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How did popular educators transform into experts of the Finnish welfare state from the 1860's to the 1960's?

HELI VALTONEN

Alliance between experts and the welfare state

In welfare states, a great share of societal power and authority has been handed over to mainly academic experts in order to reach the desired goals of welfare policies. This phenomenon penetrates every field of society, and the part of the educational system, which educates experts, such as universities and other institutes of higher education, forms a critical node in which several societal sectors and levels intersect; it educates both experts and 'lay-people' whose need for scientific knowledge in their everyday life has grown continuously. Thus, the critical expertise lies not just on the shoulders of a few social engineers and societal planners as it is often pointed out, but on all levels of specialists and groups of professionals, including teachers.¹

The teaching profession, and the training leading up to it, can be seen as one of the key expert roles in modern society. It crosses a number of expert tasks of the modern welfare society, such as children's and families' psychological, medical and social pre-assessment prior to transferring 'problems' to other specialists. In this sense, the teacher's role can be seen as a socially critical (semi-)profession², which began to develop in Finland since the

1 Lundqvist & Petersen, 'Experts, knowledge', 13–16; Ludvigsen, 'The 'psy-experts', 159; Berg, 'Power, knowledge', 182–187; Tuomaala, 'Kamppailu yhteisestä koulusta', 95–98, 105–106; Heikkinen, 'Elatus, oppi ja kumppanuus', 60–65; Vuorikoski & Räisänen, 'Opettajan identiteetti ja identiteetti-politiikat'.

2 Etzioni, *The Semi-professions*.

1860's. What has made this role even more significant is that many of the Finnish elementary school teachers were situated for a long time in remote agrarian areas where they were the sole representatives of the new scientific knowledge on psychology and social work.

Before 1863, teacher education in Finland was non-existent. Thus, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College (est. in 1863) marked the establishment of an entirely new format of education based on a new education policy in Finland. The contents and the curricula of the basic education were outlined in tandem with the objectives of teacher education. This was a consequential phase in the development of the Finnish educational system, when the qualification criteria was created and outlined and the teaching profession began to develop the features of an educational expert and of a (semi-)profession.

The new phase in Finnish teacher education began in the 1930's when the education of elementary school teachers started to gradually transfer from teacher training colleges (teacher seminaries) to university level institutions. One of the main differences between seminaries and universities was the criterion concerning the level of the basic training of students; at the teacher seminaries students had graduated mainly just from elementary schools, but at the university level institutions they required upper-secondary education, which meant that the students had to pass the Finnish Matriculation Examination.

The first university level institution of teacher education was the Jyväskylä College of Education, which was established in 1934. It gradually took the place of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College (Seminary), which was closed down in 1937. These two institutes had a close relationship in terms of intellectual and human capital (same teachers) as well as in terms of infrastructure (premises), but in fact they were two separate organisations. The University of Helsinki opened a department as a temporary college of teacher education in 1947, and similar institutes were founded also in Turku and Oulu just a couple of years later.³ Finally the 1971 legislation created a close connection between educational science and teacher education. Fol-

3 Kuikka, 'Opettajankoulutus eilen, tänään ja huomenna', 13; Salo, *Pohjoinen alma mater*, 74.

lowing on the new legislation, all teacher training was transferred to the universities between 1973 and 1975. This change indicated the academisation of teacher education as well as a stronger scholarly and scientific basis for the education.⁴

This article focuses on the process through which teaching in elementary schools professionalised and teachers increasingly became experts in education and the schooling of children. The article discusses aspects of the above-mentioned development process among Finnish teacher education before the profound education reforms in the late 1960's and early 1970's (especially the Comprehensive School Reform 1972–77 and the Teacher Education Reform 1973–75). The reforms had massive and wide-ranging influences on teacher education and on the status of teachers in Finnish society by clinching the institutional change of teacher education from seminaries to universities.

The analysis concentrates on the professionalisation of teaching prior to these reforms, through which the characteristics of expertise regarding the teaching profession became more evident and which gave the profession a justification in the eyes of other professionals and of citizens in general. More precisely, the expertise was built up with the teacher education, that is, the education lent status and prestige to the teaching profession and it also gave the teacher a right as well as skills and knowledge to assess children's behaviour and the dynamics of their families, to define the limits of normal and abnormal behaviour, and further, to prevent and solve problems this behaviour may cause. At the same time the teacher education was academised, and new disciplines such as special education (in Finnish *suojelu- ja parantamiskasvatusoppi*, later *erityispedagogiikka*) as well as developmental and educational psychology emerged.⁵ Moreover, I am arguing that there

4 Jakku-Sihvonen & Mikkola, 'Seminaareista Bolognan prosessiin', 247–248; Bergem et al., 'Research on Teachers and Teacher Education', 435; Garm & Karlsen, 'Teacher education reform in Europe', 734; Hansen & Simonsen, 'Mentor, Master and Mother'; Erixon, Frånberg & Kallós (eds), *The Role of Graduate and Postgraduate Studies and Research*.

