalet barn inskrivna i fasta och ambulerande skolor flerdubblades, lärarkåren växte, skolbyggnader uppfördes över hela landet och ett allt mer finmaskigt nät av reglerande anvisningar om undervisningens innehåll och struktur utarbetades. Eftersom skolväsendet organiserades utifrån en lednings- och ansvarsstruktur som innebar att landets församlingar finansierade, ansvarade, ledde och skötte skolundervisningen i skoldistriktet, så skiftade skolväsendets utformning påtagligt distriktet emellan, vilket i sin tur hade demografiska, ekonomiska, sociala och kulturella orsaker. Över församlingarnas skolväsende reste sig efterhand en allt växande och alltmer detaljstyrande regional och nationell skolbyråkratisk överbyggnad med anvisande, reglerande och kontrollerande funktioner. Skolväsendet homogeniserades, standardiserades och utvecklades gradvis genom överbyggnadens olika funktioner. Massundervisningens framväxt, med skolutbildning som institutionell form, skapade naturligtvis en räckta nya förutsättningar och utmaningar för att bedriva undervisning.<sup>1</sup>

Utifrån detta fågelperspektiv på skolväsendets utveckling vill jag sammanföra två partikulära förändringstendenser under 1800-talets senare hälft. Den första tar fasta på folkskolans expansion som ledde till fler elever i allt större klasser, vilket i sin tur ställde andra, och möjligen större, krav på lärarnas uppgift att upprätthålla ordning och disciplin i skolan jämfört med tidigare. Den andra förändringstendensen tar fasta på skolväsendets homogeniserande utveckling som den framväxande byråkratiska överbyggnadens alltmer detaljstyrande ambitioner medförde. I artikeln

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<sup>1</sup> Se exempelvis Johannes Westberg, *Att bygga ett skolväsen: Folkskolans förutsättningar och framväxt 1840–1900* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014), 20–24, 290–311.

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sammanförs dessa förändringstendenser i en undersökning om skoldisciplinens lokala utformning och belyser de förändringar som denna utformning genomgår från folkskolans införande till 1800-talets slut.

Artikeln har till syfte att utveckla en användbar systematiserande modell för att analysera tillrättavisningar och bestraffningar i 1800-talets folkskola. Förhoppningen är att den systematiserande modellen skall komma till användning i kommande undersökningar. Modellen ska kunna användas för att identifiera och jämföra korrektionsmedlens olika former, systematisera inbördes förhållanden mellan mildare tillrättavisningar och strängare bestraffningar och finna mönster i koherenser mellan förseelseart och korrektionsform. Den kan också användas för att identifiera likheter och skillnader i olika utsagor om tillrättavisning och bestraffning samt hur dessa utsagor förändras över tid. Modellen utvecklas med utgångspunkt i normerande material, i det här sammanhanget folkskolereglementen, som reglerade hur tillrättavisning och bestraffning skulle gå till i klassrummen. Studien baseras på en närläsning av reglementenas paragraf om vad som skulle göras vid förseelser av olika slag.

### Tidigare forskning

Mina motiv till att utveckla denna modell bygger i första hand på en avsaknad av systematisk analys av ett större material i tidigare svensk forskning. Enligt min mening har den sammantaget i allmänhet inte systematiskt analyserat normativt material och därmed inte uppmärksammat de mönster i utsagor som den här artikeln behandlar (nämligen korrektionsmedlens olika former, systematisering av olika typer av korrektionsformer, koherensmönster mellan förseelseart och korrektionsform). Jag skall drista mig till att förklara hur det kommer sig.

En huvudfåra inom forskning om uppfostran och synen på barndom har utgått ifrån Phillipe Ariès teser om att föreställningar om och begrepp för barndom, enkelt uttryckt, inte existerande förrän vid sekelskiftet 1800 och att barn disciplinerades hårt fram till dess. Vidare menar Ariès att kärlek till barn utvecklades, med början i de bildade klasserna, först under slutet av 1700-talet och därifrån spreds dessa uppfattningar till andra folklager. I efterföljd till dessa teser har exempelvis Llyod de Mause gått igenom 200 uppfostringsråd från antiken till 1600-talet och visat att endast ett fåtal av dem innehöll avråd från kroppsbestraffning.<sup>2</sup> Även svenska forskare som Ann-Sofie Ohlander och Birgit Persson har menat att barnuppfostran verkställdes med närmast övermått av våld.<sup>3</sup> Christina Florin och Ulla Johansson menar att även folkskolans lärarkår frekvent gav eleverna slag, rapp och andra fysiska bestraffningar.<sup>4</sup> Dessa utgångspunkter har dock ifrågasatts av en annan sida fors-

2 Llyod de Mause, red., *The History of Childhood: The Evolution of Parent-Child Relationship as a Factor in History* (London: Souvenir press, 1977); Llyod de Mause, *The History of Childhood: The Untold Story of Child Abuse* (London: Bellow, 1991).

3 Ann-Sofie Ohlander, *Kärlek, död och frihet: Historiska uppsatser om människovärde och livsvillkor i Sverige* (Stockholm: Nordstedts, 1985); Ann-Sofie Ohlander, *Det bortträngda barnet: Uppsatser om psykoanalys och historia* (Uppsala: Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, 1993); Birgit Persson, "Aga och husliga bestraffningar," i *Den utsatta familjen: Liv, arbete och samlevnad i olika nordiska miljöer under de senaste tvåhundra åren. En antologi från det Familjehistoriska projektet vid historiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet*, red. Hans Norman (Stockholm: LT, 1983).

4 Christina Florin och Ulla Johansson, "Three Cultures, Three Stories: Discipline in Grammar School, Private Girls' School and Elementary Schools in Sweden, 1850-1900," i *Discipline, Moral Regulation, and Schooling: A Social History*, red. Kate Rousmaniere, Kari Dehli och Ning de Coninck-Smith (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 43-73, särsk 57-58.

kare.<sup>5</sup> De har i sin tur hävdats att kroppslig bestraffning visserligen tilläts, och ibland påbjöds, men att den sällan behövde användas. Bland annat har historikern Steven Ozment ansett att en negativ bild av äldre tiders uppfostran uppkommit genom en selektiv läsning av källmaterial.<sup>6</sup> Bland svenska forskare har den omåttliga kroppsliga agan och avsaknaden av föräldrakärlek under tidigmoden tid ifrågasatts av bland andra Eva Österberg och Helena Brembeck.<sup>7</sup> Min poäng är att Ariès teser, oavsett om man delar dem eller inte, har givit upphov till undersökningar om hur hård eller hur vanligt förekommande kroppslig bestraffning egentligen var. Därmed har andra tillrättaviserings- och bestraffningssätt fått liten uppmärksamhet och kroppsgagans relation till andra korrekationsmedel behandlats i mindre utsträckning. I den något äldre svenska forskningen har undersökningsobjekt som aga i det närmaste varit synonyma med kroppslig bestraffning.<sup>8</sup> En liknande tendens tycks finnas i den engelskspråkiga litteraturen. När man i denna undersöker och talar om "punishment" så är det ofta "corporal punishment" som är av särskilt intresse.<sup>9</sup>

Sedan något decennium har nya metodiska ansatser och nya perspektiv tillkommit i barndomshistorisk och utbildningshistorisk forskning. De nya ansatserna har riktat undersökningarna mot dagligt liv samt barns beskrivningar och erfarenheter av uppfostran och skola.<sup>10</sup> John Deweys programförklaring "barnet i centrum" har tillämpats i själva forskningsansatserna. Perspektivförskjutningarna har medfört att barn inte enbart betraktats och beskrivits som offer för våld och bestraffningar, utan att de också tillskrivits funktioner som aktörer för att upprätthålla gränser mellan tillåten och otillåten bestraffning.<sup>11</sup> Dessa nya ansatser har utvecklats parallellt med

5 Linda Pollock har gjort en genomgång av forskning som baseras på Ariès teser och också gått igenom sådan forskning som argumenterar emot Ariès. Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

6 Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983).

7 Eva Österberg, *Folk förr: Historiska essäer* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1995); Eva Österberg, "Barn i äldre tid – kulturhistoriska perspektiv," i *Barnet i kyrkohistorien*, red. Anders Jarlet (Lund: Lund University Press, 1998) s. 21–33; Helena Brembeck, *Tyst, lydig, arbetsam: Om barnuppfostran på den västsvenska landsbygden* (Göteborg: Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige, 1986). Se även Eva Bergenglöv, *Skuld och skam: Barnamord och barnkvävning i rättslig diskurs och praxis omkring 1680–1800* (Lund: Historiska institutionen, 2004), 388–91.

8 Exempelvis Persson (1983); Marianne Liliequist, *Nybygggarbarn: Barnuppfostran bland nybyggare i Frostvikens, Vilhelmina och Tärna socknar 1850–1920* (Umeå: Acta Universitatis Umensis, 1994).

9 Exempelvis Carles Sirera Miralles, "Enlightened Paternalism: The Prohibition of Corporal Punishment in Spanish Public Schools in the Nineteenth Century," *History of Education* 44, no. 2 (2015), 156–70; Frederik Herman et al., "Punishment as an Educational Technology: A Form of Pedagogical Inertia in Schools?," i *Educational Research: Networks and Technologies*, redaktör Paul Smeyers, Marc Depaepe (New York: Springer, 2007), 203–19.

10 Se exempelvis Jane Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Jane Humphries, "Childhood and Violence in Working-Class England 1899–1870," i *Childhood and Violence in the Western Tradition*, red. Laurence Brockliss och Heather Montgomery (Oxford: Oxbow books, 2010), 135–41; Colin Heywood, *Growing up in France: From the Ancien Régime to the Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Kate Rousmaniere, Kari Dehli och Ning de Coninck-Smith, "Conclusion: New Perspective on Moral Regulation and Schooling," i *Discipline, Moral Regulation, and Schooling: A Social History*, red. Kate Rousmaniere, Kari Dehli och Ning de Coninck-Smith (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 273–77.

11 Se exempelvis Laurence Brockliss och Heather Montgomery, "Preface," i *Childhood and Violence in the Western Tradition*, red. Laurence Brockliss och Heather Montgomery (Oxford: Oxbow books 2010), X.

att nya typer av källmaterial har kommit i bruk.<sup>12</sup> Självbiografier och dagböcker är i detta sammanhang två sådana viktiga materialtyper. Min avsikt är inte att redogöra för denna omfattande forskning, utan att poängtera att de nya materialtyperna medfört att forskningen ånyo uppmärksammat särskilt våldsamma former av uppfostran och bestraffning. Nyanseringar förekommer naturligtvis. Men rimligen uppehåller sig det självbiografiska materialet vid händelser som har fastnat i minnet beroende på de olustkänslor de frambringt eller på grund av att de skiljde sig från dagliga erfarenheter. Man minns, enkelt uttryckt, slaget bättre än den kärleksfulla förmaningen. Källmaterial som fotografier och arkitektur har också kommit att användas i de nya ansatserna. Dessa har i sin tur medfört att andra perspektiv på uppfostran och disciplinering har uppmärksamrats. I en undersökning med fotografier som källmaterial har exempelvis sociologerna Eric Margolis och Sheila Fram visat en bredare palett av medel för disciplinering och övervakning än den fysiska bestraffningens.<sup>13</sup>

En annan huvudfåra i den barndoms- och utbildningshistoriska forskningen är att undersöka uppfostran och skola som verksamheter med föränderliga teknologier för disciplinering, bestraffningar och övervakning. Inriktningen har medfört synliggörande av alltfler förfinade teknologier för disciplinering, men samtidigt visat att äldre bestraffningsmetoder kvardröjt långt in på 1900-talet. Med hjälp av övergripande generaliserande kategorier (som bestraffning) har man bland annat kunnat visa att många av den ”klassiska” bestraffningens utmärkande drag (riktad mot kroppen och offentligt utdelad) har dröjt kvar in i våra dagar. Trots att bestraffningstypen som sådan kritiserats i den offentliga diskursen.<sup>14</sup> Andra studier har tagit fasta på övergången från fysiskt våld till symboliskt våld som allmänna utgångspunkter för att förstå disciplineringsteknikernas förändring. En sådan inriktning har bland annat lett till uppmärksammandet av en räckta tekniker för disciplinering som inte baseras på klassrumsnära handlingar av aktörer, och mottagare av dessa handlingar. Det kan röra sig om hur scheman, läsanvisningar, klassrumsindelningar, arkitektur, belöningar och uppmuntran samt kategoriseringar av elevgrupper verkade disciplinerande. Den här forskningen har alltså haft som avsikt att bredda och nyansera förståelsen av vad som kan utgöra korrektionsmedel i skolmiljö.<sup>15</sup> Utan att vidare fördjupa mig i denna omfattande forskning så är min poäng att denna inriktning antingen har fäst stor vikt vid fysiska bestraffningar och dess övergång till symboliskt våld, eller uppmärksammat mer abstrakta former av disciplinering. Oavsett orientering så har en mer omfattande systematisering av olika disciplineringsformer (av fysisk eller symbolisk karaktär) under en längre sammanhängande tidsperiod inte gjorts.

I svensk forskning finns det ett par studier som särskilt behöver uppmärksammas. Historikern Tomas Berglund kan i sin avhandling, *Det goda faderskapet i svenskt*

12 Se exempelvis Rousmaniere, Dehli och de Coninck-Smith (1997), 275–76.

13 Eric Margolis och Sheila Fram, ”Caught Napping: Images of Surveillance, Discipline and Punishment on the Body of the Schoolchild,” *History of Education* 36, no. 2 (2007), 205–6.

14 Se exempelvis Herman et al. (2007), 208–12.

15 Några svenska exempel är Florin och Johansson (1997); Joakim Landahl, ”The Eye of Power(-lessness): On the Emergence of the Panoptical and Synoptical Classroom,” *History of Education* 26, no. 6 (2013), 803–21; Björn Norlin, ”School Jailhouse: Discipline, Space and the Materiality of School Morale in Early-Modern Sweden,” *History of Education* 45, no. 3 (2016), 263–84.

1800-tal, konstatera, utifrån en genomgång av ett stort antal rådgivningsskrifter om uppfostran från 1800-talet, att även mer hårdföra förespråkare av kroppsaga tycks med sitt agabegrepp ha laborerat med mildare agaformer i sin tillrättaviseringsmanual.<sup>16</sup> Berglund kan utifrån rådgivningslitteraturen urskilja fem olika former av aga i historisk tid: 1) kärleksfull förmaning; 2) allvarsam varning; 3) anmärkning, undandragande av förmån; 4) avskiljande från andra barn och deras nöjen och 5) aga med ris.<sup>17</sup> En liknande iakttagelse har historikern Esbjörn Larsson gjort i en undersökning om växelundervisningens införande och verksamhet i Sverige under 1800-talets första hälft. Larsson menar att bestraffningsformerna i de anvisningar som gjordes av metodens grundare, Joseph Lancaster, knappt innehöll någonting om fysiskt våld. I stället fanns det en räckta andra metoder för att upprätthålla ordning, som dels var ordnade hierarkiskt och dels korresponderade mot olika sorters förseelser. Olika former av skamstraff och frihetsberövanden tycks ha tilltalat Lancaster. Också i de svenska handböcker, som anknöt till metoden, återfinns en liknande straffskala, men där nedflyttning, kvarsittning och förlöjliganden tycks ha varit mer förespråkade.<sup>18</sup> Larsson antyder alltså att det fanns en systematik i hur straffen utformades, men han preciserar inte vad den ”hierarkiska ordningen” eller den ”formaliserade och finfördelade straffskalan” innehöll för typer av straff och hur de förhöll sig till varandra. Dessa forskningsresultat utgör delvis en kompareringsbar fond mot vilken mina modellgenererande undersökningar kan ställas.

### Undersökningens anspråk, relevans, avgränsningar och arkivmaterial

Värdet av att arbeta fram en metod och modell för att analysera mönster och systematik över korrektionsformer är att den kan användas som verktyg för jämförelser mellan olika materialkategorier (exempelvis normativt material, diskursivt och material som beskriver hur människor handlat) och för att identifiera förändringar över tid samt att upptäcka geografiska variationer. Utöver dessa motiveringar kan det tilläggas att svenska folkskolereglementen i allmänhet är en underutnyttjad källa i utbildningshistorisk forskning, vilket på sina sätt är förvånande på grund av den betydelse dessa hade för att tolka och genomföra vad folkskolestadgan föreskrev samt förankra och anpassa denna efter rådande förhållanden i skoldistriktet. Den pluralism som kännetecknar 1800-talets skolväsende kommer till uttryck i detta material.

Den modell som jag i artikeln utvecklar baseras på påbudna principer för korrigerande av oönskade beteenden som fanns inom det allmänna skolväsendet under 1800-talet. Det finns flera orsaker till detta val. För det första finns det inga undersökningar som systematiserat har analyserat riktlinjer om tillrättaviseringar och bestraffningar i den svenska folkskolan under 1800-talet. För det andra ger just detta material särskilt bra möjligheter för att systematisera hur lärare och skolråd påbjöds handla för att beivra förseelser i skolan, samtidigt som de också uttrycker vilka typer av förseelser som var oönskade.

Den här studien tar sin utgångspunkt i att mänskligt handlande, grovt sett, kan

16 Tomas Berglund, *Det goda faderskapet i svenskt 1800-tal* (Falun: Carlssons, 2007), 138–39.

17 Berglund (2007), 137. Se även Curtis (1997).

18 Esbjörn Larsson, *En lycklig Mechanism: Olika aspekter av växelundervisningen som en del av 1800-talets utbildningsrevolution* (Uppsala: Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, 2014), 222–27.

studeras på tre relaterade nivåer. Den första nivån handlar om riktlinjer och normer för handlande. Den regleras i lagstiftning, påbud eller regelverk för särskilda områden. Dessa sätter upp juridiska gränser för tillåtna, påbudna handlingar och otillåtna. Den andra nivån kan kallas diskursiv och till den kan offentliga diskussioner om mänskligt handlande räknas. Diskursen innefattar riktlinjer i form av råd och principer för handlande, motiv för att handla på ett särskilt sätt eller berör konsekvenser av ett speciellt agerande. På den diskursiva nivån finns det utrymme för olika uppfattningar om den sak som diskuteras. Den tredje nivån handlar om praktiken, det vill säga hur människor faktiskt handlar och vilka reaktioner dessa handlingar får. Ett anspråk på en fullödig undersökning om förändringar av korrektionsmetoder i förfluten tid behöver behandla alla dessa tre nivåer och förstå hur nivåerna inverkar på varandra. Sådana anspråk görs inte i denna artikel, utan i stället utvecklar jag – utifrån den normativa nivån – en modell för att analysera föreskrifter om ordning och tukt. Förhoppningen är dock att denna i förlängningen ska erbjuda ett verktyg för att analysera materialtyper även på de andra nivåer som nämnts ovan. I den sammanfattande diskussionen kommer jag också att utveckla några resultat som modellen har bidragit till att identifiera och som förhoppningsvis kan utgöra utgångspunkter för vidare undersökningar på fler nivåer.

### Artikelns centrala begrepp

I undersökningen och utvecklingen av modellen lanseras en begreppsapparat för att analysera textpassager om ordningens upprätthållande i folkskolereglementen. Innebörden av dessa begrepp presenteras efterhand, men några övergripande kommentarer om dessa är befogade. För det första talar jag om olika former av aga som delas upp i *sekvensordning*. Med sekvensordning förstås agaformernas påbudna ordningsföljd och den delas i sin tur in i tre underkategorier: *korrektionsformer*, *åtgärdsmoment* och *åtgärdsrum*. Vad dessa begrepp innebär behandlas i undersökningen.

Eftersom ordet aga, ensamt eller som för-, eller efterledet i olika sammansatta ord, förekommer frekvent skall något sägas om detta begrepp. Aga betyder enligt *Nationalencyklopedin* ”kroppslig bestraffning av minderåriga i uppfostrande syfte”.<sup>19</sup> Det torde också vara den vardagliga betydelsen av ordet idag. Ordet har emellertid haft en vidare betydelse före 1900-talet. I *Svenska Akademiens ordbok* exemplifieras betydelsen av ordet under tidigmodern tid och den visar att ordet aga kunde åsyfta att tukta, hålla ordning eller att hålla efter förhållanden utan en särskild bestämning av våldsinslag och inte enbart i uppfostrande syfte.<sup>20</sup> Ordet aga kunde alltså syfta till en räkka av olika disciplinerande handlingar, bland annat i uppfostrande syfte, av mildare eller mer hårdhänta slag. Samma förhållande råder när det gäller ordet tukta som enligt *Svenska Akademiens ordlista* kan betyda bestraffa fysiskt eller forma.<sup>21</sup> Under 1800-talet förefaller ordet tukta ha en vidare innebörd än fostran, medan aga och straff var medel som kunde användas för att fostra.<sup>22</sup> Det innebär att man inte utan vidare kan använda den nutida betydelsen av ordet aga för att förstå agans his-

19 *Nationalencyklopedin*, uppslagsord ”aga”.

20 *Svenska Akademiens ordbok* (SAOB), uppslagsord ”aga”.

21 *Svenska Akademiens ordlista* (SAOL), upplaga 14, uppslagsord ”tukta”. I *Nationalencyklopedin* betyder tukta bestraffa.

22 Berglund (2007), 146–53 (särsk. 151).

toriska innebörder. Den betydelse av ordet aga som det här är fråga om handlar naturligtvis om korrektionsmedel i uppfostrande syfte. För att inte sammanblanda den nutida betydelsen av ordet aga med dess historiska innebörder vill jag understryka att begreppen aga och korrektionsmedel här används som synonymer. Jag använder alltså mer den historiska innebörden av ordet aga än den nutida.

### Upprätthållande av ordning i skolstadgor och reglementen 1842–1900

Folkskolereglementena var skoldistriktens viktigaste dokument för att implementera folkskolestadgan på lokal nivå. 1842 års stadga drog upp allmänna riktlinjer som motiverade folkskolans införande, fastslog finansieringsformer för den, förpliktigade församlingarna att anskaffa en skolbyggnad och att anställa en lärare. Den reglerade också hur läraren skulle anställas, vem som kunde anställas och hur skolan lokalt skulle styras genom en skolstyrelse. Stadgan innehöll naturligtvis också anvisningar om folkskolans läroämnen, dess antal och huvudsakliga innehåll. Många detaljfrågor som rörde skolans organisation, såsom skoldistriktets indelning i skolrotar (läslag), finansiering (hur skatt skulle uppbördas och fördelas) och läsordningar (exempelvis hur långa terminerna skulle vara) beslutades i varje distrikt för sig. Till dessa, från kunglig maj:t lokalt delegerade beslutsfrågor, hörde också vad som förväntades av läraren, hur denne och eleverna förväntades uppföra sig samt *ordningsfrågor* i klassrummen. Ingen av dessa för folkskoleväsendet viktiga frågor lade kunglig maj:t sig i (grovt sagt) mer än såtillvida att innehållet inte fick strida mot stadgan och att distriktets reglementen skulle passera domkapitlen innan godkännande.<sup>23</sup>

Efter 1842 reviderades folkskolestadgan två gånger fram till år 1900. De ovan beskrivna principerna för hur skolväsendet organiserades och hur bestämmande över olika frågor fördelades mellan lokala, regionala och centrala instanser förändrades inte under 1800-talet. Förvisso kom stadgorna från 1882 och 1897 att öka precisionsgraden i regleringen av skolväsendet på flera nivåer. Men formuleringarna om ordningsfrågorna förändrades inte, utan utformningen av dem de låg orörda kvar i skoldistriktens händer.

Reglementena var offentliga dokument i flera betydelser. Förslag till reglementen togs fram i skolstyrelsen (efter 1864 benämnt skolråd), vars medlemmar valdes av skoldistriktets röstberättigade församlingsbor.<sup>24</sup> Därefter inhämtades församlingens synpunkter på sockenstämma (efter 1864 på kyrkostämma) som också godkände reglementet, varefter den skickades till domkapitlet för fastställande.<sup>25</sup> Innehållet kommunicerades till församlingen från predikstolen och reglementet delgavs elevernas målsmän genom att exemplar hängdes upp i klassrummen.

23 Domkapitlen hade genom detta en (i kunglig maj:ts ställe) övervakande funktion på regional nivå. Folkskolestadga 1842, § 2; folkskolestadga 1882, kap. 2, § 10; folkskolestadga 1897, kap. 2, § 10.

24 Principerna för vilka i församlingen som hade rösträtt i dessa frågor har diskuterats av David Sjögren i "Folkskollärare i konflikt med skolråd och allmoge 1840–1900," i *Nationen så in i Norden: En festskrift till Torkel Jansson*, red. Henrik Edgren et al. (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma Bokförlag, 2013), 183–97.

25 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna inom Blacksta skoldistrikt* (Nyköping, 1890), 16; *Reglemente för Folkskolor och Småskolor i Bromma församling* (Ystad, 1889), 12; *Reglemente för Brunby skolor* (utan tryckort, 1870), 7 och *Reglemente för flyttbara folkskolorna i Bygdeå pastoratförsamling af Herlösands stift* (Umeå, 1863), 7–8.

### *En analysmodell över korrektionsmedel i skolreglementen 1882–1900*

Stadgorna visar alltså att ordningsfrågorna var delegerade till skoldistriken och att det är i folkskolereglementena som information om åtgärder för ordningens upprätthållande kan inhämtas. Frågan är då hur man skall gå tillväga för att analysera innehållet i dessa. Skolväsendet var uppdelat i drygt 2 500 skoldistrikt (vilket innebär lika många reglementen) och dessa ligger idag utspridda i landets kommunarkiv. Det har dock visat sig att en tämligen stor del av reglementena trycktes och lämnades som pliktexemplar till Kungliga biblioteket och universitetsbiblioteken. Där återfinns drygt 900 tryckta folkskolereglementen före år 1900 och dessa har fått utgöra materialet för undersökningen.

Undersökningen av dessa reglementen har givit några utläsbara mönster av mer generell natur. Ett sådant mönster är att reglementena inbördes blev allt mer lika varandra över tid. Den ökade standardiseringsgrad som kan skönjas särskilt efter 1882 innebär samtidigt att reglementena före (ungefär) 1882 uppvisade stora inbördes olikheter, vilket försvårar systematiseringsförsök av de föreskrivna korrektionsmedlen före 1880-talet. Ett annat mönster är att skoldistriktens reglementen reviderades, trycktes och gavs ut på nytt i samband med revisionerna av folkskolestadgan 1882 och 1897. Det innebär att över tid förändrades ordalydelserna om ordning i de olika distriktens reglementen. På grund av den relativa likhet reglementena sinsemellan hade efter stadgerevisionen 1882 är det lämpligt att först redovisa urskiljbara mönster i dessa reglementen för att sedan övergripande analysera disciplineringsmedlen före 1880-talet.

Genomgången av materialet från och med 1882 visar ett sammanhållet och tämligen omfattande tillrättaviserings- och bestraffningssystem som uppvisar relativt stor likformighet under 1880-talet och 1890-talet. Systemet baserades på idén att mildare och strängare korrektionsformer var tänkta att vidtagas i en särskild ordning. För att i detalj analysera dessa korrektionsformers inbördes förhållande har jag utarbetat en abstraktion utifrån en genomgång av alla tryckta reglementen under 1880-talet och 1890-talet. I grova drag uppvisar reglementena inbördes stora likheter, men i sina detaljer skiljer de sig åt från varandra. Abstraktionen är tänkt att identifiera både dessa övergripande likheter och finna sätt för att identifiera och analysera skillnader. Abstraktionen, som presenteras i tabell 1 och som diskuteras på följande sidor, är alltså mina systematiseringsförsök av reglementenas föreskrifter gällande de tillrättaviserings- och bestraffningsmedel som stod till buds för att se till att eleverna följde de uppförandenormer som reglementet ställde upp.



Tabell 1. Abstraktion över korrektionsformer i folkskolereglementen 1882–1900

Ågaformer i sekvensslag		Konsekvensschema 1	Konsekvensschema 2 (Uppsalamodellen)	Konsekvensschema 3 (Härnösandsmodellen)	Konsekvensschema 4 (Lundamodellen)
Korrektionsform tillrättavising					
Första åtgärdsmoment	I första rum	Kärleksfullt tilltal	Förmaning	Kärleksfullt tilltal	Förmaning
	I andra rum	Allvarlig varning		Allvarlig varning	Varning
Korrektionsform bestraffning					
Andra åtgärdsmoment	I tredje rum	Anmärkning i bok	Nedflyttning (i straffklass)	Resa sig och bli stående	Felets anteckning
	I fjärde rum		Avskild plats	Anmärkning i bok	Avskild plats
	I femte rum		Anmärkning i bok	Framkallande av ånger	Nedflyttning
	I sjätte rum				Framkallande av blygsel och ånger
Tredje åtgärdsmoment	I näst sista rum	Lindrig/lämplig kroppsaga	Lämplig kroppsaga	Lämplig/lindrig kroppsaga	Lämplig kroppsaga
Fjärde åtgärdsmoment	I sista rum	Annan åtgärd av skolrådets ordförande i samråd med lärare (och målsmän)			

Abstraktionen skall förstås som en första generell systematisering av de tillrättavisnings- och bestraffningsåtgärder som behandlades i reglementena. Tabellens vänsterkolumn uppmärksammar tre sekvensslag i fallande ordning. Det första sekvensslaget kallas *korrektionsform*, det andra sekvensslaget kallas *åtgärdsmoment* och det tredje sekvensslaget *åtgärdsrum*. Jag skall nedan beskriva hur identifieringen av sekvensslagen i reglementena har gått till (begreppen återfinns ju inte i källtexterna), exemplifiera på vilket sätt reglementena gör skillnader på sekvensslagen och ingående beskriva sekvensslagen i sig. Jag skall också, när det är befogat, upplysa om reglementen som avviker från de generaliseringsanspråk som jag gör. Man bör komma ihåg att på detaljnivå är reglementena så pass olika varandra att inget påstående kan gälla dem alla; något undantag från ett generellt påstående kan nämligen alltid påträffas. Innan jag uppmärksammar sekvensslagen bör jag dock kort förklara vad som avses med *konsekvensschema*. Ett konsekvensschema är ett reglementes omnämnda åtgärdsformer och deras inbördes ordning. Det finns fyra sådana åtgärdsordningar som förekommer med större frekvens. Dessa övergripande konsekvensscheman kommer att diskuteras mer ingående nedan.

### *Agiformernas sekvensslag*

Enligt reglementena förväntades läraren använda en rad olika medel för att upprätthålla ordning. Generellt kan man konstatera att reglementena utgick från att läraren först rekommenderades använda olika former av mildare *tillrättavising*, i allmänhet genom tilltal, varning eller förmaningar. När dessa tillrättavisingar prövats rekommenderas läraren sedan använda *bestraffningar* som korrektionsform. Skillnaden mellan tillrättavising- och bestraffningsformer görs många gånger tydliga i reglementena genom kursivering eller annan emfas. I folkskolereglementet för Björklinge skoldistrikt görs exempelvis klar boskillnad mellan korrektionsformerna:

Om barn utan giltigt skäl försummar skolan, och om det gör sig skyldigt till lättja, olydnad, oordentlighet eller annat oskick, skall det först av läraren *tillrättavisas*, därefter, om förmaningen ej hörsammas, *straffas* med nedflyttning, afskild plats, ogillande vitsord i anmärkningsbok eller dylikt.

I fall af uppenbart trots eller fortsatt svårare förseelse må lärjunge äfven kunna af läraren (lärarinnan) *med lämplig kroppsaga* tuktas [all kursivering och styckeindelning i original].<sup>26</sup>

Tillrättavisingen hade sina särskilda åtgärder och bestraffningen sina. Korrektionsformerna kunde enligt reglementena generellt inte blandas samman. Man kan också notera att tillrättavisingar tillgreps vid enstaka förseelser av slarv eller olydnad. Bestraffningar användes efter någon form av påminnelse av felet och vid upprepade förseelser. Inte alla reglementen gör en så tydlig åtskillnad mellan korrektionsformerna som Björklinge skoldistrikt. Dock återfinns distinktionen i olika former i flertalet reglementen. Reglementet i Ängelholms skoldistrikt är ett exempel där distinktionen återfinns, men framkommer inte lika tydligt som i Björklinges reglemente:

Om att [sic] barn gör sig skyldigt till någon förseelse af mindre svår beskaffenhet, skall det först tillrättavisas genom vänlig förmaning och varning; därefter, om sådan tillrättavising icke hörsammas, må särskild plats i lärorummet, nedflyttning under medlärjungar, förseelsens anteckning eller annan dylik, till framkallande af ånger lämplig bestraffning användas.<sup>27</sup>

Åtgärderna för att beivra förseelser var även i Ängelholm å ena sidan tillrättavisingar och å andra sidan bestraffningar. Vissa reglementen använder dock inte ordvalen tillrättavising och bestraffning för att markera olika korrektionsformer. Det gäller framför allt gruppen reglementen som tillhör konsekvensschema 1 i tabell 1 och som jag skall återkomma till lägre fram.<sup>28</sup> Så gott som samtliga markerar dock någon form av sekvensbestämning, exempelvis ”förnyade förseelser”, för att göra åtskillnad mellan de två korrektionsformerna, även om inte begreppen tillrättavising och bestraffning används.<sup>29</sup> Det kan också noteras att tillrättavisingarna ofta beskrev hur

26 *Folkskolereglemente för Björklinge skoldistrikt* (Uppsala, 1891), 18.

27 *Reglemente för Ängelholms stads folk- och småskolor* (Stockholm, 1896), 10.

28 Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkundervisning i Ervalla skoldistrikt* (Nora, 1895), 10.

29 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna inom Brunskogs skoldistrikt* (Karlstad, 1887), 10.

korrektionsformen skulle användas, exempelvis ”kärleksfullt”, ”vänligt” eller ”allvarlig”.<sup>30</sup>

Det andra och tredje sekvensslaget, som finns i tabellens vänsterkolumn, kallas åtgärdsmoment och åtgärdsrum. Ett åtgärdsmoment är en samlingsbeteckning för ett mer bestämt slag av tillrättaviserings- eller bestraffningsåtgärder som följde efter en särskild typ av förseelse. Flera slag av konkreta åtgärder kunde användas inom ett åtgärdsmoment och de hade i allmänhet likvärdig ”stränghet” eller kunde användas som variation på likartade förseelser. Åtgärdsrum beskriver i första hand i vilken ordning specifika agaformer ordagrant omnämns i reglementena, men de är i andra hand också en tolkning av reglementenas avsikter ifråga om att konkreta agaformer var tänkta att användas i en förutbestämd ordningsföljd. De tre sekvensslagen används alltså sammantaget för att urskilja ordningsföljder på både generell och konkret nivå. Reglementet från Allerums skoldistrikt, som här får exemplifiera ungefär en fjärdedel av alla undersökta reglementen, tillhandahåller ett bra exempel för att konkretisera mina generella resonemang:

Om ett barn gör sig skyldig till olydnad, lättja eller annat oskick, skall det först tillrättavisas genom förmaning och varning; derefter, om sådan tillrättavisering ej hörsammas, straffas genom felets anteckning, afskild plats, nedflyttning eller annan dylik, till framkallande af blygsel och ånger tjenlig näpst. [nytt stycke i original]

Vid fortsatt och svårare förseelse må lärjunge med lämplig kroppsaga tuktas. [nytt stycke i original]

Skulle ett barn icke låta sig rätta, utan genom fortsatt vanart och dåligt uppförande utöfva ett skadligt inflytande på sina kamrater, eller begår det gröfre förbrytelser, skall läraren eller lärarinnan sådant anmäla för skolrådets ordförande, som eger att i samråd med lärare och skolråd vidtaga lämpliga åtgärder.<sup>31</sup>

I reglementet kan man först identifiera de två korrektionsformerna, nämligen tillrättaviseringar och bestraffningar. Man kan också identifiera fyra åtgärdsmoment som i reglementet åtskiljs med orden ”först”, ”derefter”, ”[v]id fortsatt” och ”[s]kulle ett barn icke låta sig rätta [...]”. Det tredje och fjärde åtgärdsmomentet åtskiljs från de övriga i texten dessutom av nya stycken.<sup>32</sup> Slutligen kan man identifiera föreskrivna konkreta åtgärder i en ordning, nämligen ordningen förmaning, varning, felets anteckning, avskild plats, nedflyttning, framkallande av blygsel och ånger, kroppsaga och slutligen andra lämpliga åtgärder. Reglementet har alltså åtta åtgärdsrum.

Långt ifrån alla skoldistrikt har (i detta avseende) så tydligt uppdelade reglementen som Allerum hade. Vanligt var mer kompakt text, men där de fyra åtgärdsmoment ändå kan urskiljas. Ett sådant exempel är reglementet i Brunskovs skoldistrikt:

Begår ett skolbarn någon förseelse, skall lärare eller lärarinnan efter felets beskaffenhet tillrättavisa barnet genom kärleksfullt tilltal, allvarlig varning eller anmärkning i dagboken. Skulle något barn visa fortfarande gensträfvighet och trots, skall det nedflyttas i straffklass, hvarefter det vid förnyade förseelser kan blifva underkastadt lindrig kroppsaga af läraren i närvaro af skolrådsledamot eller tillsyningsman.

