

Higher education research in Finland

**EMERGING STRUCTURES AND
CONTEMPORARY ISSUES**



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FINNISH INSTITUTE FOR
EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Editors
Sakari Ahola
David M. Hoffman

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Contents

PART I: INTRODUCTION

1. Higher education research from a Finnish perspective –
an introduction..... 11
Sakari Ahola and David M. Hoffman
2. The relationship between Finnish higher education and
higher education research 27
Jussi Välimaa
3. Some research threads in sociology of higher education in Finland ... 49
Osmo Kivinen and Päivi Kaipainen

PART II: THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM – STRUCTURES, REFORMS AND POLICY ISSUES

4. New elitism in universal higher education: The building process,
policy and the idea of Aalto University..... 69
Jussi Kivistö and Jarkko Tirronen

| | |
|--|-----|
| 5. In the shifting sands of policy – University academics’ and employees’ views and experiences of Finland’s new higher education policy | 89 |
| <i>Risto Rinne and Arto Jauhiainen</i> | |
| 6. The role of basic research at the entrepreneurial university: Back to basics? | 111 |
| <i>Oili-Helena Ylijoki , Liisa Marttila and Anu Lyytinen</i> | |
| 7. The problems with prolonging studies and delaying: The beginning of graduates’ working careers from the Finnish national and international perspectives | 131 |
| <i>Satu Merenluoto and Matti Lindberg</i> | |
| 8. Different worlds of financial autonomy: Reflections on Finnish higher education institutions | 147 |
| <i>Vuokko Kohtamäki</i> | |
| 9. Administrative costs and the new financial autonomy of Finnish universities..... | 165 |
| <i>Kari Kuoppala and Timo Näppilä</i> | |

PART III: INTERNATIONALISATION – A VIEW FROM A SMALL NORTHERN COUNTRY

| | |
|--|-----|
| 10. Internationalized campuses just don’t happen: Intercultural learning requires facilitation and institutional support | 189 |
| <i>Barbara Crawford and Lloyd Bethell</i> | |
| 11. Finnish higher education institutions as exporters of education – Are they ready? | 215 |
| <i>Yuzhuo Cai, Seppo Hölttä and Jussi Kivistö</i> | |
| 12. Internationalization and the invisible language? Historical phases and current policies in Finnish higher education | 235 |
| <i>Taina Saarinen</i> | |

PART IV: INSIDE FINNISH ACADEMIA

13. A comparative perspective on the work content of the academic profession.....251
Timo Aarrevaara and Elias Pekkola
14. Precarious work at the ‘entrepreneurial’ university: Adaptation versus ‘abandon ship’. Individualization and identity work: Coping with the ‘entrepreneurial’ university271
Minna Nikunen
15. Understanding curriculum in Finnish higher education.....291
Marita Mäkinen and Johanna Annala
16. Mapping guidance and counselling between policy and practice..... 313
Johanna Annala, Vesa Korhonen and Leena Penttinen
17. Research on scholarly communities and the development of scholarly identity in Finnish doctoral education337
Kirsi Pyhältö, Anna Raija Nummenmaa, Tiina Soini, Jenni Stubb, Kirsti Lonka

PART V: HIGHER EDUCATION AND WORKING LIFE

18. Current employability and graduate employment research in Finland... 357
Antero Puhakka, Juhani Rautopuro, Visa Tuominen and Päivi Vuorinen-Lampila
19. The three phases of the research and development activities in the Finnish universities of applied sciences..... 383
Teemu Rantanen and Timo Toikko
20. Developing the work-based mission of the universities of applied sciences – Case: The Professional Master’s Degree 407
Marja-Liisa Neuvonen-Rauhala
21. Establishing virtual learning places between higher education and working life through e-mentoring421
Irja Leppisaari and Marja-Liisa Tenhunen
- Contributors441

Part I:
Introduction



Higher education research from a Finnish perspective – an introduction

The development of higher education research, as a self-standing field of inquiry, is closely related to the institutionalisation of the field and to the building of academic self-awareness of actors having varied disciplinary and institutional backgrounds. This is accentuated, as the main thrust for an increasing interest in higher education matters comes from outside academia. Inside academia, there is, as described by Guy Neave and Ulrich Teichler, “an element of navel gazing when academics come to look at themselves, their colleagues and their institutions” (Neave & Teichler 1989, 207).

The growing interest by national governments and international organizations, like the OECD, relates to the fundamental transformations of higher education itself, usually referred to as massification (e.g. Tight 2004). Along with the rapid expansion are also the relationships between governments (often as the principle funders) and evolving higher education institutions, whose missions are increasingly redefined. In the 21st century, the autonomous university, or ‘ivory tower’, where navel gazing was the norm, has been transformed into a *system*

with in-puts, through-puts and out-puts, the quality of which should be measured and monitored (Neave 1985, 1989.) The birth of educational planning, especially in the Finnish case, was part of a wider reorganisation of the central government. The *corps bureaucratique* has grown, as the organisation of government became more differentiated. A new political and administrative ideology has emerged, according to which the development of a society can be rationally planned and controlled (Ahola, Kivinen & Rinne 1992).

There have, of course, always been those that Teichler (2000, 19) termed “discipline-based, occasional higher education researchers”. In the Finnish case these were historians and social scientists, who were interested especially in the relationships between higher education and social mobility. Along with the above-mentioned changes, using Teichler’s widely cited typology, applied higher education researchers, consultants and reflective practitioners have been quite active in colonising this field (Ahola & Välimaa 2002).

In the Finnish case, a specialised educational research institute was established in 1968, at the University of Jyväskylä, which had been upgraded to a university from a former teacher training college, a few years earlier, as part of the regional expansion of Finnish higher education. The mission of this research institute, the Finnish Institute for Educational Research (FIER), has focused on the follow-up and evaluation of large and ongoing educational reforms, like the build up of Finland’s comprehensive school system. The large administrative and curricular reforms of the late 1960s and 1970s stirred growing interest also in higher education. In 1971, during a project commissioned by the Ministry of Education, the first review of the state of the art and future needs of higher education research in Finland was produced. In addition a bibliography on higher education research from 1969 to 1971 was published (Ahola & Välimaa 2002; see also Välimaa in this volume).

The cited review revealed an intense discussion in Finland on the organisation of higher education research. The report concluded, not at all surprisingly, that the field was scattered, and research, although expanding fast, did not serve the development of higher education particularly well. There had been, for instance, individual initiatives to

establish a chair in higher education (University of Tampere), and a department of higher education research (University of Helsinki), and at least, in principle, it seemed that the Finnish Ministry of Education favoured this *de facto* decentralised approach (Lillberg 1971; Kalaja & Lillberg 1972).

It took, however, almost 20 years before a specialised unit in higher education research was founded in Finland. The Research Unit for the Sociology of Education (RUSE) started as a collaborative initiative in the late 1980s, and became established as a special unit of the University of Turku in 1992. The founding of RUSE related to the need to strengthen higher education research in a situation where higher education policy was rapidly changing, leading, for instance, to the founding of the polytechnics, currently called universities of applied sciences (UAS). RUSE had a special mission from the Ministry of Education, and also earmarked money, to conduct higher education research, albeit its research profile included also other sociological and education related subjects (see Kivinen & Kaipainen in this volume). In 1995, the university established a chair in sociology of education which strengthened RUSE's academic standing. According to Ahola and Välimaa (2002) the founding of RUSE evoked a fruitful competitive situation in the field, and challenged FIER to develop and profile their research in higher education.

In 2001 a chair, specifically in higher education, was established at the University of Jyväskylä (FIER). Critical momentum was also created by the special development project FINHERT (Finnish Network for Higher Education and Training), financed by the Ministry of Education during 2000–2005. The FINHERT initiative was grounded in the rapidly changing higher education policy environment of the late 1990s. The main objective of the network was to support Finnish higher education policy making and institutional level decision making, leadership and administration by research, research training, basic and further education, and by dissemination and refining of the outcomes of higher education research. In addition, the project was evaluating the feasibility to establish complete degree programmes in higher education. RUSE and FIER, together with the department of administrative science at the University of Tampere comprised the FINHERT project. The Tampere researchers were

developing a specialty in the field of management of higher education, and went on to establish the Higher Education Group (HEG). FINHERT was an important platform for collaboration and further institutionalisation of the Finnish higher education research field. Since the time of FINHERT, two other nationally significant units have come to the fore of an increasingly diverse approach to higher education research in Finland. Specifically, The Unit for Science, Technology and Innovation Studies (TaSTI), at the University of Tampere, and the Network for Higher Education and Innovation Research (HEINE), at the University of Helsinki (see Vålímaa in this volume).

A significant milestone in the development and institutionalisation of higher education research, at the European level, was the founding of the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers (CHER) in 1988. CHER arose from a special conference focused on the state of higher education research in Europe, in Kassel Germany (Teichler 2000). In 1999, during a national symposium on higher education, Finnish higher education research specialists agreed on the founding of a sister organisation, The Consortium of Higher Education Researchers in Finland (CHERIF). According to its constitution, CHERIF aims at promoting wide-ranging and multi-field research on higher education, and enhancing the communication and collaboration between researchers and other key actors in the broad field of higher education. In 2010, CHERIF became a member of the Federation of Finnish Learned Societies.

FIER has been organising a national triennial higher education symposium since 1981. These symposiums have been important occasions gathering higher education researchers and practitioners, together with administrators to disseminate research results and to discuss current topics in higher education. They have improved mutual understanding but also illuminated how the higher education community is “stratified both chronologically and intellectually” (Neave 1985, 10). The mission of CHERIF has been to provide a single platform of discussion for this heterogeneity, building a common vocabulary to approach our shared research object, the phenomenon of higher education.

One concrete tool, in addition of being actively involved in organising the symposium, is **CHERIF's Yearbook of Higher Education Research**. The Yearbook, despite its name, is not an annual publication, but represents an effort by CHERIF to publish, with some regularity, issues of significance concerning Finnish higher education. It supplements the symposium publications, which portray the current variety of ongoing higher education research, with a more general and overarching perspective. The first volume of the Yearbook published in 2002 (Ahola & Välimaa) was an attempt to look at the topography of the field by gathering researchers who gained their PhD's during the 1990s to reflect on their dissertations, as they related to Finnish higher education. This generation was specifically asked to locate their research topics within the traditions of higher education research in which they were rooted, and to analyse their results in light of the current developments of the field. The sediments of the different intellectual and disciplinary traditions (see Neave 1985) were clearly visible in the outcome which was titled *Tribes, cultivation and administration*. Unfortunately the English translation does not convey the semantic impact of the original Finnish title. The translation, however, conveys an idea of the range of subjects covered.