5 There exist a body of literature on the academisation of teaching, teacher education and education as a discipline, see e.g. Puustinen, 'Ohjatusta opetuksesta'; Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 'Institutionalisation of Educational Sciences'; Lindberg, 'Is 'Pedagogik' as an Academic Discipline'; Keiner, 'Education between Academic Discipline'; Gautherin, 'Preparing French School Teachers'.

were some signs of this process already in the curricula and syllabi of prior seminaries in Finland.

The two teacher training institutes in Jyväskylä, the Teacher Training College (1863–1937) and the College of Education (1934–1966)—the latter became the University of Jyväskylä in 1966—and their curricula⁶ will serve as examples of this process. The pivotal question is: In what way did the curricula of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College and the Jyväskylä College of Education promote the professionalisation of teaching and how did they contribute to the development of expertise among future teachers? Other studies have noted that teacher educators are the most eager advocates of the professionalisation of teaching⁷, thus it is worthwhile to analyse features of professionalisation in the contents of Finnish teacher education.

Professionalisation of teaching in Finland

The professionalisation of the teaching occupations has been dated in the early 1960's in Western societies. The first half of the 20th century was the era of the emergence of mass education in most of the Western countries. It was also the time of pre-professional teachers who were described as enthusiastic people who knew their subject matter and knew how to “get it across”, and who were able to keep order in their classes. In the 1960's and 1970's the status of teachers was improved, when the autonomy of teachers increased in many countries and the knowledge base in teacher education became more academic.⁸ In Finland, on the other hand, the status of teachers was declining in the 1960's, possibly due to the fact that both the educational system and teacher education system were already outdated, even though the academisation of the teacher education had started in the 1930's and 1940's.⁹

Professionalisation means a process through which an occupation—in this case teachers—aims to subsume certain features into their occupation, such as expertise based on theoretical knowledge and education, and the profession's own ethics. The profession also reserves a certain field of so-

6 On the study of curriculum, see Goodson, 'Studying curriculum'.

7 Labaree, 'Power, knowledge', 140–141; Simola, 'Professionalism', 181–182.

8 Hargreaves, 'Four Ages of Professionalism', 157, 161; Hargreaves & Fullan, 'Mentoring', 50–51.

9 Korpinen, 'Luokanopettajaksi opiskelevien'.

cietal mission for itself by blocking out other competing professions and occupations, and it is a quest for justification for the status of the occupation and its privileges by negotiating with the state, with other occupations and professions as well as with the public. On the one hand, the state controls the professionalisation process, while on the other, it lends both legitimisation and support to the profession. The focal justification of a profession is the expertise which is based on scholarly and scientific knowledge and understanding as well as mastery of its language (jargon).¹⁰

In Finland the professionalisation of teaching is closely linked with the roles of the state and municipalities, which have grown since the 1860's especially in the field of elementary education, because teachers have mainly been working in communal and state schools. At the same time the state has been supervising and controlling both elementary education and teacher education, and further, the state has defined the qualification criteria for the teaching profession. It has also defined the basic contents of teacher education in the same way it has defined the content of elementary education. Thus, the state has standardised teacher education as well as the qualification criteria in teaching.¹¹ This was a contemporary process with the development of the basic education, even though Finland had already started to create an elementary school system from the 1850's onwards¹². The creation of an elementary school system took time and the network of schools was not extensive until post-World War II, when the contemporary elementary school system (folk schools) began to be outdated.¹³

One of the key-features of a profession is to protect one's interests. Teachers of Finnish school teacher seminaries participated in the supervision of their own interests and of elementary school teachers' (folk school teachers') interests already since the 1860's. The first forms of the supervision

10 Konttinen, *Perinteisesti moderniin*, 22–28; Simola, Kivinen & Rinne, 'Didactic closure', 879; Bourdieu, *In other words*, 37; Bourdieu & Passeron, *Reproduction*, 72–74; Murphy, *Social closure*, 878–879; Watson, *Sociology, Work and Industry*; Larson, *The rise of professionalism*; Bridges, 'Professionalism'.

11 Rinne & Jauhiainen, *Koulutus, professionaalituminen ja valtio*.

12 The education became compulsory in 1921.

13 Halila, *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia 1*, 257–347; Leino-Kaukiainen & Heikkinen, 'Yhteiskunta ja koulutus', 24–26.

were elementary school teacher meetings and meetings of teachers of the teacher seminaries. Both were organised with regularity. The participants discussed matters such as salaries and pensions, as well as teacher education and qualifications. In the meanwhile teachers began to organise themselves in unions, and in 1887 the first local teachers' union was established in Helsinki (*Helsingin kansakoulu- ja naisopettajayhdistys*). Nationwide elementary school teachers (folk school teachers) were organised a couple of years later in 1893 when the Elementary School Teachers' Union was established. Several groups of teachers organised their own unions until the early 1970's when elementary school teachers and grammar school (later: upper-secondary school) teachers increased their cooperation by establishing a joint forum with vocational school teachers, and in 1973 a joint organisation for elementary and high school teachers (the Trade Union of Education in Finland, OAJ).¹⁴