30 Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkundervisningen inom Gällersta skoldistrikt* (Örebro, 1899), 13.

31 *Reglemente för Allerums sockens folk- och småskolor* (Helsingborg, 1894), 5.

32 Reglementet i Allerum är för övrigt ett exempel på vad som i tabell 1 kallas konsekvensschema 4.

Derest något barn icke låter sig rätta, utan genom vanart och dåligt uppförande utöfvar ett skadligt inflytande på de andra barnen, göre läraren anmälan derom till skolrådets ordförande, som i samråd med lärare och skolråd vidtager de åtgärder, hvilka af omständigheterna påkallas.<sup>33</sup>

Åtgärdsmomenten kan i Brunskogs reglemente urskiljas genom orden ”fortfarande”, ”hvarefter” och ”derest något barn icke låter sig rätta”. Alla reglementen följer dock inte mönstret med fyra urskiljbara åtgärdsmoment. Ett exempel på en grupp reglementen där åtgärderna inte är preciserade i fyra moment är reglementet i Arnäs skoldistrikt:

- a) Begår ett skolbarn någon förseelse, skall läraren eller lärarinnan efter felets beskaffenhet tillrättvisa barnets genom kärleksfullt tilltal, allvarlig varning, tillsägelse att resa sig upp från sin plats och under någon kortare stund bli förblifva stående, förseelsens anteckning i dagboken eller annan dylik af ånger lämplig bestraffning. Allt skymfande vare förbjudet.
- b) Skulle något barn visa fortfarande gensträfvighet och trots, må det vid förnyad förseelse kunna blifva underkastadt lindrig och lämplig kroppsaga af läraren eller lärarinnan.
- c) Därest något barn icke låter sig rätta utan genom vanart och dåligt uppförande utöfvar ett skadligt inflytande på de andra barnen, göre läraren eller lärarinnan anmälan därom till skolrådets ordförande, som i samråd med lärare och skolråd vidtager de åtgärder, hvilka af omständigheterna påkallas.<sup>34</sup>

I Arnäs reglemente åtskiljs abstraktionsmodellens första, tredje och fjärde åtgärdsmomentet genom både styckesindelning och bestämd ordningsföljd (markerat med a, b, c). Det kan uppmärksammas att skillnaden mellan tillrättavisningar och bestraffningar i Arnäs reglemente är otydligare än exemplen ur Björklinges och Allerums reglementen och att det första och andra åtgärdsmomentet i Arnäs reglemente därmed flyter samman. Ytterligare ett exempel på uppdelningar i åtgärdsmoment är reglementet i Boo skoldistrikt. Detta reglemente uppvisar dock flera avvikande drag i förhållande de allmänna mönstren:

Tillrättavisning och bestraffning vare:

- a) i allmänhet anteckning af försummelse eller förfallolös frånvaro i skolans dagbok, för öfrigt
- b) kärleksfullt tilltal, allvarlig varning eller afskild plats,
- c) nedsatt sedebetyg.
- d) Därest ett barn visar fortfarande gensträfvighet, trots eller olydnad må det af läraren eller lärarinnan kunna blifva underkastadt lämplig kroppsaga.
- e) Därest lärjunge hvarken genom varningar eller bestraffningar låter sig rättas, utan genom vanart och dåligt uppförande utöfvar ett skadligt inflytande på sina kamrater, göre läraren eller lärarinnan anmälan derom [...].<sup>35</sup>

Trots att reglementet i Boo skoldistrikt har en femgraderad uppräkningsordning så kan det

33 *Reglemente för skolorna inom Brunskogs skoldistrikt* (Karlstad, 1887), 10.

34 *Reglemente för skolorna inom Arnäs skoldistrikt i Wester-Norrlands län* (Örnsköldsvik, 1899), 10.

35 *Reglemente för skolorna inom Boo församling* (Stockholm, 1886), 25–26.

urskiljas fyra åtgärdsmoment som åtskiljs genom ”för öfrigt”, punkt (efter sedebe-tyg), ”fortfarande” (under d) och ”[d]ärest lärjunge hvarken genom varningar och bestraffningar låter sig rättas” (under e). Det kan också noteras att skiljelinjen mellan korrektionsformerna tillrättavising och bestraffning är svår att finna i detta regle-mente.

Åtgärdsmomenten är alltså inte alltid lika tydligt separerade som i reglementet från Allerum, men markeras generellt genom styckeindelning, kursivering, styck-eindelning, tids- eller sättsadverbial (exempelvis ”först”, ”derefter” eller ”fortsatt”<sup>36</sup>, ”fortfarande”<sup>37</sup>) och fraser som ”[l]åter det sig häraf icke rätta [...]”<sup>38</sup>, ”[...] vid förnyad förseelse [...]”<sup>39</sup>, ”[s]kulle något af dessa bestraffningssätt ej göra tillfyllest [...]”<sup>40</sup> eller ”[d]erest något barn deraf ej låter rätta [...]”<sup>41</sup>. Det allmänna mönstret är alltså att åtgärdsmomenten separeras i en sorts sekvensskala. Det betyder att först skall en åtgärd prövas och, om detta inte hjälper, stegras åtgärderna successivt – och enligt en särskild ordning. Det bör dock noteras att inte alla undersökta reglemen-ten gör åtskillnad mellan det första och det andra åtgärdsmomentet, utan en grupp reglementen räknar upp en rad åtgärder som kunde användas efter ”felets beskaf-fenhet”.<sup>42</sup> Enligt dessa reglementen var läraren mer obunden ifråga om åtgärdsform i första och andra åtgärdsmomentet. Därefter gjordes en åtskillnad, med samma typ av ordval som exemplifierats ovan, vid det tredje åtgärdsmomentet.<sup>43</sup> Reglementen som tillhör konsekvensschema ett och tre hade i regel den mer obundna ordalydel-sen, medan de reglementen som tillhörde konsekvensschema två och fyra hade en striktare sekvensindelning. Antalet reglementen som tillhör respektive konsekvens-schemata presenteras i figur 1 nedan.

Det fanns dock reglementen som frångår det allmänna mönstret om att kropps-bestraffningar alltid skulle föregås av mildare former av tillrättavisingar. Reglemen-tet i Baltacks skoldistrikt är ett sådant exempel.

Kroppsaga må ej användas, utan att varning eller anmärkning i dagboken har föregått. Om lärare så pröfvar nödigt, må dock kroppslig aga användas, äfven då svårare förse-else första gången iakttages; men må i sådant fall förhållandet utan dröjsmål anmälas hos skolrådets ordförande.<sup>44</sup>

Texten förespråkade alltså användandet av mildare tillrättavisingar före kroppsaga som generell princip, men vid särskilda omständigheter kunde den regeln kringgås. Sekvensordningen kunde alltså sättas ur spel om läraren ansåg det befogat.

36 Exempelvis *Reglementen för folkskolor och småskolor i Augerums församling af Lunds stift* (Karlskro-na, 1885), 10.

37 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna i Dalby skoldistrikt* (Karlstad, 1882), 14.

38 Exempelvis *Reglemente för Björkviks församlings skolor* (Nyköping, 1882), 5-6.

39 Exempelvis *Reglemente för Björkviks skoldistrikt* (Nyköping, 1895), 10.

40 Exempelvis *Reglemente för Efveröds församlings skolor* (Lund, 1877), 6.

41 Exempelvis *Förslag till reglemente för Engelholms församlings folkskolor* (Lund, 1876), 8.

42 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna inom Gäxsjö skolistrikt* (Östersund, 1899), 11; *Reglemente för folkundervisningen inom Almby skoldistrikt* (Örebro 1887), 10 och *Reglemente för Alsens skoldistrikt* (Östersund, 1898), 10.

43 Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkundervisning i Ervalla skoldistrikt* (Nora, 1895), 10.

44 *Reglemente för folkundervisningen inom Baltacks skoldistrikt* (Skara, 1899), 9.

Reglementet villkorade dock lärarnas möjligheter att gå förbi mildare tillrättavsningsåtgärder genom en sorts anmälningsplikt och det kan i sin tur möjligen tolkas som en avsikt att kringskära lärarnas strängare bestraffningsbefogenheter.

Åtgärdsmomenten har utarbetats som analysbegrepp för att i ett stort antal reglementen identifiera och beskriva korrektionsåtgärdernas inbördes ordning i allmänhet. Åtgärdsrum är ett annat analysbegrepp som används för att synliggöra och analysera andra saker. För det första vill jag belysa antalet tillrättavsnings- och bestraffningsåtgärder som fanns inom ett skoldistrikt genom att placera dem i rum enligt den ordning som de omnämns i reglementena. För det andra vill jag därmed sammanföra ordagrant lika reglementen i grupper, vilket jag återkommer till nedan. För det tredje vill jag med hjälp av den ordagranna överensställningen styrka min tolkning att åtgärdsmomentens ordningsföljd var avsiktligt framskrivnen och att ordvalen var genomtänkta. För det fjärde vill jag också upptäcka avvikande tillrättavsnings- och bestraffningsåtgärder och diskutera hur man skall förstå dem.

Placeras tillrättavsnings- och bestraffningsformerna i åtgärdsrum efter den ordning som de omnämns i reglementena så uppenbaras några övergripande mönster. Den första tillrättavsningsåtgärden var med väldigt få undantag antingen kärleksfullt tilltal eller förmaning.<sup>45</sup> I andra åtgärdsrum föreskrevs med få undantag varning.<sup>46</sup> I näst sista åtgärdsrum föreskrevs med mycket få undantag kroppsaga, antingen med bestämningen ”lindrig” eller ”lämplig”.<sup>47</sup> Några få reglementen omnämnde överhuvudtaget ingen kroppsaga.<sup>48</sup> I dessa fanns alltså heller inget tredje åtgärdsmoment. I sista åtgärdsrum föreskrevs – med ett påträffat undantag – att läraren skulle anmäla förseelserna till skolrådets ordförande.<sup>49</sup> Denne hade, enligt reglementena, sedan i uppgift att antingen a) enskilt, eller b) efter samråd med skolrådet och/eller c) i samråd med läraren besluta om ytterligare åtgärder. Några få reglementen föreskrev att underrättelsen också skulle nå målsmän och att samråd om åtgärder skulle ske med dem.<sup>50</sup>

Reglementena uppvisar alltså påfallande likheter avseende vilka åtgärdsformer som placeras i de två första åtgärdsrummen och i de två sista. I kontrast till detta mönster uppvisar reglementena en påfallande olikhet när det gäller vilka åtgärder som omnämns i tredje till och med sjätte åtgärdsrummet. Det finns ett antal vanligt

45 Jag har hittat tre undantag bland tryckta reglementen 1882–1900, nämligen Everöd (varning), Boo (anteckning i bok) och Askersund (rätta de felande).

46 En grupp av reglementen, den som kallas konsekvensschema 2 i tabell 1, påtalade enbart en åtgärd i första åtgärdsmomentet. De omnämner nedflyttning som den andra åtgärden i ordningen. I mina konsekvensscheman lämnas dock det andra åtgärdsrummet tomt i konsekvensschema 2. Andra exempel på avvikelser från mönstret att varning kom i andra åtgärdsrum är Boo skoldistrikt (kärleksfullt tilltal) och Fors skoldistrikt (resa sig och förbli stående). *Reglemente för skolorna inom Boo församling* (Stockholm, 1886), 25–26.

47 Det finns mycket få andra ordval för bestraffningen än just lämplig eller lindrig kroppsaga. Glafva (måttlig), Björnekulla (tjenlig), Frödinge (tjenlig och behövlig) och Bodarne (handgripligen tillrättavisas) är de enda exemplen jag funnit.

48 Exempelvis Ervalla och Gråmantorp

49 Undantaget gäller *Reglemente för såväl folkskola som småskola inom Degeberga skoldistrikt, Lunds stift* (Kristianstad, 1891), 4. I några större stadsförsamlingar skulle läraren/lärarinnan anmäla till överläraren, men det kan knappast ses som ett undantag från regeln att anmäla till en högre tjänstefunktion, som ju skolrådets ordförande var på landsbygden där överlärare i regel saknades.

50 Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkundervisningen i Gällersta skoldistrikt* (Örebro, 1899), 13.

förekommande åtgärdsformer som presenteras i tabell 1. Ordningen skiljer sig dock åt mellan olika grupper av reglementen.

### *Fyra konsekvensscheman och deras inbördes skillnader*

Skillnaderna mellan reglementena gör att de kan grupperas i fyra konsekvensscheman som förekommer med större frekvens. Skillnaderna mellan dessa konsekvensscheman kan tyckas vara små, det är framför allt åtgärdernas ordning, enstaka ordval och antalet bestraffningsformer som skiljer dem åt. Det första konsekvensschemat laborerade enbart med fem åtgärdsformer, nämligen kärleksfullt tilltal, allvarlig varning, anmärkning i bok, lindrig eller lämplig kroppsaga samt annan åtgärd. Detta schema har till skillnad från de övriga ingen särskild geografisk anknytning, utan exempel på reglementen med detta schema återfinns i hela landet.<sup>51</sup> Det andra schemat laborerade med sex åtgärdsformer, nämligen förmaning, nedflyttning (med tillägget ”i straffklass” på några ställen), avskild plats, anmärkning i bok, lämplig kroppsaga och annan åtgärd. Reglementen identiska med denna ordning återfinns företrädelsevis i Uppsala stift och i stiftet i Mälardalen.<sup>52</sup> Det tredje schemat föreskrev sju åtgärdsformer, nämligen kärleksfullt tilltal, allvarlig varning, resa sig och förbli (för en stund) stående, anmärkning i bok, framkallande av ånger, lindrig eller lämplig kroppsaga och annan åtgärd. Sådana reglementen återfinns företrädelsevis i Härnösands stift.<sup>53</sup> Man kan notera att i några av dessa reglementen från Härnösands stift återfinns tillägget ”allt skymfande vare förbjudet”.<sup>54</sup> Detta är alltså en reglering av lärarens möjligheter att bestraffa eleverna. Det fjärde konsekvensschemat laborerade med åtta åtgärdsformer, nämligen förmaning, varning, felets anteckning, avskild plats, nedflyttning, framkallande av blygsel och ånger, lämplig kroppsaga och annan åtgärd. Detta schema användes framför allt av skoldistriktet i Lunds stift.<sup>55</sup> Av dessa scheman är det den fjärde, Lundamodellen, som uppvisar en stor kontinuitet över tid och inom stiftet. Med andra ord är avvikelser från schemat sällsynta i stiftets församlingar.

De skillnader schemana uppvisar, när det gäller åtgärdsformernas antal och ordning samt det första och tredje schemats sammansmältning av första och andra åtgärdsmoment, skall inte övertolkas. De betyder säkert inte att det fanns stora skillnader över landet i hur man betraktade folkskolans korrektionsformer, att man, så att säga, hade en annan uppfattning om bestraffningar i Karlstadstrakten än vad man hade i Skåne. Däremot tycks det ha utvecklats olika sätt att uttrycka och reglera korrektionsformer på, och som efterhand stelnade i scheman som sinsemellan skilde sig något åt.<sup>56</sup> Likheten i hur korrektionsformerna uttrycktes inom samma stift tyder

51 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna i Alnö distrikt* (Sundsvall, 1891), 11–12; *Reglemente för skolorna i Askers skoldistrikt* (Örebro, 1887), 8; *Reglemente för skolorna inom Borgviks församling* (Karlstad, 1881), 10 och *Reglemente för skolorna inom Frödinge skoldistrikt* (Oskarshamn, 1894), 12–13.

52 Exempelvis *Estuna skoldistrikt* (Norrtälje, 1888), 10–11.

53 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna inom Arjepлуogs skoldistrikt* (Stockholm, 1899), 16.

54 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna inom Arnäs skoldistrikt i Wester-Norrlands län* (Örnsköldsvik, 1899), 10.

55 Exempelvis *Förslag till reglemente för Barkåkra och Rebbelberga församlings skolor* (Ängelholm, 1890), 11.

56 Det är också tänkbart att olikheterna avspeglar olika förhållningssätt till tillrättavisningar och bestraffningar som lärdes ut vid lärarseminarierna i landet.

på att det antingen cirkulerade förslag, en förlaga till reglementen inom stiftet, en förlaga som domkapitlen hade utarbetat, och som församlingarna sneglade på när de tog fram sina reglementen; eller att domkapitlen redigerade förslagen hårt innan godkännande. Det förstnämnda förfarandet är troligare eftersom en från domkapitlens sida hårdhänt redigering av reglementena skulle ha framtvungat (eller väckt krav på) nytt godkännande av reglementet i församlingarnas beslutande organ.<sup>57</sup>

Uppmärksammar man först schemans inbördes likheter kan det konstateras att anmärkning, eller anteckning i journal eller dagbok förekommer i samtliga scheman, dock varierar rumsplaceringen. Varje skola skulle enligt folkskolestadgan ha en journal eller dagbok där anteckningar rörande eleverna fördes.<sup>58</sup> Bestraffningen handlade alltså om att förseelsen antecknades i journalen. Anmärkningsboken hade i sin tur förlagor i liknande journalsystem som fanns vid elementarläroverken i början av 1830-talet.<sup>59</sup> Varning är en åtgärd som påtalades i andra rum i tre av schemana. Det kan också noteras att varning alltid föregås av annan mildare åtgärd. Nedflyttning är en bestraffningsform som förekommer i två konsekvensscheman. Den bestraffningsformen förekommer utan eller med precisering. Nedflyttning är i sig ett svårtolkat begrepp. Troligen innebar det sällan nedflyttning i lägre åldersklass. 1842 års folkskola var inte uppdelad i klasser, och utvecklingen mot sådana tillkom senare etappvis.<sup>60</sup> Första steget mot åldersindelade klasser togs 1858 i och med att folkskolan delades i avdelningarna småskola och den egentliga folkskolan. Uppdelningen förtydligades sedan i 1882 års folkskolestadga och normalplanerna 1878, 1889 och 1900.<sup>61</sup> Därutöver förekom under hela denna period – och även flera decennier in på 1900-talet – skolformer där undervisning skedde avdelningsöverskridande.<sup>62</sup> Nedflyttning torde alltså knappast ha inneburit fysisk klassförflyttning, eftersom klassindelning inte var en allmänt spridd företeelse under tidsperioden. Troligen handlade det om förändringar av elevens placering i undervisningsrummet, vilken var ordnad efter kön, kunskaper och moraliska förebilder. Preciserings nedflyttning i straffklass, som förekommer i schema två, innebar att eleven urskildes från övriga för att efter förnyade förseelser riskera kroppsaga. Nedflyttningen inne-

57 Jag har i ett fall kunnat se att domkapitlet ändrade ett förslag till reglemente. Ändringen handlade om att domkapitlet i Göteborg tog bort ”nedflyttning under medlärljungar” som åtgärdsform. Min undersökning tillåter dock inte att göra några jämförelser mellan skoldistriktens förslag och de reglementen som domkapitlen fastställde eftersom förslagen sällan tryckets om de inte godkänts av domkapitlen. *Reglemente för Göteborgs stads folkskolor* (Göteborg, 1899), 15 och *Förslag till reglemente för Göteborgs stads folkskolor* (Göteborg, 1898), 14.

58 Folkskolestadgan 1882 § 44, mom. 1; Folkskolestadgan 1897 § 29, mom. 5; 44, mom. 2.

59 Larsson (2014), 234.

60 År 1847 gick 46 procent av alla barn i den fasta folkskolan i växelundervisningsskolor. Denna skolform saknade klassindelningar efter ålder. Metodens principer överfördes delvis i folkskolan, vilket innebar att principen om den åldersintegrerade ”klassen” levde kvar. Larsson (2014), s. 35–39, 107–12.

61 Monika Vinterek, *Åldersblandning i skolan: Elevers erfarenheter* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2001), 20–25.

62 Margareta Mellberg, *Pedagogen och det skrivna ordet: Skrivkonst och folkskollärare 1870–1920* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1996), 36–40.



bar inte någon fysisk åtskillnad till ett eget rum.<sup>63</sup> Förfaringsättet hade åtminstone 40 år äldre förlagor i elementarläroverken.<sup>64</sup>

Schema två och fyra påtalade i fjärde åtgärdsrum bestraffningsformen ”avskild plats”, vilket rimligen avsåg fysisk åtskillnad av barn från deras plats bland den övriga elevgruppen.<sup>65</sup> Materialet tillåter tyvärr inte vidlyftigare tolkningar. Schema tre och fyra har som bestraffningsform, i femte respektive sjätte åtgärdsrum, ”framkallande av ånger” (i schema fyra med tillägget framkallande av ”blygsel”). I båda schemana handlar det om en bestraffningsform som närmast föregick kroppsaga. Vad bestraffningen konkret innebar ger reglementena ingen information om, men det kan antas att det handlade om andra former av ångestframkallande straff än de som omnämndes i åtgärdsrummen dessföre. Dessa åtgärdsrum handlade i både schema tre och fyra om antingen anteckningar om förseelser eller om att urskilja eleverna från den övriga elevgruppen, antingen genom att avskilja dem, låta dem resa på sig eller flytta om dem i klassrummets hierarki (nedflyttning). De senare bestraffningsformerna är i sig mildare former av skamstraff och därför kan man anta att framkallande av ångestladdade olustkänslor betraktades som en mer kännbar bestraffning än mildare skamstraff.

### *Andra scheman*

De ordagranna likheterna mellan utformning av de enskilda skoldistriktens reglementen och reglementena inom samma stift skall dock inte överdrivas. Många reglementen avviker från det schema som generellt kan utkristalliseras inom stiftens ifråga.<sup>66</sup> Avvikelserna gör också att det bildas en tämligen stor grupp reglementen som inte kan återföras till något av de omnämnda schemana. Denna grupp övriga reglementen uppvisar, i sin tur, i varierande grad avvikelser från de fyra schemana. Undantag från de fyra konsekvensschemana är alltså relativt vanliga, men det är knepigt att utifrån reglementena skapa ytterligare scheman med nämnvärt antal. Nog kan man hitta en handfull reglementen som skulle kunna bilda ytterligare en schematyp, men det skulle inte öka förståelsen av reglementenas inbördes olikheter avseende tillrättavisnings- och bestraffningsformer. Därför är det bättre att sammanföra alla undantag i förhållande till mina konsekvensscheman till en egen kategori

63 Jämför med ett utdrag ur en anmärkningsbok från läroverket: ”Gör någon lärjunge sig känd för fortfarande lättja eller ett vanartigt uppförande, så att för honom kroppslig aga vader nödig, förklaras han vara i belägenhet att för hvarje förnyad förseelse kunna få stryk. Detta kallas att nedflyttas i stryk-klassen, hvarmed dock lika litet, som med skolans öfriga klasser förstås något särskilt rum.” *Anmärkningsbok år 1859 för Carl Fr. Erdmann uti 1 klassen af nya elementarskolan i Stockholm*, Stockholmskällan: <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/28106>.

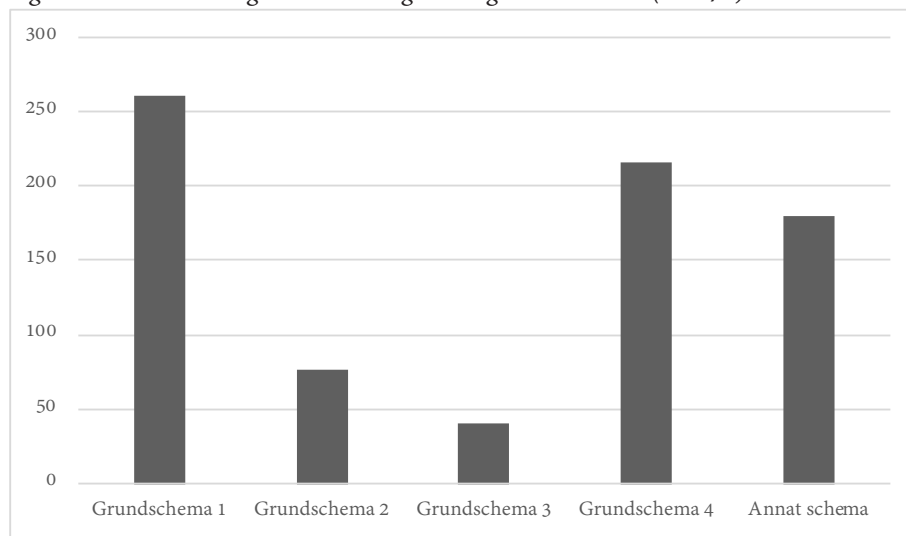
64 Florin och Johansson (1997), 43–72 (särsk. s. 50); Larsson (2014), 232–33. Florin och Johansson menar att nedflyttning i straffklass bara förekom på läroverken och inte i folkskolan. Förlagan till det som senare blev ”kunskapsordningen” introducerades redan i 1649 års skolordning. Vid den lärda skolan gick den i princip ut på att man använde bänkraderna för att differentiera elevgruppen vad gällde deras inbördes kunskaper, men samtidigt kunde användas för att synliggöra moraliska förebilder och avskräckande moraliska exempel.

65 Åtgärden i tredje schemats, tredje åtgärdsrum att ”resa sig och förbli stående” kan tolkas som en form av åtskillnad likvärdig att placeras på ”avskild plats”.

66 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna inom Arvidsjaurs lappmarks skoldistrikt* (Härnösand, 1886), 9; *Reglemente för skolorna inom Borgviks församling* (Karlstad, 1881), 10 och *Reglemente för såväl folkskola som småskola inom Degeberga skoldistrikt, Lunds stift* (Kristianstad, 1891), 4

och belysa skillnaderna med hjälp av exempel. Antalet reglementen som hör till respektive konsekvensschema presenteras nedan i figur 1.

Figur 1. Frekvens av reglementen enligt olika grundschema (N=870)



De scheman som avviker från de fyra konsekvensschemana bör i sin tur åtskiljas i två kategorier. Med första kategorin menas reglementen som innehåller samma tillrättaviserings- och bestraffningsformer som något av de fyra konsekvensschemana, men har färre bestraffningsformer och/eller en annan ordning. Av de sammanlagt 180 reglementen som tillhör ett annat schema är det drygt 100 stycken av denna kategori. Det rör sig alltså om små avvikelser från något av de fyra konsekvensschemana. Avvikelserna i den här kategorin handlar uteslutande om skillnader i andra åtgärdsmomentet. När det gäller avvikelser i andra åtgärdsmomentet kan dessa belysas genom några exempel: I Björksviks skoldistrikt inom Linköpings stift omnämndes först kärleksfull tillrättaviseringsform, därefter nedflyttning, sedan skiljande från kamraterna samt sist lindrig och lämplig kroppsaga.<sup>67</sup> Det är avsaknad av bestraffningsformen anmärkning i bok och preciseringen av avskiljandets natur som skiljer Björksviks reglemente från schema två. En annan form av mindre avvikelse återfinns i Glafva skoldistrikt i Karlstads stift. Där påtalades först kärleksfull tillrättaviseringsform, därefter allvarlig varning, sedan anmärkning i bok samt sist måttlig kroppsaga.<sup>68</sup> Det är alltså blott bestämningen av kroppsagans natur (måttlig i stället för lindrig/lämplig) som skiljer Glafva reglemente från schema ett. Ett tredje exempel är Gällersta skoldistrikt i Strängnäs stift. Ordningen bland korrektionsformerna i Gällersta var kärleksfullt tilltal, allvarlig varning, avskild plats, nedflyttning, anmärkning i bok och lämplig kroppsaga. Distriktet bytte alltså plats på tredje och fjärde åtgärdsrum-

67 *Reglemente för Björksviks församlings skolor* (Nyköping, 1895), 10–11. Se även *Reglemente för skolorna inom Bladåkers skoldistrikt* (Uppsala, 1890), 12.

68 *Glafva skoldistrikt* (Arvika, 1887), 10. I Frödinge skoldistrikt återfinns en liknande mindre avvikelse. Reglementet föreskriver där ”tjenlig och behöflig kroppsaga”. *Reglemente för skolorna inom Frödinge skoldistrikt* (Oskarshamn, 1894), 13.

met i förhållande till konsekvensschema två.<sup>69</sup> Ytterligare fem distrikt gjorde detta platsbyte (Almby, Edeby, Ängelholm, Gävle och Göteborg).

Med den andra kategorin avvikelse menas reglementen som skiljer sig ifrån de fyra konsekvensschemana på grund av att de omnämner andra bestraffningsformer. Det rör sig om drygt 50 sådana reglementen sammantaget och sju olika bestraffningsformer (kvarsittning, rätta de felande, förlust av ledighet, avskiljande från kamraterna, nedsatt sedebetyg och utvisning från klassrummet). Samtliga bestraffningsformer omnämndes i andra åtgärdsmomentet. Det intressanta med dessa bestraffningsformer är att flera av dem behandlas ingående i växelundervisningsmetodens rådgivning om bestraffningar i skolan i början av 1800-talet. Ett sådant exempel är en bestraffningsform som påtalas i Esphults skoldistrikt. Reglementet i Esphult bytte ut tredje rummets bestraffningsform i schema fyra från ”felets anteckning” till ”anteckning å befintlig svart tafla af barnets skolnummer”.<sup>70</sup> Noteringen av begånget fel var alltså offentlig för alla elevers beskådan. Esbjörn Larsson påpekar att likande bestraffningar var ett signum i bestraffningsanvisningar i växelundervisningsskolor. Larsson tolkar metoden som ett uttryck för avsikten att synliggöra sambandet mellan förseelse och straff.<sup>71</sup> Vidare menar Larsson att exempelvis Joseph Lancaster skall ha förespråkade frihetsberövande straff. I det sena 1800-talet folkskolereglementen förekommer de, i och för sig i mildare form än vad Lancaster själv förespråkade, i form av kvarsittning efter skoltidens slut.<sup>72</sup> Andra former av frihetsberövande återfinns i Everöds och Björkviks reglementen där bestraffningen ”förlust av ledighet under fristunderna” omnämndes i andra åtgärdsmomentet.<sup>73</sup> Den senare formen av bestraffning var dubbel i sin natur eftersom den både var frihetsberövande och skiljde den felande eleven från kamraterna. Bestraffningsformen ”afskiljande från kamraterna”, som omnämns i Björkviks, Brämhults, Boo, Fogdö och Fors skoldistrikt, kan naturligtvis också ses som ett straff som skiljde ut en elev från gruppen.<sup>74</sup> Bestraffningsformen utvisning från klassrummet påträffas i fem reglementen,<sup>75</sup> Eksjö, Eskilstuna, Falsterbo, Fors och Gävle, och den skiljer sig på flera punkter från de övriga bestraffningsformerna. Utvisning är ett slags avskiljande straff, fast okontrollerad och utan övervakning från den som utdelade bestraffningen. I stället kan man tänka sig att den drabbade skulle komma till ångerinsikter under enskild kontemplation och att straffet möjliggör frirum för sådan aktivitet.

### *Anvisningar om begränsning av kroppsstraff samt relationer mellan förseelsens art och bestraffningens natur*

Min sammantagna tolkning av reglementenas föreskrifter om tillrättavisingar och bestraffningar är att kroppsbestraffning villkorades genom att påtala användandet av mildare korrektionsformer först. Systematiseringen av reglementenas föreskrifter

69 *Reglemente för Folkundervisningen inom Gällersta skoldistrikt* (Örebro, 1893), 10.

70 *Reglemente för Esphults och Linneröds församlingars folkskolor* (Kristianstad, 1886), 9–10.

71 Larsson (2014), 225.

72 Exempelvis *Folkskolereglemente för Gäfle stads församlings skoldistrikt* (Uppsala, 1884), 16. Jämför Larsson (2014), 223–27.

73 *Reglemente för Efveröds församlings skolor* (Lund, 1892), 4.

74 *Reglemente för Björkviks församlings skolor* (Nyköping, 1882), 5–6; *Reglemente för folkundervisningen inom Brämhults skoldistrikt* (Borås, 1883), 5.

75 Exempelvis *Reglemente för Eskilstuna stadsförsamlings skolor* (Eskilstuna, 1886), 4.

visar att även om det finns skillnader mellan skoldistriktens bestraffningsformer så framträder ett tydligt mönster av först lättare tillrättavisningar och sedan av hårdare bestraffningar. Kroppsagan var i regel slutpunkten i en räkka av bestraffningsmedel som läraren själv kunde använda utan att blanda in andra parter. I flertalet reglementen synliggörs detta genom sekvenseringar som behandlats ovan.

Utöver sådana allmänna begränsningar i att använda kroppsbestraffning har det påträffats specifika förbehåll för kroppsaga. Några reglementen föreskrev exempelvis explicit att "[k]roppsaga må ej användas, utan att varning eller anmärkning i dagboken har föregått".<sup>76</sup> Andra reglementen begränsade till och med lärarens användning av kroppsaga som bestraffningsmedel. I föreskrifterna i Brunskogs reglemente hette det att en elev "kan blifva underkastadt lindrig kroppsaga af läraren i närvaro af skolrådsledamot eller tillsyningsman"<sup>77</sup> och i Farstorp skoldistrikt menade man att kroppsaga skulle ske "i närvaro af dess föräldrar eller af en skolrådsledamot".<sup>78</sup> I Gävle skoldistrikt kunde principen om att först pröva mildare tillrättavisningsformer innan kroppsaga sätts ur spel, om läraren fann det nödvändigt. Men gjordes sådant frånsteg skulle saken "öförtöfvat anmälas hos skolrådets ordförande [...]".<sup>79</sup> Inom Göteborgs skoldistrikt föreskrevs att timlärare, slöjdlärare och handarbetslärarinnor inte fick använda kroppsbestraffning, utan de var tvungna att anmäla förseelserna till elevernas klasslärare eller klasslärarinna.<sup>80</sup> Slutligen har ett reglemente påträffats vari kroppsaga inte omnämndes bland föreskrivna bestraffningsmedel.<sup>81</sup>

Jag skall ge ytterligare ett exempel på ordalydelsen i ett reglemente för att åskådliggöra hur förbehållen för att använda kroppsaga uttrycktes. Samtidigt vill jag med detta exempel åskådliggöra relationerna mellan förseelsernas art och korrekionsmedel. Exemplet är hämtat från Degeberga skoldistrikts reglemente och däri uttrycktes förbehållen och relationerna mellan förseelseslag och påföljd på följande sätt:

Barn, som inom skolan begått smärre förseelser, som brister i uppmärksamhet, flit och ordning förmanas af lärare, och må nedflyttas för kortare tid under sina kamrater.

Barn, som oafåttigt visar liknöjdhet vid undervisningen, eller ofta gör sig skyldig till försumlighet, oordentlighet eller uppstudighet, varnas ytterligare af läraren, straffas med längre tids nedflyttning och förehålles af skolrådets ordförande att visa förbättring. Skulle det oaktadt den önskade förbättringen icke visa sig, straffes den felande lärjungen af läraren med lämplig aga.<sup>82</sup>

Villkoren för att använda kroppsaga som bestraffningsåtgärd i Degebergas reglemente utvecklades i flera led. För det första handlade det om förseelsens art: smärre brister i uppförande ledde till förmaningar eller nedflyttning; brister av mer allvarlig art, såsom liknöjdhet, försumlighet, oordentlighet och uppstudighet, ledde till all-

76 Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkundervisningen inom Acklinga skoldistrikt* (Skara, 1899), 9; *Reglemente för folkundervisningen inom Baltacks skoldistrikt* (Skara, 1899), 9. Reglementen med denna formulering återfinns enbart i Skara stift.

77 *Reglemente för skolorna inom Brunskogs skoldistrikt* (Karlstad, 1887), 10.

78 "Protokoll hållet vid skolråds sammanträde i Farstorps sockenstuga den 13 september 1885," 9. Se även *Reglemente för Eskilstuna stadsförsamlings skolor* (Eskilstuna, 1886), 4.

79 *Folkskolereglemente för Gävle stads församlings skolor* (Gävle, 1894), 16.

80 *Reglemente för Göteborgs stads folkskolor* (Göteborg, 1899), 15.

81 *Reglemente för folkskolor och småskolor i Gråmantorps skoldistrikt* (Helsingborg, 1888), 11.

82 *Reglemente för såväl folkskola som småskola inom Degebergas skoldistrikt, Lunds stift* (Kristianstad, 1891), 4.

varligare konsekvenser. För det andra handlade det om frekvens: brister i uppförande som inträffade någon enstaka gång ledde till förmaningar eller nedflyttning, medan upprepning ledde till hårdare bestraffning. För det tredje tolkar jag paragrafen som att kroppsaga villkorades av att skolrådets ordförande skulle bedöma de använda tillrättaviserings- och bestraffningsformernas effekter, innan kroppsaga kunde tillgripas. Det bör också noteras att ordet kroppsaga inte nämns, men i sammanhanget framgår det att just den agaformen inbegreps i begreppet ”lämplig aga”.

Den abstraktion över korrektionsformer i folkskolereglementen 1882–1900, som presenterades i tabell 1, kan tillämpas också med hänsyn tagen till relationen mellan förseelsernas art och korrektionsformens natur. Görs denna tillämpning på Degebergas föreskrifter och hur ordningen skulle upprätthållas får man följande abstraktion.

Tabell 2. Abstraktion över korrelation mellan förseelse och korrektionsformer i Degeberga skoldistrikt.