The volume in hand started from an idea, and a clear need, to offer a glimpse of Finnish higher education research to an international audience. For various reasons, ranging from the results of the OECD's PISA tests to *Newsweek* magazine billing Finland as 'The World's Best Place to Live' (Sachs 2004), the Finnish higher education system and our higher education policy increasingly attracts a great deal of interest. At international conferences, in the form of a steadily growing number of cooperation requests and from a steadily increasing number of visiting PhD students and researchers, the authors of this Yearbook field more and more requests for information concerning – and explanations of – our higher education system.

Like elsewhere, reforms have been constant, but Finland often appears – at first glance – to craft novel solutions. These include e.g. the extensive experimentation with our polytechnics. Our latest big reform, termed – inside Finland – as 'the reform of the century' – has now separated universities from the state, making them independent legal entities under

public law or foundations under private law. Both themes are thoroughly discussed in the chapters of this text. What the reader may find, in the Yearbook's accounts, are that what appears to be a model system – from the 'outside, looking-in' – contains quite a lot of controversy on the 'inside, looking-around'. The Finnish higher education system, from the outside, is often valorised at the expense of critical reflection. This can be seen when thinking about the types of studies *not* done in Finland, to the extent they are in other countries (see Hoffman 2007 and Välimaa in this volume). On the other hand, on the inside, as in many higher education systems, Finnish higher education actors sometimes bemoan a situation, which is, relatively speaking, rather good, simply because a more global or comparative picture is often lacking on issues that seem to be happening 'just to us'. In the spirit of opening up international dialogue, we hope critical readers of this Yearbook might note the kinds of topics that *do not* appear in our chapters (Hoffman et al. 2011). As is often the case in higher education studies, critical topics in the shadows are sometimes more interesting than sunlight meadows. In this sense, the Yearbook might serve to open up new efforts.

For this Yearbook, an open call for papers was issued widely, to Finland's higher education community. In the call the objective was formulated to present Finnish higher education research, its organisation and state of the art, to an international audience, featuring current problems, research agendas, and central accomplishments in both empirical research and theory building. In addition, like in the first Yearbook, the authors were asked to position their article within the Finnish and/or international tradition of higher education research. As previously, the latter task proved to be quite challenging, and in some chapters, the traces of traditions are more visible than in others. This, however, underlines how the various types of higher education experts defined by Teichler (2000) occupy, fertilise and alter the field.

From the proposals, 20 papers were selected, because of their clear relevance to the call for proposals, overall quality, and potential interest to the international higher education community. The chapter manuscripts were revised with respect to the emerging thematic structure of the Yearbook, then assigned both national and international reviewers,

according to the themes of the Yearbook and the specific topics addressed by the authors.

The Yearbook is divided in five parts. **Part one** includes two introductory articles. *Jussi Välimaa* paints a general, broad-brush examination on the relationships between the developments of Finnish higher education vis-à-vis higher education research. Like Neave (1985) in his analysis of the Swedish case, Välimaa emphasises the close relationship between higher education research, political or policy processes in Finnish higher education, and the strong influence of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture. *Osmo Kivinen* and *Päivi Kaipainen* present the main research threads in the field of sociology of higher education, especially from the point of view of RUSE, which was the first research institute with an explicit mission this field. Their analysis starts from the longstanding and well-established research traditions relating to equality of educational opportunity, social selection and to the ever more problematic relationship between education and the labour market. An example of a more recent thread, relating to the changing role of higher education in the knowledge based society, is the development in the analysis of university rankings and productivity. Like Välimaa, also Kivinen and Kaipainen stress in their conclusion the strength of Finnish higher education research, especially against the fact that higher education is not a specific subject in any university.

Part two deals with the higher education system, its structures, reforms, and emerging policy issues. *Jussi Kivistö* and *Jarkko Tirronen* open this section with a policy analysis that critiques a major departure from past higher education policy in the above-mentioned reforms. Specifically, they argue that past normative assumptions linked to the non-stratification of higher education institutions may have been linked to non-stratification in Finnish society, in general. While this type of connection bears future empirical examination, the policy analysis itself is quite refreshing and invites discussion.

Risto Rinne and *Arto Jauhiainen* analyse the new higher education policy, and the views and experiences of university personnel concerning the reforms. Their chapter draws on a large survey conducted as part of a project funded by the Academy of Finland. Taking their viewpoint

from Stephen Ball's concept of policy technologies, Rinne and Jauhiainen conclude that especially university faculty have not been pleased with the basic elements of the new policy technologies, including the market format, new managerialism, and the new norms linked to performativity. The results manifest not just in general resistance to reforms and change, but relate to deeper conflicts of power and clashes of cultures.

Oili-Helena Ylijoki, Liisa Marttila and Any Lyytinen deal in their chapter with the role of basic research in the new entrepreneurial university environment. Based on a survey of department heads and leaders of separate research units in all Finnish universities, Ylijoki, Marttila and Lyytinen conclude that basic research is still important and co-exists with applied research and – to a lesser extent – with development work. Curiosity-driven basic research is associated with deep-rooted academic ideals and values offering a base for identity building for individual researchers and academic units.

One of the long-standing policy concerns in Finnish higher education relates to the delayed entry and long study times. In their chapter *Satu Merenluoto* and *Matti Lindberg* approach these topics from both national and international perspectives. Leaning on the large pan-European CHEERS and REFLEX data (see also Kivinen & Kaipainen in this volume) they analyse the transition processes in four countries, Finland, Germany, Italy and UK, against the institutional frame of their educational and labour market systems. In the comparison Finland pairs with Germany both having high level of delays, but at the same time a quit smooth transition to employment. One reason for this is students' flexible participation in the labour market during studies. The challenge to future policy, according to Merenluoto and Lindberg, is the balancing act between the flexibility in the routes of entry and modes of participation, and the restrictive measures by which students are urged to complete their studies in time.

Vuokko Kohtamäki leads off a strong group of Yearbook authors focused on Finland's universities of applied sciences, which have become a highly interesting topic in their own right, as they have emerged as an increasingly important component of Finland's higher education sector. Her account of financial autonomy issues gives a full picture of some of the

most important differences between research universities and universities of applied sciences – and some of the most interesting finance questions that will form the basis for policy debate in the immediate future as HEIs in Finland increasingly strive to distinguishing themselves from each other – while at the same time widening resource pools – and their influence over the use of resources.

Linked to these financial matters, *Kari Kuoppala* and *Timo Näppilä* discuss the problem of taking administrative costs into account in the increasingly complex university accounting. Their own research and the previous long-term time-budget studies of academic personnel show that in certain positions, various administrative duties have increased. At the same time, due to the reforms of higher education, especially the most recent university reform, questions of cost accounting and the associated problem of administrative costs have become more urgent. According to Kuoppala and Näppilä, simplified solutions like relying on the idea of economies of scale, or outsourcing support services, do not seem adequate in the university context. Meanwhile, growing administrative costs at the institutional level and heavier administrative load at the individual level prevail.

Part three deals with the increasingly complex nature of internationalization and emerging issues in Finnish higher education. *Barbara Crawford* and *Lloyd Bethell* focus ‘inward’ on ‘Internationalization at Home’, locating two specific programs in a Finnish university and university of applied science – respectively – with reference to the international literature on this topic, while using that same literature to underline growing pains that are simultaneously globally and locally rooted and keenly felt in Finland’s higher education institutions. Looking ‘outward’ *Yuzhuo Cai*, *Seppo Hölttä* and *Jussi Kivistö* ask very pointed questions, as to the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture’s policy signal that they are now poised to enter the lucrative global higher education market of provision of education services – for profit. Their analysis and reflection introduces the ambiguity of a system in which generalizations from the field are not necessarily what policy-makers would like to hear at this point. This observation introduces a very real question: ‘Who should be listening to who’ regarding this topic and – more importantly: *Why?*

Taina Saarinen, in her analysis of ‘the invisible language of internationalization’, partially addresses this question. Specifically, by asserting a policy analysis that illuminates the sometimes uncomfortable truth that the Finnish higher education system, in their rush to ‘get ahead’, may be quite unaware of the larger trends, specifically the ebb and flow of languages and power that spell the difference between novel, innovative approaches versus ‘everyone else’. She points out the risks connected to unawareness of subtle, unquestioned assumptions regarding issues like language policy, that spell the difference between HEIs and entire higher education systems ending up in the latter category, as opposed to the former.

The chapters in this section – taken together – illuminate issues that are little understood within Finland, yet highly interesting as to international audiences, who, like Currie and Newson (1998), wondered aloud which of the world’s higher education systems could – or would – withstand the forces of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie 1997). The authors of this section, like many others in this volume, might introduce a healthy skepticism as to whether or not some in Finnish higher education have ‘sold out’ – along with all the other nations marching to the agenda setting of international organizations (Kallo 2009; see also Välimaa in this volume). Or the extent to which they are aware of the risks these authors point out.

Part four of the yearbook has been titled ‘inside Finnish academia’. It consists of articles relating e.g. to the changing nature of academic work, a theme which has been on the agenda at least two decades now, due to the rapid transformation of higher education and its societal connections. *Timo Aarrevaara* and *Elias Pekkola* offer a comparative perspective to the work contents of the academic profession by using data from the international CAP survey (Changing Academic Profession). They look especially at the different shares of working time devoted to research and teaching and show how difficult this kind of empirical comparisons are unless the various institutional, professional, and labour marked related differences of the countries in question are accounted for. In the Finnish case, an example is the totally different nature of the two higher education sectors regarding the definition and dimensioning of their research and teaching functions.