It is not enough to solely rely on the support of the state and neighbouring professions in order to reach a strong position in a society; a profession has to also have occasion to demonstrate its relevance to the public, i.e. the people. Despite the fact that the status of teachers declined in Finland in the 1960's, teachers have successfully succeeded in convincing the public of the value of the teaching profession since, and the teaching profession has been highly esteemed in the 1990's and 2000's. This can be explained by several reforms that were made in the teacher education system since the 1970's. In consequence of the Comprehensive School Reform in the 1960's and 1970's, the elementary school (folk school) was replaced with the new comprehensive school system, which was based on the idea of educational equality. The reform was implemented gradually and was finalised by 1977. This reform resulted in an increase of equality, for example in terms of social mobility and income distribution; hence the reform benefited pupils from the lowest social strata more than pupils from other social classes.¹⁵ This may have, for its own part, added to the esteem of the teaching profession in the 1980's and

14 *Suomen kansakoulunopettajain liitto: katsaus sen toimintaan 1943–1953*; Metsikkö & Oksanen, *Suomen kansakoulunopettajain liitto*; Tammivuori, *Sata vuotta*, 308, 314, 325–7, 332–4, 349–356.

15 Pekkarinen & Uusitalo, 'Peruskoulu-uudistuksen vaikutukset', 137; Ahonen, 'From an Industrial', 175–177.

1990's. In the 2010's a large number of young people are willing to become teachers. For example, at the University of Jyväskylä the class teacher education, i.e. teachers of the first six grades of elementary school, had approximately 26 applicants for every filled study place in 2011. In the country, in general, the equivalent number was 21.¹⁶

Standardising the education of elementary school teachers

The standardisation of teacher education was implemented in the curriculum of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College in the 1860's so that there were two main groups of subjects. The first group included subjects taught at the elementary schools, and the second consisted of qualifying subjects, such as education, didactics and psychology. The curriculum of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College formed a model for other teacher training colleges established later.

The elementary school subjects can be divided into two main groups. Firstly, the core subjects of the elementary school were religion and church history, Finnish language, history, mathematics, science (mainly biology), geography, music and singing, gymnastics, drawing (arts), and handicrafts and woodworking. In addition, there were few other subjects, which were relatively insignificant in the curricula of elementary schools. They were subjects like agriculture, gardening, and housekeeping. Although the core subjects were stable, there were some variations in other subjects.¹⁷

Since, on the one hand, elementary school subjects comprised the major part of the curricula at the teacher training colleges, both elementary school legislation and planning work on elementary school syllabi affected the teacher training colleges from the 1860's onward. On the other hand, the teachers of teacher training colleges played a significant role in the planning work concerning the elementary school system, as from the days of Uno

16 For example, a weekly magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti* (1991, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2010) has done several surveys on the esteem of occupations in Finland since 1991. Most educational professions have existed among the top 25% of the most esteemed listed occupations; *Ministry of Education and Culture* <http://www.minedu.fi/OPM/Koulutus/yliopistokoulutus/tilastoja/?lang=en> (cited 5/6/2012); University of Jyväskylä https://www.jyu.fi/hallintokeskus/statistics?set_language=en (cited 5/6/2012); *Koulutusnetti* <http://www.koulutusnetti.fi/index.php?file=277> (cited 5/6/2012).

17 Valtonen, 'Seminaariyhteisö', 65–67; Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 74, 81.

Cygnaeus¹⁸, a pastor and educator who wrote the original blueprint of the system of elementary schools and teacher training colleges during the 1850's and 1860's. From then on the practice schools of training colleges where teacher students carried out their training periods served as laboratories where new development ideas on education were tested.¹⁹

Another entity of subjects was composed of qualifying subjects, mainly education and didactics, psychology, and school administration. In addition, the teachers of the future were taught Swedish and Russian as well as library administration so that they could maintain school libraries. Russian was on the curriculum in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but in practice it was neither taught nor studied with enthusiasm. Instead, Swedish had a stronger position, based on Finland's long shared history with Sweden.²⁰ The Swedish language maintained its position as an official language alongside Finnish after Finland gained its independence in 1917, and the language is still taught in Finnish educational institutions to this day.

Foreign languages, library administration and school administration prepared teacher students for administrative and bureaucratic assignments. As for the lectures in education, didactics and psychology, they gave students both the knowledge and skills to serve as experts in the field of education. Teachers became specialists in child care and education, teaching and, increasingly, in the mental life of children. Although the position of the psychology was relatively weak in the early years of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College, and the curriculum concentrated more on pedagogy and didactics, which had a Christian-nationalistic tone instead of a scholarly one, the role of psychology became stronger by the 20th century.²¹

Early childhood education was also on the curriculum in Jyväskylä in the 19th century, as the female students had to practise in a nursery school,

18 Because of this exceptionally significant and elemental life's work he has become a canonised national monument in Finland. However, he is also esteemed in the field of technology education. On the canonisation process, see Vilkuna, 'Cygnaeus and his reputation'; on Cygnaeus as the "father of technology education", see Dugger Jr, 'Uno Cygnaeus' and de Vries, 'The concept-context'.