Förseelslag i Degebergas skolor	Agaformer i sekvensslag		Degebergas konsekvensschema
	<b>Korrektionsform tillrättavising</b>		
Brist i uppmärksamhet, flit och ordning	Första åtgärdsmoment	I första rum	Förmaning
		I andra rum	Nedflyttning
	<b>Korrektionsform bestraffning</b>		
Oavlätlig liknöjdhet; upprepade försumlighet, oordentlighet eller uppstudsighet	Andra åtgärdsmoment	I tredje rum	Ytterligare varning
		I fjärde rum	Längre tids nedflyttning
		I femte rum	
		I sjätte rum	
Ej uppvisad förbättring	Tredje åtgärdsmoment	I sjunde rum	Lämplig aga

Denna typ av abstraktion, som knyter samman förseelsens art med korrektionsformens natur, kan naturligtvis göras på de fyra konsekvensschemana som jag diskuterat ovan. Det behöver dock inte ytterligare åskådliggöras i tabellform, utan de mönster som föreskrifterna i Degeberga illustrerar är allmängiltiga: mindre förseelser, såsom lättja, olydnad med mera, reglerades av korrektionsformer som diskuterades i första åtgärdsmomentet; upprepade förseelser reglerades med korrektionsformer i andra åtgärdsmomentet; samt svårare och ytterligare upprepade förseelser reglerades med kroppsaga. I Degebergas föreskrifter omnämndes inte det fjärde åtgärdsmomentet (det vill säga ”annan åtgärd”). Den åtgärden korrelerade utan undantag med uppvisad oförbättring, ”gröfre förbrytelser” eller att ”genom vanart och dåligt uppförande utöfva ett skadligt inflytande på sina kamrater”<sup>83</sup>

### Föreskrifter om ordningens upprätthållande i reglementen före 1882

De modeller som skapats för att analysera föreskrifter i folkskolereglementen om ordningens upprätthållande under 1880-talet och 1890-talet kan också användas på föreskrifter från en tidigare tidsperiod. Möjligheter att utläsa mönster på det sätt

<sup>83</sup> Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkskolor och småskolor i Augerums församling af Lunds stift* (Karlskrona, 1885), 10.

som diskuterats ovan är emellertid svårare. Det beror i sin tur på två saker. För det första är tryckta reglementen från denna tid mindre vanligt förekommande, vilket försvårar generaliseringsanspråk (se tabell 3). För det andra finns det större inbördes skillnader mellan reglementenas föreskrifter, vilket i sig gör det svårt att hänföra enskilda föreskrifter till urskiljbara generella korrektionsmodeller.

Tabell 3. Antal tryckta reglementen 1842–1882 (baserat på tryckår)

Tryckår	Antal	
1842–1849	2	
1850–1859	2	
1860–1869	9	
1870–1879	12	Källa: Tryckta folkskolerelementen 1842–1882, okatalogiserat tryck inom magasinuppställning ”Undervisning/Skolv./Folkskole reglementen”, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.
1880–1882	25	

Vad man kan utläsa i tabell 3 är att skolreglementen sällan trycktes i större omfattning förrän under 1880-talet. Jag har alltså bara kunnat undersöka en mindre del av alla reglementen som fanns under denna period.

Några generella iakttagelser kan dock göras med utgångspunkt i detta material. De reglementen som utkom från och med 1870-talets sista hälft och under 1880-talets första år uppvisar stor överensstämmelse med de reglementen som trycks efter 1882 års folkskolestadga.<sup>84</sup> Det förefaller inte vara så att folkskolestadgan 1882 förde med sig revisioner och omformuleringar i föreskrifterna om ordningens upprätthållande, vilket min periodisering på ett sätt förutsatte. De reglementen som utkom från mitten av 1870-talet faller alltså, i allt väsentligt, in i de mönster som diskuterats i tidigare avsnitt. Vad som skiljer denna grupp reglementen från de som utkom efter 1882 är att i den förra gruppen reglementen saknar flertalet utmejslade sekvensslag av den sort som analyserats utifrån tabell 1. Flera reglementen skiljde inte mellan korrektionsformerna tillrättavisning och bestraffning.<sup>85</sup> Det för med sig att flera reglementen inte heller åtskilde fyra åtgärdsmoment; men samtliga laborerade dock med minst två sådana och i de fall blott två omnämns så handlade det om, å ena sidan åtgärder som läraren själv kunde utföra, och å andra sidan åtgärder som lämnades över till skolrådet.<sup>86</sup> Med andra ord åtskiljer dessa reglementen bara första och fjärde åtgärdsmomentet. Emellertid finner man också några reglementen som laborerade med fyra åtgärdsmoment.<sup>87</sup> Vad gäller konkreta åtgärder föreskrev reglementena sådana som behandlats tidigare och i den stegrande ordning från varning och tilltal till kroppsbestraffning som redan diskuterats. Den enda avvikande bestraffningen som påträffats är ifrån Gräsö skoldistrikt, där ”skamstraff” påtalades i tredje åtgärdsrum.<sup>88</sup>

84 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna i Borgviks skoldistrikt* (Karlstad, 1881), 10.

85 Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkskoleundervisningen i Garpenbergs församling af Westerås stift* (Hedemora, 1872), 15; *Reglemente för Fridlefstads församlings folkskolor* (Karlskrona, 1875), 8-9; *Reglemente för Efveröds församlings skolor* (Lund, 1877), 6. Detta sekvensslag finns dock i vissa reglementen: exempelvis *Reglemente för folkundervisningen i Bollnäs pastorat af erkestiftet* (Söderhamn, 1871), s 14–15 och *Reglemente för Gräsö församlings folkskolor* (Stockholm, 1881), 11. I det sistnämnda reglementet skiljer man mellan att ”rätta” och att ”bestraffa”.

86 Exempelvis *Reglemente för Efveröds församlings skolor* (Lund, 1877), 6.

87 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna inom Gäsborns socken* (Filipstad, 1881), 11.

88 *Reglemente för Gräsö församlings folkskolor* (Stockholm, 1881), 11.

Den tidigaste gruppen reglementen, med tryckår från 1842 till 1870, uppvisar flera påtagliga skillnader både i förhållande till gruppen reglementen under 1870-talet fram till 1882 och till den grupp reglementen som trycktes 1882 eller senare. Skillnaderna berör flera västenliga aspekter av de frågeställningar som den här artikel behandlar. För att kunna jämföra de tidiga reglementena från de senare behöver man beakta att de förra är mer omfattningsrika. Relativt detaljerade textpartier behandlar skolstyrelsens uppgifter, läsordningar, undervisningsinnehåll och undervisningsmetoder, lärarens åligganden och skolkassan, vilket reglementen från 1870-talet och framåt generellt saknar. Den skillnaden kan naturligtvis förklaras genom att beakta att de tidiga reglementena reglerade en undervisningsverksamhet som i flera skoldistrikt var ny. Reglementena satte helt enkelt upp reglerande ramar för en omfattande organisation som inte funnits tidigare. Skolråden passade också på att kommunicera folkskolans värde och existensberättigande till församlingsborna genom reglementena. Rimligen förelåg inte sådana behov under 1870-talet och framåt, eftersom de reglerande ramarna för folkskolan då var etablerade och verksamheten knappast kunde ifrågasättas. Sammantaget gör detta att de språkligt väl broderade reglementena från den tidigare perioden, både inbördes och i jämförelse med senare reglementen, uppvisar stora skillnader gentemot varandra.

Den textmässiga relativa omfattningsrikedomen avspeglas dock inte i föreskrifterna om *hur* ordning och disciplin skulle upprätthållas i folkskolorna. Just dessa textpartier är kortfattade, medan andra närliggande textpassager är mer utförliga. Måhända förutsäger detta förhållande ett annat sätt att resonera om upprätthållandet av ordning under den tidigare perioden jämfört med den senare, och som utförligare behöver beskrivas. Föreskrifterna i Borgviks skoldistrikt kan exemplifiera resonemangen:

Lärare skall på det noggrannaste vaka öfver barnens gudsfruktan, seder och uppförande, och om hos något barn finner osannfärdighet, oärlighet, olydnad eller annan vanart, med allvar förmana det samt genom föreställning söka på ett kärleksfullt sätt leda det felande barnet till rätta: hjälper icke föreställningen, må läraren använda lindrig aga. För övrigt skall skolläraren, till upplysning för Skol-Rådet samt föräldrar och målsmän, noga anteckna i Examens-Katalogen såväl barnens uppförande, som deras ådalagda flit under Skol-Terminen.<sup>89</sup>

Exemplet från Borgviks skoldistrikt innehåller flera skillnader i förhållande till senare reglementen. Jag vill utifrån detta exempel upplysa om fyra betydande skillnader. För det första ålades eleverna ge akt på andra slags uppförandenormer än vad senare reglementen gjorde (jämför Degebergas reglemente ovan). De tidiga reglementena betonade vikten av gudsfruktan,<sup>90</sup> sannfärdighet,<sup>91</sup> dygd,<sup>92</sup> laglydnad,<sup>93</sup> undergivenhet,<sup>94</sup> och liknande seder, medan senare reglementen påtalade vikten av flit, ord-

89 Exempelvis *Reglemente för skolorna i Borgviks skoldistrikt* (Karlstad, 1881), 10.

90 Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkskoleinrättningen inom Fellingsbro församling* (utan tryckort, 1846), 10; *Projekt till reglemente för fyra ambulerande folkskolor inom Fernebo församling* (Karlstad, 1851), 6.

91 Exempelvis *Reglemente för Gåsborns folkskolor* (Stockholm, 1844), 11.

92 Ibid.

93 Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkskoleinrättningen inom Fellingsbro församling* ([utan tryckort], 1846), 10; *Reglemente för folkskolorna inom Folkerna församling* (Falun, 1863), 14.

94 *Reglemente för folkskolorna inom Folkerna församling* (Falun, 1863), 14.

ning och god inställning till skolarbetet. I detta avseende är de tidiga reglementena mycket omsorgsfulla när det kommer till att beskriva de goda sedernas nytta, vilket framkommer tydligt i reglementet från Gåsborns skoldistrikt:

Han [läraren] uppmuntre med förmaningar – *till sanning*, ty den är skön, – *till dygd*, ty den är täckelig inför Gud och människor, – *till flit*, ty den öfvar själen och skapar nytt lif, – *till ordning*, ty den är outhärlig och nyttig till alla häraf. Han tillse, att intet själfsväld, i något hänseende får inrita sig, ty *onda seder* i en skola, äro ett frätande sår, en kräfte på hvarje ditkommande, ny, ännu frisk lefvande lem.<sup>95</sup>

Utifrån Borgviks reglemente kan man också notera de relativt få konkreta åtgärdsmedel som läraren hade att förfoga över, nämligen förmaningar, föreställningar och kroppsaga. Några reglementen nämner inga åtgärdsmedel över huvud taget.<sup>96</sup> Andra föreskriver någon straffform med exemplifieringar, men utan den sekvensordning som vi känner igen från senare reglementen.<sup>97</sup>

I Borgviks reglemente kan man för det tredje notera en uppmaning till läraren att samverka med skolrådet och målsmännen ifråga om elevernas uppförande. Denna uppmaning, menar jag, är ett exempel på en mer genomgripande föreställning om att upprätthållandet av ordningen i skolan också var av utominstitutionell karaktär, vilket i mindre grad förekom i senare reglementen. De utominstitutionella medlen för att upprätthålla ordning kan i sin tur brytas ned i två arenor där korrektionen utfördes, nämligen i hemmen och i det offentliga, samt två – med dessa arenor korresponderande – auktoriteter som utförde korrektionen, nämligen föräldern och kyrkans representanter. Ordalydelsen i Borgviks reglemente är ett exempel på den förra typen (i hemmen och av föräldern). Den tidiga gruppen reglementen betonade vikten av att läraren löpande noterade ”hvaje barns verkliga förseelse, såsom sen ankomst osnygghet, oskick, olydnad, bristande lexöfverläsning, lögnaktighet o. s. v.”<sup>98</sup> i en anmärkningsbok, vilken vid varje veckoslut kom föräldrarna till del för att på så sätt ”sätta dem i stånd att samverka med [s]kolläraren uti både föreställning och uppmuntran”<sup>99</sup> Föräldrarna förväntades foga sin underskrift till noteringarna för att påvisa sin delaktighet i kommunikationsakten mellan hem och skola.<sup>100</sup>

Den andra typen av utominstitutionella medel för att upprätthålla ordning var att offentligen kommunicera brister i elevernas uppförande. Det kunde ske i två sammanhang: från predikstolen om söndagen och/eller under examensdagen vid terminens slut. Examen var offentlig, men riktade sig särskilt till barnens målsmän. Under denna skulle [d]en, som flere gånger under samma termin utan tillstånd eller förfall varit frånvarande, eller visat större eller fortfarande lättja, osedlighet eller oordentlighet, erhålle [...] varning av [s]kolrådets ordförande”.<sup>101</sup> Sammantaget var alltså

95 *Reglemente för Gåsborns folkskolor* (Stockholm, 1844), 11.

96 Exempelvis *Reglemente för Gåsborns folkskolor* (Stockholm, 1844); *Reglemente för folk- och småbarnsskolorna i Filipstads och Fernebo församlingar* (Filipstad, 1864).

97 Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkskolan i Dalby socken* (Karlstad, 1865), 10. Detta reglemente föreskrev ”moraliska straff, t. ex. att få stå medan andra sitta, mista lekstunder o. s. v.”

98 *Reglemente för folkskolan i Dalby socken* (Karlstad, 1865), 10.

99 *Reglemente för skolorna i Borgviks församling* (Karlstad, 1866), 4.

100 Exempelvis *Reglemente för folkskolan i Fryksände församling* (Karlstad, 1870), 15.

101 *Reglemente för folkskoleundervisningen i Falu stad af Westerås stift* (Falun, 1866), 14. Se även *Reglemente för folkskoleinrättningen inom Fellingsbro församling* (utan tryckort, 1846), 10; *Reglemente för folkskolorna inom Folkerna församling* (Falun, 1863), 14.



utominstitutionella uppfostringsmiljöer, och de medel för att upprätthålla ordning som dessa härbärgerade, synliggjorda i de tidiga reglementena som saknar motsvarighet i de senare.<sup>102</sup>

Karaktäristiskt för de tidiga reglementena är för det fjärde att åtgärdsmomenten som vi känner dem från reglementen från 1800-talets två sista decennier i stort sett saknas i de tidiga reglementena. Olika tillrättavisnings- och bestraffningsformer separeras inte i sekvenser, med tillhörande ökad allvarlighetsgrad efter förseelsens natur. Särskilt bör man uppmärksamma att det fjärde åtgärdsmomentet i de senare reglementena (annan åtgärd) sammansmälte med tidigare moment och de medel som tillhör dessa. Medlen för upprätthållandet av ordningen utförda av läraren i skolan kompletterades av åtgärder utanför skolan. Det är slutsatsen man måste dra om modellen i tabell 1 tillämpas på de tidiga reglementena.

Slutligen vill jag uppmärksamma de tidiga reglementenas föreskrifter om kroppsbestraffning. En relativ stor andel av de tryckta reglementena från 1842 till 1870 föreskriver inskränkningar i lärarens rätt att kroppsliken bestraffa eleverna. I reglementet från exempelvis Fryksände skoldistrikt påtalades att vid kroppsbestraffningar fick läraren inte "[...] gå tillväga med hetsighet eller oförstånd" och ytterligare preciseringar sade att "[b]arnens hufvud får vid aga ej vidröras utan endast dess minst ömtåliga kroppsdelar, dock äfven dessa med varsamhet."<sup>103</sup> I ett antal skoldistrikt var läraren tvungen att överskjuta kroppsbestraffningar till skolrådet.<sup>104</sup> Några reglementen är svårtolkade på den punkten eftersom de inte över huvud taget nämner kroppsbestraffning som korrekionsmedel.<sup>105</sup> Om det i sin tur beror på att åtgärden var för självklar för att nämnas eller om det betydde att kroppsaga inte fick förekomma går inte att uttala sig om utifrån materialet.<sup>106</sup>

### Sammanfattande diskussion

Stora delar av den här undersökningen har ägnats åt att presentera och diskutera aspekter av en modell framtagen för att systematiskt undersöka mönster i hur 1800-talets folkskolereglementen uttryckte åtgärder för att upprätthålla ordning i skolan. Modellen är i sin tur en abstraktion av alla tryckta folkskolereglementen i Sverige under 1800-talet. Sammanfattningsvis skall jag belysa några centrala resultat som modellen hjälpt till att identifiera.

Folkskolereglementena utvecklades successivt mot en mer detaljerad sekvenslista av åtgärder som läraren kunde vidta för att upprätthålla ordningen i klassrummen. Brytpunkten för den utvecklingen kan härledas till slutet av 1870-talet och början av

102 Jag har bara funnit orden målsman eller föräldrar i tre reglementen efter 1882.

103 *Reglemente för folkskolan i Fryksände församling* (Karlstad, 1870), 15. Se även *Reglemente för Brunby skolor* (utan tryckort, 1870), 5.

104 *Reglemente för folkskolorna i Grava församling* (Karlstad, 1868), 13; *Reglemente för folkskolan i Dalby socken* (Karlstad, 1865), 10; *Reglemente för folkskolorna inom Askersunds landsförsamling* (Askersund, 1868), 9. Från Askersund finns ett reviderat reglemente från 1888. I det senare ges läraren rätten att utdela kroppsaga.

105 Exempelvis *Reglemente för Gåsborns folkskolor* (Stockholm, 1844); *Reglemente för folk- och småbarnsskolorna i Filipstad och Fernebo församlingar* (Filipstad, 1864); *Reglemente för folkskolorna i Grava församling* (Karlstad, 1868).

106 Från Gåsborns församling finns reglementen från 1844 och 1880 och från Grava församling från 1868 och 1881. Det är blott i de senare som lindrigare aga påtalas som bestraffningsmedel. Utifrån reglementenas ordalydelse tillkom alltså kroppsbestraffningar som bestraffningsmedel i dessa församlingar.

1880-talet. Den innebar en utveckling till ett slags standard där fyra åtgärdsmoment utkristalliserades i reglementena. Det första åtgärdsmomentet handlade om att genom kärleksfullt tilltal, förmaningar och/eller varning korrigera oönskade beteenden. Det andra åtgärdsmomentet handlade om mer kännbara bestraffande åtgärder av mer olikartade slag. Först som tredje åtgärdsmomentet kunde kroppssaga förekomma i lindrigare form eller i form som stod i proportion till förseelsens allvarsgrad. I det fjärde åtgärdsmomentet kunde skolrådets ordförande diskutera andra åtgärder i samråd med läraren. Analysmodellen har visat att skillnader existerade i hur skoldistriktens reglementen uttryckte de korrektionsmedel som stod till förfogande och i vilka sammanhang de skulle användas. För att upptäcka dessa skillnader sammanförde undersökningen identiska reglementen till fyra huvudgrupper (i artikeln kallat konsekvensscheman).

Det som i första hand skiljde dessa grupper av reglementen åt, var vilka typer av åtgärder som omnämndes i andra åtgärdsmomentet. En grupp av reglementen uttryckte bara ett slags åtgärd i det andra åtgärdsmomentet, medan en annan grupp reglementen uttryckte fyra åtgärdsformer. I den senare gruppen återfanns en påtagligt större variationsbredd av bestraffningar, som bland annat inbegrep den felande elevens förflyttning i det fysiska ordnade klassrummet efter kunskaps- och uppförandebaserad hierarki samt åtgärder i syfte att framkalla blygsel och ånger hos den felande eleven. Just det andra åtgärdsmomentet uttrycker kvardröjande pluralitetstendenser i ett annars allt mer homogeniserat system för att uttrycka de åtgärder läraren hade till förfogande för att upprätthålla ordning. I det andra åtgärdsmomentet, som kan beskrivas som en ”buffert” mellan det kärleksfulla tilltalet och den kroppsliga bestraffningen, fanns det utrymme, och i någon mån friheter, för skoldistriktet att utveckla nya och bibehålla äldre bestraffningstekniker. I momentet återfanns sedan länge beprövade bestraffningsformer (som nedflyttning) och bestraffningsformer som hade sitt ursprung från en mer näraliggande tid (anmärkning i bok). ”Bufferten” mellan det kärleksfulla tilltalet och den kroppsliga bestraffningen fylldes med åtgärder som kunde väcka olika former av olustkänslor hos eleverna. En del åtgärder, som att anvisa någon till avskild plats eller att förflytta en elev i klassrummet, syftade till att störa den fysiska och mentala känslan av gemenskap och tillhörighet som fanns i elevgruppen. Andra åtgärder, som att låta någon resa sig och förbli stående, väckte antagligen fysiska obehag om det pågick tillräckligt länge eller ofta.

Åtgärdsmomenten kan också användas för att förstå korrelationsmönster mellan förseelser och de konsekvenser som förseelsen medförde. Mönstret består i att mindre förseelser som slarv, bristande uppmärksamhet och enstaka uttryck av brist i ordning medförde åtgärder inom ramen för det första åtgärdsmomentet. Först vid upprepning av sådana beteenden skulle åtgärder i det andra momentet komma ifråga. Skiljelinjen mellan dessa förseelseslag tycks ha gått vid elevernas egna insikter i och medvetenhet om felande handlingar. Felande handlingar av slarv, obetänksamhet eller okunskap tillhörde det första åtgärdsmomentet, felande handlingar som gjordes mot bättre vetande, överlagt eller med avsikt bestraffades med åtgärder i det andra åtgärdsmomentet.

Analysmodellen har också identifierat några andra påtagliga förändringar över tid. Om man beaktar enbart hur reglementena uttrycker upprätthållandet av ordning i skolan faller de ut i tre kronologiska grupper. Den kronologiskt senare gruppen reglementen, från 1882–1900, har fasta former, lättidentifierade mönster vad

gäller agaformernas sekvenser och förändras egentligen inte alls under denna period. Den kronologiskt tidiga gruppen reglementen, från 1842 till 1870, är mer omfångsrika, saknar fasta former för hur bestraffningens sekvenser uttrycks och påtalar generellt färre tillrättavisnings- och bestraffningsåtgärder än senare reglementen. Den kronologiskt mellanliggande perioden, 1870 till 1882, bildar en egen grupp reglementen som kännetecknas av ökande grad av den enhetlighet som utmärker den senare gruppen. Jämför man den tidiga gruppen reglementen med den senare kan flera intressanta iakttagelser göras. Den mest påtagliga skillnaden är att de tidiga reglementena påtalar vikten av kontakter mellan skolan och utominstitutionella uppfostringsmiljöer i syfte att upprätthålla ordning i skolan.

Dessa utominstitutionella miljöer, som skolan kommunicerade uppförandenormer med, återfanns på två arenor: i hemmet och i det offentliga församlinglivet. Hemmen underrättades löpande om barnens uppförande i skolan och förutsattes påverka densamma. Ifrån predikstolen och under offentliga examens- och förhörsövningar offentliggjorde prästerskapet eller läraren individuellt elevernas flit, ordningssamhet och sedlighet. Uttryck för att löpande använda dessa kanaler och uppfostringsmedel saknas i den senare gruppen reglementen. Min tolkning av att dessa utominstitutionella uppfostringsmiljöer betonades i den tidiga gruppen reglementen är att de också avspeglade en föreställning om elevernas uppförande som en kollektiv, offentlig angelägenhet. Denna uppfattning förändras under 1870-talet och då knöts i stället uppförandefrågor i skolan exklusivt till läraren. De offentligt uppvisade försyndelserna – och de skam- och olustkänslor i form av försvagat anseende som säkert föreställningarna utmynnade i – försvann successivt under 1800-talets sista decennier. Denna förändring var, enligt min mening, sammanflätad med att uppförandenormerna i folkskolan förändrades. Av vad man kan utläsa i de tidiga reglementenas föreskrifter betonades uppförandenormer som gudsfruktan, sedlighet, undergivenhet, sannfärdighet och laglighet. Det var också på grund av uppvisade brister ifråga om dessa uppförandenormer som eleverna skulle tillrättavisas eller bestraffas. I den senare gruppen reglementen var det andra typer av brister, såsom ouppmärksamhet, oordning, bristande flit, liknöjdhet, lättja och uppstudsighet som tillrättavisningarna och bestraffningarna var tänkta att beivra. Häri ligger naturligtvis ett intressant samband. De uppförandenormer som framhölls i den tidiga gruppen reglementen var sådana som ansågs betydelsefulla i livet i stort, vilket för med sig att tillsynskretsen var vidare. Däremot var uppförandenormerna i den senare gruppen reglementen mer specifika i förhållande till skolans egen verksamhet och därmed institutionaliserades upprätthållandet av ordningen.

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## Gradual Changes to Discipline: A Case Study of Punishment Records and Corporal Punishment in Three Schools in Finland After the 1872 School Order Act

Karoliina Puranen & Matti Raitto

**Abstract** • Punishment and violence in the history of education have been covered in numerous scholarly works, but most of them have relied heavily on what might be considered normative sources such as regulations, legislation, other studies in the history of education, various instructions, manuals, and guidebooks. The history of education in Finland, as elsewhere, would have us believe that punishment practices in general changed drastically, and that corporal punishment in particular had been dropped by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as proscribed in secondary schools by the School Order Act of 1872. We argue, however, that this was not always the case, especially when certain empirical sources that have often been overlooked—such as school punishment records—are taken into account. We use these sources to explore whether punishments in general, and corporal in particular, continued to be administered all the same after 1872. Our hypothesis is that the “cultural shift” regarding this issue was more gradual and complex than previously assumed. The administering of punishments, corporal or otherwise, clearly continued after the legislation had changed, regardless of whether contemporary educationalists were recommending other means of managing pupil behaviour. For instance, it remained culturally acceptable, at least for secondary schools, to “chastise” pupils (to send them home for corporal punishment). Our findings add to the existing knowledge on punishment practices and provide valid grounds for re-evaluating research on the matter.

**Keywords** • school, discipline, violence, punishment, history, Finland

### Introduction

This exploratory article aims to add to our existing knowledge of the complex history of discipline and punishment practices in schools. Previous studies on the subject have mostly concentrated on the more abstract regulation aspects of discipline and punishment.<sup>1</sup> These works have relied very heavily on the use of more norma-

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This article is based on the archival work and findings covered in the master's thesis of Karoliina Puranen, *Kiltit tytöt, vilkkaat pojat?: Sukupuoli ja koulukuri 1800–1900-lukujen vaihteen oppikouluissa* (Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2015). <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:juu-201506012117>, but the analytical focus here is on the relation between punishments and violence. The authors wish to thank Heli Valtonen and Satu Matikainen and the two anonymous referees for their valuable insights on the article manuscript.

- 1 For more on punishment as a last resort, see e.g. Mika Ojakangas, *Lapsuus ja auktoriteetti: Pedagogisen vallan historia Snellmanista Koskenniemeen* (Helsinki: Tutkijaliitto, 1998); Leevi Launonen, *Eettinen kasvatustajattelu suomalaisen koulun pedagogisissa teksteissä 1860-luvulta 1990-luvulle* (Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2000); Joakim Landahl, “The Eye of Power(-lessness): On the Emergence of the Panoptical and Synoptical Classroom” *History of Education* 42, no. 6 (2013).

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tive sources, which may have overlooked the full extent to which the ideas being discussed were actually employed in everyday school life in the past. Indeed, by grounding our theory and basing our explorative empirical analysis on a case study that uses the punishment records<sup>2</sup> of secondary schools, we address this aspect of the everyday practice of punishment in schools that previous research has overlooked. It also answers calls for a long-term, historical and critical study of education (e.g., Rappleye and Cowen).<sup>3</sup>

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the mass education system in “Finland”<sup>4</sup> was only just beginning to follow the Prussian model<sup>5</sup> already in place in other Nordic states<sup>6</sup>. Teachers were usually prominent figures in the immediate community but norms, punishment practices, and contexts varied greatly within the profession, and attempts were being made to secularise and regulate what education there was.<sup>7</sup>

By exploring the case level, this article also looks at the extent to which such new educational regulations were carried out in practice. One such regulation, which would form the normative basis for all disciplinary measures<sup>8</sup> in Finnish secondary schools in the early twentieth century, was the School Order Act of 1872. It in-

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- 2 Schools are still required to list issued punishments in Finland: see Pirjo Vehkamäki, Matti Lahtinen and Anne Tamminen Dahlman, *Julkisuus ja tietosuoja opetustoimessa: Opas koulujen ja oppilaitosten käyttöön* (Tampere: Opetushallitus, 2013), 75.
  - 3 Robert Cowen, “Comparing Futures or Comparing Pasts?,” *Comparative Education* 36, no. 3 (2000), 340; Jeremy Rappleye, *Educational Policy Transfer in an Era of Globalization: Theory—History—Comparison*, *Komparatische Bibliothek* 23 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), 2–4.
  - 4 In this article we use “Finland” as a descriptive term, as independent Finland existed only from 1917 on.
  - 5 John Strömberg, “Oppikoulun laajentuminen ja yhtenäistyminen,” in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki: Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011); Saara Tuomaala, “Kamppailu yhteisestä koulusta ja oppivelvollisuudesta,” in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki: Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011); Aimo Halila, *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia 1: Kansanopetus ennen kansakoulua ja kansakoululaitoksen synty* (Porvoo, Helsinki: WSOY, 1949); Mette Buchardt, Pirjo Markkola and Heli Valtonen, “Introduction: Education and the Making of the Nordic Welfare States,” in *Education, State and Citizenship*, ed. Mette Buchardt, Pirjo Markkola, and Heli Valtonen (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2013).
  - 6 Ola Svein Stugu, “Educational Ideals and Nation Building in Norway 1840–1900,” in *Nordic Lights: Education for Nation and Civic Society in the Nordic Countries, 1850–2000*, ed. Sirkka Ahonen and Jukka Rantala (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society 2001); Marja Jalava, “Kansanopetuksen suuri murros ja 1860-luvun väittely kansakoulusta,” in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki: Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011); Bengt Sandin, *Hemmet, gatan, fabriken eller skolan: Folkundervisning och barnuppföstran i svenska städer 1600–1850* (Lund: Arkiv, 1986).
  - 7 Sirkka Ahonen, “Millä opeilla opettajia koulutettiin?” in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki: Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011); Ulla Johansson and Christina Florin, “The Trinity of State, Church and School in 19th Century Sweden,” in *Polish and Swedish Schools in the 19th and 20th Centuries: A Historical Study*, ed. Ryszard Kucha and Ulla Johansson (Lublin: Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press 1995); Lennart Tegborg, *Folkskolans sekularisering 1895–1909: Upplösning av det administrativa sambandet mellan folkskola och kyrka i Sverige* (Uppsala/Lund: Föreningen för undervisningshistoria, 1969).
  - 8 See for instance Launonen (2000), Ojakangas (1998), Esp. Kyösti Kiiasmaa, *Oppikoulu 1880–1980: Oppikoulu ja sen opettajat koulujärjestyksestä peruskouluun* (Oulu: Pohjainen, 1982).



structed teachers to not use “violence”<sup>9</sup> when disciplining pupils, and did this in far stronger terms than those used in earlier legislation (1843). These had previously stipulated that a teacher was allowed to use “milder forms of corporal punishment,” while headmasters were able to use “stricter methods of corporal penalties.”<sup>10</sup> This meant that, until 1872, both teachers and headmasters were able to use a degree of violence to enforce discipline and punish offenders. More normative sources from this period, and historical works based on them, indicate that this position was also endorsed by many educationalists at the time – and not just in Finland.<sup>11</sup> Our hypothesis is that the act of 1872 heralded a more gradual change in punishment culture than previous literature would suggest, that is borne out by our focus on school punishment records themselves. Although this idea might seem like common sense, it has never been explicitly addressed in previous research.

### Previous studies

The history of education is a broad field, and school punishment practices have received much attention. There are even studies that focus on just one particular method of punishment, such as “the rod,” for instance, which was often the tool of punishment used most by most educators.<sup>12</sup> Or then there was “incarceration,”<sup>13</sup> a particular punishment method used in Swedish and Finnish secondary (and even tertiary) education, that Swedish historian Björn Norlin has focused on.<sup>14</sup> Norlin’s research calls into question whether this might also be counted as a form of violence too. Indeed, even if it was not seen as so by contemporaries, the coercive aspect of denying pupils freedom could nowadays be construed as such, in so far as it is forcing someone to do something (or limiting them) against their will. Unlike others, Norlin makes it clear that the issues relating to punishment and violence are far from simple, and are implicitly caught up in the issue of anachronism.<sup>15</sup>

9 We recognise that the concept of “violence” differs greatly according to era. Considering corporal punishment as violence is useful for this article’s research position, based as it is on legislative sources, forbidding corporal punishment in schools. Corporal punishment at home was not legally treated as violence in the same way though. This illustrates just how complex the matter was when all contexts are taken into account.

10 Until, 1843, corporal punishment was legal in Finnish secondary schools: *Hans Kejsersliga Majestäts Nådiga Gymnasie- och Skol-Ordning för Storfurstendömet Finland* (henceforth HKMNG), November 6, 1843. Previous works point out that corporal punishment was being dropped already in 1832 (see Ojakangas 1998), however, this particular change was not in the legislation for schools (indeed, the School Act of 1856 did not change punishment regulations), but in a statute issued for doctors (*Hans Kejsersliga Majestäts Nådiga Instruction för Provincial-Läkarene i Finland*, January 17, 1832). In fact, from 1872 to 1972, one of the main punishments enshrined in the rules was *karsseri* (school jail). For more on punishment legislation: HKMNG, November 6, 1843; HKMNG, March 31, 1856; *Keisarillisen Majesteetin Armollinen Koulujärjestys Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaalle* (henceforth KMAKS), August 8, 1872.

11 Cf. Ojakangas (1998); Landahl (2013); Launonen (2000).

12 Regarding corporal punishments, e.g. Eric Margolis and Sheila Fram, “Caught Napping: Images of Surveillance, Discipline and Punishment on the Body of the Schoolchild,” *History of Education* 36, no. 2 (2007).

13 “School jail,” or literally “incarceration” (*karzer* in German), translates as *karsseri* in Finnish. It was only in the 1970s when this practice was banned in Finnish secondary schools, Kiuasmaa (1982), 128.

14 Björn Norlin, “School Jailhouse: Discipline, Space and the Materiality of School Morale in Early-Modern Sweden,” *History of Education* 45, no. 3 (2016). For instance, Norlin mentions that a pupil in school jail might have been left without a meal or drink as well.

15 Norlin addresses the harshness of practices such as school jail, detention, and isolation, even though they were not considered forms of violence by staff at the time.

Many earlier studies in educational history have drawn particularly from the ideas of Michel Foucault (1977), who has pointed to the emergence of discipline as a form of power in some of the first “hospitals” and schools of the early modern era.<sup>16</sup> In the Finnish context, Mika Ojakangas has examined discipline in Finnish schools (1860–1950) from such a Foucauldian perspective. His research has opened the topic up greatly and garnered much well-earned attention in Finland. According to Ojakangas, the primary aim of education was to instil moral values in pupils that would serve them throughout life to keep learning, and the only way to do this was to discipline them according to school rules. Discipline was thus not just a tool of education, but also one of its key subjects.<sup>17</sup> The notion of conditioning boys in this way for later life has, for instance, spawned a wealth of studies in Finnish and Swedish.<sup>18</sup> Ojakangas also goes on to suggest that the punishments themselves were only one small part of a wider disciplinary system throughout schools, but in this article, we focus only on the systems of punishment used in the particular schools in question. This is done to present a contrast with previous research based on more normative sources.

Educationalists from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries suggested that punishment should not be the norm in everyday school life. Only in exceptional cases of bad behaviour should teachers resort to actual punishment, and even then, it should go no further than a punitive gaze, or issuing detention. Corporal punishment was seen as the last recourse for teachers that had failed in their duty.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, these views, to be found not only in Ojakangas’ work, but also in more contemporary studies,<sup>20</sup> have been taken at face value, when they could clearly be better contextualised with regard to the everyday level of punishment actually practised in schools, but this is understandable since these studies are theory-driven, and so research is necessarily limited in detail when addressing such a wide timeframe and theme.

Another important example of theory-driven research is that of Swedish educationalist, Joakim Landahl, who has explored the significance of softer punishment methods in Swedish schools during the twentieth century in terms of the Foucauldian “panopticon,” and Thomas Mathiesen’s “synopticon.” Like Ojakangas, Landahl argues that school discipline for whole class teaching in the late nineteenth century

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16 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1977). Although power as a theoretical concept represents an important perspective on the topic, it is not our focus here.

17 Ojakangas (1998), 23–26, 35–36, 74–78.

18 Anders Ahlbäck, *Soldiering and the Making of Finnish Manhood: Conscripted and Masculinity in Interwar Finland, 1918–1939* (Turku: Åbo Akademi University, 2010); Esbjörn Larsson, *Från adlig uppfostran till borgerlig utbildning: Kungl. Krigsakademien mellan åren 1792 och 1866* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2005); Henrik Meinander, *Towards a Bourgeois Manhood: Boys’ Physical Education in Nordic Secondary Schools 1880–1940* (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, 1994).