A different but highly topical viewpoint is offered by *Minna Nikunen* with her empirically rooted examination of precarious work in academia that will resonate in many countries. Nikunen's critical examination of this topic, like many of the Yearbook's authors, calls into question the 'fit' between academic capitalism and aspects of the academic work which suggest Finnish higher education's policy makers and decision takers might be choosing the 'worst of both worlds,' in our emerging version of stratified HEIs and status hierarchies of disciplines within these. Her gendered account of precarious employment introduces, again, a topic talked about in glowing terms *outside* Finnish higher education, which might not survive critical scrutiny *inside* Finnish higher education.

Questions of curriculum and curriculum development have become increasingly important during the Bologna process and the increased emphasis on learning outcomes. In their chapter *Marita Mäkinen* and *Johanna Annala* provide a framework for analysing how the concept of curriculum is understood in Finnish higher education. By leaning on two case studies (one university and one UAS) they show how the internal objectives of curriculum, like reproduction of disciplinary knowledge, or external pressures, like demands on better employability, configure in the different understandings, and how they vary between the sectors. According to Mäkinen and Annala, there is a potential for what they call an emancipatory curriculum leading to empowerment, reflective and reciprocal development. On the other hand, in both sectors there seems to be a passive approach to the norms and guidelines of higher education policy, which may undermine these tendencies.

Johanna Annala, *Vesa Korhonen* and *Leena Penttinen's* chapter offers a current look at guidance and counselling issues in the Finnish context, situating the state of the art of research and development in this rapidly changing field in relation to international trends. Of particular interest is their distinction of 'front office' and 'back office' domains, which conceptually illuminates the facets of guidance and counselling that get the lion's share of attention – and those that do not.

The structures and processes of doctoral training have been on the research agenda since the introduction of the graduate school system in Finland in the beginning of the 1990s, and the quite aggressive policy of

increasing the number of doctorates since. In their chapter *Kirsi Pyhältö, Anna Raija Nummenmaa, Tiina Soini, Jenni Stubb and Kirsti Lonka* look at the development of scholarly identity in Finnish doctoral training from the point of view research on scholarly communities. What kind of practises and processes promote high quality learning and meaningful identity development, the authors ask. Their research suggests, among other things, that learning, and what is considered to be best practises, are to a certain extent depending on the context, and are negotiated, constructed, and reconstructed in the scholarly communities in which doctoral training is situated.

The final part of our Yearbook approaches the various connections of higher education and working life. To start with, *Antero Puhakka, Juhani Rautopuro, Visa Tuominen and Päivi Vuorinen-Lampila* situate the world of Finnish employability research, as it relates to HEI graduates firmly within international debates and discussions, while at the same time underlining the sometimes overly pragmatic nature of this type of research. As is the case in many countries, this is because the demand for the type of research the authors report on originates primarily from interest-driven discussions of stakeholders and HEIs, trying to portray themselves in the best possible light. That said, the author's review is a good account of the state-of-the-art on this topic in Finland and will serve persons specialized in this topic well.

Teemu Rantanen and Timo Toikko analyse the evolutionary phases of the R&D activities in Finnish universities of applied sciences. R&D is one of the cornerstones of the work-based mission of the UASs, and their means to distinguish themselves from the universities. In their analysis Rantanen and Toikko look at the progress of R&D activities through three related concepts, knowledge, competencies, and innovation. During the three developmental phases detected, the emphasis on these concepts has varied. The phases themselves, however, are defined through the multiple legislative changes and administrative decisions taken during the development of the Finnish non-university sector from experimental polytechnics seeking their mission and legitimacy to established universities of applied sciences, nowadays also with a special postgraduate function (see Neuvonen-Rauhala in this book).

Marja-Liisa Neuvonen-Rauhala contributes to the Yearbook's solid focus of Finnish universities of applied sciences with a highly accessible account of the development of the work-based master's degree in the UAS, a policy approach which distinguishes Finland's approach to a differentiated higher education system that will probably be followed with great interest both inside Finland – because of the vested interests linked to the stakeholders which were, and are, major actors in this system-wide policy – and outside Finland – because this distinct approach may well be used as a model in many situations, depending on future outcomes.

A more practice-related viewpoint to the collaboration between UASs and the working life is offered by *Irja Leppisaari* and *Marja-Liisa Tenhunen*. They describe and analyse e-metoring as a pedagogical practice and the creation of virtual meeting places between UASs and the working life. The two projects presented are based on the principles of working life oriented innovative pedagogy, mutually beneficial contents, and the using of virtual meeting places. According to Leppisaari and Tenhunen, the pilot projects have proved successful in creating more flexibility in the collaboration between UASs and the working life, and responded to the needs of continuous development and sharing of expertise.

On the whole, the articles in this volume make a convincing case that Finnish higher education research is well embedded within the wider traditions of this field of inquiry. The increasingly global and international aspects of the higher education scene, and the supranational policy processes, most notably the Bologna process, mean similar issues and challenges surface in varied national contexts. Furthermore, research is increasingly done in networks and comparative settings, highlighting the importance of cultural understanding, conceptual development, and theoretical grounding.

Many of the issues, again, are 'eternal'. They have been with us from the birth of the field, or belong to the durable questions of sociology of education. What is higher education all about? What are its functional mechanisms? How does it evolve? And what will the future bring? (cf. Teichler 2011.)

The closure of CHERI, the Centre for Higher Education Research and Information in the UK's Open University, made John Brennan (2011)

contemplate the 'end times'. He extended the metaphor to the question: What is happening to higher education? Is it being transformed by governments, in the name of new public management, to some kind of auxiliary institutions of national innovation systems within knowledge societies? Thus, is higher education, as we know it, entering its own 'end times'? What will become of its chief functions and forms, and what may the consequences be for society? From the Finnish perspective, we share Brennan's trust that "there will be some higher education researchers around to find the answers to these questions" (Brennan 2011, 12).

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The relationship between Finnish higher education and higher education research

Introduction

This chapter discusses the relationship between higher education research and higher education in Finland. The main aim is to examine how the topics and issues in higher education research are influenced by and related to changes in the relationships between higher education institutions, the system, as a whole and ultimately, Finnish society. For this analysis, it is necessary to discuss how the national higher education policy environment has influenced the topics of higher education research and how this relationship, along with the contextual settings of Finnish higher education have changed historically. This should not be mistaken as a case of methodological nationalism, specifically the assumption that the nation-state is a natural unit of analysis in social sciences (Beck 1999). Rather, Finland, like many nations, is an interesting contextual focal point in its own right.

The main value of this type of analysis occurs with respect to the international perspective, where the rationales for specific national higher education research topics and issues are harder to spot. This is because international comparative research tends to focus on a 'select few' popular policy topics, like the Bologna Process, New Public Management or social phenomena which have been theorized or discussed in international higher education research, like globalization or the marketization of higher education. Furthermore, international organizations, like the OECD, IMF or the EU have promoted very particular policy agendas and topics linked to these, throughout the globe. It is often the case that these international fashions and fads (see Birnbaum 2000), or discourses (see Saarinen 2007) easily camouflage the fact that the development of national higher education research is strongly influenced by traditions, structures and policy issues perceived as relevant within national higher education systems. In the past, this was clearly the case with Finland; which has been isolated from the emerging international community of higher education researchers through its geography, history and language. Because of these, the main research funding institution, The Ministry of Education and Culture (MOE) was merely interested in funding research that focused on domestically rooted policy questions during the 1970s and the 1980s. The MOE continues to represent national interests and to support research that is seen as nationally relevant. That said, the understanding of 'national' is changing, and 'national interests' are currently heavily influenced by the international organizations mentioned above more than in the past. More precisely: national policy makers translate those parts of international policy trends that conform their domestic political objectives and national higher education policies (see Kallo 2009). The other main reason for the separation from international higher education research community is generational. The first generation of Finnish higher education researchers was hired mainly with short-term project contracts to conduct Finnish (language) policy-oriented studies under the pressures of tight timetables in the 1970s (Välimaa 2000). They were not encouraged to write for international audiences or to qualify academically, as researchers, but to focus only on what were seen as 'Finnish' topics. That is exactly what they did.

This chapter is based, in part, on previous studies of this topic (see Ahola & Välimaa, 2002; Välimaa 2000), on analyses of recent changes, and flavored with my 20 years of experience as a higher education researcher. The analysis is painted with a broad brush, and the aim is to focus on central trends and traditions, as opposed to a detailed account, which would include every single study conducted in the field of higher education research in Finland.

The historical development of the Finnish higher education system

The history of Finnish higher education is basically the history of its changing relationship with society during the time of the Swedish Kingdom, the Russian Empire and the Republic of Finland – in this historical order. Knowing these traditions is important for understanding their influence on Finnish higher education research.

The history of Finnish higher education began with the establishment of the Royal Academy, in Åbo (Turku) in 1640. From the beginning, one of the most important aims of the university has been to promote the culture of this remote region of Europe, to train pastors for the Lutheran Church and civil servants for the 'Prince'. During Russian rule, the only university in the country, the Imperial Alexander University, later the University of Helsinki, served as the cradle for the emerging Finnish nation state, supporting its intellectual, political, and cultural development. In the 20th century the higher education system was driven by and linked to the forces of industrialization and modernization of society. From inception through the two World Wars, Finnish higher education was an *elite system*, and the number of higher education students remained small (see Nevala 1999).

The expansion of higher education in the direction of a mass higher education system was launched after World War II resulting in the establishment of universities all over Finland by the end of the 1980s. Measured by student numbers, higher education in Finland became a mass higher education system during the 1970s. In 2008, there were 280,000

students in Finnish higher education institutions. Of those students 148,000 attended universities while 132,000 studied in polytechnics (Korkeakoulut 2009). About 65 percent of the relevant age cohorts study in higher education institutions within two or three years of their matriculation examination (Ahola 2004). This means that there is a mass or universal higher education system in Finland. The largest proportions of the funding of Finnish higher education (two thirds) comes from the MOE and from other (one third), public or semi-public sources, for example foundations. Approximately 4–6 percent of funding comes from business enterprises. There are no tuition fees and the state support for students is based on the assumption that students are young adults who are financially independent from their parents. The steering of the system is based on management by results, where efficiency is rewarded. National higher education databases (KOTA and AMKOTA) enable the monitoring of the system. The development of Finnish higher education institutions (HEIs) is supported by the Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council (FINHEEC), an independent entity funded by the MOE.