19 Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 112–114, 266–267; Valtonen, 'Seminaariyhteisö', 69–70; Valtonen, 'Harjoituskoulusta', 165–166.

20 Valtonen, 'Seminaariyhteisö', 66; Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 240–262, 340–344.

21 The education guidelines, curricula and syllabi 1863–1907, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 216–218.

day nursery and a boarding house for the practise school pupils of the college, since women were considered to be more suitable for teaching and caring for small children than men. This experiment did not last long and since it was too burdensome for female students, the nursery school, day nursery and boarding house were gradually closed down by the end of the century.²²

Both the lectures on education, didactics and psychology remained relatively unchanged until the beginning of the 20th century. Both of these courses were part of the curriculum of the third and fourth year of the studies. Books and other teaching materials were revised from time to time, but the outlines and main contents of the syllabi remained the same. The didactics concentrated on subjects such as an inquisitive teaching method, while a lot of time on the classes on education concentrated on topics like the history of education. The lessons of psychology dealt with topics such as thinking and logical reasoning, memory and the theories of the individual and the mind, etc.²³

Another important area of expertise that the students became familiar with during their studies was school administration, including legislation on education and schooling. The Elementary School Decree was studied in particular detail. Furthermore, on the classes of elementary school subjects the students received not only knowledge on the subject but also specific instructions on the didactics of the subject in question. For instance, subjects such as history and mathematics had distinctions in didactical approaches. Even though the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College had two separate colleges (seminaries), one for female and one for male students, the teaching and its contents was identical in both colleges; the main exception was the above-mentioned practice that the women students had in the nursery school, day nursery and boarding house. Nevertheless, there were no major gender distinctions at the Jyväskylä College.²⁴

22 Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 80–84, 216–220; Valtonen, 'Seminaariyhteisö', 71; Nurmi, *Uno Cygnaeus*, 144.

23 Syllabi 1869–77, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä.

24 Syllabi 1869–77, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 80–84, 216–220.

The most important text books on the field of psychology that were used at the Jyväskylä College were *Försök till lärobok i psykologi* (An Attempt for a Textbook on Psychology) by Zacharias Joachim Cleve, professor of education and didactics (in Finnish *kasvatus- ja opetusoppi*) at the University of Helsinki, and a book by Thiodolf Rein, professor in philosophy. The title of Rein's book was *Sielutieteen oppikirja* (A Textbook on Psychology). Both Cleve and Rein represented modern humanism. Cleve's book was first published in Swedish in 1854 and translated into Finnish (*Sielutieteen oppikirja*) in 1869, whereas Rein's book was first published in Finnish in 1884, but it was shorter version of his two volume book *Försök till en framställning af psykologin* (An Attempt at a Presentation on Psychology 1876, 1891). The Finnish version of Rein's textbook was widely used in Finland until the 1930's and the last time it was reprinted was in 1934.²⁵ The first Finnish textbook on didactics was written by Olai Wallin who worked as a teacher at the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College. Although the didactical ideas at the Finnish teacher seminaries were based on Pestalozzi's teachings, which Cynaeus had adopted, most of the teachers of seminaries had received Humboldtian education, which caused a certain duality among the seminaries. After the turn of the century Herbartian ideas became dominant in Finnish seminary circles through Mikael Johnson's writings. The psychological basis of didactics was strengthened even more in the 1910's when positivism became a new theory of knowledge among Finnish academia.²⁶

The first textbook on psychology written originally in Finnish was Bruno Boxström's *Kasvatusopillinen sieluoppi* (Pedagogical Psychology) published in 1900. The book represented the field of educational psychology and was studied at the Jyväskylä College as well. Boxström's textbook was written entirely for the needs of teacher training in Finland. What was common for these textbooks mentioned above was that none of the authors represented experimental psychology, but a trend which was riding on the religious and theological tradition instead, although Boxström, who worked as a teacher at

25 The education guidelines and syllabi 1863–1907, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Cleve, *Försök till lärobok*; Rein, *Sielutieteen oppikirja*; Rein *Försök till en framställning*; Ihanus, 'Psykologia', 440–441; Ahonen, 'Millä opeilla', 241.

26 Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 217–219; Ahonen, 'Millä opeilla', 244–245.

seminaries in Uusikaarlepyy and Sortavala, was more sympathetic towards experimental methods than, for example Rein, and he referred to literature on psychophysics and child psychology in his book. Nevertheless, Rein did represent a moderately critical attitude towards the teachings of Christianity.²⁷ The same authoritative theological-philosophical or Christian-ideal wisdom was well represented among the teachers, such as Olai Wallin and Y. K. Yrjö-Koskinen, of the Jyväskylä College in the late 19th century. The philosophical pragmatism was relatively well-known in Finland at least since the turn of the century, and, for example, William James's ideas were known by several Finnish philosophers, including Rein. However, Rein was more a student of Wilhelm Wundt than of James. James began to achieve more of a reputation in Finland only after his books were translated into Finnish. The first one that was translated in 1913 was *Pragmatism: A new name for some old ways of thinking* (1907).²⁸ Nevertheless, it should be noted that not every teacher seminary in Finland used the same textbooks. Especially teachers of seminaries operating in the Swedish language mainly used textbooks which were written by Swedish scholars or which were translated into Swedish.²⁹