19 Ojakangas (1998), 55–63.

20 Google scholar alone reveals 113 studies (including Master theses) which refer to Ojakangas’ dissertation. However, most of them do not approach the dissertation’s results from a historical perspective, and seem to ignore the particular scope of his research. The results based on more normative sources have not taken into account the material level or the perspective of gradual change; and nor has this been explicated by Ojakangas either. This, however, is a topic worthy of a more detailed review article which will be addressed in due time.

was based mainly on the teacher's gaze, and that in the context of twentieth-century schools, the gaze of the teacher can be understood as a disciplinary measure or form of punishment, albeit a gentle one.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the merits of previous research, we argue that automatically subscribing to a more general perspective that wider frames of reference entail may explain why certain sources have been overlooked in favour of seemingly more comprehensive sources such as teaching manuals, pedagogical writings and guidebooks.<sup>22</sup> These are certainly important for understanding the intellectual and regulatory history of discipline in education, but just like our work here, they convey only a part of the complex issue. There is thus the need for a additional research in order to establish a more plurivocal approach to the study of punishment, disciplinary practices, and the norms and regulations governing them. It cannot be assumed that ideals were implemented as fully and swiftly as previously thought,<sup>23</sup> as the cultural preconditions necessary for norms and regulations to change take time<sup>24</sup>—teachers may have, for instance, learned a different set of values in their own training.

In this article we use the term “corporal punishment” as an umbrella concept to describe the kinds of physical violence<sup>25</sup> used in schools for the purposes of discipline. But as indicated earlier, “violence” is a complex concept to define, and it is easy to be anachronistic. For instance, spanking was forbidden as a form of violent punishment, though some contemporaries saw it as a legitimate means of chastisement.<sup>26</sup> But equally, the incarceration of misbehaving pupils, which would nowadays be seen as violence (and was also discouraged by educationalists at the time), was actually sanctioned by the School Order Act of 1872—putting it in a similar grey-area category to corporal punishment. This highlights the importance of historical research to check for anachronism. Most importantly, it highlights how complex the regulations and ideas concerning punishment were, when examined at the practical and material level.

From a normative perspective, one could say that forms of discipline which exceed legal limits constitute violence. But corporal punishment in the past is not as straightforward. What was either forbidden or frowned upon normatively and in the

21 Landahl, (2013), 804–6, 812–16.

22 See, for instance, Landahl (2013); Launonen (2000); Ojakangas (1998). One of the few exceptions is Germund Larsson, *Förbrytelser och förvisningar: Bestraffningssystemet i de svenska läroverken 1905–1961* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2018).

23 Previous works have seldom explained their limitations, especially with regard to external source criticism, with the result that, for the past 30 years, research has been building on it without giving much consideration to evidence from supplementary sources; suggesting there is a need, as Cowen and Rappleye have noted, for more critical long-term research in the history of education. The use of other sources throw these complex issues into a new light. For instance, recent historical research on the mistreatment of children in foster care has unearthed a lingering culture of physical and mental abuse. Cf. Hytönen et. al. *Lastensuojelun sijaishuollon epäkohdat ja lasten kaltoinkohtelu 1937–1983* (Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden tutkimuskeskus ja muistioita 2016:22; 2016).

24 For more on slow changes in mentalities see, for instance, Matti Peltonen, *Matala katse: Kirjoituksia mentaliteettien historiasta* (Tampere: Hanki ja jää, 1992).

25 As a purely descriptive term.

26 Corporal punishment was a common practice in Finnish homes, and it was not until 1983 that it was officially abolished: see, for example, Jaana Kempainen, *Kotikasvatus kolmessa sukupolvessa* (Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2001).

public sphere was legally allowed in the private, where it was in some ways “business as usual.”<sup>27</sup>

But there have recently been new interdisciplinary approaches to the study of violence. For instance, theoretically somewhat understudied<sup>28</sup> topic of interpersonal violence has been given a more detailed account recently with emphasis given to spatiotemporal approaches as well as gendered forms and practices of violence.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, the matter of ethical questions in the study of delicate matters such as violence related to people in vulnerable positions has garnered renewed and important interest also in history.<sup>30</sup> These kind of recent contributions have contributed to the possibilities of adding also to the vast corpus tackling the theme of discipline<sup>31</sup> and punishments in school, corporal in particular.<sup>32</sup> Despite the vast use of these kinds of euphemisms, the disciplinary element of punishments in the history of education is also about the study of violence.

## Sources

A vast array of punishment records from Finnish secondary schools<sup>33</sup> have stood the test of time. These “punishment books”<sup>34</sup> are in many ways quite unique in the way they complement existing source material. Although they provide only a limited national basis for our analysis and thus are not easily generalisable, they do, however, provide a valid test case for reevaluating the limitations of normative sources used previously in the literature, and add a perspective to existing knowledge not previ-

27 Jari Eilola and Heli Valtonen, “Perheen sääntely modernisoituvassa Suomessa,” in *Kansallisten instituutioiden muotoutuminen – Suomalainen historiakuva Oma Maa – kirjasarjassa 1900–1960*, ed. Petri Karonen and Antti Räihä, (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura 2014), 83–89, 96–106.

28 Marita Husso, Helena Hirvonen and Marianne Notko, “From Rejection to Understanding: Towards a Synthetic Approach to Interpersonal Violence,” in *Interpersonal Violence: Differences and Connections*, ed. Marita Husso, Tuija Virkki, Marianne Notko, Helena Hirvonen, and Jari Eilola (London/New York: Routledge, 2017).

29 Marita Husso et al., eds., *Interpersonal Violence: Differences and Connections* (London/New York: Routledge, 2017).

30 Satu Lidman, Anu Koskivirta and Jari Eilola, eds., *Historian tutkimuksen etiikka* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2017).

31 The distinction between punishment and discipline are many but must be addressed elsewhere: see, for example, Marcelo Caruso, “Order Through the Gaze: A Comparative Perspective of the Construction of Visibility in Monitorial Schooling (German States – Spain, approx. 1815–1848),” *Encounters on Education* 9, no. 2 (2008); Esbjörn Larsson, *En lycklig Mechanism: Olika aspekter av växelundervisningen som en del av 1800-talets utbildningsrevolution* (Uppsala: Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, 2014), 183–259.

32 In the US context, regarding issues of race in disciplinary practices, see, for example, Pedro A. Noguera, “Schools, Prisons, and Social Implications of Punishment: Rethinking Disciplinary Practices,” *Theory Into Practice* 42, no. 4 (2003).

33 In early twentieth-century Finland, secondary school (*oppikoulu*) denoted a different type of school that prepared pupils for university. Secondary school is thus to be understood as a general concept referring to mixed and single sex schools, with lower and upper levels and particular curriculums. Up until the 1960s they were considered to have played an important role in educating those that would become the elite. Mervi Kaarninen, “Oppikoulu yhteiskunnan rakentajana,” in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki: Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011); Kiuasmaa (1982), 19–31, 46–54; Strömberg (2011).

34 *Rangaistuskirja* or *rangaistuspäiväkirja* in Finnish.

ously taken.<sup>35</sup> Similar sources can be found in other countries—for instance, punishment records were kept in some British schools during the twentieth century—but they have not been systematically utilised.<sup>36</sup> A review of the National Archives of Finland reveals that punishment records were kept in at least 106 secondary schools across the country in the early twentieth century.<sup>37</sup>

In this article we analyse punishment records kept by teachers in three different secondary schools: one for girls (in Tampere), one for boys (the Lyceum in Jyväskylä), and one mixed (the Coeducational in Kuopio). The schools were selected as they represent all three forms of secondary school existing in Finland at the time. Moreover, being in different municipalities, they provide a wider perspective on the status of school discipline in the whole of Finland. As each school was an educational nexus for their region, they would draw pupils from surrounding rural communities. In addition, all three schools' punishment records were intact.

Each of these schools was state-supervised and therefore regularly inspected.<sup>38</sup> The importance of keeping punishment records is confirmed by the sheer number of punishments in general. That there are so many instances rules out the chance of them being anomalies, but just why these were recorded so meticulously remains unclear. That they were recorded at all reveals that, for one reason or another, records of the punishments administered (even those frowned upon, as we shall see) were considered important. Also the inspection provides some credibility for these sources with regard to external criticism. As an exploratory account, and supplemented with other sources, this provides enough source material for testing the source-type so that additional findings can build a more detailed account on top of ours later on.

The records mainly list pupil offences and the punishments issued. They contain the name and class of said pupil, and the date of the reported offence. Most of them

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35 We have conducted an extensive literature review of previous research (across databases such as Finna, EBSCO, JSTOR, LIBRIS, and with the exceptions of Ydesen (see below) and Puranen, have not found any that explicitly use punishment records to their full extent. Such research no doubt exists, but the present authors have not been able to find any such work in Swedish, Finnish, or English. A less extensive search was also conducted in German, and revealed no specific instances. Consulting various history of education specialists in conferences has also indicated that this kind of research using such source material is novel. It is hoped this is sufficient background research for a case study in the purely Finnish context, and the authors would welcome any findings, contrary or otherwise, from elsewhere.

36 Christian Ydesen consults the punishment books of two English schools to some extent: see Christian Ydesen, "Crafting the English Welfare State—Interventions by Birmingham Local Education Authorities," *British Educational Research Journal* 42, no. 4 (2016), 624–625.

37 Though having searched several different databases, we have found relatively little studies that use these kinds of record as a source. The number of secondary schools increased rapidly in the early twentieth century—from 96 in 1900 to 232 (of which approximately 106 had punishment records) in 1930: Puranen, 2015. See also Kaarninen (2011), 412.

38 Inspectors of the National Board of Education visited secondary schools every few years to check that the school was following the national curriculum and that the teaching was suitable from all angles: see for instance Jukka Rantala, "Oppikoulunopettajat" in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki: Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011), 309–310. Inspectors visited all three schools examined in this article and examined the punishment records, as discipline was seen to be an important part of a child's education, see for example School Inspection Reports (*Tarkastuspöytäkirjat*), November 13 1906, Cb:1, Kuopion yhteiskoulun arkisto (KYA), Finnish National Archives (FNA); School Inspection Reports, December 6 1907, Cb:1, Tampereen tyttölyseon arkisto (TTA), FNA.

also contain signatures by the teachers and the dates when the punishments were carried out. This also confirms to some extent that the punishments issued were not just of a descriptive nature, and did actually take place. The records were not created simply for the sake of school inspections, as it seems they were also kept for internal accounting and administrative purposes. For instance, detention required bookkeeping to check it had been carried out.

This kind of official source created for certain purposes should be considered with due caution.<sup>39</sup> Due to regular supervision by inspectors, one can safely assume that these records would most likely only contain the kind of information permitted by school legislation, so any illicit punishment method or anything contradicting them, such as corporal punishment, was less likely to be recorded in the punishment book, as this could harm the school or the teachers. Nevertheless, we have found plenty of punishments, including corporal, recorded there.<sup>40</sup> Bias in what was recorded could also work the other way—in that only punishments of a certain severity were recorded. For instance, school memoirs and histories show that punishments given in immediate reaction to something, such as clip over the ear would have been given ad hoc,<sup>41</sup> and not written down. Nevertheless, the administrative nature of these documents ensures that in spite of these caveats, these sources could be considered rather reliable. For as the teachers kept them carefully, it is likely that there are few irrelevant notes in them and should at least enable a partial reconstruction of the past. In addition, the external inspection of the punishment records served at least to some extent to ensure that potential anomalies or oddities would have been noticed. Then again, the position of the teachers in their respective profession, which also added the responsibility related to practicing a respected profession, would have made challenging the records and record keeping practices very difficult. In other words, as is with all source material, one cannot claim that the records should not be considered with both external and internal source criticism. In future the possibility of anomalies can be tackled to some extent with the use of wider source-base, which will help in detecting potential oddities.

To broaden our understanding of the punishment practices implemented, we also examine school memoirs and histories written by former pupils of the schools, as well as the minutes of staff meetings and inspection reports. We analyse them, in addition to punishment records to see whether the normative and legislative changes<sup>42</sup> were actually carried out. These records combine to provide a means through which the systemic and endemic changes to school discipline can be properly scrutinised at the material level, enabling our case-driven and exploratory research to reassess and thereby contribute to previous research on the topic.

39 Kaisa Vehkalahti, *Daughters of Penitence: Vuorela State Reform School and the Construction of Reformatory Identity, 1893–1923* (Turku: University of Turku, 2008), 20. Vehkalahti refers to official sources in general, and argues that they should be approached in a historical method and using the principles of source criticism.

40 See tables 1 and 2 below.

41 Paavo Alkio, “Koulumuistoja Vaasan lyseosta,” in *Vaasan lyseo 1880–1980*, ed. Alpo K. Rapila, (Vaasa: Vaasan lyseon entiset oppilaat, 1980); Jaakko Haavio, *Mennyttä aikaa muistelen* (Helsinki: Kirjapaja, 1972); Ilmari Turja, “Sotavuosien lyseo,” in *Vaasan suomalainen lyseo 1880–1930*, ed. Artturi Järviluoma, (Vaasa: Vaasan kirjapaino, 1930).

42 For this we mainly use the original legislative material, and to some extent the considerable previous research on the ideals and norms of contemporary educationalists.

## Methodology

As this is exploratory research, our methodology is relatively straightforward. The sources have been chosen taking into account contemporary views on school discipline (to avoid anachronism), and that this was the Finnish education system's formative period; and with the aim of collecting all instances of punishment that could possibly relate to the research question. Based on those instances found, the punishments (and the related offences) have been categorised, and are presented in table 1 (and 2). These punishment categories are based on distinctions made in the School Order Act of 1872.<sup>43</sup>

In our search for possible instances of corporal punishment, we have applied what could be described as grounded theory, which is often used in exploratory research to try and address the limitations of flexibility and/or resilience imposed on novel ideas by a stricter theoretical framework.<sup>44</sup> In other words, we have gathered together all possible findings and gone through them to find where clustering occurs, and then used the clusters to determine each category. It should also be noted that the findings were analysed for their characteristic features in a qualitative manner, in the full awareness of external and internal source criticism. We then drew our conclusions after comparing the subsequent results to school legislation and the existing research (based on more normative sources).

## 1872: Changing regulation

Up until the School Order Act of 1872, teachers had been able to use what was referred to as a "ferule"<sup>45</sup> to punish misbehaving pupils,<sup>46</sup> and although corporal punishment was now officially forbidden by the new legislation, as mentioned earlier, punishments were certainly still administered and actually, to some extent, even sanctioned by the legislation in 1872. Indeed, there were nine different forms of punishment that continued to be used in boys' and coeducational schools and two different kinds in girls' schools. The punishment methods used in boys' schools, in increasing measures of severity, were: (i) warning and reprimand in front of classmates; (ii) separation from friends; (iii) drop of rank in classroom;<sup>47</sup> (iv) detention; (v) strict warning; (vi) incarceration; (vii) advice to leave the school (*consilium abeundi*); (viii) suspension; and in the worst case, (ix) expulsion.<sup>48</sup> Classroom teachers could independently administer punishments up to and including category (v), but more severe punishments above that level needed the joint approval of the head-teacher, and for expulsions, the entire teaching staff was consulted.<sup>49</sup> Warnings and expulsions were the only two punishments legally allowed in girls' schools.<sup>50</sup>

43 KMAKS, August 8, 1872, §39.

44 Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Routledge, 1999); Kathy Charmaz, "Grounded Theory as an Emergent Method," in *Handbook of Emergent Methods*, ed. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy, (New York: Guilford Press 2008), 155–72. In this case our coding of the source material is conducted only at the first level due to a limited amount of source data.

45 A ferule was a flat ruler with a widened end used to administer corporal punishment.

46 HKMNG, November 6 1843, § 79–99.

47 This meant *de facto* changing the seating order in the class.

48 Translation by the authors: KMAKS, August 8, 1872, 39§, 40§.

49 KMAKS, August 8, 1872, 40§. See also Kiuasmaa 1982, 122–29.

50 KMAKS, August 8, 1872, 40§, 47§.

It is worth noting that the Act of 1872, replaced corporal punishment methods with those of isolation and surveillance. Detention was a punishment based mainly on surveillance, and was the act's main focus. As noted by earlier studies, it replaced corporal punishment—at least in legislative terms<sup>51</sup>—as educationalists began to emphasise softer forms of discipline. They thought surveillance methods such as these helped misbehaving pupils focus on self-discipline, whereas corporal punishment (according to numerous normative sources) did not have any such pedagogical benefits<sup>52</sup>—based as it was on physical power and fear. This meant that, by the early twentieth century, discipline in Finnish secondary schools, was officially based on surveillance and isolation methods of punishment, although corporal punishment was nonetheless tolerated. According to Foucault, this shift towards the use of softer punishment methods is explained, not so much by humanitarian demands for reform, as by the institutional will to reform systems of judgement and punishment so that they can be controlled in a more effective manner.<sup>53</sup>

### **Punishment galore...**

Detention was by far the most commonly recorded punishment method in both the Coeducational school in Kuopio and the Lyceum in Jyväskylä, as we can see from table 1 below. For 92.7 per cent of all the offences (1481 out of 1600) recorded in the punishment book in Jyväskylä for the period 1896–1905, the punishment was detention; while in Kuopio it was even higher at 98.4 per cent (1922 cases out of 1954). None of the other punishment methods permitted were used anywhere near as often.

*Table 1. Punishments in two schools*

Punishment			Coeducational school		
	<i>Boys' school</i>		<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	
Detention	1487	92.9 %	1752	170	98.4 %
Incarceration	32	2.0 %	17	0	0.9 %
Warning	34	2.1 %	5	0	0.3 %
Strict warning	4	0.3 %	1	2	0.2 %
Suspension	1	0.1 %	3	1	0.2 %
Advice to leave ( <i>consilium abeundi</i> )	2	0.1 %	1	0	0.0 %
Separation from friends	5	0.3 %	0	0	0.0 %
Other	18	1.1 %	1	0	0.0 %
No punishment recorded	17	1.1 %	1	0	0.0 %
Total	1600	100.0 %	1781	173	100.0 %

As noted in the previous chapter, detention was a punishment that was not necessarily perceived by contemporaries as harsh as other permitted forms, and it best enabled the surveillance recommended by educationalists, too. So it seems that, on

<sup>51</sup> KMAKS, August 8, 1872, 40\$.

<sup>52</sup> See for instance Ojakangas (1998); Launonen (2000).

<sup>53</sup> Foucault (1977).



a practical level too, surveillance was indeed central to punishment in schools as claimed by previous research.

However, it is the sheer quantity of punishments that we see in table 1 which contradicts the findings of previous research. Mika Ojakangas, for instance, states that educationalists generally held that punishments were supposed to be an exception to the everyday life of a school; and that teachers were thought to have failed in their task if they had to rely methods of punishment other than the disciplinary gaze.<sup>54</sup> Yet, in table 1 we can see that a total of 1600 punishments were administered at the boys' school, and nearly 2000 at the coeducational. This means an average of approximately 200 recorded punishments per year which makes it quite difficult to believe that stronger punishments were a rare occurrence or that school discipline relied on the punitive gaze alone. This reality becomes even more stark when we consider that the schools in question had approximately 200 pupils per year for the period in question (1895–1905), that in the Lyceum a yearly average of 178 punishments were issued, and that in the Coeducational the average was 217. This means that—even if each pupil was only punished once a year—almost all of the pupils would have been punished at least once a year.<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps each pupil getting punished once a year doesn't sound like that much, but the records also show that punishments were not shared equally and that there were certain groups of pupils that got punished more than others—for instance, girls were seldom punished—which means that for others punishment was more common. We do not go further into what precisely was considered “normal” behaviour in this article, but the threshold for issuing punishments must have remained low in spite of the fact that punishments were supposed to be avoided at all cost.

In 1926, even the school inspector who visited the Coeducational School in Kuopio, noted that detention was used too often. He observed that, altogether, an average of 300 detentions had been recorded yearly.<sup>56</sup> If we consider that 1926 was several decades since educationalists had started advocating less punishment, then we can suppose their recommendations would have been widely adopted by this point and that the threshold for issuing punishments would have thus been higher. But if that was the case, then roughly 200 punishments per year still seems quite a lot; meanwhile in the year 1905–1906, this figure was 280.<sup>57</sup> Another aspect of detention was that by isolating the pupils for a certain amount of time it taxed their time, not to mention having the potential to shame them.

The high number of punishments overall also indicates that the Foucauldian panopticon and emphasis on the significance of surveillance in schools cannot completely explain the punishment practices observable at the everyday level that were still going on in early twentieth-century schools. Based on our findings in all three schools we investigated, surveillance and the punitive gaze were certainly not considered sufficient, as other methods of punishment besides detention were employed relatively often, such as school jail (*karsseri*) for the more troublesome pupils, which both isolated them and kept them under surveillance. This was the second

54 Ojakangas (1998), 55–58. See also Landahl (2013); Launonen (2000), 135–48.

55 There were around 200 pupils in Jyväskyläs Lyceum, while in Kuopio's Coeducational there were approximately 250: Suomen virallinen tilasto, IX, Oppikoulut, 1895–1905.

56 Seppo Hannula, *Kuopion yhteiskoulun vaiheet 1892–1967* (Kuopio, 1967).

57 JoMA, KYA, Ad:1 and Ad:2.

most common punishment in both the Jyväskylä and Kuopio schools, and mainly reserved for pupils over the age of 14. Pupils that faced this punishment were confined to a small cell for a maximum period of twelve hours per day. This was to be served over a period of three days, meaning altogether 36 hours of incarceration.<sup>58</sup> “School jail” was nevertheless seen as more severe than detention,<sup>59</sup> and shows that punishment was not becoming quite such a thing of the past as educationalists at the time would have liked, and previous literature based on normative sources suggest. Finnish educationalists were certainly not specifically recommending this form of punishment as total isolation was seen as harmful.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless our findings reveal that school jail, banned in Swedish secondary schools already in the early nineteenth century,<sup>61</sup> was a form of school punishment still practised in Finland. Naturally, one could expect not all punishments to be recorded if they ran contrary to the norms of the day, as this might have reflected badly on the staff and school, and yet we have found plenty of cases where punishments were in fact meticulously recorded, including instances of corporal punishment.

The girls’ school in Tampere is omitted from table 1 as the punishment practices there differed significantly from the other two schools. This was mainly due to legislation, and thus it is not reasonable to compare the disciplinary practices there to the other two schools in the same table. Nevertheless, between 1893 and 1913, nine punishments were noted in the school’s punishment record, adding to the general impression that punishments were still being carried out, at least to some extent. In almost all of the cases, the alleged offender was either suspended or expelled.<sup>62</sup>

This leads us to the reasonable conclusion that school punishment practices were gendered. We can see, for instance, from table 1 that girls in the mixed school in Kuopio were punished markedly fewer times than the boys, especially when one also considers that 58 per cent of the pupils were girls between 1895 and 1905.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, girls at this school were seldom punished with harsher methods, even though legislation regarding coeducational schools would have allowed this. For instance, none of the punished girls in Kuopio were given time in the school jail though it was legally possible, whereas school jails were legally proscribed in all-girl schools. This leads us to believe that perhaps the legislation regarding all girls’ schools was also informally implemented in coeducational schools, the first of which were founded several years after the legislation regarding punishments used in them was passed.<sup>64</sup> The gendered differences between punishment practices become even more evident when we bear in mind that the only permissible punishments in all-girl secondary schools were warning and expulsion.<sup>65</sup>

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58 KMAKS, August 8, 1872, § 40.

59 Kiuasmaa (1982), 128; Ojakangas (1998), 63. The fact that pupils were incarcerated for the same kinds of offence that they would have received corporal punishment for suggests that this form of punishment was also a potential form of violence.

60 Ojakangas (1998), 63.

61 Norlin (2016).

62 Rangaistuskirjat, Ae:1, TTA, FNA.

63 The proportion of females grew during the whole period being, for instance, in school year of 1904–1905 already 67 percent; see Suomen virallinen tilasto, IX, Oppikoulut, 1895–1905.

64 See for example Kaarninen (2011).

65 KMAKS, August 8, 1872, 47§. Certain peculiarities can be found in the text defining the use of

But it is the sheer overall number of punishments that continued to be administered which raises the possibility that corporal punishment might also still be being practised. If the educationalists did not take into account the practice of punishments in general, then perhaps they also overlooked the types of punishment actually being carried out.<sup>66</sup>

### ...but with little “violence”?

As we saw from table 1, plenty of punishments did get recorded in spite of the apparent paradigm shift that educationalists maintained had occurred; and as this was evidently going on unbeknownst to them at the practical level, it also gave us reason to suspect that we should look out for any instances of corporal punishment recorded. So it was, while gathering data, that we found four directly applicable cases. These are presented in table 2 below.

Table 2. Cases of corporal punishment

Case	Year group/ grade of offender	Offence	Punishment	Offender's gender	Source
1.	1st	“Illicit use of his father’s name in front of the head-teacher”	“Corporal punishment by father”	Male	Punishment record of the Coeducational school of Kuopio
2.	1st	“Forgery” (Additional note: “Forged the signature of his guardian, the town’s public prosecutor XX, in his diary”)	“Spanking by father and a warning in front of his classmates”	Male	Punishment record of the Lyceum of Jyväskylä
3.	Preparatory grade	Did not show his diary to home and forged his father’s signature	Spanking by father	Male	Minutes of staff meetings, the Coeducational school of Kuopio
4.	1st	“Fighting and act of violence”	“Detention and corporal punishment at home”	Male	Punishment record of the Lyceum of Jyväskylä

Based on just the findings presented in this table alone, it is clear that sending pupils home for a beating happened only rarely in the schools we examined, but it is worth considering the kinds of situation in which they did resort to this practice. If we go back to the Act of 1843, it did not directly specify which misdemeanours merited

punishment in girls’ schools. “Lecherous” (*irstas*) and “malicious” (*pahantahtoinen*) girls were supposed to be expelled, and warnings were to be issued as gently as possible.

<sup>66</sup> See also Puranen (2015), and Puranen, doctoral dissertation (forthcoming in 2019).

“milder” forms of corporal punishment nor which the “stricter;” but carelessness, disobedience and something described as “ill-mannered behaviour,” are all mentioned as meriting punishment in general.<sup>67</sup> It is therefore worthwhile investigating, in everyday school practice, the particular instances when corporal punishment was called for, to consider whether the instances were indeed rare oddities, or rather the tip of an iceberg representing a punishment culture that was lingering on well after legislation had supposed to have changed all that. The following is an account of the specific empirical instances of corporal punishment we found.

The first incident found was recorded in the punishment books of the Coeducational school of Kuopio on 31 March, 1906. According to the sources, a first-year pupil was sent home to be spanked for the “illicit use of his father’s name in front of the headteacher.”<sup>68</sup> What this means exactly is not clear as there is not much further information available, but “father” was written without a capital letter which would indicate the paternal rather than divine kind (unless the lack of capitalisation was a typographical error).<sup>69</sup> As it happens, it was common at the time to refer to God as the “Father,” and would correspond to the significant role the Church previously had in organising education in Finland.

But perhaps the most likely explanation is that the child uttered a rather common profanity “jumalauta” (which literally means “God help me”), which would have counted as thoroughly unsuitable profanity and swearing in a school context, and significantly, would not have required a capital letter when referred to. Also, such an offence is more likely to have merited a spanking than the pupil cursing his own father without any further explanation in the punishment records. After all, education had been in the hands of the Church for a long time previously, and this could have been another case of certain cultural practices lingering on—in this case with regard to previously strict religious regulations.

The second case occurred in 1899 at the boys’ Lyceum in Jyväskylä, where another first-year was punished with “spanking by his father and a warning in front of his classmates” for forging the name of his guardian in his home-school diary.<sup>70</sup> In the end, this particular pupil left the school soon after this to be closer to his parents in Ostrobothnia.<sup>71</sup> In general, pupils were punished with detention mainly for “boisterous behaviour,”<sup>72</sup> such as running through the school or speaking without permission. If the punishment for minor offences such as these was detention, then it might well have been that there were no permitted disciplinary procedures left for the school beyond expelling the student for far more serious crimes, and perhaps this case of forgery was serious. But was it more serious than other cases of forgery or deceit in the school records? The punishment certainly seems stricter, when one thinks that other cases of deceit would instead earn a spell in detention or school

67 HKMNG, November 6 1843, § 86.

68 Rangaistuspäiväkirjat, March 31 1906, Ad:2, KYA, FNA.

69 Rangaistuspäiväkirjat, March 31 1906, Ad:2, KYA, FNA.

70 Rangaistuskirjat, March 17 1899, II Ae:1, Jyväskylän lyseon arkisto (JYLA), FNA. A diary in this context most likely meant a supervisory device of some sort, in which the pupils’ behaviour or grades, assignments or such were recorded. There is, apparently no surviving examples of the said “diaries” which might enlighten the instance more.

71 Eero Mikkola et al., eds., *Jyväskylän lyseo 1858–1983* (Jyväskylä: JYLY, 1983), 132.

72 “*Vilkkaus*” in Finnish.

jail.<sup>73</sup> We have found only one case of (multiple) forgeries by a pupil. In that case, a more serious offence by far, the pupil was expelled,<sup>74</sup> so just why this case of a single forgery merited corporal punishment is somewhat of a mystery.

Perhaps it was a case that corporal punishment was much easier to hide than an expulsion, which meant de facto that a school had failed in its main duty to turn out well-behaved and law-abiding individuals.<sup>75</sup> Expulsion was thus perhaps the last resort, as it brought shame on the school, the teachers, and high-ranking members of the local community. In light of this, recourse to “old school” methods such as spanking might have seemed the most viable option to staff. This might also explain the unusually rich details in the punishment record entry, as the background to offences are seldom described—it was usually noted in the punishment record as simply “deceit.”

In this case, even the name of the guardian (whose signature was forged) was recorded. The guardian held a respected position in the local community, as Jyväskyläs public prosecutor<sup>76</sup> and might explain why the forged signature of such a high-ranking official was considered a particularly serious offence, especially when the prosecutor was a guardian and not the pupil’s actual father. The father himself also had a relatively high position and reputation to protect as a bailiff too.<sup>77</sup> Protecting the school’s reputation and the rank of both these men might explain some of the oddities in the record and why the pupil earned a beating from his father rather than getting expelled. Compared to expulsion, corporal punishment was less public, delivered as it was within the walls of a home or school, whereas expulsion was a lose-lose situation for both pupil and school. Another observation that can be made is that, generally speaking, the lower the socioeconomic background of the pupil the harsher the punishment.<sup>78</sup> Perhaps the meticulous record-keeping here was simply an attempt to show that no favouritism was shown to the bailiff’s son, and that corporal punishment was the optimal solution for all involved—harsh enough, yet leaving reputations intact.

The third case consists of an instance mentioned in the Kuopio mixed school’s staff meeting minutes. A pupil had not shown his home-school diary to parents, and was suspected of forging his father’s signature in the diary. The father was formally asked by the school to physically discipline his son, but it seems that this was only after the father himself had suggested it. In addition to receiving a spanking the pupil also lost two points in his classroom behaviour ranking.<sup>79</sup> The case here, that the father suggested administering corporal punishment at home, which would have fallen within the cultural and legitimate practice of chastisement, lends credence

73 Rangaistuspäiväkirjat, Ad:1 and Ad:2, KYA, FNA; February 4 1902 and March 18 1904, II Ae:1, JYLA, FNA.

74 Staff Meeting Minutes (*Opettajankokousten pöytäkirjat*), February 4 1899, Ca:1, KYA, FNA.

75 Norlin (2016), 275–276; Puranen (2015).

76 *Kaupunginväiskaali: Veli-Matti Autio, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1853–1899*, (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 2010), <https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.helsinki.fi/1853-1899/henkilo.php?id=20386> (accessed December 10, 2017); Mikkola et al., 96.

77 Autio, <https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.helsinki.fi/1853-1899/henkilo.php?id=18545>; Päivö Oksala et al., eds., *Jyväskylän Lyseon satavuotishistoria 1858–1958 ja juhlaulkaisu* (Jyväskylä: Oy Sisä-Suomen kirjapaino, 1958), 240.

78 Puranen (2015), 75–97.

79 Staff Meeting Minutes, February 28 1899, Ca:1, KYA, FNA.

to the idea that harsher punishments such as these may have been “outsourced” by schools to avoid them getting into trouble.

The fourth record of corporal punishment was from the Lyceum. Again, it was a first-year that was given corporal punishment; but this time it was for “fighting and an act of violence.”<sup>80</sup> In this case too, corporal punishment was not considered enough as the pupil also received one hour’s worth of detention. It is interesting that, as in the 1899 case above, punishments were received both in school and (outsourced) at home. Unfortunately, there are fewer details recorded for this fourth case, but there is another punishment record from the same day, in which another first-year pupil was punished for “fighting,” but received only an hour’s detention.<sup>81</sup> Although it is not explicitly mentioned, it is likely that these pupils were punished for fighting each other as they were in the same year and the entries are next to each other in the punishment records. Pupils were rarely accused of fighting and, when they were, the punishment was generally detention. This leads us to think that the “act of violence” that merited our fourth case of corporal punishment must have been something more serious, and for this violent offence, an equally “violent” (in this case corporal) punishment was required. Perhaps this offender also started the fight, but there is no further information to be sure of this.

Overall, we found very few directly applicable cases of corporal punishment. All of the instances we found were outsourced privately, using the practice of chastisement that was still allowed. Moreover, it was only issued for offences deemed serious enough, making corporal punishment a rarity. Nevertheless, by outsourcing it, corporal punishment was being condoned by schools, even if surveillance and isolation were the primary methods used within schools for punishment—as we can see even from our micro-sample in table 1.

It is interesting that the threat of corporal punishment therefore persisted after the Act of 1872 and that the practice was certainly not abandoned altogether. This is contrary to the more general notions in previous research on discipline and punishment, which have not explicitly addressed the possibility that these “old school” practices may have still been going on. It seems corporal punishment was used in instances where “asking”<sup>82</sup> pupils to leave the school would have caused a lot more trouble for everyone involved than simply sending pupils home for a proper spanking.<sup>83</sup> Indeed it is worth noting that teachers also even had the right to spank pupils, if given the assent.

However, if the parents or guardian of the pupil immediately correct the pupil with a suitable method of disciplinary action, or the headmaster (with their assent); and should the pupil show signs of improvement after this, then the expulsion, after a definite period of time, can be reversed.<sup>84</sup>

80 Rangaistuskirjat, October 21 1905, II Ae:1, JYLA, FNA.

81 Rangaistuskirjat, October 21 1905, II Ae:1, JYLA, FNA.

82 “Advice to leave” (consilium abeundi) in effect meant expulsion: see KMAKS, August 8, 1872, § 39, § 40 and Kiuasmaa (1982).

83 KMAKS, August 8, 1872, § 40; Kiuasmaa (1982), 128.

84 “Mutta kuitenkin, jos vanhemmat tahi holhumies soveljaalla kurituksella heti oikaisevat oppilasta, taikka rehtori, heidän suostumuksellansa, semmoista kuritusta antaa, ja jos sen kautta nähtävä parannus on tullut, mahtakoon määrätyn ajan loputtua säädetty erorangaistus jäädä sikseen.” KMAKS, August 8, 1872, §40

In previous research this practice has not been considered in such detail. Outsourcing the judgement like this was clearly one way round the legislation. The important point is, that it was still the school that was issuing the punishment though, even if it was administered at home. The school was still using corporal punishment as an option, and resorting to violence even if this was on rare occasions (judging from our sample). As there is no way around the fact that outsourcing corporal punishment to the child's home reflected back on the school, it is worth considering whether a wider array of sources might reveal more such instances, especially when we see that punishments were still being given and this is ignored by previous research which relies on normative sources.

It is also worth bearing in mind, that an imperial statute actually banned the use of corporal punishment in educational facilities (in this case primary schools in particular) was issued in 1914 stating that

by changing and supplementing the regulations regarding the matter of corporal punishment in educational facilities and schools upheld and supported by the state, [the statute] forbids the use of corporal punishment.<sup>85</sup>

The outsourcing of corporal punishment by schools was therefore against the spirit, if not the letter, of the law—even if the more violent aspects of “chastisement” in homes was still legitimate. Kiuasmaa has also made this interpretation, although he also adds that “the statute did not de facto prevent the practice of chastisement administered at home, on behalf of other, very harsh, school issued, punishments.”<sup>86</sup> This supports our argument that a culture of corporal punishment remained in education longer than has previously been thought. As late as 1920, punishment records reveal similar kinds of incidents, where pupils are being sent home to receive corporal punishment ‘authorised’ by the school.<sup>87</sup> In fact, the legislation allowed the practice indirectly to continue until as late as 1965.<sup>88</sup> Only the statute of 1972 removed this loophole altogether.<sup>89</sup> It is interesting that nobody protested or complained about this practice, but this is related to the thorny topic of power and authority and merits further investigation elsewhere due to limited space in this article.

It seems corporal punishment was perhaps more gendered than any other pun-

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85 Italics added by the authors. This statute was coined mainly for primary school (*kansakoulu*), but it related to other schools as well and added to the previous act of 1872 regarding secondary schools only: AA, June 6, 1914 (“*muuttamalla ja täydentämällä asiaa koskevia säädöksiä, kieltää ruumiillisen kurituksen käyttämisten kurinpitokeinona valtion ylläpitämissä ja kannattamissa oppilaitoksissa*”).