The expansion of Finnish higher education is closely related to the goals of a *welfare-state agenda* supported by major political parties. The provision of equal educational opportunities was one of the most important objectives on this agenda, implemented over a period of time extending from the 1960s to the 1990s. The expansion of higher education has been supported by *egalitarian policy aims* and with an emphasis on *regional policy*, which aimed at developing all regions of the country. The main social force at work was the aim to give equal educational opportunities to all Finnish citizens regardless of their gender, socioeconomic status, or geographical location. These social values have deep roots in Finnish society and traditions that underpinned Finnish higher education in the late 20th century (Välimaa 2001). The establishment of a university has been considered not merely symbolically, but also culturally and economically important to the development of the regions. Indeed, this policy has been successful in promoting national development, because areas with HEIs have supported knowledge-based regional economic growth, whereas other – often rural – areas are losing their labor force and economic vitality. This has also meant that provinces, which

did not succeed in getting a university of their own during the expansion period (from the 1960s to the 1980s), have been very active in establishing polytechnics in the 1990s, when more than 100 secondary education institutions were merged into 32 polytechnics (known as Universities of Applied Sciences).

One of the most radical changes in the Finnish higher education system took place in 2009 and 2010, when universities were formally separated from the nation state structure. The status of universities was changed from state (or public) universities into 'independent legal entities' with increased economic and institutional autonomy. Simultaneously, the number of universities was decreased, as seven universities merged into three. As a consequence of these major reforms, there are now 16 publicly funded universities (including art academies, business schools & technical universities) and 25 publicly funded Universities of Applied Sciences in 2010. This reform, The New Universities Act (558/2009) changed the legislative context of the universities. This was a radical change from the previous higher education policy because, traditionally, Finnish universities have been defined as national cultural institutions, whereas now the aim is to create a status hierarchy in Finnish higher education system with the establishment of a 'world class university' in Helsinki, known as Aalto University. This policy aim is in contradiction with the traditional policy, which has followed egalitarian and regional policy principles. The reform is being implemented at the moment of writing this chapter, but it has already inspired a number studies (Välimaa 2011) and academic books, most of which are critical to the reforms (See Tomperi 2010 and Kivistö & Tirronen in this volume).

Despite the fact that the legislative framework for universities has been changed, the structure of the Finnish system of education remains the same (see figure 1). Paying attention to the structure of the Finnish system of education helps to identify other key topics concerning the system that have been addressed in Finnish higher education research.

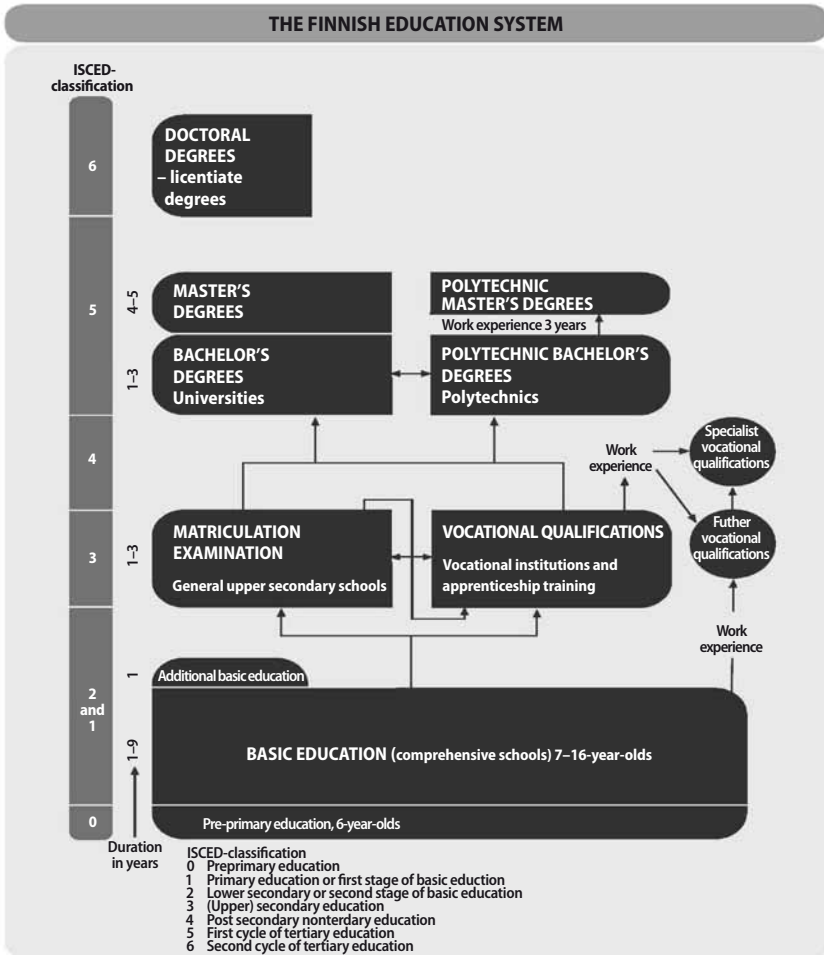


Figure 1. The structure of Finnish system of education as illustrated by the MOE. Source: <http://www.minedu.fi/OPM/Koulutus/koulutusjaerjestelmae/?lang=en>

The arrows (in figure 1) trace how Finnish society aims to produce and reproduce itself through its system of education. In addition, both potential paths and basic expectations can be seen regarding the relationships between basic and higher education. The system aims at general upper

secondary education, linked to the national matriculation examination, which provides students with the required qualification to apply for either university or polytechnic studies. After having finished their studies in basic education schools, 16-year-olds may also choose vocational institutions or apprenticeship training, which serve as qualifications for polytechnic studies. After completing polytechnic education students may, if they wish to follow their academic ambitions, continue to university studies. As the diagram arrows indicate, it is possible to change from polytechnics to universities and vice versa.

Research topics linked to the structures of the educational system and student flows have become regular topics for many researchers, because of their academic specialities, but also because of their societal interest. For policy-makers, it is important to know what is actually happening in the system of education. Have policy objectives been reached? For higher education research, longstanding objects of research have been *access* to higher education and whether access is related to social background; and *student drop-out* patterns: Who stays in higher education, who drops out, when and why?

In addition to the structural characteristics of the Finnish system of education, and linked changes and reforms, the other main source of policy-relevant higher education research derives from the values and norms of Finnish society. It is important for academics (and politicians) to understand how values and norms materialize in social realities. It has long been assumed that the values of Finnish society are rooted in *social, economic* and *political equality*. 'Social' refers to the fact that there are no extreme class differences in Finnish society, even though the differences in income are increasing. In an economic sense, this means that strong social support policies are widely accepted, and expected to redistribute wealth from high-income to low-income groups. Politically, this refers to the fact that, more or less, all political parties share the ideals of a Nordic Welfare State. However, left wing political parties emphasize individual rights, whereas right wing parties emphasize more individual responsibilities and liberties. Finland has also been, and continues to be, one of the most genetically and culturally homogenous countries in the world with only about two percent immigrant population, even though this

situation is slowly changing. In the last two decades, Finland changed from a country of net-emigration to a country of net-migration, specifically; more people now migrate to Finland than away from Finland.

Higher education research themes emerging from structures and values, and their changes

In what follows, I focus on the most important topics and trends in Finnish higher education research, concentrating on the main trends. Due to the wide variety and quantity of Finnish higher education research, a detailed analysis is beyond the limits of this study. Specifically, as early as the 1960s, more than 470 research or research-related papers on higher education had been published in Finland, mostly in Finnish (Lillberg 1971). The majority of the studies were mainly short reports for different universities or to the MOE. Academically speaking, these were not ambitious studies, rather practical reports on what were perceived to be important questions related to the expansion of the higher education system. The most important topics in the reports were higher education management and administration (24,2 percent of the studies), teaching and studying (22,7 percent) and student life (16,6 percent) together with papers written on scientific research and university teaching in general (15,1%) (see Ahola & Välimaa 2002). The number of publications more than doubled during the next decade, including 715 items of Finnish higher education research, 263 out of them being unpublished master's or licentiate theses completed between 1976 and 1981 (Pakarinen 1982). It is also notable that the need to develop academic higher education research was recognized as early as the 1970s, even though it took almost 30 years before the first professorial chair in higher education studies was established at the Finnish Institute for Educational Research (FIER), University of Jyväskylä in 2000 (Ahola & Välimaa 2002). As of 2011, there are five professors in the field of higher education research, at the universities of Jyväskylä (2 professors), Helsinki (2 professors) and Tampere (1 professor). One of the reasons for the delayed inception of higher education research in Finland has been Finnish universities' reluctance to allow any critical investigation on them.

One of the permanent features of Finnish higher education research derives from societal debates in Finland. There are two reasons for this. First, researchers tend to focus their research on topics and issues that are debated in society. For this reason, these studies are often curiosity-driven and draw support from the interests and dynamics of academic research. This type of research is fuelled by the need to publish in order to create (or to maintain) a career – following the ‘publish or perish’ rationale. Secondly, societal debate drives funding dynamics and the study of key issues is often funded by a public sources (normally by the MOE), who want to open research-based perspectives on current topics.

Research focused on students

The focus on university students and their upward social mobility was one of the starting points for higher education research in Finland. Historically speaking, this tradition has its roots in the 18th century, when the first studies on Finnish students in European universities were conducted (Nuorteva 1997). Primarily, this tradition started to develop in the beginning of the 20th century, following a study focusing on the students in the Royal Academy in Åbo (Palander 1903). This tradition was continued by professor Heikki Waris (1940), who analyzed the university as a channel for upward social mobility between 1870 and 1940 with data from the University of Helsinki (Nevala 1999). This groundbreaking study established categories for the analysis implemented later by researchers in the field of student research. The second wave of student research emerged in the 1960s, together with the expanding student body at the universities. This research topic was influenced both by the expansion of the Finnish higher education and by international studies. Michael Young (1958), who paid attention to social mobility, was especially influential in Finland (Nevala 2002). The third generation of researchers focusing on students emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, when the *Research Unit for the Sociology of Education* (RUSE) was established at the University of Turku. These researchers introduced the perspectives of Pierre Bourdieu, and questioned assumptions about the nature of edu-

cational equality in Finland (see Kivinen 1988; Ahola 1995). One of the crucial questions raised by these researchers was this: Has educational policy really increased the equality of educational opportunities among students coming from low-income families and from the more remote areas in Finland? These debates in the field of sociology of education have continued through recent times. This is because promoting equal educational opportunities has remained a stable political objective and societal value in Finnish society. According to one of the research findings, social inequalities related to social classes have not decreased (Kivinen et al. 2000), whereas other researchers maintain that educational equality has increased (Antikainen 1999; Nevala 2006). It is essential for higher education research that these debates have helped to develop research on student participation in higher education methodologically, also from the perspectives of social reproduction.