There was a major change after 1905, when Kaarle Johannes Oksala became the teacher of education, didactics and psychology at the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College. He was an advocate of a modern education and educational philosophy, which he had adopted while studying in Germany, especially in Leipzig and Hamburg. Kaarle Oksala brought a touch of experimental science to Jyväskylä, since he put the methods of experimental education and psychology into practice in his classes, and he acquired new scientific equipment for the college. Moreover, with Oksala, the Jyväskylä College gained new insights and new modern philosophy on early childhood education as well. Kaarle Oksala was one of the Finnish pioneers of the experimental education, a field which was influenced by experimental psychology, and through his and other pioneers' work both psychology and

27 Ihanus, 'Psykologia', 440–441; Ahonen, 'Kasvatustiede', 400–401; Nurmi, *Suomen kansakoulunopettajaseminaarien historia*, 65, 72.

28 Ihanus, 'Psykologia', 444–445, 449–451; Jalava, *Minä ja maailmanhenki*, 423; Pihlström, 'Nordic Pragmatism'.

29 Nurmi, *Suomen kansakoulunopettajaseminaarien historia*.

education started to gain more of their own distinctive features and to develop as separate fields. Oksala and Aukusti Salo, a Head of the Lower Primary School Teachers' College of Hämeenlinna, were in the frontline when the positivistic psychological and educational research reached Finland. For example, Oksala performed intelligence testing in the spirit of Binét, and his students had to carry out differential-psychological measurements.³⁰ An important part of the training consisted of reports students had to write out on their practise periods in practice schools. The reports contained assessments and analyses on pupils and their intellectual capacities, social skills, and their physical traits as well as mental and physical health. By writing out these reports future teachers proved their skills as specialists of education. After the Jyväskylä College of Education was founded in the 1930s, practice schools often served as subjects of observation and research.³¹

In the 1920's and 1930's, the qualifications required for the enrolment of teacher students was changed and the teacher training college for women started to intake only students with a middle school diploma, and their training time of teaching lasted three years. Courses for those with grammar school qualifications were also organised and they had to spend only two years at the seminary. This was due to the fact that at that time the education level of women rose rapidly, and since teaching was among those professions which were both available and an attractive choice for women, teacher training institutes received a lot of candidates with a high background education. As the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College received students with a higher basic training in the 1920's and 1930's, the role of subjects like education, pedagogy, didactics, psychology, and school administration gained more weight. The students with a higher basic training had already had the basic skills and knowledge in elementary school subjects. This explains why in the 1920's and 1930's female students had a shorter training period; two years instead of four or five years, a period which male students had

30 Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 216–220; Ahonen, 'Kasvatustiede', 404–405, 411; Ahonen, 'Millä opeilla', 245–247.

31 Teacher trainees' descriptions on their training periods, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 114–115; Valtonen, 'Seminaariyhteisö', 69, 71; Valtonen, 'Harjoituskoulusta', 165–166.

to spend at the training college. At that time women teacher students had a much higher basic training than men, and many of them had graduated from a grammar school, which indicated that Finnish women had rapidly developed a strong tradition of education and appreciation of schooling.³²

Towards the academic expertise

Kaarle Oksala for his part had an influence in the fact that the academic summer courses were organised in Jyväskylä from 1912 onwards. It was the first summer university in Finland. From the very first summer, the courses on education and psychology were an essential part of the Jyväskylä Summer University, and some of the courses were aimed at updating the educational level of elementary school teachers. The courses at the summer university departed from the teaching at the teacher training college; at the summer university the courses were university level teaching, in which the scholarly and scientific approach and academic touch were apparent. The teachers of the summer university came from amongst the highest experts in their fields in Finland.³³

The Jyväskylä Summer University laid the ground for the plan to establish a university level teacher education institute in Jyväskylä. The first attempts to found a university in Jyväskylä had already been made in the 19th century, but the initiative did not make any progress until Oksala took the project under his wings. His aim was to establish at least a college if not a university level teacher training institute to supplant the old, already at that time, traditional teacher seminary. The core of the plan was to raise the level of the basic education of the students so that the students should graduate from grammar schools and they should have the Finnish Matriculation Examination instead of graduating merely from an elementary school like most of the teacher seminary students had done. In Finland a student enrolling to university required a diploma from a grammar school or from

32 Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 124–126, 270–272; Valtonen, 'Korkeakoulun aika', 52–53; Kaarninen, *Nykyajan tytöt*, 206–209; Kaarninen & Kaarninen, *Sivistyksen portti*, 205; Nevala, *Korkeakoulutuksen kasvu*, 108–111; Elovaainio, *Korkeakoululaitoksen rakenne*.