86 Kiuasmaa 1982, 128. “[A]setus ei muodostunut kuitenkaan esteeksi vielä myöhemminkin kotona annettulle kuritukselle, joka koulussa voitiin hyväksyä jonkin muun ja ilmeisesti varsin ankaran rangaistuksen korvaukseksi”

87 Puranen, doctoral dissertation manuscript, forthcoming.

88 The 1965 statute for secondary schools actually mentions that punishment no. 7 (expulsion) can be aborted if “parents immediately reprimand the pupil so that a noticeable improvement in conduct can be seen” (“[...] vanhemmat heti oikaisevat oppilasta niin, että nähtävä parannus on tapahtunut, voidaan rangaistuksesta luopua”). See Ragnar Meinander and Toivo Aatonen, *Oppikoulun hallinto* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1965), 104; Kiuasmaa (1982), 527.

89 Erkki Onikki, *Opetustoimi: Eripainos Suomen Laki II -teoksesta 1972* (Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus, 1972).

ishment.<sup>90</sup> It seems girls were not sent home to be corporally punished, and we found no stories about teachers punishing their female pupils in any of the informal accounts written about life in these schools. This correlates with a few earlier studies on the general implementation of punishment practices in schools. Saara Tuomaala suggests that teachers in Finnish primary schools were more likely to physically punish male pupils, and that girls generally received less harsh punishments.<sup>91</sup> Meanwhile, Aksel Rosenqvist, an educationalist at the time, stated that boys needed tougher discipline, as it was “character-forming” for boys, but by the same argument it was dangerous to do this to girls in case it made them too “masculine.”<sup>92</sup> Corporal punishment was nevertheless used in “reformatory schools” for delinquent girls.<sup>93</sup> Clearly the harsher punishment regimes in these schools was because the girls were already considered to be delinquent in some way. Comparing the disciplinary practices of these schools with those in primary and secondary schools is thus unhelpful. This relates, for instance, to various contextual expectations of people coming from different backgrounds.

It is now time to turn to an additional layer of supplementary evidence, provided by various informal historical and oral accounts of school life. These testify to the wider use of corporal punishment in general.<sup>94</sup> Several memoirs of former secondary school pupils contain stories of teachers that carried out a variety of corporal punishments in the early twentieth century.<sup>95</sup> According to these memoirs, teachers who were most likely to rely on corporal punishment rarely sent their pupils to detention or school jail. As one writer notes that one such teacher, called Nordin, just “did not do detention.”<sup>96</sup> It is worth noting from these examples that a clip “over the lughole”<sup>97</sup> was probably, by many contemporaries, not considered to be violent. Indeed, there

90 The use of corporal punishment was not allowed in girls’ schools under any circumstances, though allowed in boys’ schools: see Sisko Wilkama, *Naissivistuksen periaatteiden kehitys Suomessa 1840–1880-luvuilla: Pedagogis-aatehistoriallinen tutkimus* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1938), 46–47.

91 Tuomaala (2004), 324–28.

92 Sinikka Aapola, “Murrosiän lyhyt historia Suomessa,” in *Nuoruuden vuosisata: Suomalaisen nuorison historia*, ed. Sinikka Aapola and Mervi Kaarninen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 2003), 87–105. Jauhainen (2009) confirms this approach, and mentions that the dichotomy was also brought up when contemporaries discussed coeducational schooling, see Annukka Jauhainen, “Erillinen vai yhteinen koulu?: Yhteiskasvatuskeskustelun sukupuolittunut toimijuus,” in *Sukupuoli ja toimijuus koulutuksessa*, ed. Hanna Ojala, Tarja Palmu and Jaana Saarinen (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2009), 122–23.

93 Vehkalahti (2008), 149–162. Some girls in these schools were also punished with school jail.

94 Pupils did not necessarily approve if an otherwise diligent pupil, but with “limited intelligence” was punished with a ferule, E. A. Aaltio, “Koulukuri, toverikuri ja pennismi Jyväskylän yläalkeiskoulussa ja alkeisopistossa,” in *Jyväskylän Lyseon satavuotishistoria 1858–1958 ja juhlaulkaisu*, ed. Päivö Oksala et al. (Jyväskylä: Oy Sisä-Suomen kirjapaino, 1958), 321–22. Martti Salmi, “Lyseo ja lyseolaiset 1920-luvulla,” in *”Oi niitä aikoja”: Tarinoita ja tapahtumia Vaasan lyseon eri vuosikymmeniltä*, ed. Markku Rintanen (Vaasa: Vaasan lyseon entiset oppilaat ry, 2000), 57.

95 “Pätkä Did Not Do Detention” (*Jälki-istuntoja Pätkä ei harrastanut*), see Salmi (2000), 57.

96 “*Nordin ei harrastanut jälki-istuntoa*,” see Armas Mikkonen, “Muistelmia voimistelu- ja urheiluloista Tampereen Realliyseossa v 1900 tienoilla,” in *Tampereen lyseo 1884–1934: Muistojulkaisu*, ed. Kaarlo Nieminen (Tampere: Tampereen lyseo, 1934), 115. Nordin did in fact issue also numerous detentions, see Puranen (forthcoming). This highlights the fact that oral history sources might emphasise more subjective accounts.

97 Quite a literal translation for *korvapuusti* in Finnish (also the name of a bun).



were even a few educationalists that recommended use of the rod as late as the 1920s. These views emphasise, however, that the punishment was supposed to be given in a “fatherly way with caution,” never in anger, by slapping the bottom of the pupil with a rod.<sup>98</sup>

Interestingly, these informal accounts reveal that corporal punishment was, particularly among pupils in upper secondary school, seen as a suitable punishment for younger pupils rather than themselves. This is borne out, not only by the fact the offenders in table 2 are all first-years or younger, but also the following history from the Lyceum in Jyväskylä. A teacher had threatened first-year pupils in upper years in secondary school with corporal discipline in 1869. The pupils in the upper years at the school discussed this at a meeting, and came to conclusion that it was not suitable for a regular teacher to use this kind of punishment on the upper secondary school pupils that were almost adults. They described corporal punishment as suitable for “children,” and so it was “shameful” for them to be corporally punished in this way with such childish punishment method.<sup>99</sup>

This is consistent with the instances in table 2, as all those boys were most likely considered too young for school jail, which was a punishment thought more suitable for older boys. As pupils were punished with school jail and corporal punishment for the same kind of offences, these punishment methods are, in a way, comparable. In the 1872 act, however, corporal punishment corresponds more to (vii) “advice to leave” (which was effectively like expelling the pupil).

In the larger contextual frame, we would describe the practice of chastisement as a form of liquid violence that slops back and forth (or is at least easily transferable) between the public and private domains, straddling as it does the nexus between them. Starting with an offence at school, a punishment is issued, to be delivered at home, and/or vice versa—parents give their assent for a punishment to be administered there. Thus, a violent corporal punishment is carried out, one way or another, in the name of discipline. In general, the practice of chastisement was still very common at home, and it was even expected in the upbringing of boys.<sup>100</sup> This proves, at least to some extent, that the process of discipline was not as straightforward as most contemporary educationalists (and the previous works using these as primary sources) have suggested.

## Conclusion

As we have shown in this article, despite the regulations and recommendations of educationalists at the time, many punishments were still carried out in Finnish secondary schools at the turn of the twentieth century. We found more than 3500 instances in the punishment records that we examined as part of our exploratory case-study of

<sup>98</sup> Ojakangas (1998), 61.

<sup>99</sup> However, the pupils would have allowed the headteacher of the school to punish them physically, see Oksala et al. (1958), 322–234.

<sup>100</sup> Kemppainen (2001), 60–63; Ojakangas (1998), 61; Ann-Catrin Östman, “Rakkaus ja patriarkalisuus ahtaassa yhteisössä: Mieheys kansanomaisessa kehyskertomuksessa” in *Näkymätön sukupuoli: Mieheyden pitkä historia*, ed. Pirjo Markkola, Ann-Catrin Östman and Marko Lamberg (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2014), 164–165. The practice of chastisement was banned as late as 1983 in Finland, see for instance Hytönen et al. (2016). See also Eilola and Valtonen (2014) for a more detailed introduction to the twentieth century history of the practice in Finland.

three geographically representative schools. This indicates a more gradual change in punishment practices than has been previously assumed in scholarly works based on more normative sources, or in those focusing on school as a disciplinary institution. Moreover it supports our argument, and also those of Cowen and Rappleye's, that a more empirical, critical, and historical approach to the history of education would add greatly to existing knowledge in the field. It also seems quite hard to believe that punishments were only used as a last resort.

These could still represent an exception, but the selection of three schools, from different regions and different yet comparable forms (coeducational, lyceum, and girls' school)—and supplemented with subjective histories from informal accounts—makes this quite unlikely. Although the subjective accounts should be seen in terms of the oral history tradition and therefore as somewhat “anecdotal” or limited, the fact that physical violence and discipline feature time and time again in former pupils' accounts is enough to merit further enquiry. There is a need for further research that uses previously overlooked sources, such as punishment records from elsewhere. Equally, the results of previous works need to be reassessed in the light of these new sources, even if the latter contradict what has previously been assumed. Not only have we found that numerous punishments were issued, but that some of them went against the various regulations, norms, and recommendations of the time. Detention, for instance, was used to such extent that it appears to have gone against the original recommendations that it be used only in exceptional cases. In addition, incarceration (a far harsher punishment than detention) was still in use, and there were even instances when corporal punishment was officially recorded as having been administered via the fluid practices of chastisement. These already provide valid grounds for reassessing previous literature that has not fully taken into account how gradual the actual change in punishment practices was.

However, even though the number of overall punishments issued in our three schools was rather high, the number of corporal punishments was lower than we expected. Punishments were clearly gendered, especially corporal punishment. Altogether we only found four cases of corporal punishment, and none of them involved female pupils. The School Order Act of 1872, and the regulatory changes that followed, made corporal punishment in school illegitimate and yet, as we have seen, there were ways around this.

In each of the four cases, the pupil was sent home to receive his “outsourced” corporal punishment as mentioned above. This does not take the school out of the equation though, as it was the school that usually instigated the process in the first place (even if in one case a father actually suggested to the school that he punish his son). The school also supervised and even recorded the punishment. Thus, these schools did, at least to some extent, also rely on corporal punishment. As our cases show, corporal punishment was chosen to avoid the far worse scenario that a pupil asked to leave instead. Corporal punishment was also seen as a punishment suitable for younger children who were too young to be incarcerated.

However, we cannot make a valid generalisation based on these four cases along the lines of our initial hypothesis. The low number of directly applicable instances does not yet adequately testify to lingering practices of corporal punishment. These four cases could well have been exceptions, for instance, and they anyway make up a very small proportion of all the punishments handed out. There could be many

reasons for these limited findings. One is that recording corporal punishment was something that was now being frowned upon and was, at least publicly, not recommended; another, illustrated by the informal school histories indicate that many instances of corporal punishment were more of a reaction than something that was systematically planned. There is also the matter of there having been very few means, formal and informal, for a pupil to complain about such punishments, especially because corporal punishment was still tolerated in the private sphere. As such it could be seen as a liquid form of violence, able to slip between spheres and settle into each appropriate situation.

When we compare our study to previous works based on a much larger number of sources, our educated guess is that our limited findings are perhaps just the tip of an iceberg.<sup>101</sup> This is also supported to some extent by the high overall number of punishments issued and the accompanying informal accounts. Practices and cultures tend to change gradually and this is confirmed by the high number of punishments in total. It might also still apply to corporal punishments, as it is quite possible that the continuing practice of patriarchal chastisement might have affected our findings and this merits further research. Revealing at home that one had been punished physically, might have led to additional repercussions at home due to the social, structural and cultural norms in which school and teachers had certain prerogatives and a recognised social position.

In conclusion, one can safely say that the ideals and recommendations of avoiding punishment altogether were not quite yet an everyday reality: the number of punishments remained high well after the School Order Act of 1872, and other normative sources would imply. The sheer quantity of punishments reveals that the goals regarding them set in the normative sources were simply not met. Indeed, teachers, most of whom who had been trained to incorporate punishment in their repertoire or had experienced punishments during their time as pupils themselves, were not going to give up certain prerogatives so easily. In this sense, our hypothesis that the culture of corporal violence lingered for some time is still worth pursuing in further research. If punishments continued to be issued in general, then perhaps traces of corporal punishment (and violence) can be found. A totally different matter is, whether some of the forms of “legitimate” punishment could already be counted as violence, too. This, however, needs to be addressed in detail elsewhere. For now, the definition of violence as a descriptive term provides a starting point for further research.

Punishment records certainly contribute to making sense of the history of education. The case study provided in this article indicates there remains a need to reevaluate the wider context of possible violence in punishment practices, and to see whether the practice of corporal punishment in schools was really a rare occurrence or not.

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<sup>101</sup> Karoliina Puranen, the first author of this article considers these matters in greater detail in her ongoing doctoral dissertation research, which is intended for completion in 2019.

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# Discipline and Punish at Camp: Citizenship and the Issue of Violence at a Swedish Boy Scout Camp

Björn Lundberg

*Abstract* • This article examines reports of physical punishment at the national Swedish Boy Scout camp Åvatyr in 1950. The Swedish newspapers *Dagens Nyheter* and *Expressen* described the events in terms of bullying and violence, while the camp directors declared that the reports were merely exaggerated accounts of innocent pranks and practical jokes. This article draws information from newspaper articles, Scout magazines and archival sources to discuss how the incidents at the Åvatyr camp tapped into a debate on disciplinary measures against children in Sweden. The analysis also concerns how these acts of punishment related to the Boy Scouts' scheme of citizenship instruction. Finally, the long-term effects of this purported scandal are evaluated, including a call for reform of masculinity and citizenship ideals within the Boy Scout movement during the following decade.

*Keywords* • boy scouts, camp, citizenship, self-government, violence

## Introduction

In the summer of 1950, around 10,000 Boy Scouts and Scout leaders from twelve countries gathered near Tyresö in Sweden for what was hitherto the largest camp arranged by the Swedish Scout Association (*Sveriges Scoutförbund*). Reporters from several newspapers covered the opening ceremony and the largest Swedish morning paper *Dagens Nyheter* featured the story on its front page.<sup>1</sup>

While these reports provided valuable publicity in a time of stagnating membership figures for the Swedish Scout Association, media attention turned in a surprising direction within the next few days. Reports of public punishments and humiliation at Åvatyr sparked a debate about bullying among the Boy Scouts.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of this article is to analyse the educational ideals of the Swedish Boy Scout movement during the early post-war era through the example of this highly publicised incident of punishment at the Åvatyr camp. More specifically, attention will be given to the role of self-governance and character training at camp. This approach, inspired by the study of “microphysics of power,” is chosen because the incident and its aftermath convey important knowledge not only of the educational

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This article expands on a camp incident previously discussed in the author's doctoral thesis: Björn Lundberg, *Naturliga medborgare: Friluftsliv och medborgarfostran i scoutrörelsen och Unga Örnar 1925–1960* (Lund: Arkiv, 2018).

1 *Dagens Nyheter*, July 24, 1950.

2 For general accounts of the state of the Boy Scout association in Sweden during these years, including membership figures: Göran Sidebäck, *Kampen om barnets själ: Barn- och ungdomsorganisationer för fostran och normbildning 1850–1980* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1992), 75, 84. Margareta Puke, *Scoutings historia* (Stockholm: Sv. scoutförb., 1982); Georg Sterzel and Raoul Neveling, *Skördetid och framtidstro* (Stockholm: Föreningen scoutmuseets vänner årsskrift, 2005). See also *Sveriges flickors scoutförbunds historia 1913–1953*, Instruktionsserie för ledare 6 (Stockholm: Sveriges flickors scoutförbund, 1954).

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practices of the Boy Scout movement, but notions of Swedish post-war childhood in general.

The analysis is divided into three sections. The first part presents the setting and discusses the educational ideals of the Swedish Boy Scout movement. What was the perceived importance of self-governance and discipline within its citizenship education? The second part gives an in-depth description of the events at the Åvatyr camp and details why the events were ultimately framed as a scandal in the press. The third and final section of the article details the aftermath of the events at Åvatyr and its long-term consequences. This section discusses how the Boy Scout organisation dealt with the negative attention and what conclusions were drawn after the camp had ended. The argument is that the events at Åvatyr contributed to a re-evaluation of masculine ideals in the Swedish Scout Association that eventually contributed to the dissolution of gender-divided scouting in Sweden in favour of a co-educational movement.

This article draws information from newspapers and Scout magazines, as well as a contemporary camp journal written by a Boy Scout patrol. Thanks to the varied source material, it is possible to study the events at Åvatyr from a multi-layered perspective. Reports from the Åvatyr camp were published in all major Swedish daily newspapers, and the events were covered and discussed in-depth by *Dagens Nyheter* and the evening tabloid *Expressen*, both published by the Bonnier Group and featuring liberal editorial pages.<sup>3</sup> The camp journal was kept by the patrol Hackspetten, from Eslövs scoutkår. In the journal, every day at camp was detailed in several hand-written pages, shifting between amusing incidents and mundane reports. Also featured were a few black-and-white photographs glued to the pages. Despite this, the sources at hand provide limited and sometimes contradictory explanations of the actual events that took place at Åvatyr. However, the texts discussed here also act as sources for why these events were conceived of as *problematic*, and how the incidents gave rise to a public debate on bullying.

### Perspective and theoretical framework

By analysing the mechanisms of discipline and punishment in a localised historical setting, this article draws inspiration from the works of Michel Foucault, who famously described the central issue of government in the modern world as “the conduct of conduct.”<sup>4</sup> Power in this sense operates productively, creating and recreating self-regulatory movements and actions, shaping desires and norms. In other words, disciplinary power became intrinsically self-disciplinary.<sup>5</sup> Adding to this analysis of power, Foucault in later years started to develop a theory of government in liberal society known as *governmentality*. This field of inquiry has closely examined how rationalities of government came to act *through* personal freedom.<sup>6</sup> However,

3 Overviews of the Swedish newspaper market in the postwar era are presented in: Claes-Göran Holmberg, Ingemar Oscarsson, Per Rydén, *En svensk presshistoria* (Stockholm: Esselte studium, 1983); Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén, eds., *Den svenska pressens historia. 4, Bland andra massmedier* (Stockholm: Ekerlid, 2002).

4 Quoted in Colin Gordon, “Governmental Rationality: An Introduction,” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter M. Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 48.

5 Lisa Blackman, *The Body* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 25–27.

6 Michel Foucault, “Governmentality,” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and A. Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Mitchell Dean,

as Mitchell Dean and other scholars have pointed out, multiple rationalities of government may be enforced in different settings, or even simultaneously. This makes it clear that the question of how the governing of children operates in a certain time and place must ultimately be an empirical question.<sup>7</sup>

Scouting emerged in Britain during the first decade of the twentieth century. Within a decade, this youth movement designed for boys spread across the globe and attracted girls as well, who were organised in separate Girl Guide or Girl Scout groups.<sup>8</sup> Since their inception, scouting and guiding have attracted more than 500 million children and leaders, as “two of the most distinctive global social phenomena of the twentieth century.”<sup>9</sup> While the early history of the Scout movement has drawn increased scholarly attention, the movement’s post-war history has not been covered extensively.<sup>10</sup> One of the general trends in global scouting during the last half-century has been increased attention to co-educational reform, with the Scout Association from the UK opening all age groups for boys and girls in 2007, to commemorate the movement’s centennial. In Sweden, the two largest organisations for Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts merged in 1960, paving way for full co-educational reform during the following two decades. In this context, the Swedish Scout movement provides a relevant example to the study of co-educational integration.

This article will discuss the events of the Åvatyr camp in relation to changing notions of citizenship and masculinity in the Swedish Boy Scout movement. There is, however, also reason to consider the changing attitudes regarding disciplinary measures in Swedish public education and society at large. While Sweden had not actively participated in the Second World War, the early post-war period brought profound changes to Swedish educational debate, reflecting the experiences of German Nazism and the horrors of war. In the final report presented by the 1946 Schools Commission, earlier ideals of obedience, loyalty and patriotism had been supplanted by an overarching ambition to foster democratic citizens. Critical thinking and self-reliance were presented as active measures to counter the future growth of authoritarian ideologies.<sup>11</sup>

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*Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2010); Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1977–1978* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London: Routledge, 1989).

- 7 Mitchell Dean, “Liberal Government and Authoritarianism,” *Economy and Society* 31, no. 1 (2002).
- 8 In Britain, the term Girl Guides has been used throughout the movement’s history, while the organisation became known as Girl Scouts in the United States. The Swedish term *flickscout* translates as “girl scout” Tammy Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2009).
- 9 Allen Warren, “Foreword: Understanding Scouting and Guiding after a Hundred Years,” in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement’s First Century*, ed. Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009). For global membership figures: Tim Jeal, *Baden-Powell: Founder of the Boy Scouts*, 2nd US edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001[1989]), ix.
- 10 Studies that specifically address changes in Scouting during the first decades after the Second World War include Jeffrey Bonhomme, “In Step with Canada’s Future:” The Restructuring of the Boy Scout Movement in Canada” (1992), Electronic Theses and Dissertations 6833; Jennifer Helgren, *American Girls and Global Responsibility: A New Relation to the World during the Early Cold War* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2017); Sarah Mills, “Be Prepared: Communism and the Politics of Scouting in 1950s Britain,” *Contemporary British History* 25, no. 3 (2011), 429–50.
- 11 Jonas Qvarsebo, *Skolbarnets fostran: Enhetskolan, agan och politiken om barnet 1946–1962* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2006); Johan Östling, *Nazismens sensmoral: Svenska erfarenheter i andra världskrigets skugga* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2008), 169–174.

In relation to this, the early post-war era also brought changes to attitudes regarding disciplinary measures, corporal punishment and the regulation of peer relations in Swedish education.<sup>12</sup> While there is no consensus in Swedish historiography of education as to how profound these changes were, earlier research has shown that the post-war decades were characterised by more lenient attitudes to authority and discipline.<sup>13</sup> In 1958, a new law prohibited corporal punishment in the Swedish elementary school system. Due to the increased influence of psychology and educational theory, the pedagogical objective in Swedish primary education gradually shifted from external behaviour to personal development.<sup>14</sup> Youth problems, which had previously been debated in terms of moral crises, were increasingly intertwined with new understandings of youth problems based on psychological and psychiatric expertise. According to Anna Larsson, bullying and problematic peer-relations became conceived of as educational problems in Swedish schools during the 1960s, which illustrates that these changes were not necessarily immediate.<sup>15</sup>

### Citizenship and educational ideals of the Boy Scout movement

Scouting emerged in Britain during the decade prior to the outbreak of the First World War, as a programme for character training for British boys. Robert Baden-Powell, who had gained the status of war hero during the Second Boer War, wanted to reform British youth by introducing a method inspired by his experiences of imperial warfare. In 1908 he published the handbook *Scouting for Boys*, which immediately became a bestseller and gave rise to a new youth movement.<sup>16</sup>

Baden-Powell's objective was to reform British boyhood in order to secure the future strength of the empire. Physical and moral degeneration were to be combated through healthy outdoor exercises, and by inducing a sense of patriotic duty. According to the American scholar Michael Rosenthal, the Boy Scouts were thus "born in the anxieties of an imperial power."<sup>17</sup> In his exhaustive analysis of European masculinity at the turn of the last century, George Mosse described scouting as a programme that sought to inculcate British working-class boys with the values and ethos of the British public school system: manly virtue through obedience, duty and endurance.<sup>18</sup> Rosenthal went even further by claiming that the basis for the Scouts'

12 Qvarsebo (2006), 69–83.

13 Esbjörn Larsson, "Barn från Mars: Skolungdomens vapenövningar," *Militärhistorisk tidskrift* 2013 (Stockholm: Försvarshögskolan, 2014), 157; Joakim Landahl, *Auktoritet och ansvar: Lärares fostrans- och omsorgsarbete i historisk belysning* (Stockholm: Arbetslivsinstitutet, 2006), 218.

14 Mats Sjöberg, "Att fostra ett skolbarn: Den nya skolan och barndomens förändring 1950–1970," in *Barnets bästa: En antologi om barndomens innebörder och välfärdens organisering*, ed. Bengt Sandin and Gunilla Halldén (Stockholm/Stehag: Symposion, 2003), 91–92.

15 Anna Larsson, "Mobbingfrågan i förändring: Efterkrigstidens synsätt på skolbarns kamratrelationer," *Historisk tidskrift* 130, no. 2 (2010), 241–64.

16 Tim Jeal, *The Boy-Man: The Life of Lord Baden-Powell* (New York: Morrow, 1990); Allen Warren, "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900–1920," *The English Historical Review* 101, no. 399 (1986); Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor, eds., *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009).

17 Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (London: Collins, 1986), 3.

18 George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 135.

character and citizenship training, “indeed, what in most cases appears to be their sole constituent—was a firm sense of discipline.”<sup>19</sup>

Other historians have challenged this disciplinary perspective by highlighting self-empowering aspects of the Scout method, especially with regard to Girl Scouting and Girl Guiding.<sup>20</sup> The disciplinary perspective makes it difficult to explain why scouting was framed as an activity of *freedom* with outdoor life and countryside camps as key components to accomplish the “efficient and happy citizen.”<sup>21</sup> Why would an organisation obsessed with discipline and obedience focus on outdoor exercises as its primary tool for citizenship education?

From the perspective of *governmentality*, these disciplinary and emancipatory aspects of the Scout method do not appear to be a contradiction or pedagogical inconsistency. Instead, self-empowerment can be understood as a *technique* employed to achieve self-disciplined citizens, entwining the concepts of discipline and freedom. Outdoor life and camping can thus be regarded as techniques utilised by the Scout movement in its citizenship training programme as means to create a certain kind of citizen, prepared to become self-regulating and active subjects in liberal society.<sup>22</sup>

The survival skills that Scouts received training in were not primarily skills to be used for actual survival, but rather a metaphorical re-enactment of the ideal of the self-regulated and self-sufficient subject. Baden-Powell stated: “Our effort is not so much to discipline the boys, as to teach them to discipline themselves.”<sup>23</sup> However, scholars of *governmentality* have pointed out that the means or methods applied to achieve self-disciplined and self-regulatory citizens could include disciplinary or even violent measures. Liberal governance should be regarded as an objective to be accomplished by both incentives and regulations.<sup>24</sup>

In order to achieve activity and self-reliance on the part of the boys, the Scout method included a certain degree of self-government. The basic unit for a scout group was a *patrol* of six to eight children, led by a patrol leader. This *primus inter pares* was to be selected based on leadership qualities and form a link between the scouts and the adult leaders. Patrol leaders gained special training and marked their status by donning exclusive details in their uniforms. According to Baden-Powell, the patrol system was based on the natural organisation of younger boys in gangs with an informal leader.<sup>25</sup> In scouting, the aim was to harness and utilise the power of gang mentality for the public good and to foster boys into active citizens by instilling

19 Rosenthal (1986), 8.

20 Richard A. Voeltz, “The Antidote to ‘Khaki Fever’? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides During the First World War,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 4 (1992); Allen Warren, “Mothers for the Empire: The Girl Guides Association in Britain 1909–1939,” in *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism*, ed. J.A. Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990). Tammy M. Proctor, “On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 92, no. 2 (2002); Bodil Formark, *Den välsituerade flickan: Om den svenska flickscoutrörelsens historia 1910–1940* (Lund: Sekel Bokförlag, 2010).

21 Robert Baden-Powell, *Aids to Scoutmastership: A Handbook for Scoutmasters on the Theory of Scout Training* (London: Jenkins, 1919).

22 Empowerment as a technology for citizenship is discussed in Barbara Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

23 Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship—the Original 1908 Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 212.

24 Dean (2002), 38.

25 Baden-Powell (1919).

in them a sense of responsibility. Directly or indirectly, the Scout method of Robert Baden-Powell was also influenced by turn-of-the-century reform pedagogy. One of his inspirational figures was the American author and educationalist Ernest Thomson Seton, who had founded the Woodcraft Indians, a back-to-nature type of organisation intended for delinquent boys inspired by the educational ideas of progressive educationalists such as John Dewey. Baden-Powell managed to articulate these ideas of a regimen of citizenship instruction in a captivating and effectual narrative, thus making learning-by-doing a core element of the Boy Scout method.<sup>26</sup>

At the heart of the patrol system was the idea that boys could be taught moral lessons from their peers. Although the patrol system was the educational ideal of Baden-Powell, it took more than a decade before it was thoroughly implemented in the Swedish Boy Scout movement. When one Boy Scout leader looked back on the foundational years of scouting (in the 1910s) he remembered the excessive drill: “Evening after evening, exercises in marching and turning on a schoolyard.”<sup>27</sup> During the interwar years, the patrol system was implemented more whole-heartedly. The educational system of scouting was gradually consolidated. While the early Boy Scout movement had been entrenched in fiery nationalistic rhetoric, promulgated by the noted travel writer and conservative Swedish agitator Sven Hedin, the Boy Scout movement of the interwar era instead proposed a more jovial citizenship ideal based on the strengthening of mind, body and character through *friluftsliv*—healthy outdoor life.<sup>28</sup>

One of the most distinctive elements of the Boy Scout programme was its focus on the body. Physical activity and a healthy body were keys to successful citizenship. Consequently, the Scout method focused on citizenship as an activity, rather than a legal status.<sup>29</sup> The focus of the body was also evident in Baden-Powell’s advice on how to correct behaviour that he associated with bad citizenship: “The punishment for swearing and using bad language is for each offence a mug of cold water to be poured down the offender’s sleeve by the other scouts.”<sup>30</sup> The quotation illustrates how discipline was directed towards the body, while also making the act of punishment a collective experience.

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26 Klas Sandell, *Scouting's ekostrategi: Från "naturromantik" till "miljöproblem:" Natur, miljö och friluftsliv under 1900-talet i Svenska scoutförbundet* (Stockholm: Institutet för framtidsstudier, 1990); Benjamin Jordan, *Modern Manhood and the Boy Scouts of America: Citizenship, Race, and the Environment, 1910–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 8–10; Nelson R. Block, “A Well Where Others May Drink: 100 Years of Scouting History,” in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement’s First Century*, ed. Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 10.

27 Original quote: “Kväll efter kväll av marschövningar och vändningar på en skolgård.” Quoted in: “Förr och nu – några 25-åringar har ordet,” *Totem*, no. 9–10 1936, 146–67.

28 Lundberg (2018), 55–95; Klas Sandell and Sverker Sörlin, “Naturen som fostrare: Friluftsliv och ideologi i svenskt 1900-tal,” *Historisk tidskrift* 114, no. 1 (1994), 4–41; Sidebäck (1992), 99–137.

29 Sophie Wittemans, “The Double Concept of Citizen and Subject at the Heart of Guiding and Scouting,” in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement’s First Century*, ed. Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009); Carey Watt, “‘No Showy Muscles’: The Boy Scouts and the Global Dimensions of Physical Culture and Bodily Health in Britain and Colonial India,” in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement’s First Century*, ed. Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (Newcastle: Scholar’s Press, 2009).

30 Baden-Powell (2004 [1908]), 46.

## The issue of discipline at Åvatyr

Let us now turn to the events at the Åvatyr camp in 1950. Since its inception in 1912, the Swedish Scout Association had arranged national scout camps at irregular intervals: in 1912, 1914, 1923, 1927, 1931 and 1938.<sup>31</sup> No national camps were held during the world wars. After the end of the Second World War, a new camp was held in Gränsö in 1946. This event sought to bring back scouting to its romantic, joyful roots. The motto was: “The campfires are waiting.”<sup>32</sup>

However, the atmosphere of demobilisation after the war seemed to affect the Swedish Scout movement. Interest in uniformed youth activity was in decline. During the latter half of the 1940s, membership figures stagnated after two decades of steady growth. To make matters worse, two of the leading figures of Swedish Boy Scouting, Prince Gustaf Adolf and Folke Bernadotte, died in 1947 and 1948 respectively.

Thus, the Åvatyr camp in 1950 was symbolically important. It was planned to become the largest Swedish Scout camp to date and the new leadership of the Swedish Scout Association hoped to carry on the cheerful spirit from the Gränsö camp. The name Åvatyr was a play of words on the nearby locations Åva and Tyresö, but also a pun on *äventyr*, the Swedish word for “adventure.” The spirit of adventure and a camp environment that aimed to capture historical Swedish “authenticity” were among the traits that awaited the participants from all parts of Sweden. Additionally, roughly 1,000 foreign guests took part in the camp.

The opening ceremony of the camp was held on July 23. As mentioned, the event was presented favourably in the major Swedish newspapers. In its front-page article, *Dagens Nyheter* gave specific mention to the speech delivered by the chairman of the organisation, Lennart Bernadotte, and his description of scouting as an international movement for peace.<sup>33</sup>

On July 25, another article in *Dagens Nyheter* featured updates from the camp. It mentioned, in passing, that the camp direction had issued its first punishments. The article stated that thus far, only one of roughly 10,000 participants had been found guilty of violations against camp statutes. It was a boy who had thrown paper “somewhat recklessly,” and therefore received his punishment in public: one litre of cold water poured down each of his trouser legs.<sup>34</sup>

Nothing in this short news item signalled indignation or outrage. On the contrary, the incident of punishment was recounted in light-hearted prose, typical of amusing camp anecdotes. However, an editorial column in the evening paper *Expressen* interpreted the incident differently. It accused the Scout movement of being immune to modern and “reasonable” ideas of nurture and education: “If a young lad throws

31 The 1938 Tullgarn camp was jointly arranged by all member associations of *Svenska Scoutunionen*, “The Swedish Boy Scout Union.” Fredrik Adelsköld, “Förbundsläger – en översikt,” *Totem*, no. 7 1938, 101.

32 *Totem*, no. 6, 1946, 113.

33 *Dagens Nyheter*, July 24, 1950.

34 “Laglydnaden är stor i scouternas Åvatyrläger, och hittills är det bara en av de omkring 10.000 deltagarna som ertappats med brott mot lägerstadgarna. Det var en liten krabat som kastat papper omkring sig litet vårdslöst, och på måndagen undfick han sitt straff offentligen: en liter kallt vatten i vardera byxbenet. // För den fortsatta rättsskipningen kommer en borgmästare att utses.” *Dagens Nyheter*, July 25, 1950, 4.

paper, let him for God's sake pick it up again, but why force him to public humiliation? It resembles bullying."<sup>35</sup>

Reaction was immediate. Within a few days, the camp's custom-installed telephone was ringing off the hook. All major Swedish newspapers discussed the possible signs of bullying and hazing within the Boy Scout movement. On the following day, *Dagens Nyheter* once again featured a report from the Åvatyr camp on its front page, but this time it was not in the jovial tone from the opening ceremony. The headline was: "Parents united against methods at Åvatyr."<sup>36</sup> The reporter stated that boys who tried to escape from dishwashing duties were put in the stocks and that every village or district at camp had chosen "its own 'executioner.'"<sup>37</sup>

The newspaper also reported that the previously mentioned punishment of pouring water down a boy's trouser legs had resulted in many angry or worried parents calling the camp directors. No similar punishments had been issued since then, but the paper also concluded that it was impossible to determine whether this was a result of a sudden shift in attitude towards more humane educational ideals, or a result of pressure from public opinion.<sup>38</sup>

The same day, *Expressen* renewed its attack on the "inhumane punishments" at Åvatyr. The unsigned editorial claimed that this was a matter of conservative versus progressive forces in society.<sup>39</sup> *Dagens Nyheter* also followed up on their report. An article on July 27 declared that the stock used for punishments was in fact a prank, donated by the fathers of a Scout district in Örebro, who wanted to send their boys to camp with something *fornsvenskt*, "ancient Swedish," in accordance with the theme of the camp. The camp headquarters also denied any signs of bullying and instead made clear that all punishments were in fact cheerful consequences in the spirit of *kamratfostran* (literally: "fostering by peers;" the term could be used to describe peer socialisation as well as repressive acts hazing or bullying). The reporter confirmed that no signs of fear were present at camp.<sup>40</sup>

The editorial board of *Expressen* was not convinced, however. In its next editorial, the newspaper made a reference to an ongoing case of harassment at a Swedish military regiment. The idea of self-governance as an educational method among children might seem virtuous but lacked a clear distinction from bullying, argued the paper. Also, if the penalties issued at camp were merely jokes, how could they possibly deter anyone from further misconduct?<sup>41</sup>

No systematic attempt was made to ask the children participating in the camp about their thoughts and feelings in the matter. For historians of childhood it is notoriously difficult to find children's voices in archives. However, the incidents of punishment were discussed in at least one camp journal.<sup>42</sup>

35 "Om nu en liten grabb slänger papper omkring så låt honom i herrans namn plocka upp dem igen, men varför låta honom undergå offentlig schavottering? Det är snudd på pennialism." *Expressen*, July 25, 1950, 2.

36 "Enig föräldrapinion mot Åvatyrmetoder," *Dagens Nyheter* July 26, 1950, 1, 22.

37 "Sin egen 'skarprättare.'" *Dagens Nyheter*, July 26, 1950, 22.

38 Ibid.

39 *Expressen*, July 26, 1950, 2.

40 *Dagens Nyheter*, July 27, 1950, 20.

41 *Expressen*, July 27, 1950, 2.

42 The issue of children's voices in archival research is addressed in: Kristine Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research," *Jeu-nesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* 4, no. 1, (2012), 132–45.