Studies focusing on the transition from higher education to the world of work form a particularly strong tradition of Finnish higher education research. This topic, in particular, was fuelled by the massification of higher education, because it changed the traditional social dynamics of the elite system of higher education. The topic has been approached both from pedagogical and sociological perspectives (Tynjälä, Välimaa & Murtonen 2004). Currently, the topic of transition has been approached from comparative perspectives. In his dissertation Matti Lindberg (2008) utilized the European comparative CHEERS data, and Virpi Honkanen (2010) used REFLEX data in her study, of the entrepreneurialism (a nationally hot topic) of academics, following graduation.

Follow-up studies of reforms

A second strong tradition in Finnish higher education research is follow-up research on higher education reforms. This type of research has become a typical part of the reform process, itself, from the 1970s onwards. Reforms have normally been initiated in the name of modernizing the Finnish system of education, although 'modernization' has meant different things during different periods of time (Välimaa 2005).

This is related to – or sometimes even caused by – the fact that there has not been a single centre of power in Finnish society that could dictate the execution of reforms. Often higher education reforms have been initiated as ‘experiments’ in a selected number of HEIs, based on an agreement of key stakeholders. Following this, successes have been disseminated into system-wide practice. I have termed this as *a gradual reform strategy* (Välimaa 2005). This kind of strategy is also used in other sectors of society, particularly social welfare and health care. One of the consequences of this strategy is that higher education research is necessary for carrying out the follow-up studies of these reforms. This need was, in fact, one of the starting points for establishing *a higher education research unit in the Finnish Institute for Educational Research* in the 1970s. Normally, both the MOE and different actors involved in the reforms are interested in knowing what is actually happening during and after the reforms. The follow-up studies have also supported the communication between higher education researchers and higher education policy-makers, which has been important for the support of higher education research.

Follow-up studies have been carried out especially in the Finnish Institute for Educational Research, where higher education research emerged in the 1970s, for the purpose of analyzing the impacts of an administrative reform. Follow-up studies have been carried out on practically all major reforms from the 1970s to recent years (see Välimaa 2000). The most recent of them was the RAKE-project, which analyzed the initial phases of merger operations in Finnish universities from the perspectives of education, management and academic work (Aittola & Marttila 2010). This reform, which was an exception to the rule of gradual reform strategy, was politically a heated topic. This may be one of the reasons why the MOE did not fund the continuation of this research. This break in departure from past funding practice raises the question as to the willingness of policy makers to examine the consequences of reform. However, the support from the MOE is normally necessary, because higher education institutions, themselves, have not been traditionally keen on supporting research that illuminates the internal processes of higher education to the rest of the society.

Pedagogical research

Pedagogical research that aims at developing teaching and learning process in Finnish higher education institutions is a third strong tradition of Finnish higher education research. The emergence of this research tradition is related to the reforms in Finnish higher education and especially to the reform of university degrees in the 1970s (Välimaa 2000). During this reform, a real need to reform traditional teaching methods (lecturing and seminars), paying more attention to the different ways of student learning, became evident. There is not necessarily a linear causal relationship between the massification of higher education and the increase of pedagogical research on higher education. However, it is evident that responding to the increasing student numbers and new groups of students, like mature students, requires developing new teaching methods and pedagogical perspectives. These social changes have created a demand for academic research on teaching and learning. In addition to a great number of studies on these topics, several dissertations aiming at developing new teaching methods have been published (see Lindblom-Yläne 1999; Lonka 1997; Tynjälä 1999). These dissertations are firmly rooted in educational sciences. Higher education research as an academic field of research benefits from this, and it also brings new perspectives to educational research.

Polytechnics as the object of studies

The establishment of *polytechnics* (or Universities of Applied Sciences) has been a new and expanding research topic, in which pedagogical, sociological and public administration studies have found a fertile ground for new questions. New institutional status has created social expectations concerning the development of pedagogical thinking related, in particular, to the needs of higher vocational education (Kotila 2003). In addition, these studies include focuses on the transition from higher education institutions to working life in a comparative setting between universities and polytechnics (Virolainen & Valkonen 2002). Students' choices

between universities and polytechnics have been examined also from the perspectives of exclusion and institutional status, where polytechnics need to compete for good students with universities (Nurmi 1998). The processes of establishing polytechnics, and their key functions, has also been studied in a number of dissertations, and the topics have varied from the strategic development of administration (Toikka 2002), their cultural contradictions (Jaatinen 1999), the processes of the reforms (Herranen 2003; Neuvonen-Rauhala 2009; Salminen 2001; Korppoo 2010), to their nature as institutions (Välimaa & Neuvonen-Rauhala 2010; Ahola et al. 2005), just to mention some examples from more than 500 Finnish publications focusing on *polytechnics*.

Management and administration as topics of research

The expansion of Finnish higher education has created two different kinds of challenges for the steering of Finnish higher education system. On the one hand, the expansion has increased the number of both the academic staff, and administrative staff not related to research or teaching in higher education institutions. This creates needs for more efficient internal management of higher education institutions. On the other hand, the steering of the national system of higher education has become more complex, with the expansion of universities and polytechnics. One of the solutions to this problem has been the management by results steering system that is based on one to one targeted negotiations between the MOE and higher education institutions. These steering processes and their outcomes for universities have been analyzed by Leena Treuthardt (2004) in her study on the management by results. Theoretically speaking, the problem can be also approached as a classical problem between a principal and an agent (Kivistö 2007). Furthermore, it has been noted that universities do not necessarily like what the researchers have found out – as was the case with a study which analyzed management in four Finnish universities. In his study Kari Kuoppala (2004) found out that university staff was much more critical toward the practices of management by results than suggested in the university rectors' proudly presented public speeches.

Research related to internationalization and globalization

Despite the fact that higher education research was launched as a national research project for reacting to and solving national problems, it has not remained a national research enterprise in Finland. International and global pressures have also been felt in Finnish higher education from the 1980s onwards. The most profound influences originate from the OECD, which has used its 'soft power' to initiate and guide policy debates in its member countries. In her comparative study on a national higher education policy, Johanna Kallo (2009) argues that these pressures have been felt in Finland and some of them can be traced directly to present day Finnish higher education legislation. Changing global environment has been, in turn, studied by Terhi Nokkala (2007) in her study focusing on the discourses of universities in competitive knowledge societies. The internationalization of higher education, academic (im)migration and the pressures of globalization have been studied and reported by Finnish higher education researchers in a number of articles and books. In his dissertation study David Hoffman (2007) analyzed the career potentials of migrant scholars. These topics are tied to the fact that Finnish society is changing in ways that fundamentally challenge assumptions based on past equity discourse linked to education. The way in which these changes are affected by the globalization of higher education has presented far more challenges than easy answers (Välimaa & Hoffman 2007).

Finland became a part of the European Union in 1995 which drew attention to Finnish higher education as a part of European Union and an emerging European research area. A number of studies have examined the impacts and influence of the Bologna process on Finnish higher education. These studies have been conducted in both national and comparative settings (see Ahola 2006; Jakku-Sihvonen 2005; Välimaa, Hoffman & Huusko 2006). The Bologna process is one of the most important contexts and sources of changes in European and Finnish higher education. It is not only globalization in action in European higher education, which promotes the homogenization of higher education, but it is also a national policy-making instrument which has been used for changing

Finnish higher education into a more international, competitive and global direction (see Saarinen 2007). Without Finnish higher education research these critical perspectives to the Bologna process would not have been discussed in Finland. Furthermore, seen from a higher education system's perspective, higher education research is necessary for opening up discussions and debates on social change processes. These debates have the potential to optimize processes of change. This reveals, in fact, one of the important social roles higher education research has been used for in Finnish society. Higher education researchers are expected to take part in public debates as experts but not as political actors.

One of the topics related to the Bologna process is the expanding industry of assessment, evaluation and accreditation which is closely related to the debates on the 'quality' of higher education. These topics have been approached from the perspective of policy discourses (Saarinen 2007), and empirically from the perspectives of higher education institutions (Huusko 2009).

The nature of the academic world and universities

In addition to practice-inspired or policy-oriented studies on Finnish higher education, there are also higher education studies which have either approached higher education from theoretical perspectives or have aimed at developing a theoretical understanding of higher education. I have already mentioned the sociology of education, where especially the approach of Pierre Bourdieu has been developed and utilized by a number of researchers mentioned above, who have worked in the RUISE. In addition, one of the strong themes in Finnish higher education research has been cultural studies on higher education. This perspective has been developed by Finnish scholars with special emphasis on the disciplinary cultures of students (Ylijoki 1998), academic leadership (Kekäle 1997) and academic identities (Välimaa 1998; see also Välimaa & Ylijoki 2008). Cultural perspectives have been used for analyzing changes taking place especially in academic work, which is also a popular topic analyzed by Finnish scholars in a number of books. In their works Aittola

and Ylijoki (2005) focused on the changes in academic work and profession, whereas Hans Mäntylä (2007) examined the problem of 'good academic work' in his dissertation, Johanna Hakala (2009) focused on academic cultures in the Finnish Mass Research University, and Emma Vironmäki (2007) analyzed academic marketing as a conflicting field in Finland. These and other theoretical studies have aimed at expanding and developing a theoretical 'tool box' of higher education research both nationally and internationally.