33 Puranen & Valtonen, 'Opiskelijat, opettajat ja opetus', 74–78; Matikainen & Valtonen, 'Jyväskylän kesäyliopisto sata vuotta', 6–7; Kangas, *Jyväskylän yliopistokysymys*, 55, 58.

an equivalent institute, thus the Finnish Matriculation Examination served as an entrance examination for university studies.³⁴

Another aim was to create a teacher education institution which had its roots in science and in humanities, i.e. academic research. This aim was realised in 1934 when the Jyväskylä College of Education was founded and the role of education and psychology in teacher education grew. Education and psychology were the subjects which became the core content of the teacher education in Finland. Another sign was that among the first four professorships in the Jyväskylä College of Education, there was a professor in practical education and pedagogics (in Finnish *käytännöllinen kasvatusoppi* 1934), a professor in philosophy and theoretical education (in Finnish *filosofia ja teoreettinen kasvatusoppi* 1935), of which the field of expertise later became the so called protection and healing education and pedagogics, which, in turn, has later been known as special education (in Finnish *suojelu- ja parantamiskasvatusoppi* or *erityispedagogiikka* 1948), and a professor in psychology (1936). The fourth professorship was in the field of Finnish language (1935), thus three out of four professorships represented expertise in the fields of education and psychology. They were the only professorships in the College of Education until the late 1950's, when new professorships were designated. These new professors represented mainly subjects which were elementary and/or grammar school subjects, such as foreign languages and history.³⁵

The first professors were highly competent and qualified, for example both Oksala and Niilo Mäki, who was the professor in special education but had also served as an acting professor in psychology in the 1930s, had both studied abroad. Mäki had studied research on brain damage in Frankfurt-am-Main under Professor Adhémér Kemp and Professor Kurt Goldstein, as well as social psychology under Professor Edward Sapir and developmental psychology under Arnold Gesell in Yale. In Orange Park, Florida, he had studied psychology under Professor Robert Mearns Yerkes. Additionally he had visited Santa Fe to study cultural anthropology, and several other insti-

34 Kangas, *Jyväskylän yliopistokysymys*, 4–61; Kaarninen & Kaarninen, *Sivistyksen portti*, 85, 168, 188–189.

35 Kangas, *Jyväskylän yliopistokysymys*, 109; Valtonen, 'Korkeakoulun aika', 145–148, 213–214.

tutes of psychology and research on child and adolescence. He also explored different forms of social work. At the University of Helsinki he had studied under Professor Kaila, a philosopher who influenced a whole generation of Finnish scholars.³⁶

Unlike the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College, The College of Education placed emphasis on academic research. Moreover, the role of the research of the College of Education was written down in the law and in the statutes³⁷; the Jyväskylä College of Education had to contribute to the research in the field of education and schooling. Research done in Jyväskylä represented several disciplinary approaches including such foundational disciplines of education as psychology of education, philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education.³⁸ After World War II the rapid growth of the educational system required more information based on research on schooling, and Finnish educational sciences became more of an applied science than it had been before the war. Nevertheless, the strong psychological orientation remained along with a new didactical interest.³⁹

The research task was related to the societal tasks and impacts of the College of Education from the beginning. The college had cooperation with the officials of the town of Jyväskylä as well as other communal and governmental institutions and civic organisations. Especially the College and the town of Jyväskylä had a lot of cooperation in the field of special education. Also the individual professors and teachers of the College of Education had a wide range of expert tasks.⁴⁰ In teacher education, the cooperation with the observation class of the elementary school of Jyväskylä and the school for the deaf and blind in Jyväskylä, or institutions such as the Pernasaari reform school in Laukaa, a municipality nearby Jyväskylä, was realised by making excursions to them.⁴¹

36 Ihanus, 'Mäki, Niilo', 805–806.

37 Statute Book of Finland 41/1933 and 201/1934; Kangas, *Jyväskylän yliopistokysymys*, 107.

38 Valtonen, 'Korkeakoulun aika', 186–189, 200–203; Kangas, *Jyväskylän yliopistokysymys*, 129–133; McCulloch, 'Disciplines'.

39 Simola, Kivinen & Rinne, 'Didactic Closure', 882.

40 Valtonen, 'Korkeakoulun aika', 186–9, 200–203; Kangas, *Jyväskylän yliopistokysymys*, 129–133.

41 Curricula 1939–1958, the Archives of the Jyväskylä College of Education, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä.

Also, professors and other university-based scholars in education formed an alliance with administrators and politicians at the state level; they got a growing number of expert tasks, such as committee memberships in what becomes policy-making and societal planning. The same trend took place also in other countries during the 20th century, for example in the early 20th century United States. However, in the United States the field of educational research was more diversified than in Finland, where the small professional community took on a more unified form than in the USA.⁴² Nevertheless, the administrators had a growing need for knowledge concerning the education and other aspects of society, and in Finland the significance of academic knowledge culminated in the 1960's and 1970's, which can be described as the time of a planning society.