One of the many Scout patrols that attended the Åvatyr camp was *Hackspetten* (“The Woodpecker”) from Eslöv in Southern Sweden. The patrol also kept a handwritten camp journal, which details some of the events at the camp from the perspective of the participants at camp. On the third day of the camp, officially labelled *stigfinnardagen*, (“Pathfinder Day”), the famous Scout leader Torvald Wermelin, known by his Scout name *Långa Lassot* (“The Long Lasso”<sup>43</sup>) paid a visit to the patrol. The boys asked him for an autograph (as evident from the pages of the journal).

When he had written it, he sat among ten scouts, including P.L [Patrol Leader] and Lasse. He made us promise that if we saw someone throw paper [on the ground], we would kick him in the lower back, pad his back and say: “With kind regards from Långa Lassot.” He then shook hands with each of us.<sup>44</sup>

The patrol members seem to have taken the senior Scout official at his word. While there is no mention of kicking, a few pages later the *Hackspetten* journal features a black-and-white photograph of a boy smiling, with his feet placed in the stocks. In his hands, he holds a glass of water and a piece of crispbread. The caption reads: “Lasse in the stocks for having thrown paper.”<sup>45</sup>



Figure 1. Photograph from *Hackspetten* (with permission of Skånes arkivförbund). Source: *Hackspetten*, Logbook, Eslövs Scoutkår, D3:2, Skånes arkivförbund, Landsarkivet, Lund.

The anecdote from the camp journal establishes a connection between the camp directors’ attempts to combat excessive littering and the punishments mentioned

43 During the years around the Second World War, several high-ranking Swedish Scout officials were known by Scout names inspired by Wild West lore or Native American imagery: Sitting Bull, Emado-yena, *Blå skuggan* (“Blue Shadow”), *Örnöga* (“Eagle Eye”) etc. *Scouten*, no. 8, 1945, 197.

44 “När han skrivit satt han mitt bland ett tiotal scouter däribland P.L. och Lasse. Han slöt ett förbund med oss och vi lovade att om vi såg någon kasta papper skulle vi sparka honom i rygglutet och klappa honom på ryggen och säga “med vänliga hälsningar från Lassot”. Därefter skakade han hand med oss allesamman.” *Hackspetten*, Logbook, Eslövs Scoutkår D3:2, Skånes arkivförbund, Landsarkivet, Lund.

45 “Här sitter Lasse i stocken för att han har kastat papper,” *ibid*.

in the press. Judging from the boy's smile, the setting of the photograph and the caption, the punishment had been conducted in a cheery manner (which of course is not to say that the event was experienced that way by all participants). This view was also stressed by deputy Scout chief Bengt Junker who defended the events in the Scout leader magazine *Totem*: "Naturally, the stocks was never used for its original purpose, but many boys found it amusing to be fastened in it while posing for photographs."<sup>46</sup> The other events were described as trifles or pranks that had been entirely misunderstood by the press.

This points to the fact that the newspapers, rather than internal criticism, acted as agents of change in this particular case, calling into question disciplinary practices from an outside position relative to the organisation. The imperative of change brought on by the mass media illustrates how this external gaze forced the organisation to adapt its practices due to changing social norms. Whereas the newspapers raised sharp criticism against the acts of punishments, the aforementioned camp journal did not, which highlights the relative importance of media pressure in this instance.

### **Punishment and self-governance**

As previously mentioned, the Boy Scouts' educational scheme stressed the importance of activity and self-reliance, with patrols acting as units enjoying a certain degree of self-government under the leadership of a patrol leader. In order to understand how the acts of punishment fitted into this system of instruction and why the *Åvatyr* case was framed as a scandal, attention must be given to the practices of governance at camp. First, the carnivalesque setting and its play upon medieval justice, highlighted in both newspaper articles and the camp journal, should not be overlooked. The stocks were a symbol of medievalism, not only in form but also as to how punishment was conducted and displayed. The punishments, as described in the newspaper articles and the camp logbook, were all publicly displayed physical punishments, while simultaneously reflecting the "happy" atmosphere of camp. However, the examples of punishments discussed here can still be interpreted as disciplinary to some extent, and were all related to a specific offence, a form of behaviour that was to be altered. From the perspective of "economy of punishment," the aforementioned acts appear to be ineffective. The question posed by *Expressen* is relevant: If the punishments were indeed only intended to be amusing, in what way were they possibly effective as correctional measures? In other words, if no elements of shame or pain were involved, wouldn't the jovial character of punishment instead encourage misbehaviour?

Another crucial element of these punishments should be noted, namely, they were partly or wholly carried out with the young participants as co-actors. In that regard, they reflected the educational ideals of the Scout movement that gave the patrols a certain degree of autonomy and sought to make children *active* members of a community.

Swedish Boy Scout camps were not conceived of as democratic institutions, but the idea of self-governance of patrols had gradually gained popularity during the

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<sup>46</sup> Bengt Junker, "Presstormen kring *Åvatyr*," *Totem*, nos. 6–7 1950, 121.

inter-war era.<sup>47</sup> In the post-war era, these tendencies grew stronger. The Swedish educational system was reframed in a series of reforms that aimed to teach children to become critically thinking, democratic citizens rather than loyal subjects.<sup>48</sup> The idea of self-government was also present in popular culture. For example, the Hollywood films *Boys Town* (1938) and *Men of Boys Town* (1941), starring Mickey Rooney and Spencer Tracy, presented the progressive juvenile institution of the same name in Nebraska, USA, which was governed by its habitants. It was hardly a coincidence that the new edition of the Boy Scout camp handbook *Lägerliv*, published in 1952, included a chapter titled *Lägret: En pojkstad* [“The Camp—A Boys’ Town”]. However, the Swedish Boy Scout programme differed in notable fashion from the radical ideal of self-governance in the original Boys Town. Instead, the book noted that all participants at camp would not be aware of the fact that their camp was designed as an arena for practical education in citizenship.<sup>49</sup> Instead of governing, the boys were to be primarily trained in cooperation through the building processes at camp: “[Camp] is built the same way every vigorous society must be built, based on individual initiative, enterprise and accountability. Through the entire process, the objective is clear: the accomplishments of the individual serve the benefit of all.”<sup>50</sup>

There were also initiatives to introduce acts of governing at Boy Scout camps, for example by giving the leaders a day off, and instead letting the children rule camp for a day. Even then, the practical or mundane chores of camp life such as cooking or providing shelter were thought of as more important than a democratic decision-making process.<sup>51</sup>

Nevertheless, institutions of law and order were integral aspects of larger Scout camps, contributing to the realism of camp as a miniature society. Large camps regularly included a voluntary force of patrolling guards or a “police force.”<sup>52</sup> By making children participants in the judicial process, it served to teach them practical citizenship and teach them self-discipline by correcting undesirable behaviour such as littering or cursing. Therefore, camp leaders defended accusations of bullying or excessive punishments by instead highlighting that the actions were part of a programme for *kamratfostran*.

The sentences conducted at the Boy Scout camps were by no means a unique phenomenon. As shown, Robert Baden-Powell had advised similar punishments for those who breached regulations or prescribed conduct among Scouts in his book *Scouting for Boys*. The Boy Scout camp at Gränsö in 1946 had also featured the stocks

47 Joakim Landahl, *Stad på låtsas: Samhällssimulering och disciplinering vid Norra Latins sommarhem 1938–1965* (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2013).

48 Gunnar Richardson, *Drömmen om en ny skola: Idéer och realiteter i svensk skolpolitik 1945–1950* (Stockholm: Liber/Allmänna förl., 1983); Tomas Englund, *Skolan och demokratin* (Uppsala: Pedagogiska institutionen, 1985).

49 “Kanske är det inte till alla delar medvetet för scouterna, att deras sommarläger blev en skola i praktiserad medborgarkunskap,” Lennart Wennerström, *Lägerliv* (Stockholm: Sveriges scoutförbund, [1928]1952), 10.

50 “Den byggs som varje sunt samhälle måste byggas, nämligen på grundval av den enskildes handlingskraft, företagsamhet och ansvarskänsla. Hela tiden är målet klart: den enskilda prestationen ställs i det helas tjänst.” *Ibid.*, 7.

51 *Totem*, no. 4 1954, 59.

52 Scouternas arkiv- och museistyrgrupp, “Sveriges Scoutförbund Gränsö 1946,” [http://scouthistoria.ssf.scout.se/scouthistoria/ss/Granso\\_1946.pdf](http://scouthistoria.ssf.scout.se/scouthistoria/ss/Granso_1946.pdf).

as a (purportedly) cheery method for punishment. In fact, the yearbook *Svenskt Scoutliv*, which was distributed to the sponsors of the Swedish Scout movement, featured among the pictures that commemorated the Gränsö camp a photograph of a smiling boy placed in the stocks. It is reasonable to assume that this picture would not have been included in the publication if the scene had been thought of as problematic.<sup>53</sup>

According to Joakim Landahl, educational systems based on self-government often included some form of judicial institution. In his research on a summer home for boys in Sweden, Landahl describes the proceedings of its court system as a distinct genre of jest-sentences (*skämt-straff*).<sup>54</sup> Landahl relates this to a form of power operation labelled “ambivalent power,” in which children were simultaneously empowered and infantilised.<sup>55</sup>

Evidently, this combination of play and earnestness was also present at the Åvatyr Scout camp. The concept of ambivalent power makes it possible to interpret these events not solely as acts of disciplinary power or corporal punishment, but rather an ambiguous system of governing over children that included discipline and self-governance.

Finally, it is worth noting that the aforementioned punishments were all directed towards the body in some degree, which was consistent with the Boy Scouts’ citizenship training scheme that focused on the inculcation of desirable habits. Moreover, the spectacle of punishment highlighted to all participants, not only those who were punished, the unwanted nature of certain behaviour.

### Discipline, masculinity and Boy Scout reform

The national media attention given to the educational and disciplinary methods of the Åvatyr camp seem to have caught the leaders of the Swedish Boy Scout movement off-guard. When the camp was over, it was clear that what was originally intended to become a great publicity event had backfired. While the camp was deemed an organisational success, the media attention given to a camp of this size had proven to be a double-edged sword. After Åvatyr, the Swedish Scout Association abandoned the idea of national camps for more than a decade. Instead, the following nationwide camps, in 1955 and 1959 respectively, were divided into six smaller camps located in different parts of Sweden.<sup>56</sup>

More importantly, the events at Åvatyr sparked a debate about the masculine ideals of the Boy Scout movement, which in turn resulted in major co-educational reform a decade later. The events at Åvatyr confronted the Boy Scout methods of citizenship training with changing attitudes in society towards the government of children. In the decades following the Second World War, the idea of rule by force was increasingly called into question in public debate. According to previous research, corporal punishment of children became a publicly contested issue in the late 1940s

53 *Svenskt Scoutliv 1947* (Stockholm: Sveriges Scoutförbund, 1947), 65.

54 Landahl (2013), 212.

55 *Ibid.*, 340.

56 Georg Sterzel and Raoul Neveling, *Skördetid och framtidstro* (Stockholm: Förening Scoutmuseets vänner årsskrift, 2005), 16–20; Gerd Ek and Rolf Bergqvist, *Förbundsläger* (Stockholm: Förening Scoutmuseets vänner årsskrift, 1992).

and early 1950s. In 1947, a government commission on education proposed a ban on physical punishment in Swedish primary schools. This sparked a debate on disciplinary measures against children that ultimately led to a complete ban in 1958.<sup>57</sup> Swedish newspapers were generally in favour of the ban, especially liberal-leaning publications like *Expressen*, although it was common to also highlight the need for other correctional measures.<sup>58</sup> The historian Jonas Qvarsebo has argued that two principal positions could be noted in this debate. The first stressed that children must be taught obedience, order and politeness to regain moral fortitude. Effective disciplinary measures were a necessary element. The other position took aim at a democratic citizenship ideal. From this viewpoint, physical punishments constituted an obstacle to the realisation of the individual autonomy and responsibility.<sup>59</sup> In the aftermath of the Second World War, the recent European experiences of fascism and National Socialism provided a backdrop to this debate on corporal punishment of children. Democratic citizenship was framed as a counter-measure to authoritarian ideals of education and society.<sup>60</sup>

After the conclusion of the *Åvatyr* camp, Deputy Scout Chief Bengt Junker wrote an article for the Scout leaders' magazine *Totem*, in which he concluded that there were important lessons to be learned from the *Åvatyr* debacle. Most notably, the Scout movement had to improve its communication with society in general to attain stronger public support. Otherwise, the Scout movement would soon become outdated.<sup>61</sup> A year earlier, Junker had participated in a debate on Swedish public radio with Sven-Arne Stahre, chairman of the labour youth organisation *Unga Örnar* ("Young Eagles"). Stahre had vigorously attacked the Boy Scout educational ideal for being out-dated. Instead of preparing children for the realities of democratic life, it merely gave boys a romantic background for adventures. Stahre contrasted with the ideals of his own organisation, which conducted co-educational training. In his mind, girls in general could easily expose war games and other militaristic elements as pathetic.<sup>62</sup>

While Junker defended the position of the Boy Scouts in this debate, he would nevertheless go on to call for increased cooperation between Boy Scout and Girl Scout organisations to strengthen citizenship. The following year, Junker was elected chairman of the Swedish Boy Scout Association. In a speech delivered at the Stockholm City Hall in 1951, he described the need for modernisation of the Boy Scout programme. Junker declared: "nothing could be more dangerous than to promote an unrealistic masculine ideal for our scouts."<sup>63</sup> Democratic society, concluded Junker, was founded on cooperation between men and women. Therefore, Boy Scouting needed to better prepare its members for this reality through increasing cooperation

57 Stig Munknäs, *Tidningspressen och den nya skolan: En studie av tidningsdebatten under skolans reformperiod åren 1946–1962* (Stockholm, 1983), 93.

58 *Ibid.*, 98–104.

59 Jonas Qvarsebo, *Skolbarnets fostran: Enhetsskolan, agan och politiken om barnet 1946–1962* (Linköping: Tema Barn, Linköpings universitet, 2006), 81–82.

60 *Ibid.*, 58.

61 Bengt Junker, "Presstormen kring *Åvatyr*," *Totem*, nos. 6–7 1950, 123.

62 Sven-Arne Stahre, "Kritisk syn på scouting," *Örnledaren*, nos. 1–2, 1950, 11.

63 Bengt Junker, "Jubileumstal vid Sveriges scoutförbunds 40-års högtid i Blå hallen den 17 nov 1951," *Svenskt scoutliv 1952* (Stockholm: Sveriges Scoutförbund 1952), 24.

with the Girl Scouts. This was a clear demarcation from Boy Scout rhetoric prior to 1945, when excessive feminine influence was regarded as an impediment to the manly training of young Boy Scouts.<sup>64</sup>

Regarding another Swedish outdoor organisation, *Friluftsförbundet*, Petra Rantatalo has noted that organised outdoor activities for children after the Second World War became less adventurous and arduous, focusing instead on family orientation. Activities were conducted closer to home and less physically demanding, which can be described as a process of *domestication of outdoor life*.<sup>65</sup>

In the Boy Scout movement, the domestication process coincided with changing notions of masculinity, which could be noted also in outdoor activities. "Hard scouting," which had been a word with positive overtones before 1945, became frowned upon.<sup>66</sup> During the 1950s, scouting was framed as a family venture. For the large Scout camps that were arranged in the summer of 1959, parents were invited to join at separate camp areas.<sup>67</sup>

When *friluftsliv* was no longer envisioned as an arena for manliness per se, the justification for gender-segregated Scout organisations became less apparent, thus making a shift towards co-educational scouting in Sweden possible. In 1953, the first co-educational Scout camp with troops from the Swedish Scout Association and the Swedish Girl Scout Association (*Sveriges Flickors Scoutförbund*) was held at Korgil.<sup>68</sup> During the 1950s, many scout troops of senior age (roughly 15–18 years of age) were partly or fully gender-integrated. Meanwhile, Bengt Junker reiterated that the goal of the Boy Scout movement was not to produce men, but *fellow humans*.<sup>69</sup> This process of increased cooperation culminated in 1960, when the Swedish Scout Association merged with the Swedish Girl Scout Association. The process was multi-faceted, but the changing masculine ideal of the Boy Scout movement was undoubtedly an important element. It is worth noting, however, that changes in masculine ideals did not automatically call for co-educational change, but rather helped to counter the arguments *against* increased cooperation between Boy Scouts and Girls Scouts.<sup>70</sup>

## Conclusions

Earlier research into the relationship between childhood and violence in post-war Sweden has accentuated the changing norms and legislation regarding corporal

64 Examples can be found in: Lennart Wennerström, "Friluftsliv och scouting," *Svenskt Scoutliv 1930*, Stockholm: Sveriges Scoutförbund, 1931), 83; Carl Svedelius "Ut i skog och mark, ut i Guds fria natur," *Svenskt Scoutliv 1936* (Stockholm: Sveriges Scoutförbund, 1937), 68.

65 Petra Rantatalo, "Skogsmulleskolan," in *Friluftshistoria: Från "hårdande friluftsliv" till ekoturism och miljöpedagogik*, ed. Klas Sandell and Sverker Sörlin, 2nd edition (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2008), 138–55.

66 An example can be found in *Samspel*, no. 5 (1958/59), 90.

67 "Scoutföräldrar på sommarläger," *Totem*. no. 2 1954; "Vuxenmedverkan på L-59," *Samspel*, no. 3 1959/60, 58.

68 *Treklövern*, no. 7 1953, 118; Bengt Kullström, "Korgil – ett försök till samscoutläger," *SFS Ledarblad*, no. 8 1953, 95; Korgil, Camp dossier, Läger: diverse, N:6, Diverse läger 1951–60, Sveriges Flickscoutförbunds arkiv, Riksarkivet.

69 Bengt Junker, "Kvinnligt – manligt – mänskligt," *Samspel*, no. 5 1958/59, 90.

70 Björn Lundberg, "Scouting at Home: Family Virtues and Domestic Ideals in the Swedish Scout Movement 1910–1960," Paper presented at the Society for the History of Children and Youth Conference, Vancouver, Canada, June 24–26, 2015.

punishment in schools. Scholars have argued that new discourses on childhood accentuated the *vulnerability* of children. Their need of protection, not only from wrongdoing adults but also from mischievous peers, became increasingly important.

This article has examined the reports of physical punishment at the Swedish Boy Scout camp Åvatyr in 1950. While major Swedish newspapers described the events as institutionalised forms of bullying and violence, the camp directors declared that the incidents were merely innocent jokes. By analysing the reported events as parts of the process of *governing*, the aim has been to explain the events in the context of citizenship instruction rather than attempting to examine whether or not the acts were perceived as just or amusing by those involved.

The argument in this article has been that the public outcry against the events at the camp reflected a change in post-war society that caught the Boy Scout leadership off-guard. The corporality of Boy Scout education, its notions of masculinity and the *ambivalent power* evident in the acts of camp justice came into contrast with increasing demands for a citizenship education based on democracy and individual autonomy. This also serves to explain why the punishments at Åvatyr sparked a debate within the Boy Scout association that ultimately led to new interpretations of masculine ideals.

In this process, the separation of boys and girls into different organisations was called into question. Cooperation between Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts was presented by Bengt Junker, chairman of the Swedish Scout Association, as a guarantee for the promotion of human, rather than manly, virtues. During the summer of 1953, the first co-educational camp was arranged.

Another tendency within the association for Boy Scouts was a domestication of the *friluftsliv*-tradition, including a family-oriented approach. The increased involvement of parents was to a certain extent conceived of as a means to address the issue of how and where to find future scout leaders and other organisational issues, but the increased involvement of parents was a different approach to governance at camp compared to the “boys’ town” ideal that had stressed elements of self-governance.

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# Fabricating and Governing the Swedish School Pupil: The Swedish Post-War School Reform and Changing Discourses of Discipline and Behaviour

Jonas Qvarsebo

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**Abstract** • This article examines the dominant discourses of behaviour and discipline in the debate on schooling and the conduct of school pupils in Swedish professional teacher journals between 1946 and 1962, the formative years of the Swedish comprehensive school. Drawing from the theoretical framework of discourse, governmentality and the fabrication of the subject developed by Michel Foucault, the fabrication and governing of the school pupil is highlighted and analysed. The findings of the study are related to historical research of the period as well as Foucauldian studies where a historical shift of perspectives on discipline and behaviour in the school have been proposed. The result is a detailed analysis of the fabrication and governing of the subject within the dominant discourses of behaviour and discipline during the period, as well as a critical nuancing of the idea of this historical shift.

**Keywords** • educational history, governmentality, discourse, subject, childhood and youth

## Introduction

The difficult child has long been, and still is, the ugly duckling in our educational system. Blind, deaf-mute and intellectually retarded children have received better care and education than difficult children, even although much remains to be done for children in these categories.<sup>1</sup>

These words introduced an article by elementary school teacher Axel Norén on the role of the Swedish educational system in educating and disciplining the nation's children. The article was published in the professional periodical *Svensk Lärartidning* (Swedish Teachers' Journal) in 1949. The role of public schooling in children's upbringing, especially in relation to the "difficult child," was a hot issue in the Swedish educational debate between the 1940s and 1960s. Educators spoke of "a crisis in education" and laments about "the disintegration of discipline" and "a lack of norms" were often heard.<sup>2</sup> In this article I explore the dominant discourses of behaviour and discipline that surfaced in this debate, highlighting the fabrication and governing of

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An earlier version of this article has been published in Swedish with the title "Det önskvärda skolbarnet: Diskurser om barn och fostran i Svensk Lärartidning 1946–1962," in *Normalitetens förhandling och förvandling: En antologi om barn, skola och föräldraskap*, ed. Judith Lind (Lund: Symposium, 2006). The anthology is now out of print and the text has been reworked from a Foucauldian governmentality perspective.

1 *Svensk Lärartidning* 2 (1949), 40, my translation.

2 Lennart Husén and Nils-Eric Svensson, *Elever – lärare – föräldrar: En studie av skolans uppfostrings- och disciplinproblem* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1959), 15ff.

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the school pupil within these discourses. I am specifically interested in the various fabrications of the desirable school pupil and its counterpart, the difficult or bad school pupil, together with the rationality and logics of governing at play in these discourses, and how the discourses were legitimised. By analysing the discourses at play in the debate, I seek to problematise and nuance the idea of a historical shift of behaviour and discipline during the period.<sup>3</sup>

The starting point for this study is that schooling has played, and still plays, an important role in the production of discourses of behaviour and discipline in relation to children and youth. With the introduction of public schooling in the nineteenth century, children began to emerge as a separate segment of the population, distinct from adults. This brought children into an arena where they could be observed, classified and moulded in different ways.<sup>4</sup> Public schooling has thus played an important role in making possible notions of “the child,” “childhood” and “the pupil” as fields of knowledge and domains of government.<sup>5</sup> In commenting on the many ways in which children began to be observed and governed from the twentieth century on, Nikolas Rose has gone so far as to say that “childhood is the most intensely governed sector of personal existence.”<sup>6</sup> While schooling has been instrumental in shaping notions of childhood and the way children’s lives have been governed for a long time, the scientification of children and childhood from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century on was instrumental in making childhood into a more uniform concept than in earlier times.<sup>7</sup> The Swedish school reform period from the 1940s to the 1960s played an important role in this process as the field of pedagogics began to merge with new psychological discourses of development and behaviour. During this period, older and traditional forms of discipline were challenged by progressive ideas of childrearing and discipline, resulting in a struggle over how best to govern the school pupil.<sup>8</sup>

Several influential Swedish historical studies on schooling, discipline and behav-

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3 I have made an attempt at problematising and nuancing this process in another study that covers the same time period, see Jonas Qvarsebo, “Swedish progressive school politics and the disciplinary regime of the school, 1946-1962: A genealogical perspective,” *Paedagogica Historica* 49, no. 2 (2013), 217–35. In that article I drew attention to a type of political history writing that assumes a radical democratic transition of society during this period, with the older regime of discipline in schools being replaced by a democratic and humanitarian discourse. Drawing on Foucault’s genealogical method, I questioned this history writing and suggested that the process could instead be viewed as a widening and deepening of disciplinary practices, but by new methods. In this article, the emphasis is on the fabrication of the subject in the debate on schooling, discipline and behaviour during the period, rather than the wider school political process.

4 See Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London: Free Association Books, 1999); André Turmel, *A Historical Sociology of Childhood: Developmental Thinking, Categorization and Graphic Visualization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Jonas Qvarsebo, *Skolbarnets fostran: Enhetsskolan, agan och politiken om barnet* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2006).

5 See Bernadette Baker, “Childhood-as-rescue in the emergence and spread of the U.S. public school,” in *Foucault’s Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge and Power in Education*, ed. Thomas Popkewitz and Marie Brennan, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999), 117–143; Kenneth Hultqvist and Gunilla Dahlberg, eds., *Governing the Child in the New Millennium* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2001); Harry Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society 1880–1990*, *New Studies in Economic and Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Qvarsebo (2006).

6 Rose (1999), 123.

7 See Rose (1999); Qvarsebo (2006).

8 See Qvarsebo (2006); Qvarsebo (2013).

our speak of a major shift of perspective during the twentieth century, with the 1940s and 1950s as the watershed years. Special emphasis has been placed on the shift from a moral to a psychological-scientific discourse of behaviour and conduct. This has been described in quite dramatic terms as “a real breakthrough for a new outlook on children and their development.”<sup>9</sup> The shift is described as particularly dramatic when it comes to changed notions of the difficult child, from being viewed as morally bad to psychologically defective or deviant, resulting in a change from disciplinary measures such as physical punishment to democratic methods of dialogue and participation. This claim has been made in several traditional works on educational history as well as in Foucauldian inspired studies, and has become inscribed in contemporary political discourses on the progress of society. Even if this narrative of progress and humanisation has been questioned by many scholars working within more critical frameworks, the notion of the past as dark and gloomy and the present as bright and enlightened still lingers on in both research and political discourse.<sup>10</sup> In Foucauldian studies there has been a tendency to describe the governing of the child in terms of a discursive transition of power relations, a shift from a governing from without to a governing from within—from disciplining the body to normalising the soul. This has been interpreted as a transition from one rationality of governing to another, from disciplinary power working through regulations and physical punishment to normalising power working through therapeutic techniques.<sup>11</sup> The psychological sciences have been ascribed a major role in this shift. Psychology is assumed to have provided this form of governing with new forms of knowledge of human behaviour and the self, thus making the development of new technologies and techniques of governing possible. The process has also been described in terms of a neo-liberal rationality of governing, where the subject has become a co-actor in its own government, a governing of the self in the name of freedom and democracy.<sup>12</sup>

9 Gunnar Richardson, *Drömmen om en ny skola: Ideer och realiteter i svensk skolpolitik 1945–1950* (Stockholm: Liber Förlag, 1983), 91.

10 For the traditional historical version of this narrative of progress, see Richardson (1983); Sixten Marklund, *Skolsverige 1950–1975. Volym 4: Differentieringsfrågan* (Stockholm: Liber/utbildningsförlag, 1985). In newer historical studies this progressive narrative is often problematised, but there is still a tendency to locate disciplinary techniques in the past and discuss the present in terms of humanitarianism and democracy, while not commenting on the disciplinary aspects of the present, see for instance Henrik Edgren, “Folkskolan och grundskolan,” in *Utbildningshistoria*, ed. Esbjörn Larsson and Johannes Westberg (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2015). For a Swedish Foucauldian inspired variant of this history writing, see Bengt Börjesson, “Det ideologiskt omstridda barnet,” in *Seendet och seendets villkor: En bok om barns och ungas välfärd*, ed. Lars Dahlgren and Kenneth Hultqvist (Stockholm: HLS, 1995). There is also a body of work within Foucauldian studies where this narrative of humanitarian enlightenment is more consistently questioned and where the present is problematised in relation to disciplinary methods of various kinds—see for instance Stephen Ball, *Foucault, Power and Education* (New York: Routledge, 2013). See also Qvarsebo (2013).

11 The starting point for these descriptions of the historical shift of power is usually Foucault’s study of the origins of prison, Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1978). For an influential Foucauldian study of a transition from governing the body of the child to normalising the soul through psychological techniques, see Nikolas Rose’s “The Gaze of the Psychologist” in Rose (1999).

12 The importance of psychological knowledge in this process has been described by Nikolas Rose among others. See Nikolas Rose, *The Psychological Complex: Psychology, Politics and Society in England 1869–1939* (London: Routledge, 1985). For a similar view by a Swedish Foucauldian scholar, see Kenneth Hultqvist, *Förskolebarnet: En konstruktion för gemenskapen och den individuella frigörelsen – En nutidshistorisk studie om makt och kunskap i bilden av barnet i statliga utredningar om förskolan* (Stockholm: Symposium, 1990).

This article is arranged as follows: A brief introduction is devoted to the history and background of Swedish comprehensive school reform and the debate on behaviour and discipline between 1946 and 1962. Next is a discussion of the article's theoretical perspective, analytical tools and areas of inquiry. A brief description of the source material and methodology then precedes the actual analysis of the debate on behaviour and discipline in school. Finally, the findings of the study are discussed against the background of previous research on the school, discipline, behaviour and childhood during the period.

### **A unified school system and conflicting discourses of discipline**

After the Second World War, the vision of a comprehensive school system for all the nation's children definitively asserted itself in Swedish educational politics. The older system of parallel schools with several forms of elementary school and secondary school was now to be superseded by a unified and compulsory comprehensive school system for all children. The complex issue of how best to achieve this, and how to resolve related problems and challenges, had long been the crux of Swedish educational politics.<sup>13</sup> Against the backdrop of two major schools commissions, the 1940 Schools Commission (*1940 års skolutredning*) and the 1946 Schools Commission (*1946 års skolkommision*), the parliament (*Riksdag*) of 1950 passed a resolution of principle for the introduction of nine-year compulsory comprehensive schooling. The final decision was preceded by a twelve-year period of testing, after which the 1962 Riksdag passed the nation's first education act for comprehensive schooling, stipulating that a nine-year comprehensive school system was to be successively introduced throughout the nation.<sup>14</sup>

The vision of a common school system for all children was part of the grand post-war political vision of a thoroughgoing democratisation of all sectors of society. The democratisation efforts also permeated the debate on education and resulted in a major shift of educational goals and objectives. The 1940 Schools Commission had stressed the importance of continuing to build on an intrinsically Swedish tradition of education and culture. The time of war had made possible an emphasis on concepts such as *folk* and *nation* as embracing the entire population and extending into the school sphere. By contrast, the commission of 1946 emphasised concepts such as *democracy*, *independence* and *individual freedom* rather than collective and nationalistic ideals.<sup>15</sup> In its final report, the commission claimed that the school system had not kept up with developments in society. What was needed was more than just a rapid advance in the teaching of science and technology; the goal was a complete break with older, authoritarian practices and the establishment of modern, democratic practices. This shift was thought to require in-depth reforms of all societal in-

13 See Qvarsebo (2006); Jonas Qvarsebo, "Grundskolereformen och talet om differentieringen: Differentieringsfrågan och konstruktionen av barns och ungas olikheter," in *Historien, barnen och barn-domarna: Vad är problemet?* ed. Judith Lind et al. (Linköping: Linköpings Universitet, 2009); Thom Axelsson, *Rätt elev i rätt klass: Skola, begåvning och styrning 1910–1950* (Linköping: Linköpings Universitet, 2007).

14 For an in-depth description and analysis of this process, see Richardson (1983) and Qvarsebo (2006).

15 SOU 1948:27, *1946 års skolkommissons betänkande med förslag till riktlinjer för det svenska skolväsendets utveckling*, 2ff.

stitutions, including the educational system. The commission viewed its guidelines as a major contribution to the nationwide democratisation of society.<sup>16</sup>

The democratisation of the school system meant first and foremost that all children should receive an equal education and be equipped for democratic citizenship. In the parallel school system, gender, class, geography and intellectual ability had been the main differentiating factors. The amalgamation of the old school forms into one comprehensive school system meant that these differentiations could be done away with, and a system built on democracy and equality could be realised. In conjunction with this process, a controversy about discipline in school arose. The political vision to integrate the educational system came into conflict with disciplinary practices that had existed within the parallel school system. This was most noticeable when it came to the practice of corporal punishment. In preparatory schools such punishment had long been banned, and in girls' schools it had never been introduced.<sup>17</sup> However, in elementary schools, which served the majority of children, corporal punishment was permitted in certain circumstances, namely, "if the child did not show improvement through any other correctional means."<sup>18</sup> As the comprehensive school reform began to be implemented, the different forms of discipline became visible and could be constructed as a social problem that needed to be managed, making new discourses of shaping behaviour and attitudes possible.<sup>19</sup>

### Discourse, governmentality and the subject

The debate on discipline and behaviour in school will be explored in this article using some key concepts from Michel Foucault's "toolbox."<sup>20</sup> I will especially make use of the concepts of discourse, governmentality and power/knowledge and how these relate to the fabrication and governing of the subject. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault defines discourse as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak."<sup>21</sup> From this perspective, discourse is more than words and ideas and does not merely describe or portray the world; it constitutes the world in specific ways, making it both thinkable and governable. Through specific forms of systematic and context-bound language, truths about the world—objects as well as subjects—are formed and put into play in various ways. Discourse is thus, by this definition, a way of organising knowledge that structures the perception of the world and of ourselves and how we think and act. How this understanding of discourse can be turned into method will be discussed in relation to the discussion of sources and methodology below.

This definition of discourse is intimately related to practices of power. Foucault, in his later works, coined the term *governmentality* to theorise and analyse the logics

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16 SOU 1948:27.

17 Corporal punishment was banned in secondary schools in 1928.

18 *Folkskolestadgan* (regulations for the elementary school) § 29 (4), my translation.

19 See Qvarsebo (2006); Qvarsebo (2013).

20 Foucault explicitly called his work "A kind of toolbox," Michel Foucault, "Prisons et asiles dans le mécanisme du pouvoir," in *Dits et Ecrits*, t. II (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 523–24.

21 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

and mechanisms of practices of power in its many historical guises.<sup>22</sup> The governmentality perspective on power in relationship to the state, civil society and the individual opens up an analysis of the ways people are governed that is not necessarily based on the formal exercise of power such as legislation and politics. Rather, from a governmentality perspective, power is viewed as relational, embedded in discourse and operating in the interplay between politics, science, culture and individual practices.<sup>23</sup> This perspective also opens up an analysis of how the human subject is shaped and formed, or fabricated, through discursive practices, which is what is highlighted in this article. In Foucault's work, the term "the subject" is used in a double sense; first, in the sense of personhood or identity, and second, in the sense of being subject to something or someone and thereby entangled in relationships of power where the truth of the subject is negotiated and fabricated. This understanding of the subject makes possible an analysis where the subject is freed from notions of essence and can be historicised and studied as a phenomenon in change.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, rather than starting a priori with an autonomous, self-reflexive (or Cartesian) subject, Foucault brings attention to the specific historic points in time where the subject and subjectivity are fabricated through discourse.<sup>25</sup> This turns the subject and subjectivity into objects of empirical analysis rather than taken-for-granted starting points. To analyse the fabrication of the subject in this sense means that one does not try to understand the subject "as it is" but as it emerges in relation to the historically contingent forms of knowledge that have been allowed to describe and define the subject in various contexts.<sup>26</sup> The history of the subject presumes, according to Foucault, two essential conditions: "a particular kind of knowledge and particular forms of power relations."<sup>27</sup> Foucault therefore preferred to talk about the exercise of power and power relations rather than about power per se:

Power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable quarters in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations.<sup>28</sup>

22 The governmentality concept is only briefly discussed by Foucault himself, see Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). The concept has been further developed by scholars such as Mitchell Dean, Nikolas Rose, Barbara Cruikshank and Ian Hunter. See, for instance Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 1999); Rose (1999); Barbara Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and other Subjects* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Ian Hunter, *Rethinking the School: Subjectivity, Bureaucracy, Criticism* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994).

23 See Thom Axelsson and Jonas Qvarsebo, *Maktens skepnader och effekter: Maktanalys i Foucaults anda* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2017).

24 See Cruikshank (1999); Tina Besley and Michael Peters, *Subjectivity and Truth: Foucault, Education and the Culture of Self* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007).

25 See Sara Mills, *Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1997).

26 See Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Thomas Popkewitz, "The sociology of education as the history of the present: fabrication, difference and abjection," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 34, no. 3 (2013), 439–56.

27 Sven-Åke Lindgren, "Michel Foucault och sanningsens historia," in *Moderna samhällsteorier* ed. Per Månsson, (Stockholm: Rabén Prisma 1995), 328, my translation.

28 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, vol. I* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 94.



Accordingly, power for Foucault is not something that an individual or group can have or own—like a thing or a substance—rather, power is viewed as relational and permeates all social relationships. Foucault’s type of power analysis has been called an analytics of government, meaning that instead of focusing on traditional issues of power as hierarchy, structures and the powerful versus the powerless, it seeks to reveal patterns and codes of the power that permeates all human relations.<sup>29</sup> In relation to the fabrication and governing of the human subject, Foucault stressed the intimate relationship between power and knowledge. This relationship is viewed as productive and as establishing specific, context-bound “regimes of truth” wherein the human subject is fabricated and made governable by various techniques of power.<sup>30</sup> Thus, Foucault rejected the more general notion of power and knowledge where power is viewed as something made possible by knowledge. Rather, for Foucault, power and knowledge presuppose one another, and together they produce context-bound truths about the subject; hence his forging of power and knowledge into the combination power/knowledge.