Discussion: Finnish higher education research as a field

This chapter has emphasized the close relationship that higher education research has had with political or policy processes connected to Finnish higher education. One of the reasons for this kind of relationship is economic in nature. Public authorities, especially the MOE, have strongly supported research focused on practical problems and the challenges facing Finnish higher education, as a system. This is not, however, the whole story of Finnish higher education research. It is fair to assert that a community of higher education researchers, with its own research agenda, has emerged and is a crucial aspect of Finnish higher education research. This chapter chronicles the historical roots and strongest research traditions of this academic community, their challenges, disciplinary and substantive approaches, as well as research topics. The community of Finnish higher education researchers has also aimed at developing the theoretical base of higher education research, and has created a body of knowledge and practices that orientate new members entering the field. The expanding networking with international higher education research field and higher education research traditions also supports the development of Finnish higher education research.

Higher education research is a relatively strong research field in Finland. The academic community is supported by regular meetings (the national higher education symposium) every third year, followed by a publication selected from the presented papers. There are also national

conferences, which focus on pedagogical topics (called *pedaforum* with their own journal) and meetings for researchers focusing on *polytechnics*. The establishment of the CHERIF (Consortium of Higher Education researchers in Finland), has, in turn, supported Finnish academics' identification as higher education researchers.

A significant feature of Finnish higher education research is the five research groups actively doing research on higher education. They are supported by different academic traditions and institutional settings. In addition to the already mentioned RUSE and FIER, there is also the Management Education and Research Initiative (MERI) in Aalto University, focusing on academic work, and the Higher Education Group (HEG) at the University of Tampere, focusing on management topics. Science, technology and innovation studies are the focus of the TaSTI group, located at the University of Tampere, combining both higher education and science and technology studies. Higher education research network (HEINE) also is being established in the University of Helsinki during the writing of this chapter. HEINE aims to combine pedagogical perspectives with governance and management dimensions and science and technology studies.

The importance of higher education researcher training should be also emphasised. Most of the dissertations mentioned in this chapter (Hoffman 2007; Huusko 2009; Kivistö 2007; Lindberg 2008; Neuvonen-Rauhala 2009; Nokkala 2007; Saarinen 2007; Treuthardt 2004) have been produced as part of the Finnish Network of Higher Education Research and Training (FINHERT 2001–2005), strongly funded by the MOE. This impact was academically important, because a doctorate opens doors for career development in higher education. The doctorate also supports the development of higher education research as an academic field of research, creating a more credible status for it in the competition with other academic research.

The broad coverage of topics is typical of higher education studies in Finland. Research topics range from pedagogical issues to management topics, taking support and using a broad variety of intellectual devices and methodological approaches for studying higher education as a social phenomenon. This variety is visible in the national higher education

symposiums, where current topics are approached from the perspectives opened up by public administration, sociology, pedagogical research, historical perspectives together with linguistic and philosophical research (see Aarrevaara & Herranen 2006; Aarrevaara & Saarinen 2009). This is both a problem and the strength of the Finnish higher education research. It is a problematic matter because disciplinary variety brings with it the complicated communication across different academic tribes. It is also the strength of higher education research, if and when we are able to utilize and communicate different perspectives, and in that way fertilize the higher education research field.

The support from the MOE should also be mentioned here, as the ministry, generally have respected the aims of building a higher education research community as an academic community, rather than using academic research as a purely instrumental tool of the ministry. I can only hope that this national policy will continue under the mounting pressures created by the globalization of higher education. This close relationship also shows that a higher education research community can communicate in fruitful ways with higher education policymakers, even though they often have multiple and sometimes what appear to be contradictory interests and perspectives. It is exactly for this reason that this communication should continue.

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Some research threads in sociology of higher education in Finland

Introduction

Broadly speaking, the topic of this chapter is sociology of higher education in Finland, but the presentation will mainly be delimited to the research that is done at the Research Unit for the Sociology of Education (RUSE), University of Turku, where research interest has always strongly concentrated on empirical sociological analyses based on large data sets. Hopefully the importance of statistical research is nowadays growing due to increasing attention to the so called evidence-based higher education policy. To what extent Finnish higher education policy has been really based on evidence produced by research remains to be assessed elsewhere. In any case, the recent Finnish education policy seems to follow primarily the guidelines suggested by OECD with some additions from the European Union.

Two decades long sociological HE research conducted in Finland can

be crystallized into certain research themes that are partly intertwined with ideas of such eminent forerunners as Martin Trow, Burton Clark, Randall Collins or Pierre Bourdieu. Empirical research on equality of educational opportunity leaning on longitudinal statistical data, and research on transition of successive generations from home via education system to the labour market have quite a lot in common. As we will show later, statistical analysis proves how differences between social groups in chances to participate university education have decade by decade narrowed quite a bit, though inequality has not yet disappeared. Gender relations in Finland have changed so that nowadays females are doing better in higher education than males, however, highly educated women's euro is still cheaper than men's in the labour market.

One central thread of internationally comparative research on the interrelations between higher education and work has got its shape, for instance, in the CHEERS and REFLEX projects including tens of thousands of European graduates from more than ten countries, to which RUSE has taken part from the very beginning. Ulrich Teichler's role has been most significant in this research cooperation. Historical research on universities and higher education on the way paved by Martin Trow and Guy Neave belongs also to central topics. One interesting subfield of higher education policy research is the analysis of education policy doctrines (Kivinen, Rinne & Ketonen 1993). After the Second World War, it is possible to distinguish four different doctrines in Finnish higher education policy. Until the end of 1960s an academic-traditionalist doctrine, and from the end of 1960s to the end of 1980s, connected to the rising welfare state, a development doctrine prevailed. From the end of 1980s until the late 1990s a productivity doctrine, and after that, due to the Finland's EU membership a standardizing, so called, EHERA doctrine, aiming at the creation of the common European Higher Education and Research Area, can be distinguished.

RUSE has actively engaged in international discussions concerning higher education policy. One starting point of this kind of activity was the "Policy Change in Higher Education: Intended and Unintended Outcomes" project in the beginning of 1990s. The project had its genesis in the discussions between researchers from three research centres in

three countries, Australia, the Netherlands and Finland. The project was interested in studying and analysing the responses of higher education systems to economic, social and political pressures in the three countries. The focus was in the shifts from (a) central governmental planning and regulation towards more indirect methods of steering, (b) increased accountability, and (c) changes in the role of higher education in society. In addition to international publications produced within the project, a compiled work on the Finnish education policy of the time, *Educational Strategies in Finland in the 1990s*, was published (Kivinen & Rinne 1991a, 1992, 1993; Meek, Goedegebuure, Kivinen & Rinne 1991, 1996). Later on, particularly unintended consequences of HE-policy have turned out to be an especially interesting target.

In different phases, taking slightly differing shapes, researchers at RUSE have applied a framework of transition from home via education to the labour market, as described in figure 1. In short, it outlines research on the formation of youth's, and why not adults', life chances through central societal institutions. The question is also about social mechanisms such as selection.

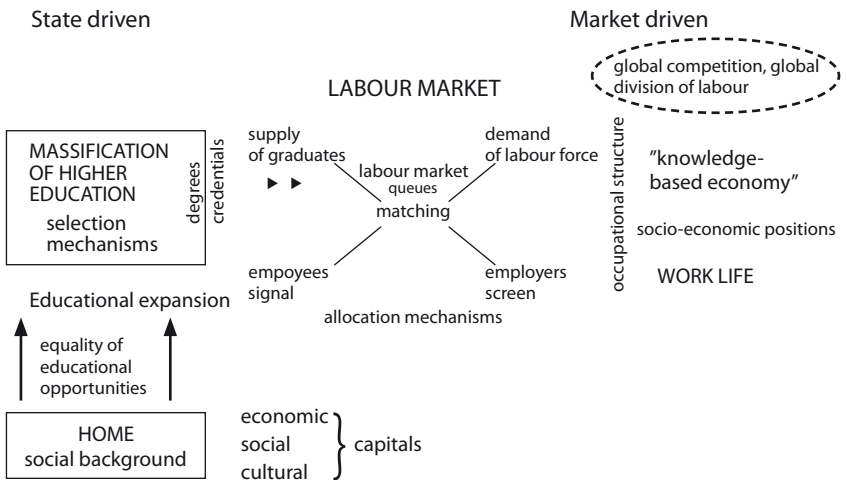


Figure 1. A framework of transition from home via education system to labour market

Equality of educational opportunity

Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (1977) is one of the cornerstones for the beginning of modern kind of sociology of education. By applying sociological thinking into education, Bourdieu and Passeron focus, for example, on class differences and equality. Since 1980s RUSE has been applying Bourdieu's thinking to Finnish research on education for the purposes of empirical research. Quite soon, an ambiguous concept of "class" was replaced by "stratification", status group differences and various kinds of distinctions; the concept of "cultural capital" was redefined into "educational capital". The first Bourdieu-inspired studies concerned, for example, structural development of the education system, social inheritance and inequality of educational opportunity in the time when clear social differences in educational achievements were still permeating the Finnish society. (Kivinen 1988a; Kivinen & Rinne 1989)

The notion of equal opportunity is in Western democracies understood as a principle by which 'society' does whatever it can in order to 'level the playing field' in a way that allows all individuals with the appropriate potential to compete for available positions. The idea of fair play has its central role in the legitimation of education. Finnish education policy has for decades aimed at guaranteeing equal opportunities for all, regardless of social or regional background and gender.

As known, Martin Trow has to offer useful conceptual tools for understanding the expansion of education. According to Trow (1972, 1974, 1999), higher education expands in three stages from an elite university (access < 15 % of an age group) via a mass higher education system (16–50 %) to universal higher education (access > 50 %). As a rule, educational expansion proceeds as a bottom-up process where widening access and increasing student flows at lower levels force next level educational organizations to change. Educational expansion can be understood as an increase in educational opportunities and a greater demand for education (Hadjar & Becker 2009). In the 2010s, we still live in Finland the phase of mass higher education having a dual HE system, and both demand and equality of opportunities have grown during the last decades.

Research on the equality of educational opportunity dates back to publications in the 1980s, the tradition being still vital in the 2010s (e.g. Kivinen, Rinne & Ahola 1989; Kivinen & Rinne 1990, 1995, 1996; Isoaho, Kivinen, & Rinne 1990; Kivinen, Ahola & Hedman 2001; Kivinen, Hedman & Ahola 2002; Kivinen, Hedman & Kaipainen 2007; Kivinen & Nurmi 2003, 2007, 2009, 2010). Inquiry of equality of educational opportunity is concerned with the way how life chances will be opened for the offspring of various family backgrounds via the educational system. In the research focusing on the transition of successive generations, we utilize longitudinal statistical data (Statistics Finland) and related methods.