The third aim was to dispense the academic updating training for elementary school teachers who had no academic degree. To achieve this, the Jyväskylä Summer University became the central forum for interaction between academic students and non-academic teachers updating their education in 1912.⁴³ After the College of Education had been founded, the new institution mainly received students who had passed the Finnish Matriculation Examination. Some exceptions were made in the 1940's, when teachers of the lower classes of the elementary school were trained as elementary school teachers who had a qualification to teach the upper classes as well. These students got a dispensation. In the 1940's and early 1950's there was a shortage of qualified teachers—and other civil servants, too—caused by the war (loss of male teachers, interruptions to the teacher education etc.) and the baby boomers, and thus there was an occasion to expedite the graduation of new teachers. However, this had no major influence on the social composition of the students in practice, because the Matriculation Examination became common relatively quickly, and most of the students had graduated from grammar schools. The Matriculation Examination became common especially in the 1950's and 1960's, and the university level institutions of education had no difficulties to recruit students.⁴⁴

42 Mershon & Schlossman, 'Education, Science', 307, 334.

43 Puranen, 'Kesäyliopiston varhaisvaiheet', 19.

44 Valtonen, 'Korkeakoulun aika', 175–178, 183; Nevala, *Korkeakoulutuksen kasvu*, 94–98; See also Kaarninen & Kaarninen, *Sivistyksen portti*, 247.

The courses in psychology at the College of Education contained knowledge on general and developmental psychology with social psychological, educational and didactical applications as well as the psychology and psychopathology of abnormal children, questions on child welfare, care and protection, and further observation of pupils. The main textbooks on these fields and used at Jyväskylä College were Arvo Lehtovaara's, Kai von Fieandt's, J.E. Salomaa's, Matti Koskenniemi's and Richard Müller-Freienfels' writings, which indicated the institutionalisation⁴⁵ of disciplines in Finland. Curricula served as a tool to standardise the content of academic teacher training, and Finnish teacher training institutes worked in cooperation with each other; for example the Jyväskylä College of Education and the Helsinki Teacher Education College coordinated their curricula.⁴⁶ As psychology was emphasised at the Jyväskylä College, it could be predicted that there would be a rise of the importance of psychological thinking in teaching and education in the 1950's and 1960's, not just in Finland but in line with other Nordic countries as well.⁴⁷

In Jyväskylä the special education, formed the academic field which was closely related with social work. In the 1950's, for example, the ideas of special education were strongly present in the methods of child observation, psycho-diagnosis and psychometrics, of which principles were introduced to teacher students.⁴⁸ Thus, in the Jyväskylä College of Education, special education and methods of child observation played a more important role in teacher studies than had been at the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College. One additional reason for that was the fact that the fields of education and psychology were evolving rapidly since the late 19th century, and new sub-fields, such as special education, emerged in the first half of the 20th century. In Western Europe and in North America, special education became an academic discipline in the first half of the 20th century, which is roughly at the

45 Nisbet, 'Early Textbooks.'

46 Curricula 1939–1958, the Archives of the Jyväskylä College of Education, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä.

47 Carlgren et al., 'Changes in Nordic Teaching Practices', 303.

48 Curricula 1950–1955, the Archives of the Jyväskylä College of Education, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä.

same time as in Finland.⁴⁹ Both the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College and the College of Education were at the forefront of this development. However, it was not just psychology and special education that were at the core of the elementary teacher studies. Also, school administration and school legislation were taught intensively.⁵⁰

Ethics was one of the areas which were taught to teacher students. At teacher training seminaries, ethics was originally part of the more or less undivided group of subjects, which included psychology, education and ethics. Although ethics had previously had strong religious tones instead of being an area of philosophy, at the College of Education ethics had a background in philosophy instead.⁵¹ This, too, indicates the academisation of Finnish teacher training.

After the Jyväskylä College of Education became a university in 1966, the research on education done at Jyväskylä expanded further, and in 1968 the Institute for Educational Research was established to carry out educational and pedagogical studies along with the research carried out at the Faculty of Education.⁵²

All this meant a gradual process of academisation in teacher education, despite the fact that the teacher education, even at the Jyväskylä College of Education, preserved a great deal of the characteristics of the teacher seminary education, and that the teacher training period lasted only two years there. However, this was compensated by the organisation of the teaching at the college; because the Jyväskylä College was small and compact, the same teachers and professors gave lectures and examinations to teacher students and to students who had studied for the Bachelor of Education, Master of Education or for the Doctor of Education. The College received the entitlement to grant higher level academic degrees and doctoral degrees in the 1940's.

49 Salend & Garrick Duhaney, 'Historical and philosophical changes', 6–7; Winzer, *The History of Special Education*.

50 Curricula 1939–1958, the Archives of the Jyväskylä College of Education, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Salmela, *Suomen kansakouluhallinnon pääpiirteet* (the first ed. 1935, several editions); Salmela, *Suomen kansakouluhallinnon oppikirja* (the first ed. 1950, 2. revised ed. 1953).

51 The education guidelines and syllabi 1863–1907, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Curricula 1939–1958, the Archives of the Jyväskylä College of Education, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Valtonen, 'Seminaariyhteisö', 68.