Foucault was especially interested in the knowledge/power relations made possible within the human sciences such as sociology, pedagogy, anthropology, medicine, psychiatry, psychology and criminology. In various studies he investigated the discursive power-knowledge interplay within these disciplines and how subjectivities that can be managed and governed in certain ways are produced. Viewed from this perspective, a discipline such as criminology can be said to produce, or fabricate, “the criminal,” psychology produces “the psyche” and “the psychologically ill,” and psychiatry produces “the mentally ill,” to mention a few examples.<sup>31</sup> Embedded in these fabrications of the subject are certain notions of who is normal and abnormal and what is desirable and undesirable conduct, together with various techniques and strategies for protecting society from certain people through the accommodation, rehabilitation, curing or reforming of those who have been identified as deviants, abnormal or unproductive. The school, together with institutions such as the prison, the hospital and the factory, is one of the institutions where numerous techniques of governing and normalising are at work, and where the subject is shaped and formed in various ways.<sup>32</sup>

### Sources and methodological steps of analysis

The material studied in this article is extracted from the professional periodical *Svensk Lärartidning* (Swedish Teachers’ Journal).<sup>33</sup> This journal existed between 1882 and 1963 under different names: *Svensk Läraretidning* (1882–1932), *Svensk*

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29 Dean (1999).

30 Foucault (1978), 23, 30; Michel Foucault, “The political function of the intellectual,” *Radical Philosophy* 17 no. 13 (1977), 126–33.

31 See Besley and Peters (2007).

32 Foucault (1978); Joseph Piro, “Foucault and the architecture of surveillance: creating regimes of power in schools, shrines, and society,” in *Educational Studies* 44, no. 1 (2008), 33–46; Qvarsebo (2006); Joakim Landahl, *Auktoritet och ansvar: Lärares fostrans- och omsorgsarbete i historisk belysning* (Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet, 2006); Axelsson (2007).

33 In addition to the journal, I drew on Joachim Israel and Mirjam Valentin Israel’s book *Det finns inga elaka barn* (There are no mean children) from 1946 for the analysis of the progressive discourse. The book is used to enrich the understanding of Joachim Israel’s articles in the journal and is presented and discussed in the analysis of progressive discourse.

*Lärartidning* (1933–46), *Folkskolan – Svensk Lärartidning* (1947–56) and *Folkskolan* (1957–63).<sup>34</sup> For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to the journal as the Swedish Teachers' Journal throughout this article, referencing the actual journal titles in the footnotes. This journal was the most important arena for discussion and debate for elementary school teachers during the period and is thus an interesting source for analysing discussions on topics of importance to teachers, including discipline and behaviour. I have selected articles where character, discipline and behaviour in relation to schooling were discussed in the journal between 1946 and 1962. In view of the many texts in which these themes are discussed, I have narrowed the material down to main articles, editorials and debates. This means that I have left out reviews, letters to the editor and similar minor texts. The articles used should be viewed merely as examples of dominant ways of talking about these issues during the period.<sup>35</sup>

A Foucauldian way of doing discourse analysis is not based on a method in the strict sense; rather, it is a way of posing questions to the material based on the understanding of discourse, power and the subject that has been outlined above. For this article, this means that I have focused attention on the forms of knowledge invoked in the discussion of discipline and behaviour pertaining to the school in the journal, the methods and techniques that were suggested, and the subjects that were fabricated through this discussion. More specifically, I have read the material while asking questions such as the following: What is being represented here as a truth or as a norm? How are this and that constructed? What "evidence" is used? What is made problematic and what is not? What alternative meanings or explanations are ignored? What is kept apart and what is joined together? What identities, actions, practices are made possible and/or desirable and/or required by this way of thinking/talking/understanding? Reading the articles with these kinds of questions in mind has led to the emergence of various themes pertaining to dominant discourses of behaviour and discipline, which I will discuss in detail below.

### **The discipline discourse and the citizen discourse: The bad and the responsible school pupil**

In 1946, the Swedish Teachers' Journal published an article by headmaster Leander Wallerius entitled "Reward and Punishment."<sup>36</sup> The article was a contribution to the emerging discussion on discipline and behaviour in schools at the time, where traditional methods of correction were being challenged by a new and progressive view on childrearing, related also to the school. The new and progressive ideas were criticised by Wallerius and others like him for being an attempt to frame undesirable behaviour as illnesses, medical or psychological, rather than as morally bad behaviour. Turning to the fabrication of the subject, the type of disciplinary pedagogics that these debaters advocated was partly made possible by a notion of the pupils as an anonymous collective that needed order and structure. There is a tendency in

34 Martin Widén, "Skoltidningar och tidskrifter," in *Svenska folkskolans historia, Sjätte delen: Skolutvecklingen 1942-1962: Grundskolans förhistoria* ed. Viktor Fredriksson (Stockholm: Stiftelsen för förvaltningen av Sveriges Allmänna Folkskolläraförbundet, 1971).

35 For a more substantial discussion of this source material and its role in the "politics of the child" during this period, see Qvarsebo (2006), 42–45. See also Landahl (2006), 25, for a discussion of the analytical value of this journal.

36 *Svensk Lärartidning* 50 (1946).

several articles from this side of the debate to treat school pupils as a group and tone down all notions of individuality and personality. For instance, Wallerius frequently employed terms such as “clientele” and “the child material” when referring to pupils. The disciplinary problems of the school were said to be caused by “oversized classes with a mixed clientele,” and a school pupil who showed some sort of undesirable behaviours or attitudes could be described as an “undisciplined element.”<sup>37</sup>

This type of language was used for school pupils as a collective and as individuals. It served to objectify pupils by portraying them as things to be administered and managed through various disciplinary techniques. In its purest form, this was a form of power that was exercised on a subject whose body and habits could be governed and regulated without taking into consideration any personal or individual qualities such as intellect, will and emotions. The objectifying language also corresponded to a notion of discipline where the act of punishing could be described without taking any personal dimensions into consideration:

Immediate punishment thus appears as a biological necessity, just as overeating sweets will lead to a stomach ache, or venturing onto thin ice will cause drowning, and so forth. In brief, transgression calls forth its own punishment (my translation).<sup>38</sup>

The urgency of the act of punishment—as a “natural consequence” of undesirable behaviour—is here described as an impersonal law or a neutral effect, triggered by inappropriate behaviour. Such instrumental and mechanical descriptions of disciplinary practices portray both teachers and pupils as entities without intentions and emotions, or as actors playing the roles of the chastiser and the chastised within the framework of a system of discipline.

The same authors also described the administration of punishments for the bad school pupil as necessary measures to counter improper upbringing. As one commentator put it: “Unfortunately an educator is sometimes put in the position of having to administer discipline in one form or another.”<sup>39</sup> As this quotation suggests, one of the functions of corporal punishment was to maintain order in the school. Editor-in-chief Tore Stigbrand contributed an article where he sought understanding for the use of corporal punishment by pointing out situations where nothing else seemed to help when it came to maintaining order:

Elementary schoolteachers want to know how they should deal with a pupil who uses a slingshot to break all the street lamps that happen to be in his path, who uses his knife to carve his name in the doors of the school, a boy who conducts himself improperly toward his female classmates (my translation).<sup>40</sup>

In other words, if a school was to function satisfactorily, many different disciplinary measures must be available to teachers, including physical punishment.

The same authors who stressed the need for various kinds of disciplinary measures could also mobilise a citizenship discourse in which a somewhat different sub-

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37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

ject emerges. The school should not only discipline and punish, it should also prepare the child for future citizenship. The above-mentioned Wallerius listed a number of qualities that a school pupil must acquire to become a good citizen: “obedience, punctuality, respect, courtesy, orderliness and attentiveness, industry and conscientiousness.”<sup>41</sup> These are moral qualities that cannot be formed in the pupils without their active participation. Hence, Wallerius stressed the need for school pupils to internalise these virtues through training both at home and in school: “A duty to exercise good behaviour is the foundation for good conduct; the home and the school are small-scale communities where good behaviour can be practised.”<sup>42</sup> In this quotation the school pupil is portrayed as a social actor who, within both the home and the school, is expected to train to become a model citizen. The type of governing that surfaces in these descriptions is thus not only about coercion; rather, it involves a combination of coercion and free participation. The discipline discourse and the citizenship discourse presume different subjects, or at least different dimensions of the same subject. Coercive control is linked to the anonymous and impersonal construction of the pupil as an obedient subject, while the willing and voluntary subject is linked to the fabrication of an active, personal and responsible pupil as a future citizen.

Turning to the legitimising of the discipline discourse, two arguments can be highlighted. The first is a notion of the school as a small-scale society—a microcosm. The second is a clear distinction between normal and deviant. In referring to the school as a small-scale society, the boundaries between school and society are blurred. Indeed, the term *society-school* was sometimes used, suggesting a nearly symbiotic relation between the two. The blurring of boundaries was, however, not total; the two were held separate in some sense and school was generally portrayed as a subcategory of society.<sup>43</sup> It is of some significance to note that this blending of terms such as school, society and state in several articles similar to the one by Wallerius seems to have had consequences for the way in which discipline and behaviour in school could be understood and legitimised. It made both the character and the scope of the school’s task of disciplining plausible. Here one can discern one of the logics that supported physical punishment in the school. The blurring of boundaries made possible a link between society’s right to punish criminals and the teacher’s right to punish pupils: “When a child does not of its own accord profit from this [fine and all-round education], *society* is forced to take corrective measures” (my translation and italics).<sup>44</sup> Here the writer replaces the term “school” with “society,” implying that the two terms might be regarded as synonyms so that when pupils are disciplined by teachers, they are in an ultimate sense being disciplined by the whole society.

The blurring of the boundaries between school and society even made it possible to equate corporal punishment in the school with the state’s punishment of criminals. Indeed, Wallerius drew a straight line between the school’s task of character formation and the court’s legal processes: “The offences of minors are no longer sub-

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41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

mitted to ordinary courts of justice, but are nowadays investigated and dealt with by the school or the child welfare committee.”<sup>45</sup> Thus, through analogy and the blurring of conceptual borders, the disciplinary practices of the school could be linked to a legal and penal discourse so that the corporal punishment of a bad pupil corresponds to the state’s punishment of adult criminals. Wallerius completed his analogy by comparing the elementary schoolteacher’s role with the hearing and judgement functions of a court: “But the public has little understanding of the exorbitant task of working with large classes made up of a mixed clientele. The educator has a tricky task. It is not easy to be at one and the same time: *prosecutor, investigator, judge and bailiff*” (my translation and italics).<sup>46</sup>

Another legitimisation of physical punishment in the school can be discerned in discussions of the differences between the normal and the deviant school pupil. The background to these distinctions was an agitated discussion about the dangers of corporal punishment to a child’s mental health. Defenders of corporal punishment insisted that psychological accounts of behavioural problems did not apply to normal children. The number of references to mental health had increased, they claimed, because the diagnoses and treatment of deviant children had become the norm for educating all children. As educator Evald Fransson formulated the problem:

Does the medical profession’s way of looking at the matter have squatter’s rights in the area of education for normally constituted children? That question becomes more and more inflamed and increasingly important to clear up. The psychiatrists, medical doctors *et consortes* who are now raising their voices, derive their experience from a child population which for one reason or another deviates from the norm. That implies a very real risk of error. One can compare them to military doctors, who often acquire warped knowledge and experience because they are always watching out for malingerers. And to the field of psychoanalysis, a profession that unquestionably has drawn its conclusions *in absurdum* because it generalizes its findings from an area of defective emotional life and applies them as the norm (my translation).<sup>47</sup>

In the same spirit, another writer worried that it had become necessary to apply “education of deviant children” even to “normal” children. The result was, he continued, that all essential dictates and bans had ceased to apply since they were intended for normal children and not deviants.<sup>48</sup> Corporal punishment in the school could thus be legitimised by insisting that it was exercised only on normal children who needed straightening out, not on psychologically deviant pupils who required psychological care.

The above descriptions of discipline and behaviour were part of the fabrication of the desirable school pupil as an obedient and pliable subject whose physicality, rather than their intellect, will and emotions, was the focal point. The purpose of discipline in school was portrayed as upholding respect for law and order. At the same, it was stressed that to acquire these desirable qualities the pupils had to be

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> *Folkskolan – Svensk Lärartidning* (1947), 6–7.

<sup>48</sup> *Folkskolan – Svensk Lärartidning* (1948), 8–9.

active, participating and responsible. As I have argued above, these fabrications of the subject did not exclude one another; rather they existed side by side, depending on what discourse was invoked by the debaters.

### **The progressive discourse: The self-reliant and democratic school pupil**

In 1951 the Swedish Teachers' Journal published an article by sociologist Joachim Israel entitled "Democracy and Authoritarian Education."<sup>49</sup> This article had a considerable impact on the direction of discussions about the school's role in shaping the attitudes and behaviours of the pupils.<sup>50</sup> Israel was a famous spokesperson for the concept of progressive education as it took shape during the 1940s and 1950s in Sweden.<sup>51</sup> In collaboration with his wife, Mirjam Valentin-Israel, he had some years previously authored a pioneering work on child-rearing and education that broke radically with traditional educative ideals. The book had the telling title "There are no bad children!" (*Det finns inga elaka barn!*). The influence of Israel's thinking on the debate can be understood in part from the impact of this particular book, in which the emerging and progressive discourse was most clearly formulated. It will therefore be included in the analysis of progressive discourse.

Israel's article elevated the topic of discipline to a level of principle rather than discussing it at a practical classroom level. He categorically rejected all forms of disciplinary pedagogics, claiming that it had no place in a modern democratic society. To this end, he painted a picture of modern society that he contrasted with an older society, which he called "the strongly authoritarian, pre-democratic, agricultural society."<sup>52</sup> Disciplinary pedagogics and corporal punishment were, in his understanding, linked with the antiquated, undemocratic society that Sweden should put behind it once and for all, whereas the new educational ideas were linked to the dawning democracy one should strive for. Against this background, a new image of the difficult school pupil was highlighted. The really problematic pupil was, according to Israel, not the bad child; rather, it was the obedient child. Concepts such as obedience and respect had become suspect within progressive discourse since they were associated with concepts that had no positive nuance whatsoever, concepts like "submission" and "fear."<sup>53</sup>

All this might give the impression that the duty to obey was relegated to the category of the undesirable within progressive discourse, but this was not the case. Dictates and prohibitions as such were not rejected; rather, these concepts were charged with a new meaning. Thus, Israel did not call for a rejection of authority per se. Instead, he wanted to distinguish between two types of authority: an impartial authority and an irrational authority. The impartial authority was clearly linked to the progressive ideals that Israel himself represented, while the irrational authority was linked to the traditional ideals defended by Wallerius and those of like mind. This

49 *Folkskolan – Svensk Lärartidning* (1951), 2.

50 In the early fifties, Israel published numerous articles with similar content, both in newspapers and in various teachers' journals, see Qvarsebo (2006).

51 Swedish historian of education Gunnar Richardson mentions Israel as one of the most influential advocates of "permissive child-rearing" during this period, see Richardson (1983). See also Qvarsebo (2006).

52 *Folkskolan – Svensk Lärartidning* (1951), 2.

53 *Ibid.*

categorising of two different types of authority made possible a discursive exclusion of disciplinary pedagogics and the inclusion of modern democratic pedagogics. Disciplinary pedagogics was dismissed as outmoded, authoritarian and ignorant; in short, it was relegated to history's garbage can. Meanwhile the new progressive ideas stood proudly alongside modernism, democracy and science.<sup>54</sup>

Two arguments used in legitimising this discourse were the significance of psychological research and the need for democratisation. In contrast to the disciplinary discourse, Israel emphatically stated that disciplinary problems at school did not have their source in a child's innate bad character; rather, the social environment was at fault.<sup>55</sup> When undesirable behaviour was no longer seen as an expression of bad character, children's accountability for their behaviour was also downplayed. Behaviour that had traditionally been categorised as bad was now fabricated as natural in the development of a child. This reconstruction of the causes of undesirable behaviour was supported by a number of scientific explanations of human behaviour, many rooted in psychology. Developmental psychology provided Israel and his fellow debaters with new ways of interpreting and describing children's behaviour. Certain behaviours that were unacceptable within the framework of the discipline discourse could now be described as wholly natural and typical for certain stages of development.

All parents should, in fact, become informed about what is typical for the various ages, and how physical and emotional development proceeds. Many problems and difficulties would then surely resolve themselves (my translation).<sup>56</sup>

If the age-typical behaviour did not disappear of its own accord, it was, according to Israel, due to "improper methods of child development."<sup>57</sup> The responsibility for the child's behaviour was thus settled upon those in charge of the child's development—the parents and teachers—rather than on the child itself. In the progressive discourse, moral judgement of behaviour was superseded by a scientific gaze where in behaviour should be diagnosed and treated in a scientific manner. With developmental psychology as the factual base, the traditional emphasis on obedience could be observed in a new and critical light.

Instead [we find] an attempt to instil perfect obedience, with no heed to the child's natural needs as shaped by its stage of development, in order to turn out small well-brought up, easily handled and obedient children.<sup>58</sup>

The legitimising psychological arguments were, however, not gleaned only from developmental psychology; psychoanalytical thinking may have been even more influential. From this perspective, terms such as "bad" were thought to be applied to children by parents and teachers because they lacked knowledge about the true

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54 Ibid.

55 Joachim Israel and Mirjam Valentin-Israel, *Det finns inga elaka barn!* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1946), 8–9.

56 Israel and Valentin-Israel (1946), 10.

57 Ibid., 12.

58 Ibid., 16.

causes of the child's behaviour. A moralising gaze on the child was thus replaced with a therapeutic gaze. The duty of parents and teachers was to seek the real reasons for a child's behaviour in accordance with modern child psychology: "Here it is necessary to acquire knowledge that will allow one to fully see the child's problem and understand the cause and effect. Then parents too will understand that, in actual fact, there are no bad children!"<sup>59</sup>

References to society's need for democratisation were yet another way of legitimising the progressive discourse. Traditional ideas of education were described as irreconcilable with a democratic society: "For the greater the gap between the progress of democracy and an undemocratic authoritarian upbringing, the more often we will see people with the neuroses described above."<sup>60</sup> The impartial authority that was discursively linked to the progressive discourse was described as a determinative precondition for the establishment of a truly democratic society: "an impartial authority that suited a democratic society's demands on the rising generation."<sup>61</sup> In contrast to how the school pupil was fabricated in the discipline discourse, Israel and his supporters emphasised qualities such as personality, self-will and emotions. The desirable school pupil of this discourse was an active, participating, and self-reliant subject. This pupil was assumed to develop and mature through an intimate relationship with parents and teachers, without disciplinary measures. The emphasis was on "establishing a trusting and comradely relationship" with children so they were able to "positively identify with [parents and teachers] and willingly accept [their elders'] dictates and bans." A traditional respect for authority should therefore be superseded by "mutual trust," and tough discipline should be superseded by "cooperation based on identification." Thus, the obligation to obey had its place within the progressive discourse, though it was expressed in terms of cooperation, identification, comradeship and so on.<sup>62</sup> Even more pronouncedly than within the older discourses of citizenship, the goal of education was to shape a democratic citizen, a citizen capable of supporting a modern democratic society.

According to Israel, the entire repertoire of disciplinary measures reduced the individual's ability to become self-reliant, created anxiety, and imparted a life-long dependency on higher authority. The logic of governing here played on notions of reciprocity, trust and comradeship. It was a governing of the child and the pupil in the name of mutual trust and cooperation. The desirable school pupil was a child with needs of their own, who was self-reliant, capable of critical thinking and able to show initiative. As shown above, however, there was no less an obligation to obey authority, provided it was rational and therefore legitimate. The novelty of this fabrication of the subject was that the pupil should more consistently be governed on the basis of self-sufficiency and rationality, rather than on the basis of obedience and respect. Obedience was reconstructed and could now be portrayed as a willing cooperation with parents and teachers; in essence it was a teamwork based on a rational authority.

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59 *Ibid.*, 15.

60 *Folkskolan – Svensk Lärartidning* (1951), 2.

61 *Ibid.*

62 *Ibid.*



### Overlapping discourses: The unruly and the psychologically defective pupil

In 1962, elementary school teacher Erik Sverud published an article with the title “Planning the school’s character-shaping activities.”<sup>63</sup> The article was a contribution to the educational debate of the early 1960s. Since corporal punishment had been banned in 1958, the conditions for the discussion of behaviour and discipline had changed, making new discourses of behaviour and discipline possible. The main part of Sverud’s article was devoted to a detailed proposal for annual planning days for teachers; a day he thought should be dedicated to the school’s task of shaping the behaviours and attitudes of the pupils. Using the 1957 official report on the comprehensive school as a point of departure, Sverud elaborated on the meaning of the school’s task of shaping the morals and behaviours of pupils. Parenthetically, one might mention here a shift in the talk about discipline and behaviour in the 1957 report in comparison with the reports from the 1946 Schools Commission. The task of the school in shaping the conduct of the pupils was now described in much more detail than before.<sup>64</sup> This change was also reflected in Sverud’s article. The 1957 report had described the components of good education as “education in sensibility, strengthening the will, ethics, industriousness, health, use of leisure time, development of individual and societal traits and preparedness for family life.” Sverud agreed with this all of this, and using these attributes in a programmatic way, he elaborated on how the task of shaping the behaviour and conduct of pupils could be put in play in practical ways in a school.

These ideas of shaping behaviour and conduct can be viewed against the backdrop of a renewed debate on the school’s means of discipline, a debate which had intensified after the ban on corporal punishment. Teachers’ were asking about alternative means of discipline, now that physical punishment was no longer allowed. In line with this, Sverud suggested that every school should introduce annual planning days devoted to the topic of behaviour and conduct. To this end, he presented a rigorous programme that set aside three whole days for planning and discussion of conduct and discipline in school. The first day of planning should focus on the role of the teacher in shaping the attitudes and behaviour of the pupils. During this day, the teachers should work to find common goals for behaviour and conduct, including suitable ways of achieving these. Examples of topics of discussion were local rules and regulations and what kind of behaviour could be expected in school. The theme for the second day was campaigns for character improvement. Under this heading, Sverud proposed a number of character-shaping campaigns to be carried out each school year, such as “kindness and respect,” “order and punctuality,” “cleanliness and punctuality,” “courtesy,” “traffic rules” and “anti-tobacco, anti-sweets and anti-littering.”<sup>65</sup> The third day’s theme was devoted to shaping the pupil’s conduct through home and school cooperation. The proposed topic for this day was how one could form organised home and school alliances to promote good behaviour, and how organised contact with parents could be developed. The second and third

63 *Folkskolan* (1962), 7–8.

64 The tendency to regulate pupils’ conduct in ever more detail, entailing more and more areas of governing, can be observed in a longer historical perspective. From the establishment of the *Folkskolan* (elementary school) in 1842, this progress is traceable in various school policy documents such as the many different editions of *Folkskolestadgan* (regulations for the elementary school).

65 *Folkskolan* (1962), 7–8.

days should, in addition, be devoted to the importance of the pupil's participation in their own conduct. The teachers should also be encouraged to discuss how the pupils could own the rules and regulations of the school in personal ways, and how the teachers could help them to formulate specific rules.<sup>66</sup>

Sverud's enthusiasm for rigorous programmes of conduct was not unique. Similar programmes had been discussed in other articles appearing in the journal during the late fifties and early sixties. One example was the 1959 courtesy campaign, conducted in the schools in the town of Karlstad, which the editor of the journal thought should be imitated by schools everywhere. Director of Education Carl E. Carlén wrote an article about the Karlstad campaign and stressed the importance of "purposefully and methodically seeking to influence young people to acquire good habits and pursue an ethical lifestyle."<sup>67</sup> As with Sverud's planning days, this was a very detailed program for shaping the pupils' conduct and behaviour through goal-oriented and systematic activities. Carlén listed eight areas in which courtesy of conduct could be formed. One area was "polite greetings," which were discussed in great detail, down to instructions on when and how to greet friends and superiors.<sup>68</sup> The program also incorporated detailed guidelines for things like "how to behave when you run an errand," "how to behave in a queue" and "how to behave in public places."<sup>69</sup>

The image of the desirable school pupil that emerged in the debate of the sixties had both similarities and differences from the earlier debate. The overlap between the earlier discipline discourse and the progressive discourse is noticeable. The unruly pupil is discussed once more, which brings the older discipline discourse to mind, but now without reference to physical punishment. The psychologically defective pupil who, in accordance with the progressive discourse required medical and psychological expertise, is also discussed. The rationality of governing at play here is in harmony with this overlap of discourses and fabrications of the subject. On the one hand, the pupil should be controlled and subjected to programmes of conduct and behaviour that regulate behaviour down to the slightest movement and gesture. On the other hand, there is an emphasis on the importance of the pupil taking part in their own development of character and conduct, so that the desired behaviour becomes an internalised project for the pupil, carried out in cooperation with the teachers.

### **The governing of the school pupil: A discursive shift or a merging of discourses?**

In relation to both the traditional historical works and some Foucauldian works on schooling and discipline, my analysis agrees with several of the interpretations of how discourses of behaviour and discipline, the rationalities of government, and the fabrications of the subject have been renegotiated and transformed from the post-war period onward. My study shows, however, that the history of the fabrication and governing of the school pupil during this period can be nuanced by more closely studying the interplay and borrowing between dominant discourses and how the school pupil was fabricated and governed in these discourses during this period. In

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66 Ibid.

67 *Folkskolan* (1959), 5.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

my analysis, I have shown that several different, sometimes seemingly incompatible, discourses of behaviour and discipline were in play simultaneously during this period, making it difficult to talk about a radical shift from one discourse to another. Rather, my study points to a historical process where seemingly conflicting discourses could co-exist and overlap in such a way that none took precedence over the other. In other words, it is possible to question the claim that a traditional and moralistic discourse of discipline and behaviour, based on dictates, rules and governing from without, was replaced by a progressive discourse built upon psychology, freedom and self-regulation during this period.<sup>70</sup>

The 1958 ban on corporal punishment in school made physical punishment impossible as means of correction and discipline, and this can certainly be described as quite a radical change in disciplinary methods. Nonetheless, the obedience theme of the disciplinary pedagogics and the logic of governing that emphasised detailed regulation of behaviour through rules and dictates is also present after 1958. In fact, the governing practices of discipline were refined and became even more detailed after 1958, even though the physical punishments disappeared. Pertaining to traditional historical works that have touched on discipline and behaviour, my analysis questions the humanistic narrative of progress and humanisation that some of these seem to take for granted.<sup>71</sup> Pertaining to some uses of a Foucauldian perspective on power, my analysis questions the idea that Foucault's main concepts of power such as sovereignty, pastoral power, discipline, bio-power and governmentality should be understood as forms of power that succeed one another in chronological order.<sup>72</sup>

The progressive discourse that grew in influence after 1945 was indeed important for the fabrication of a self-reliant subject who was in many ways different from the obedient subject fabricated within the older discipline discourse. This self-reliant subject was associated with a new rationality of government where participation, comradeship, and trust were in the foreground. My analysis shows, however, that there was also plenty of room within the discipline discourse for a participatory and self-reflexive subject who was expected to take responsibility for their own behaviour and actively take part in their own governing. This subject emerges most clearly in the discussion of training for democratic citizenship. Here one can observe a logic of governing that presumes a rational subject able to understand and assimilate instructions and reflect on their own behaviour. The modern language of psychology, which increasingly permeated the discussion of behaviour and conduct in the articles after 1945, need therefore not necessarily be regarded as an expression of a radical shift of governing rationalities. It can instead be viewed as a continuation and radicalisation of notions of the pupil, behaviour and conduct that were already in play in the earlier citizenship discourse. The process can perhaps more properly be described as a discursive struggle in which different subjects and rationalities of government could be activated within several discourses at the same time.

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70 See also Qvorsebo (2013).

71 For Swedish influential school historical works of this type, see for instance Richardson (1983) and Åke Isling, *Kampen för och emot en demokratisk skola – del 1: Samhällsstruktur och skolorganisation* (Stockholm: Sober, 1980); Åke Isling, *Kampen för och mot en demokratisk skola. 2. Det pedagogiska arvet* (Stockholm: Sober, 1988).

72 For a critique of using Foucault's analytics of power in this chronological way see Magnus Hörnqvist, *En annan Foucault: Maktens problematik* (Stockholm: Carlssons Bokförlag, 2012).

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## Understanding Pupil Violence: Bullying Theory as Technoscience in Sweden and Norway

Cecilie Boge & Anna Larsson

*Abstract* • Around 1970, violence among pupils became conceptualised in a radically new way when the concept of “mobbing” was introduced into the Nordic school debate. The concept was immediately embraced by popular discourse with the result that significant attention and discussion followed. It was also soon picked up by researchers and became further developed within Swedish and Norwegian behavioural science. This article concerns how pupil violence in the form of bullying was understood and theorised in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s in Sweden and Norway. It shows how certain political and intellectual conditions, and events, in both national contexts were decisive for the development of bullying theory, eventually leading up to a commercialisation of bullying theory. This development is discussed with the help of the concept “psychology-commercial complex,” derived from Pickstone’s theory of technoscience.

*Keywords* • mobbing, bullying, Heinemann, Olweus, technoscience

Around 1970, violence among pupils became conceptualised in a radically new way when the concept of “mobbing” was introduced into the Nordic school debate. In an article from 1969, the Swedish physician Peter-Paul Heinemann focused attention on bullying behaviour among school kids as an early expression of an attitude that was a main premise for extremely negative societal phenomena such as apartheid and genocide.<sup>1</sup> The concept of “mobbing” was immediately picked up by news media; it became linked to various aspects of children, school and society, and was spread in the public discourse in Sweden, and soon afterwards also in Norway.

The concept was also embraced by research and became further developed within Swedish and Norwegian behavioural science, much due to the work in psychology by Swedish/Norwegian psychologist Dan Olweus, who eventually established a position as pioneer and head of research for a “Scandinavian research tradition.”<sup>2</sup> Olweus related bullying mainly to aggression as a personality trait, thereby defining it quite differently from how it had been understood by Heinemann and in the public discourse.

In the 1980s, Olweus became engaged in Norwegian state-initiated programmes for measuring and preventing bullying. Based on this, the *Olweus Bullying Prevention Program* was developed and it became a huge international success in the 1990s,

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1 Peter-Paul Heinemann, “Apartheid,” *Liberal Debatt* no. 2 (1969).

2 Erling Roland, “Bullying: The Scandinavian Research Tradition,” in *Bullying in Schools*, ed. Delwyn P. Tattum and David A. Lane (London: Trentham books, 1988).

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as knowledge and use of it spread and became largely used in not only Norwegian but also Swedish and American schools.<sup>3</sup> Actually, bullying intervention turned into a kind of industry in which Olweus' understanding of bullying was central and became spread internationally. As numerous researchers around the world investigated the personality traits of bullies, victims and bystanders, and measured the frequency of bullying behaviour in different school environments, Olweus' definition, explanatory model and research methods became the dominating way of understanding bullying behaviour.<sup>4</sup> This particular development within the bullying research field is what this article will problematise and discuss.

The history of bullying theory has been discussed in previous Scandinavian research, and the peculiar development of the different conceptualisations of bullying has been noticed, as well as the fact that Olweus received a very strong position in many countries.<sup>5</sup> In contrast to previous studies, this article will combine the Swedish and Norwegian cases. We will show how certain conditions and events in both national contexts in the 1970s and 1980s were decisive for the development of bullying theory, eventually leading up to what we call the "commercialisation of bullying theory" in the 1990s. To discuss this commercialisation, we will make use of the concept of "technoscience." Via this, the aim is to contribute to a deepened understanding of the success of Olweus and his programme. We will analyse the development of bullying theory by relating the reception of Heinemann's and Olweus' ideas to contemporary political and intellectual contexts based on the theoretical assumption that it is necessary to take certain contextual factors into consideration in understanding the conceptual changes. We will also suggest that the eventual establishment of the strong position of Olweus' theory can be fruitfully understood in terms of what we call a "psychology-commercial complex," derived from the British historian of science John Pickstone's theory of technoscience.

### Theoretical and analytical starting points

The theoretical inspiration for this article has been found in the field of science studies. In this field, the role of social and cultural factors in the history of science is

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- 3 Dan Olweus, *Bullying at School: What We Know and What We Can Do* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1993); Violence Prevention Works!; "A Brief History of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program," Hazelden Publishing, [http://www.violencepreventionworks.org/public/olweus\\_history\\_page](http://www.violencepreventionworks.org/public/olweus_history_page); "Vurdering av program og tiltak for å redusere problematferd og utvikle sosial kompetanse," Innstilling fra faggruppe oppnevnt av Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet og Barne- og familiedepartementet, juni 2000, <https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kilde/kuf/rap/2000/0016/ddd/pdfv/111356-problematferd.pdf>; Gunilla Frånberg, *Mobbning i nordiska skolor: Kartläggning av forskning om och nationella åtgärder mot mobbning i Nordiska skolor* (Copenhagen: Nordiska ministerrådet, 2003).
  - 4 Björn Eriksson et al., *Skolan – En arena för mobbning: En forskningsöversikt och diskussion kring mobbning i skolan* (Stockholm: Skolverket 2002); Peter K Smith et al. eds., *The Nature of School Bullying: A Cross-National Perspective* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).
  - 5 Eriksson et al. (2002); Ola Agevall, *The Career of Mobbing: Emergence, Transformation, and Utilization of a New Concept* (Växjö: Växjö University, 2007); Kenneth Nordgren, "Talet om mobbning: Ett historiskt perspektiv," in *På tal om mobbning – och det som görs* (Stockholm: Skolverket, 2009); Cecilie Boge, *Frå individuell aggresjon til sosiale prosessar: Mobbeforskningas etablering og utvikling i skjeringspunktet mellom vitenskap og politikk* (Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen, 2016); Jette Kofod and Dorte Marie Søndergaard, eds., *Mobning: Sociale prosesser på afveje* (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2009); Jette Kofod and Dorte Marie Søndergaard, eds., *Mobning gentænkt* (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2013).



focused. Disciplinary change is understood not as a naturally given cumulative development but as a social process, where cultural influences of a different kind must be taken into consideration.<sup>6</sup> John Pickstone has formulated the concept of “technoscience,” which we will make use of in the discussion in this article. Pickstone uses the term technoscience for “technological projects which are heavily dependent on science (or vice versa)” within the area of science, technology and medicine.<sup>7</sup> Technoscience is a specific way of knowing, Pickstone argues, characterised by an intimate connection between scientific knowledge, commodities or products and political interest. The term was originally adopted from the French anthropologist and sociologist Bruno Latour, however Pickstone gives it “a specific historical meaning for fields where knowledge and practice and the economy were intimately related, where knowledge was saleable.”<sup>8</sup> Pickstone exemplifies technoscience with the military-industrial complex and the medico-industrial complex, in which new weapons and pharmaceuticals are invented, developed, produced and commercialised closely tied to the scientific development in the fields. In analogy to this, based on the case of the bullying theory development, we will extend the scope of the relevance of technoscience into the social science arena and suggest that it is reasonable to talk about a “psychology-commercial complex.” In our case, political interest, bullying intervention programmes and bullying theory are closely tied to and presuppose each other in a manner that resembles and reflects Pickstone’s concept.

This article is based on our previous studies on the discussions about bullying in the media and research in Sweden and Norway. Via these studies, it has become apparent how the bullying research field developed into a situation, especially in Norway, where knowledge, practice and politics were intimately related.<sup>9</sup> These studies are, in turn, based on extensive reading of source material consisting of published texts in scientific and professional books, journals and newspapers. The empirical material was found and collected in a number of different ways, for example through library and database scanning and through analysing journal contents over many years. For details about this, we refer to our previous publications.<sup>10</sup>

### Heinemann’s concept of “mobbing”

”Mobbing” was introduced in the Scandinavian school debate in late 1969 when Peter-Paul Heinemann published his article entitled “Apartheid” in the Swedish

6 Edward J. Hackett et al., eds., *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008).

7 John Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing: A New History of Science, Technology and Medicine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 3.

8 John Pickstone, “Ways of Knowing: Towards a Historical Sociology of Science, Technology and Medicine,” *The British Journal for the History of Science* 26, no. 4 (1993), 438.

9 Most clearly presented in Boge (2016).

10 Boge (2016); Anna Larsson, “The Discovery of the Social Life of Swedish Schoolchildren,” *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 1 (2012), 121–35; Anna Larsson, “Mobbningsfrågan i förändring: Efterkrigstidens synsätt på skolbarns kamratliv,” *Historisk tidskrift* 130, no. 2 (2010a), 241–64; Anna Larsson, “Mobbing: Ett tidsbundet socialt problem?” *Socialvetenskaplig tidskrift* 17, no. 2 (2010b), 137–51; Anna Larsson, “Mobbningsbegreppets uppkomst och förhistoria: En begreppshistorisk analys,” *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige* 13, no. 1 (2008a), 19–36; Anna Larsson, “Fåglar i klassrummet: Mobbing och hackordning som gränsöverskridande metaforer,” in *Mångsysslare och gränsöverskridare: 13 uppsatser i idéhistoria*, ed. Maria Göransdotter and Bosse Sundin (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2008b).

journal *Liberal debatt* [Liberal Debate].<sup>11</sup> Here he wrote critically about the Swedish society and culture, which had not taken children's habit to isolate others from the peer group seriously. He called this phenomenon "mobbing," a term he had picked up from ethology, the scientific study of animal behaviour. In ethological studies of behaviour among birds and animals, "mobbing" denoted when a flock attacks a single threatening predator. Heinemann observed how children in a school playground harassed individual children who had a deviating skin colour or a physical disability.