By utilising historical comparisons in empirical study on equality of educational opportunity we can find out the relative chances of children, coming from varying social backgrounds, to end up studying in university by the age of 24 in five successive generations. The time span of our longitudinal research data extends from the baby-boom generation cohort born in 1946, participating in university education by the year 1970, to the 1981-cohort participating in university education by the year 2005. As the results show, for the baby boom generation enrolling “elite” university in 1970, the chances for the offspring coming from academic families (i.e. at least one parent has a master’s degree) to enrol the university were 19 times greater compared to children coming from non-academic families. For the baby-bust generation, born in 1966, enrolling university in 1990, the odds ratio for participation of those coming from academic backgrounds is 11. In the mass university era, in 2000s, the odds ratio is about 8 in favour of offspring coming from academic families compared to those coming from non-academic backgrounds. So we can conclude that inequality of opportunity has clearly decreased, even though it does not mean that eightfold difference would not still be wide (Kivinen, Hedman & Kaipainen 2007). Compared to the general trend in the odds ratios (19–11–8) the corresponding trend for women was (13–10–6) and for men (32–12–9). The differing trends can be explained, for instance, by the fact that still in 1970 elite university was male dominated but in the 2000s, both female students and female graduates are in majority.

The known societal functions of the educational system are selection, integration and qualification. Under the conditions of growing unemployment, also storage function gets a more important role but here we cannot go deeper into all these functions. Sakari Ahola's *From Elite to Mass Higher Education. Changing Structures of Selection in Finnish Higher Education* (Ahola 1995) is about selection theme. In a country like Finland, in which a *numerus clausus* selection system is being applied, student selections are a central target of interest and research. Besides open selection, there are also more or less hidden selection mechanisms. Hidden curriculum is one interesting, maybe a little bit underexplored thread of higher education research. Selection is piercing many other research themes of sociology of education as well (e.g. Ahola & Nurmi 1995; Kivinen & Rinne 1995), and it has also connections with education policy. Jouni Nurmi's *Tracks to Whom? Selection into Expanding Higher Education* (Nurmi 1998) spoke out the methodology of selection research and also the ideology of polytechnics; what is the place of polytechnics in the educational hierarchy? In recent years, the need to inspect the role and position of Finnish polytechnics has become topical along with the Bologna process (Nieminen & Ahola 2003) as well as the employment of Finnish polytechnics graduates (Ojala & Ahola 2009).

Relations between expansive education system and the labour market

The research on participatory differences expressed in terms of parent-child odds ratios focuses on the first phase of transition: from home to the education system. But especially when taking into account that equality of educational opportunity between genders has already been reached it is interesting to find out what are the effects of educational expansion in the labour market. RUSE's research is also directed towards returns and income differences especially as concerns family background and gender. A striking fact deserving attention is that although women already form the majority of university degree holders in most fields, their labour market position is still weaker than men's (as the slogan says, women's

euro is 80 cents). In research on the relations between education and the labour market, comparative approach has turned out to be fruitful. They concern comparisons between genders, social background, as well as comparisons between countries. (Cf. Kivinen 1997; Kivinen & Ahola 1999; Kivinen & Nurmi 2010; Kivinen, Nurmi & Kanervo 2002; Kanervo 2006; Lindberg 2008.)

In the course of the 20th century, along with the evolving industrial waged work society, educational degrees became an essential part of the social mechanism by which individuals find their places in the labour market queues, and the exchange value of degrees started to live a life of its own apart from the contents of learning (Labaree 1997). Undoubtedly, educational qualifications allocate people via labour market queues to various jobs, but it is not as clear how well education can keep up with changing working life and meet the technology-driven skill demands of today's society. What we know for sure about the interrelations between education and work is that educational credentials are tools for signalling how people can be organised into various labour market queues, so that employers are able to screen appropriate employees to the appropriate jobs on different organisational levels.

Credentialists have always questioned claims about the ways in which education produces skills that are relevant in productive working life. The question is how much the acquired "school knowledge" has to do with the know(ing) how in working life. Employers complain regularly that employees entering work fresh from the school benches are not ready to take action but they all need one-to-one training for their work tasks. According to the credentialing viewpoint (Collins 2002; Labaree 2010, 2009), a hierarchical education system allocates selected graduates into labour market queues (see figure 1 in the introduction). In the situation of insufficient information, along with such eye-catching signs as age, gender and ethnicity, achieved degrees may function as signals of some valuable traits of potential for screening out most suitable candidates for job opportunities. Thus, matching people and jobs is mainly based on suitability criteria not primarily on equality.

In studying the higher education labour market relations and related topics like the competences of graduates (Kivinen & Nurmi 2010, 2008,

2007, 2003; Kivinen, Nurmi & Kanervo 2002) we have been able to utilise large international CHEERS¹ and REFLEX² graduate survey data sets which contain extensive information on studies and labour market experiences of 37 000 and 40 000 higher education graduates from 15 European countries and Japan, graduated in 1994–95 and 1999–2001 respectively, surveyed five years after graduation. Detailed surveys give a versatile picture of the course and quality of respondents' studies and early working careers, including study assessment, employment and the utilization of education in working life.

If higher education, especially university studies, do not produce so much relevant work specific skills and competences, relevant skills have to be acquired elsewhere. The results of comparative research show that Finnish master level graduates actually do better than most European graduates in finding a job, as they acquire quite a lot of work experience during their studies. Although Finnish students enter university later than their European counterparts, being about three years older, they spend less time in studying (average 6,4 years), are better 'equipped' when they enter the work life and can find a job more rapidly. An average age of ending up into a job corresponding to Master education is about 30 in Finland whereas for instance in the Netherlands it is 32 even though the Dutch enter university about two years younger than the Finns. (Kivinen & Nurmi 2010; Kivinen, Nurmi & Kanervo 2002.)

Special focus is on the role of higher education as a potential producer of competences needed in varying fields of the working life. Comparisons between such European countries, in which there is a dual higher education system, show that in Finland the status differences (i.e. how high one is employed and how high is the salary) between the two types of higher education (university and non-university/UAS³) are widest, compared

¹ The CHEERS project was funded by the EU 4th Framework Program. The project was coordinated by Internationales Zentrum für Hochschulforschung (INCHER), University of Kassel. For more information, see: <http://www.uni-kassel.de/incher/cheers/index.gtk>

² The REFLEX project was funded by the EU 6th Framework Program. The project was coordinated by the Research Centre for Education and the Labour Market at Maastricht University. For more information, see: <http://www.reflexproject.org>

³ Universities of Applied Sciences

to Germany, for instance, in which the status difference between the two forms of education is not wide. In fact, the status of Finnish UAS graduates seems to be one of the lowest in a European comparison. In Finland, the under-competence rate of the non-university graduates employed as professionals is relatively high. Since there are only few Finnish university graduates in lower positions it seems that in filling professional positions, university graduates would have 'run out' and non-university graduates would have been recruited instead. (Kivinen & Nurmi 2010.)

Higher education as human risk capital?

Concepts of knowledge-based economy and human capital deserve to be critically assessed. At RUSE it has been asked, for instance, to what extent higher education is changing from human capital into human risk capital (e.g. Kivinen & Ahola 1999). An interesting question is the role of higher education in a knowledge-based society when knowledge is said to be the prime factor of production of knowledge-based economy (cf. European Commission 2009; van Vught 2009). The screening theory and credentialist thinking have called the human capital model into question first and foremost by expressing doubts over the causal connection between increasing educational credentials and economic growth. Whereas Beckerian human capital theory concentrates on the ways in which expanding education (human capital) contributes to the growth of the economy (production), another viewpoint, which we shall here name the 'life chance approach', and which originates in Max Weber's (1976) and Randall Collins's (1979) thinking, concentrates more on how education can contribute to the individual's life chances in society.

The credentialing perspective (Labaree 1997, 4), in particular, emphasizes how the education system promotes social mobility in such a way that credentials count more than knowledge in the struggle to get ahead and stay ahead, and the education system promotes more social mobility than learning, and acquiring credentials more than useful skills. The acquisition of education can be seen as an adjunct to the general competition for social positions (Labaree 2010). And, as Collins (2000,

213–214) puts it, how far one advances in the educational sequence has consequences for one's adult career in the hierarchy of social stratification. An educational organization has its own autonomous dynamic; it has shaped and reshaped social stratification, and vice versa. Here we face such well known concepts as credential inflation and over-education; though we have not been interested in participating discussions on over-education due to ambiguousness of the concept.

Expansion and tightening competition create an opportunity trap that forces people to spend more time, effort and money trying to access the education, certificates, and jobs they want, with few guarantees that their aspirations will be realised (Brown & Lauder 2006, 333; Brown 2006). Expanding access to higher education can not improve job opportunities for credential holders if it is not matched by the expansion of high-waged jobs. The market value of one's credentials depends on the credentials of others. The question here is about positional imperatives referring to relative performance. Scarcity value is an inherent feature of positional goods, such as credentials. As long as the educational system has a selective role, inequalities in outcome are inevitable (Brown 2006, 382–383).

If parents tend to think of schools as institutions where their own children can obtain credentials that will give them an edge over others in the competition for social positions, credentials (grades, credits and degrees) come to assume greater weight than substantive characteristics. Tasks of sorting and grading become more important for their social consequences than for their pedagogical uses. The education game appears to be a fair play because those who have advanced further up the educational ladder are seen as having learned more and therefore having acquired greater human capital, which again is supposed to make them more skilful and productive employees (Labaree 1997, 2, 25). What is more, as Collins (2002, 26) puts it, since educational expansion is primarily expansion of access, credential inflation is largely supply driven, not demand driven. Credential inflation is driven by public pressures to expand access to schooling: it feeds on itself. Under the conditions of expansive educational arrangements, at least credential inflation appears to be also empirically relevant.

School learning is one thing, learning required for work life is another.