52 Vilkuna, 'Tutkimus ja opetus', 211–218; Bergem et al., 'Research on Teachers and Teacher Education', 435.

From popular educators to experts of welfare state

In the first phase of the development of the elementary school system, the Finnish elementary school teachers were primarily popular educators, whose main task was to provide the people with the basic knowledge and skills they presumably needed, that is, reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as affections and respect for their country, for home, and for God. However, Finnish elementary school teachers started to transform from popular educators into modern experts in the 19th century. In this process, certain features and expert skills became more evident: the skills to assess children's behaviour, their cognitive powers and psychological characteristics, as well as the skills to administer schools. The dynamics behind the process was depending on wider trends in society in general and in the field of education in particular; the overall education level of the younger generations of the population rose rapidly, the educational system expanded and the role of the state grew in the field of education and welfare. Changes in teacher education occurred in parallel with these processes, when new education institutions were established to cover the requirements of education policies and new forms and content of teacher education were developed to meet the requirements of the slowly emerging welfare state and the modern welfare expertise.

The features of the modern expertise increased especially after the turn of the century. This trend was strengthened in the 1930's, when in Jyväskylä a university level teacher education institute replaced the old teacher seminary. As the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College received students with a higher basic training, the role of the subjects like education, pedagogy, didactics, psychology and school administration gained more weight. The students with high basic training had already acquired the basic skills and knowledge in elementary school subjects. Especially the level of women's education rose rapidly in Finland and since teaching was among the professions, which were both available for women and an attractive choice for them, teacher training institutes received a lot of candidates with a high background education. This explains why female students in the 1920's and 1930's had a shorter training period at the Jyväskylä Teacher Training Col-

lege; two to three years instead of four or five years, a period which male students had to spend at the training college. However, this difference became irrelevant among students of the Jyväskylä College of Education since both male and female students were expected to have graduated from grammar school.

Despite the academisation process, the teacher education preserved characteristics of the teacher seminary education and the teacher training period lasted only two years at the Jyväskylä College of Education. However, because the Jyväskylä College was small and compact, the same teachers and professors taught both teacher students and other students of the college. This meant that the teacher education was based on research and knowledge, which the lecturers had obtained by his/her own work of research.

Another phenomenon related to the education of elementary school teachers, and which was significant for the evolution of the modern educational expertise, was the coming up of the disciplines, such as educational, developmental and social psychology⁵³, which emphasised the assessment of children and their living conditions and family backgrounds. The role of these disciplines grew by the beginning of the 20th century. The founding of the Jyväskylä College of Education in 1934 sealed this development, when the college of education obtained three professorships in the fields of education and pedagogics, special education and psychology. These fields of knowledge played a more important part in teacher education than before, and at the same time a new field of educational expertise emerged, which represented special education teachers. Similar disciplinarisation and institutionalisation processes were going on in several other countries as well.⁵⁴

The above-mentioned new scholarly fields concentrated on enhancing the abilities and knowledge of future teachers to assess the mental abilities and capacities of elementary school pupils, as well as their physical traits

53 Ihanus, 'Psykologia'; Wright, 'The history of developmental psychology'; White, 'Evolving perspectives.'

54 Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 'Institutionalisation of Educational Sciences'; Nisbet, 'Early Textbooks'; Lindberg, 'Is 'Pedagogik' as an Academic Discipline'; Keiner, 'Education between Academic Discipline'; Hamel & Laroque, 'Observations from Quebec'; Gautherin, 'Preparing French School Teachers'; Burton & Bartlett, 'The evolution of Education Studies'; Lagemann, 'Contested Terrain'; Puustinen, 'Ohjatusta opetuksesta.'

and qualities. Based on their assessment, future teachers would have the knowledge to decide on the requisite measures to solve the observed issues. Such issues were, for instance, to decide if special education was needed because of some mental, social or physical problems. The third new task of expertise was to evaluate and control the child's social background, his/her family conditions, family relations, and housing conditions.

Education provided teacher students with more and more knowledge and skills to assess children. Elementary school teachers entered into the fields of social work and health care simultaneously with the transforming teacher education when they got guidance to co-operate with social workers, psychologists, nurses and medical doctors. Thus, teachers were given both the means and rights to exercise a controlling power in the society, that is, teachers became experts whose tasks were to anticipate possible individual and/or social problems and to prevent them, if possible, with given standards. Hence, through the teacher education, the elementary school teachers were positioned at a critical place in society; a position where several social phenomena were preliminary defined either as normal or anomalous and requiring a solution.

Even though both academisation and disciplinarisation were gradual processes and neither of them came of age before educational reforms in the 1970's, the rise of psychological expertise had affected the professionalisation of teaching. In Finland, like in many other countries, the teacher educators were active to increase the esteem of teachers; they did their best to set as high standards and qualification requirements as possible for elementary teachers and so influence the state and the public. The goal was reached in the 1970's when the former elementary school system was replaced with a new primary and secondary school system. The new system was based on the principle of equality—a central idea of the Nordic welfare policies. The contemporary reform of teacher education replaced elementary school teachers with primary school teachers (class teachers) who were trained as the advocates of the Finnish welfare state.

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