In 1970, the behaviour Heinemann referred to as "mobbing," was understood as a natural part of growing up and a way to harden up for the demanding life as an adult. The behaviour was in no way new; the new part of it was Heinemann's reaction in itself and the problematisation of the phenomenon. Did perhaps Heinemann react to this behaviour due to his personal experiences as a so-called "deviant"? During World War II, he and his Jewish family fled Germany to Sweden, and as a grown-up he was the father of an adopted black son. However Heinemann's problematisation may also be an expression of new scientific and social movements around 1970 that crystallised in an increased interest in children's relations, deviancy and sociological explanatory models. Heinemann regarded "mobbing" as an expression of a society fallen into decay, due to, among other explanations, people being too occupied with themselves and thereby having little or no concern for others: "I see 'mobbing,' isolation, apartheid, genocide as a logic sequence along the same coordinate," Heinemann proclaimed.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, Heinemann described "mobbing" as a phenomenon where a group attacks a single individual. He explained this from both a biological and a critical social perspective. His ideas of "mobbing" were inspired by the book *Aggression* by Konrad Lorenz, which had been published in Swedish in 1967.<sup>13</sup> Konrad Lorenz, an Austrian zoologist and physician, was a pioneer in ethology and received the Nobel Prize in physiology/medicine for his discoveries in animal behaviour. With his emphasis on biological, inherent dispositions, he represented one extreme in the nature-nurture debate, a view in stark contrast to the widely spread behaviouristic approach, where human behaviour was seen as fully formed by the environment.<sup>14</sup>

In his book on aggression, Lorenz discusses birds, however he also presents reflections on human behaviour and human societies. He argues that humans should also be analysed as natural creatures with biologically based instincts.<sup>15</sup> Aggression, according to Lorenz, is an instinct with the function of preserving the species. However, it can appear in different ways. For example, he claims that motivation and enthusiasm are forms of group aggression, an idea that Heinemann picked up.<sup>16</sup>

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11 Heinemann (1969).

12 Heinemann (1969), 13.

13 Konrad Lorenz, *Aggression: Dess bakgrund och natur* (Stockholm: PA Norstedt and Söners förlag, 1967). It was first published in German in 1963, while an English translation came in 1966.

14 About Konrad Lorenz' role in the history of biology and psychology, see for example, Richard W. Burkhardt jr., *Patterns of Behavior: Konrad Lorenz, Niko Tinbergen, and the Founding of Ethology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

15 Lorenz (1967), 32.

16 Larsson (2008a); Larsson (2008b)

## The bullying debate in the 1970s

The term “mobbing” quickly got a reception in the Swedish public debate and the discussions were very animated in the first half of the 1970s.<sup>17</sup> In the debate, bullying was depicted in many ways and there were different kinds of explanations. A widely spread comprehension was that bullying was caused by some sort of deviancy. This is noticeable in the headlines of the early debate in media, for example “Children assaulting a deviant child,” “‘Mobbing’ is when a group of people assault a lonely person who is different,” “Similar children against a deviant child,” “Deviant children are the school class’ punchballs” [translations from Swedish].<sup>18</sup> The editor-in-chief for the largest children’s magazine, Margareta Toss, acknowledged that many children had sent letters to the magazine telling about terrifying experiences of being victims to bullying, “immigrant children, harelipped children and children suffering from being too tall.”<sup>19</sup> The journal for the school-parents organisation also focused on the deviation of the victims. Victimised children are “somewhat fat, cross-eyed or red-haired,” they might have a strange accent or belong to some minority. “They are victims of ‘mobbing’ as the new word is.”<sup>20</sup>

In 1971, psychologist Gunnar Vilson defined bullying in relation to deviancy but pointed to the fact that a deviant person is not a real threat to the group, “he is just *different*.”<sup>21</sup> However, Vilson also linked bullying to Heinemann’s idea of group aggression in saying that deviancy is not enough to create a bullying situation, there must also be aggression in the group. Aggression can stem from circumstances or from a single group member and can be caused by boredom or setbacks, Vilson argues. One way of reacting to boredom is to provoke excitement for example by harassing someone, something that also heightens the feeling of coherence in the group. Some kids are “chronically aggressive” and might be leading bullies.

Sociologist Kerstin Elmhorn agreed with the theory of group aggression while claiming “the biological explanation is also sociologically correct.”<sup>22</sup> On the contrary, professor in educational psychology Ingvar Johannesson, opposed this thesis claiming that children obtain their attitudes and behaviour not from instincts but rather from learning from parents and older children.<sup>23</sup>

Many in the early Swedish debate were, in similarity with Heinemann, critical of local school environments as well as the general social developments in the society. One common opinion was that big school classes and big schools in the modern-day big city suburbs counter-acted well-being and promoted aggression and bullying.<sup>24</sup> In one example it was claimed that “Bullying increases quadratically in proportion

17 Larsson (2010a).

18 “Mobbing: En artikelserie om gruppvåld mot avvikande barn,” by Anna-Maria Hagerfors and Birgitta Nyblom, article series published in *Dagens Nyheter*, November–December, 1969.

19 Toss quoted in Anna-Maria Hagerfors and Birgitta Nyblom, “Forska mer om mobbing: Samlevnad är skolämne,” *Dagens Nyheter*, November 23, 1969, 52.

20 “Skolan måste träna i tolerans,” *Barn*, no. 9, 1969, 6.

21 Gunnar Vilson, “Vad mobbing är för något,” *Barn*, no. 6, 1971, 25.

22 Elmhorn quoted in Anna-Maria Hagerfors and Birgitta Nyblom, “Forska mer om mobbing: Samlevnad är skolämne,” *Dagens Nyheter*, November 23, 1969, 52.

23 Johannesson quoted in Arne Pall, “Mobbing,” *Psykisk hälsa*, no. 2, 1970, 182.

24 “Mitt barn blev mobbat,” *Barn* 1971, no. 2, 9–13; “Stress hos barn,” *Barn*, no. 6, 1971, 37; “Stoppa storskolor!” *Barn*, no. 3, 1972, 40.

to the size of the school and its area of asphalt.<sup>25</sup> However, some stressed that the schoolyards' hidden crannies rather than the open areas, were risky areas for bullying.<sup>26</sup> Many highlighted children's fear of other children during the school days.<sup>27</sup> In response to the early Swedish debate, Heinemann further developed his theory about bullying in a book in 1972, *Mobbning: Gruppvåld bland barn och vuxna* [Mobbing: Group violence among children and adults].<sup>28</sup> The publishing company also released a tutorial to the book for study circles.<sup>29</sup>

Around this time, the Norwegian public came to know bullying public through a series of articles in the largest national newspapers in 1972 and 1973. In these articles, bullying was mainly described as a new Swedish concept describing a fairly common phenomenon of group aggression among children. This meant bullying was understood as group violence carried out towards a single child that stood out from the crowd for some reason. In some of these articles, the bully would often be older than the victim, and the victim was singled out because of the way he or she spoke, dressed or behaved. Further, bullying was related to contemporary problems such as changes in the modern society, urbanisation and the growth of suburbs, alienation, stress and frustration.<sup>30</sup> This understanding of bullying was derived from the Swedish public debate and from Heinemann's book, published in Norwegian in 1973.

Many of the contemporary problems connected to the Swedish understanding of bullying, was not as striking in the Norwegian context. In average, Norwegian schools were much smaller in size compared to the Swedish schools, and the challenges of large suburban settlements were smaller in Norway compared to Sweden. In May 1974, when Dan Olweus' Swedish book *Hackkycklingar och översittare: Forskning om skolmobbing* [Bullies and whipping boys: Research on school bullying] was published in Norwegian, Olweus commented the differences between the two countries in an interview with a Norwegian newspaper:

Norwegians seems to be more child-friendly compared to the Swedish. They show more consideration for the youngest members of the society, which may have something to do with the fact that Norwegians have a less materialistic attitude than other

25 "Antimobbingkommitté i Täby," *Barn* 1972, no. 5, 44.

26 "Ny rast risk för hackkyckling: 'Pausledare behövs,'" *Dagens Nyheter*, November 19, 1969. Hans Åberg, "Mindre klasser möjliga," *Barn*, no. 5, 1973, 14–16; "Skolgårdens hårda värld," *Dagens Nyheter*, November 16, 1969; Gunnar Vilson, "Vad mobbing är för något," *Barn*, no. 6, 1971, 25–27, "Vuxna på skolgården," *Barn*, no. 4, 1972, 42, Inga-Lill Johansson, "Lyckliga barn, glada föräldrar, nöjda lärare på skolgården," *Barn*, no. 7, 1973, 9–11.

27 "Lärarvakt hejdar mobbing på rasten," *Dagens Nyheter*, November 29, 1969; Helfrid Fundelius, "Gabriella eller fallet med flickan som vägrade gå till skolan," *Barn* 1973, no. 1, 24–27; Louise Ricklander, "En stor kamrat att hålla i handen," *Barn*, no. 2, 1976, 15–18.

28 Peter-Paul Heinemann, *Mobbning: Gruppvåld bland barn och vuxna* (Stockholm: Natur and kultur, 1972a). The book was also translated to both Danish: *Mobning: Gruppevold blandt børn og voksne* (Copenhagen: Forum, 1972b) and Norwegian: *Mobbing: Gruppevold mot barn og voksne* (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1973).

29 Peter Paul Heinemann and Kjell Thorén, *Mobbning: Gruppvåld bland barn och vuxna, studiehandledning* (Stockholm: Natur & kultur, 1972).

30 "Pisket med piggråd," *VG*, October 10, 1972; "Når skoledagen blir et helvete," *VG*, December 14, 1973; "Barneterror øker i de nye bydeler," *Aftenposten*, March 14, 1973; "Skolegårdene skreddersydd for slagsmål," *Aftenposten*, March 14, 1974; "Mobbing: Det angår skolen," *Norsk skoleblad*, no. 36, 1973, 1493.

Western Europeans? I don't think the school bullying-problem is as widespread in Norway compared to Sweden [...].<sup>31</sup>

In the editorial of the leading teacher journal in Norway, bullying was presented as a contagious epidemic that could be stopped or at least reduced using the correct preventive treatment.<sup>32</sup> Others articulated scepticism towards the new concept per se. In the same journal, several pedagogues and psychologists were concerned whether the new concept would further stigmatise and increase incidents of bullying. Bullying was an old established phenomenon among children and by naming it different, they were afraid it would become a too popular collective term used to describe all kinds of different school problems and thereby water down its original meaning.<sup>33</sup> If a new school-related problem appeared, it would often be attached to the concept of bullying.

Olweus' book from 1973 (revised version published in English in 1978), presented results from a recently conducted study on boys aged 12–16 in Sweden.<sup>34</sup> Olweus had received a PhD in 1969 for his dissertation *Prediction of Aggression*, where he had investigated connections between aggression and different personality factors among schoolboys.<sup>35</sup> In the 1973-study, Olweus used theory and methods from his dissertation to analyse the roles in bullying relationships and investigated how personality factors and factors in the school environment correlated to bullying. This meant that some parts of Heinemann's theory concerning "mobbing" needed revision. The idea of bullying as spontaneously released group aggression, triggered by modern-day big, anonymous schools was rejected by Olweus. Instead, he saw bullying as an expression of a combination of individuals with aggressive or submissive personality, in its turn caused by the treatment of the child by the parents. Based on his study, Olweus asserted that neither the size of the school and the particular city nor the outer characteristics of the victim had any influence.

Olweus thus took an opposite position to many of the common opinions in the public debate. The size of the group, the class or the school did not seem to be important. The victims were not especially deviant, and immigrant or adopted children were not victimised more than other children. Bullies had a more aggressive personality, while victims were somewhat, but not much, physically weaker and insecure.

This theory on bullying did not regard bullying as a group against one-aggression, but rather a one against one-, or two against one-aggression. It is also clear that bullying in Olweus' view was not as closely linked to societal problems such as urbanisation, as Heinemann argued it was. What is particularly interesting is how clearly individualised the model was, as it put all weight on dispositions in the involved individuals, and close to nothing on any social or structural level. Swedish sociol-

31 "Voksne må stanse 'Gatens skrekk,'" *Aftenposten*, May 21, 1974.

32 "Handling og konsekvens," *Norsk skoleblad*, no. 14/15, 1974, 646.

33 "Øker vi mobbingen ved å gi den navn?," *Norsk skoleblad*, no. 36, 1973, 1494–95; "Den plagede KAN hjelpes, men da må skolen erkjenne problemet!," *Norsk skoleblad*, no. 14/15, 1974, 666.

34 Dan Olweus, *Hakkekyllingar och översittare: Forskning om skolmobbing* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1973); *Hakkekyllinger og skolebøller: Forskning om skolmobbing* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1974b); *Aggression in the Schools: Bullies and Whipping Boys* (Washington: Hemisphere Publ., 1978).

35 Dan Olweus, *Prediction of Aggression: On the Basis of a Projective Test* (Stockholm: Scandinavian Test Corporation, 1969).

ogist Ola Agevall argues that Olweus reformed the concept of bullying to make it compatible with his own understanding of aggression, which implied both widening the concept by including one against one-situations, and narrowing the concept by excluding Heinemann's aggression-theory which linked bullying to contemporary social problems of urbanisation.<sup>36</sup>

One of the first Norwegian professionals to embrace the new concept of bullying, criminologist Ragnar Hauge, reacted harshly to Olweus' revision of the concept. Hauge had linked bullying to research conducted by himself and by the Norwegian sociologist and criminologist Nils Christie and pointed to three factors that could lead to bullying, or group violence: objectification of the victim, individual anonymity within the group and hence denial of liability, and lastly, group pressure.<sup>37</sup> In a book review of Olweus' book in Norwegian, Hauge was furious due to the fact that Olweus had changed the content of the concept, which was to "jump to conclusions far beyond the allowable."<sup>38</sup>

With his research-based book, Olweus received great attention in both Sweden and Norway, and in the public debate many referred to Olweus' findings.<sup>39</sup> However, both Swedish and Norwegian newspapers and teacher journals continued to explain bullying more in line with Heinemann's understanding as group violence closely related to suburban problems throughout the 1970s.<sup>40</sup>

In the end of the 1970s, the public debate on bullying faded away for a period most clearly noticed in Swedish media, maybe as a reaction of saturation to the "moral panic" that had characterised the debate in the first half of the 1970s.<sup>41</sup> In the early 1980s, the discussions concerning bullying received new impetus and were revived. In contrast to the 1970s debate, which had been initiated and was most energetic in Swedish media, the new wave of debate in the 1980s had its centre in Norway.

### **Bullying research, media and politics in the 1980s**

At the end of 1982, Norwegian newspapers published a story about three young boys aged 10-13 who had committed suicide after being subjected to bullying. The heart-breaking story shocked both the public and politicians, and a few weeks into the new year, action was taken by the local authorities in the city of Tromsø where the three boys had lived. A few weeks later there were reactions also on the central Governmental level as the Ministry of Church Affairs and Education in February 1983 initiated a working group to look into the bullying problem in Norwegian schools. Dan Olweus took a leading role in this group, together with Erling Roland, a special educationalist at Stavanger University College who had just published his first book

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36 Agevall (2007), 31–32.

37 "Både barn og voksne er med på å forfølge andre," *Aftenposten*, January 31, 1973; Ragnar Hauge, "Mobbing," *Norsk Pedagogisk Tidsskrift*, no. 9/10 (1973), 316; "Boteråd mot mobbing," *Norsk skoleblad*, nr. 14/15, 1974, 668.

38 Ragnar Hauge, "Skolebøllen: En realitet eller myte?" *Norsk Pedagogisk Tidsskrift*, no. 6 (1975), 197.

39 "Aggresjonsforsker om mobbing i skolen," *Aftenposten*, July 14, 1973; "Tyrannisering av medelever I," *Aftenposten*, October 29, 1973; "Tyrannisering av medelever II," *Aftenposten*, October 30, 1973; "Pøbelvelde skoleproblem," *Aftenposten*, November 15, 1973; "Voksne må stanse 'Gatens skrekk,'" *Aftenposten*, May 21, 1974; "Skolebøllen ofte populær," *VG*, December 21, 1973.

40 Boge (2016), 72–74.

41 Larsson (2012); Larsson (2010a).

on bullying. The working group and the Minister agreed on the need to learn more about how widespread the problem of bullying was in Norwegian schools, and the answer to this was a nationwide survey and a national campaign against bullying in primary and secondary schools.

As an aggression researcher, Olweus' primary research interest was on predicting aggression by the use of projective tests and multifaceted aggression inventories (self reports).<sup>42</sup> As it happened, Olweus was already running a research project in 42 primary and secondary schools in Bergen the spring of 1983, and as a part of this project, he had developed a self-report questionnaire. It was decided to use the very same questionnaire in the nationwide survey run by Olweus. This survey was carried through in September 1983, and a few weeks later, the national campaign on bullying was launched.

Using the questionnaire from Olweus' Bergen project was a win-win-situation for both the Ministry and Olweus, as it enabled the survey to be carried out early in the autumn of 1983 and thereby showing off the Minister's vigorous response, as some 140,000 pupils participated in the survey. Olweus, on the other hand, was responsible for the national survey and made an agreement with the Ministry about research funding for the Bergen project, which in turn enabled him to compare data from Bergen with the national study. In addition, Olweus planned a follow-up study on the effects of the national campaign on bullying in the 42 schools in Bergen, as they had completed the very same survey about four months *before* the national campaign. The participating schools in the Bergen project carried out the national survey and the national campaign against bullying along with the rest of the Norwegian primary and secondary schools in the autumn of 1983. During the winter of 1984, Olweus and his research team offered meetings with the Bergen-schools giving feedback on the results from both the local Bergen-survey in 1983 and the nationwide survey in September 1983. Then, in May 1984 and May 1985, the participating Bergen-schools conducted the survey two more times.<sup>43</sup>

Even though the Minister of Church Affairs and Education launched a nationwide campaign against bullying 1 October 1983, the campaign in itself was rather vague and confusing regarding responsibility for action.<sup>44</sup> This is also mirrored in the fact that the most important item in the campaign was a booklet for teachers, *Mobbing—bakgrunn og tiltak* [Bullying—background and action], by Olweus and Roland.<sup>45</sup> Here, a definition of bullying and research based knowledge on bullying was

42 Dan Olweus, "Personality and aggression" in *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, 1972, ed. J. K. Cole and D. D. Jensen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972); Dan Olweus, "Personality Factors and Aggression: With Special Reference to Violence Within the Peer Group," in *Determinants and Origins of Aggressive Behavior*, ed. Jan deWit and Willard W. Hartrup (The Hague: Mouton, 1974a); Dan Olweus, "Development of a multi-faceted aggression inventory for boys," in *Reports from the Institute of Psychology, University of Bergen, Norway*, no. 6 (1975). In 1976, Olweus was given the "Outstanding aggression research award" from the International Society for Research on Aggression (ISRA).

43 "Mobbeopprosjekt i Bergen: Tilbakemelding frå skulane," *Norsk skoleblad*, no. 35, 1985, 20–22. An important notice is that the survey did not follow the same individuals, but the same year/grade in each of the surveys.

44 Erling Roland, *Tre år senere: Langtidsvirkninger i Rogaland av KUD's landsomfattende aksjon mot mobbing* (Stavanger: Stavanger Lærarhøgskole, Senter for atferdsforskning, 1989).

45 Dan Olweus and Erling Roland, *Mobbing: Bakgrunn og tiltak* (Oslo: Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet, 1983).

presented along with general advice on preventive actions against bullying, such as defining school rules against bullying, organising helpmates for the youngest pupils, how to discuss bullying in classes and with the parents, roleplay, etc. Every Norwegian school received one copy of the booklet together with a leaflet for parents with information about bullying and a videotape showing everyday scenes of children being bullied. The latter was meant to function as start help for class discussions on bullying. In Sweden, the contents of this booklet was included in a book published in 1986, *Mobbning: Vad vi vet och vad vi kan göra* [Bullying: What we know and what we can do], where also the results from Olweus nationwide Norwegian survey and an additional study of about 17000 pupils in Sweden was reported.<sup>46</sup> This book was further revised in 1991 into his bestselling book *Mobbning i skolan: Vad vi vet och vad vi kan göra* (Norwegian edition was published in 1992 and the English edition *Bullying at School: What we know and what we can do* was published in 1993).<sup>47</sup>

Olweus' findings from the surveys in Norway and Sweden were rather depressing. More than 83,000 children, or approx. 15 percent of all Norwegian pupils, were involved in bullying, either as victims or as bullies.<sup>48</sup> A similar frequency was reported from the Swedish study. However, Olweus compared his results from Norway and Sweden, and claimed that the problem was slightly larger and more serious in Swedish schools than in Norwegian. The number of pupils in Sweden that reported themselves as being a victim of bullying was higher (18 percent in Sweden compared to 13 percent in Norway), bullying situations occurred slightly more often and the numbers of pupils bullying teachers were somewhat higher in Sweden.<sup>49</sup>

In 1988, Dan Olweus had finished his research study on the effects of the national campaign in 42 schools in Bergen, and this time he could present some good news. However vague the recommendations for action of the national campaign had been, Olweus' research showed around 50 percent reduction in reports of bullying, which was said to be an effect of the national campaign in 1983.<sup>50</sup> This astonishing result turned out to be an excellent starting point for further developing Olweus' ideas on preventive actions on bullying into a professional bullying prevention programme that requires expenses for its' users. Through the 1990s, the *Olweus Bullying Prevention Program*, which Olweus developed together with the American psychologist Susan P. Limber, became evaluated and implemented in American schools.<sup>51</sup> In Sweden, the programme was presented in the mid 1990s and became one of the most

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46 Dan Olweus, *Mobbning: Vad vi vet och vad vi kan göra* (Stockholm: Liber Utbildningsförlaget, 1986).

47 Dan Olweus, *Mobbning i skolan: Vad vi vet och vad vi kan göra* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991a); Dan Olweus, *Mobbning i skolen: Hva vi vet og hva vi kan gjøre* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1992); Olweus (1993).

48 "Sjokkrapport," VG, December 15, 1984; "Oppsiktsvekkende rapport: En av syv elever i grunnskolen mobbes eller mobber," *Aftenposten*, December 17, 1984.

49 Olweus (1986), 21–22.

50 "Mobbing i skolen kan reduseres med enkle midler," *NTB Tekst*, April 13, 1988; "Mobbing i skolen sterkt redusert," *Aftenposten*, April 14, 1988; Dan Olweus, "Bully/Victim Problems Among Schoolchildren: Basic Facts and Effects of a School Based Intervention Program," in *The Development and Treatment of Childhood Aggression*, ed. D. J. Pepler and K. H. Rubin (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991b), 438.

51 Violence Prevention Works!



commonly used bullying prevention programmes.<sup>52</sup> In Norwegian primary and secondary schools, the programme became implemented on an even larger scale, as all Norwegian schools since 2002 got a standing offer to use a prevention programme and the costs were split between the central government and the municipalities.<sup>53</sup> Even though the Norwegian government also supported another bullying prevention programme, *ZERO*, launched by Erling Roland (member of the national working group of 1983), there is no doubt that the *Olweus Bullying Prevention Program* was most successful internationally.<sup>54</sup>

### **Bullying theory and the changing political and intellectual contexts**

The described discussion in the 1970s and 1980s shows how the understanding of “mobbing” changed quite dramatically as the Olweus theorisation gained a hegemonic position in Sweden and Norway. Some features in the interpretations dominating the early debate by Heinemann as well as others—such as bullying understood as a group phenomenon, bullying as caused by the downsides of the modern industrial society or bullying as occurring in relation to a deviation in a person—were almost completely dismissed in Olweus’ scientific theory. Olweus instead explains bullying as mainly a matter of a combination of bullies and whipping boys with certain aggressive personality traits, traits that were formed by permissive caretakers and lack of love and care during upbringing. Olweus’ definition and interpretation of bullying was the one that became appreciated, used and transferred in scientific areas around the world, although it later would be modified to also include more social explanations, such as group pressure.

Now, how can we understand this process that ended up in a hegemonic position for Olweus’ interpretation of bullying primarily as a personality matter about aggression? We will now highlight a number of conditions that influenced the development.

In the 1980s, Olweus had received a solid academic base from which to claim authority. He had made comprehensive empirical studies on school children reported in widely read books. In addition, he published a huge number of articles and book chapters on the topic from the late 1970s and was incredibly active in the scientific community. He had a Swedish PhD, a Norwegian Chair at the University of Bergen and also academic merits from the United States. When the Norwegian government prepared to initiate the large anti-mobbing campaign in 1983, it was natural to engage Olweus in order to secure the campaign scientific credibility. Olweus had crit-

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52 Skolverket, *Att förebygga, upptäcka och åtgärda mobbning* (Stockholm: Skolverket, 1994); Myndigheten för skolutveckling, *Olika lika värde: Om arbetet mot mobbning och kränkande behandling* (Stockholm: Myndigheten för skolutveckling 2003); Skolverket, *Utvärdering av metoder mot mobbning* (Stockholm: Skolverket 2011). These official evaluations all came to the conclusion that no single program was functional in every case. Olweus’ program, however, continued to be the most commonly used. Critique against bullying prevention programs in general has been quite loud in Sweden, see for example Gunilla Zackari and Fredrik Modigh, *Värdegrundsboken: Om samtal för demokrati i skolan* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet, 2000); Skolverket, *På tal om mobbning – och det som görs* (Stockholm: Skolverket, 2009).

53 Stortinget, skriftlige spørsmål og svar: “Skriftlig spørsmål fra Karita Bekkemellem (A) til utdannings- og forskningsministeren,” 27/11 2002, <https://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjon-er/Sporsmal/Skriftlige-sporsmal-og-svar/Skriftlig-sporsmal/?qid=25731>.

54 Boge (2016), 201–12.

icised the Norwegian government several times for not doing enough to combat fight bullying.<sup>55</sup> The serious events at the end of 1982 caused the politicians to form a united front with Olweus to fight bullying in Norwegian schools. Thus, Olweus' academic record was important, together with the traumatic events with the suicides of three young boys.

However, we also need to take the intellectual and political contexts of the period into consideration. When pupil violence became conceptualised as "mobbing," both Sweden (1962) and Norway (1969) had recently introduced a nine-year comprehensive school for all children. The number of years of schooling thus had increased, and every child, regardless of social class, scholastic aptitude or living conditions, was seen in school.

When "mobbing" was introduced as a problem and became discussed in the news media in the early 1970s, the Scandinavian intellectual climate was marked by radical political thinking and critical social science theories like critical sociology and group dynamics. In the school arena, where comprehensive schooling recently had become a reality, this was expressed as a focus on "soft skills" like cooperation, equality of rights and inclusion of pupils from minority groups or with disabilities. A related discourse based on John Bowlby's theory on maternal deprivation had been strong in Western Europe since the 1950s. This included Norway, but not Sweden who had not participated directly in the war. This discourse emphasised the vulnerability of children.<sup>56</sup> Heinemann's idea of "mobbing"—and even more the public debate it rendered—resembled this way of thinking. When Olweus introduced his idea about bullying in 1973, it did not fit in very well into the intellectual climate. Although he got a great deal of attention, his voice was only one among many, especially in the public debate, where Heinemann's lay theory seemed to gain much more support than Olweus' scientific theory.

Beginning in the 1970s, the discourse on "the vulnerable child" was gradually replaced by a new one focusing on children's competence and resilience, "the participating child."<sup>57</sup> It has been suggested that bullying became problematised in the intersection between these two discourses.<sup>58</sup> As public institutions embraced more children, public debate increasingly concerned children's public space and began asking for children's own voices.<sup>59</sup> At the end of the 1970s, there was also another noticeable shift in the public discussion concerning the school environment, as a new and broader critical debate concerning childhood and education politics arose in the wake of the political shift towards the right.<sup>60</sup> The radical progressive pedagogy

55 "Vi må få en lov mot mobbing," *Dagbladet*, August 30, 1980, "KUD og tiltak mot mobbing," *Dagbladet*, September 29, 1980.

56 Harald Thuen, *Om barnet: Oppdragelse, opplæring og omsorg gjennom historien* (Oslo: Abstrakt forlag, 2008), ch. 4; Karin Zetterqvist Nelson, "När Bowlby kom till Sverige: Från motstånd till erkännande – anknytningsteori i Sverige 1950–2000," in *Barn, barndom och föräldraskap*, ed. Ann-Marie Markström, Maria Simonsson, Ingrid Söderlind and Eva Änggård (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2009).

57 Thuen (2008), 213–14.

58 Boge (2016), 38.

59 Jan Eivind Myhre, *Barndom i storbyen: Oppvekst i Oslo i velferdsstatens epoke* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1994); Larsson (2012).

60 Jan Morawski, *Mellan frihet och kontroll: Om läroplanskonstruktioner i svensk skola* (Örebro: Örebro universitet, 2010), 196–199; Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1980).

that had dominated both Norwegian and Swedish school politics during the 1970s was challenged by more conservative educators who wanted a much stronger focus on knowledge, culture, tradition and raising standards of behaviour and discipline.<sup>61</sup> This was in line with the international movement based on the American “Back to Basics,” emphasising the three R’s: reading, writing and (a)rithmetic.<sup>62</sup> Both in Sweden and Norway, leading conservative politicians embraced this shift.<sup>63</sup> In Sweden, an organisation called “Kunskapsrörelsen” [The Knowledge Movement] was created as a protest against a school ideology that was perceived to target personality development more than knowledge.<sup>64</sup> In Norwegian media, there was a debate around an alleged “moral recession” in the upbringing and education of children.

In this intellectual and political climate of the 1980s, Olweus’ theory fit in much better. He also took an active part in the above-mentioned debate as one of the contributors to the anthology *Normkrise og oppdragelse* [Norm crisis and upbringing] from 1981, where the educators Alfred Oftedal Telhaug and Svein Egil Vestre analyse why Norway experienced a moral recession in the upbringing and education of children in the late 1970s.<sup>65</sup> In his article, Olweus discusses what causes an aggressive boy and why the number of aggressive boys had increased in the period from the 1960s to 1980.<sup>66</sup> As one of the factors explaining this increase, Olweus emphasises that parents were busier in 1980 compared to 1960, due to the entry of women into the labour market. Therefore more children spent their days in kindergartens or at day minders where the caretakers might be more indulgent towards aggressive behaviour compared to how their parents might be, as there are more children per adult in institutions compared to at home.<sup>67</sup> A final factor to explain the increase in aggressive boys was found in the anti-authoritarian attitude that had dominated Norwegian education since the 1970s, where focus had been on “soft skills.” To make up for this, Olweus speaks up for clearer limits for children, adults that deal with aggression and bullying, and negative sanctions in schools for unwanted behaviour. This article reveals that Olweus’ perspective on bullying easily corresponded to the ideology of the 1980s.<sup>68</sup> However, it also shows that also Olweus began to assign some influence to societal factors.

Accordingly, Olweus was a suitable choice for the Norwegian Ministry of Church Affairs and Education when the crisis in 1983 arose, both because he had a strong academic position and because his ideas were in line with the prevalent way of thinking and political interest. Ultimately, in the early 1980s Olweus was probably the

61 Kim Gunnar Helsvik. “Norsk reformpedagogikk i historisk perspektiv,” *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, no. 2 (2004), 180; Henry Egidius. *Skola och utbildning i historiskt och internationellt perspektiv* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2001).

62 Margaret T. Morgan and Norman Robinson, “The Back to Basics Movement in Education,” *Canadian Journal of Education* 1, no. 2 (1976), 1.

63 Tore Austad, *En skole for alle* (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens Forlag, 1981), 52.

64 See for example *Äpplet: Tidsskrift för Kunskapsrörelsen*, which was published 1981–1991; Arne Hellén, *Skola på villovägar: 30 års skolpolitik* (Linköping: Förlaget Futurum, 2002).

65 Alfred Oftedal Telhaug, “Trenger skolen moralsk opprustning?,” in *Normkrise og oppdragelse*, ed. Alfred O. Telhaug and Svein Egil Vestre (Oslo: Didakta Forlag, 1981), 48–49.

66 Dan Olweus “Vad skapar aggressiva barn?” in *Normkrise og oppdragelse*, ed. Alfred O. Telhaug and Svein Egil Vestre (Oslo: Didakta Forlag, 1981), 68–69.

67 Olweus (1981), 70–72.

68 Nordgren (2009), 60.

world's leading researcher on bullying. However, we would like to highlight yet another circumstance, one that became clear in the 1990s and contributed to consolidate a strong national and international position for Olweus and his theories.

### **Bullying theory as technoscience**

Beside the general suitability of Olweus' ideas on upbringing and education, his bullying theory showed—using the term of Pickstone—a certain technoscientific capacity as it became integrated in a prevention programme approved by the authorities. Olweus presented a plan for action that seemed feasible, quantitatively as well as economically. The preventive actions suggested in the booklet from 1983 were mostly based on common sense and stricter framework for unwanted behaviour, easy for the Norwegian politicians to agree on, all across the political landscape. In addition, it did not cost very much to implement, as it was an unpaid additional task put on the school leaders and teachers.

This became a win-win situation for the government and Dan Olweus. The campaign was reasonable and demonstrated political vigour, while Olweus was able to try out a preliminary version of both his questionnaire and programme on a large scale via the national campaign. The first professional version was developed for sale in 1986. As Olweus soon could report astonishingly high reduction in reported bullying behaviour due to the campaign, the willingness to use the programme increased and the American version was developed. As a key element of the programme, the *Olweus Bullying Questionnaire* is used before and during the programme period to reveal the prevalence and frequency of bullying. The results are reported back to Olweus and his partners, who thus get a base for further improving both the questionnaire and the intervention programme, and to do extensive evaluation research on both.<sup>69</sup> In sum, the spreading of the programme and the scientific development was highly intertwined processes and that led to huge benefits for both.

It is clear that Olweus' ideas and work through the governmental campaign and commercialisation process of the programme created a kind of industry around bullying prevention. Science, politics and commerce (including state-funded research institutes) were involved in this bullying industry and were highly dependent on each other in order to receive success in their respective fields. The researchers needed the data that the use of the programme generated to produce new scientific results, the politicians needed the credibility that cooperation with researchers offered and the schools needed the positive effects promised by the programme but also the symbolic gains that joining the programmes might give. We suggest terming this a “psychology-commercial complex,” in many ways similar to the military-industrial complex and the medico-industrial complex that Pickstone discusses.<sup>70</sup> The product of the “psychology-commercial complex” is in this case an intervention programme

69 See for example: Mona Solberg and Dan Olweus, “Prevalence Estimation of School Bullying With the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire,” *Aggressive Behavior* 29, no. 3 (2003); Olweus (1991b); Dan Olweus, “A Useful Evaluation Design, and Effects of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program,” *Psychology, Crime & Law* 11, no. 11 (2005); Dan Olweus and Susan P. Limber, *Blueprints for Violence Prevention: Bullying Prevention Program* (Boulder: Program Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado, 1999); Jan Helge Kallestad and Dan Olweus, “Predicting Teachers' and Schools' Implementation of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program: A Multilevel Study,” *Prevention and Treatment* 6, no. 1 (2003).

70 Pickstone (2001), 31.

for sale to schools in need. It seems likely that other cases within the “psychology-commercial complex” can be identified, for example IQ tests, personality tests, intervention programmes for addressing and/or changing workplace problems or more general behaviour problems, therapy programme or consulting or therapy services. As a result of our analysis, we mean that bullying theory represents a distinct way of knowing, characterised by the intimate ties between the bullying intervention programmes, the bullying research and politics. The success of bullying theory was built on this close connection.

## **Conclusion**

In this article we have shown how violence among pupils became conceptualised as “mobbing” and how the term was coined, spread and redefined through a process in Swedish and Norwegian media and research. We have shown how bullying theory was developed and formed in the 1970s and 1980s in relation to contemporary political and intellectual movements and contextual factors. Based on analyses of both the Swedish and Norwegian contexts, we have highlighted that the initial problematisation of bullying created an intense media interest, that the suicide of the three young Norwegian boys in 1982 triggered preventive actions against bullying by the public authorities, that Olweus had academically qualifications in both countries (plus internationally) and his rivals were few and had less academically qualifications, that the intellectual climate changed in favour of the scientific ideology that Olweus embraced and that Olweus’ surveys showed alarming results and that his prevention programme seemed to be having positive impacts. We argue that these events and conditions were decisive for the way that bullying theory in the 1980s and 1990s developed towards applicability, usefulness and reliability. With its bearing on everyday bullying prevention work in schools, bullying theory became increasingly interwoven with political and commercial interests. Based on this we have argued that the result of this development of bullying theory with its connections to prevention programmes, political actions and commercialisation can be characterised and understood as a “psychology-commercial complex.”

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