In schools 'knowledge that' is at focus, in work life 'knowing how'. In both cases, concepts of practice and habits are useful. Alongside with Bourdieu's theory of practice a Deweyan pragmatist tradition has been applied. Especially the Bourdieuan concept of "habitus" and the pragmatist "habit" have been under comparative scrutiny (Kivinen 2006; Kivinen & Ristelä 2001a, 2001b; Kivinen & Piironen 2006, 2007). The latest applications of Bourdieu's concepts related to the field of higher education as well as those of the Deweyan pragmatist tradition, can be found in Päivi Kaipainen's (2008) dissertation in which she applies them into the life course of great philosophers. On the methodological side, methodological relationalism has proved to be a fruitful tool: we are developing it further from Bourdieuan–Deweyan starting point (Kivinen & Piironen 2006).

Bourdieuian field-capitals framework, as well as Burton Clark's system thinking, have for years served intellectually Finnish sociological research. Educational systems, the Bologna process, evaluation of R&D activities and innovation systems belong to RUSE's repertoire as well as input-output analyses of scientific action. Recently, also evaluation of university ranking methods and research methodology more generally have been among the research interests. Attention is also paid to finding out what kind of higher education research would be appropriate if governments would really be willing and able to carry out evidence-based policy. An additional question is to what extent widely recognised OECD indicators, rising much from the human capital tradition, used in the international statistical comparisons, can stand up to critical assessment.

Productivity analyses – from rankings to ratings

Higher education environment has experienced enormous changes. Expansion and massification of higher education system have brought considerable differentiations in HE systems between universities and other HE institutions, between educational programmes etc. Overall, the number of higher education institutions has grown a great deal in the world. Whereas the number of universities exceeds ten thousand, there

are at least three times more of other kinds of HE-institutions. Globalization, internationalisation and a new kind of global division of labour are often named current developments. Interrelations between governments and higher education institutions are changing so that academic autonomy and academic self-regulation have to give space to growing demands of accountability. Common to OECD-countries seems to be the combination of increasing costs and stagnation in measured learning achievements (Pritchett 2009, 12). If this is true, it is of course an alarming signal of coming educational crisis.

The interest of stakeholders such as financiers, media, international organisations, corporate sector and the general public (e.g. parents and children) is growing constantly. Just like evidence-based policy should lean on reliable facts for its basis so do also various stakeholders need knowledge relevant to their needs. Recently emerged international higher education rankings present themselves, in their own way, as producers of appropriate information. In a sense, rankings are drawn directly to the wider audience. In fact, rankings measure universities' status in international reputation markets and they are to an increasing extent used for the purposes of international education marketing. Let us point out that the best Finnish university in any assessment is the University of Helsinki. In addition, generally 4 to 5 other Finnish universities are placed among the best 500 universities in the world.

The most well known international rankings are the Academic World Ranking of Universities (ARWU) by Shanghai Jiao Tong University, also known as the Shanghai ranking, Times Higher Education World University Rankings (THE), QS World University Rankings and university evaluations of the Higher Education Evaluation & Accreditation Council of Taiwan (HEEACT). Without going any further into details, let us point out that the fact that personal assessments given by various experts, employers etc. have so much importance in rankings makes them volatile and surprisingly prone to yearly changes beyond the dozen top universities. Looking from higher education policy viewpoint, a problem related to rankings is the lack of input variables; many rankings measure only the output without taking into account the input, as for instance does the ARWU the shortcomings of which have been analysed, for instance, in an

article published in *Scientometrics* (Kivinen & Hedman 2008). Another problem in the Shanghai ranking method is the standardizing procedure to order the scores for all universities on a scale of nought to 100: the more universities, the smaller the differences and because the difference between the first (Harvard) and the second (Cambridge) alone covers around 25 % of the entire scale, the rest, more than 990 universities in total are placed on the remaining 75 % scale. The measurement unit for each university by which universities are valued is, in fact, specific 'Harvard points'. This kind of measurement system works only for comparing the top of the top universities (Kivinen & Hedman 2008). Thus, mostly rankings do not actually measure productivity but only results. The ambiguousness of rankings, and a call for reliable methods in measuring productivity, *has not gone without notice*, and that is why RUSE is carrying development work in order to provide solutions for measuring productivity and consequently methodological improvements for rankings (Kivinen & Hedman 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2008; Kivinen, Hedman & Peltoniemi 2008a, 2008b, 2009). Rankings mostly concentrate on how universities can be ordered in the international reputation market. Higher education can be understood as one Bourdieuan field in which there is a running battle of the possession of certain "capitals" and "positions" and recently more than ever before, symbolic capital is at stake on the growing reputation market of higher education. (Ahola 1995; Kivinen 1988b; Kivinen & Rinne 1985, 1991b; Kivinen, Rinne & Kivirauma 1985.)

A major problem is that comparisons between different disciplines are complicated. It does not make sense to seek comparability at the expense of losing sight of the specific qualities characterizing each field. Instead, it makes much more sense to operate on the basis of field-specific shares of outputs and inputs, which will be proportioned against each other and which then provide a basis for ranking units within each field by their productivity. The success of each unit in these comparisons can then be converted into standardized ranking scores, which allow us to make some useful cross-disciplinary comparisons too. In analysing the productivity of research and teaching of Finnish universities, we have in Finland available the KOTA database maintained by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The latest challenge is to build up a framework for answering such kind of questions as how to move from higher education rankings towards university ratings. In this challenge, our goal is to develop such a system of analysis that produces solid knowledge especially for the basis of decision making of determined science and higher education policy.

Final words

In Finland researchers have occasionally been invited to participate the process of producing appropriate facts for evidence-based higher education policy. In the turn of the 1990s, researchers from three universities – Jyväskylä, Tampere and Turku – were given a central role in the preparation work for the coming dual HE system, lead by Minister Christoffer Taxell. Unfortunately, that preparative work almost went down the drain. Namely, when the relevant preparation documents and proposal drafted by the ministry of education were presented to the parliament, almost all carefully prepared evidence-based guidelines were forgotten when members of the parliament eagerly began to drive the interests of their own electoral district. As a result, Finland got a hugely oversized and scattered non-university system that only recently has been taken under objective evaluation and consequent implementations.

Despite the fact that in Finland we do not have higher education as a specific subject in the university at all, Finnish higher education research is fairly vital, however.

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Part II:

**The higher education system –
structures, reforms and policy issues**



New elitism in universal higher education: The building process, policy and the idea of Aalto University

Introduction

According to Martin Trow (e.g. 1973, 2006), Western higher education systems have lived through a gradual transition from elite to mass and universal systems. Previously, the Finnish higher education system has been considered close of being universal in terms of having one of the highest entry rates (see e.g. OECD 2009). The Finnish HE system has also been hailed as 'gold standard' especially in achieving equity in a form of wide higher education access (e.g. Usher & Cervenán 2005; Usher & Medow 2010).

Higher education policymaking is connected to the general political culture of each nation. Higher education policy imports equity agendas from the wider society and, in common with other societal organisations, looks at ways of improving its performance in these respects (Brennan &

Naidoo 2008, 287–288). Overall the Finnish political culture has emphasized equity as a national policy goal since World War II. Current successes in access and affordability Finnish higher education has been built on the egalitarian ideals of past higher education policies where regionally and geographically extensive education and research system were considered as a basis of the higher education policy of the modern welfare state.

The breaking point of this policy direction was the Finnish Government decision stating that Finnish higher education system should not be expanded anymore. (VN 2005.) This can be interpreted as a starting point for the new era of excellence (cf. Readings 1996) and it was reinforced the Government decision to build up a new world class university by merging three existing universities, Helsinki University of Technology, the Helsinki School of Economics, and the University of Art and Design Helsinki into one new university later to be known as Aalto University.

Our interpretation is that this new policy direction constitutes elements of “new elitism”. New elitism is a concept which draws theoretical inspiration from Martin Trow’s analysis on higher education systems (Trow 1973, 2000, 2006). It is closely connected to phenomenon of university league tables and ranking lists studied recently in many publications (e.g. Dill & Soo 2005; van Raan 2005; Marginson 2007; Salmi & Saroyan 2007; Deem et al. 2008; Hazelkorn 2008; Mohrman et al. 2008). In Finland the discussion around world class universities and ranking lists has been so far scarce (e.g. Rinne 2007; Välimaa 2007; Vanttaja 2008; Ahola 2009).

In this article we define and explore the idea of “elitism” and its connections to building up world class universities. From this vantage point, our aim is to offer a perspective of new Finnish higher education policy in terms of establishing and promoting vertical stratification and status hierarchies among the universities by analysing the case of establishing Aalto University.

Elite and elitism in higher education

“Elite” and “elitism” (from the Latin word “*eligere*”, pick out, choose) have many meanings depending on the definition and the context of use.

According to Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary, "elite" can be defined as "a group of persons who by virtue of position or education exercise much power or influence". Accordingly, "elitism" can be understood as "leadership or rule by an elite"; "the selectivity of the elite"; or "consciousness of being or belonging to an elite". All universities can be considered to some degree elite institutions: they admit students of higher than average learning ability and talent to study subjects taught by teachers with difficult to achieve academic qualifications (Trow 2000, 4). "Elite higher education" can be also used pejoratively to refer to education for the offspring of the wealthy and powerful families, but not available to those from families of lower status and less power, wealth or income (Trow 1976, 355). In modern societies, elitism in higher education has been disliked mostly because of the privilege of some kind and therefore supporting elitism is considered to be incompatible with the idea of democracy, principle of equality and public policies promoting equity. (cf. Trow 1976, 360–361.)

Elite higher education in the terminology of higher education research is understood in the context of being a dominant historical phase of providing higher education preceding the transition to mass and universal higher education (Trow 1973, 2006). *Elite higher education* was – and to some extent it still is – characterized by limited and selective access (less than 15 % of the relevant age group) based on a privilege of birth or talent or both, highly structured curricula, uninterrupted fulltime studies directly after secondary education, small number of homogenous universities, institutional governance of small elite groups (mainly academic, but also political, economical) who share the basic values and assumptions in decision making, and broadly shared and relatively high academic standards. The main function of elite higher education is to shape the mind and character of the ruling class and prepare them for elite societal roles. (Trow 2006, 243–263.)

In contrast, *mass higher education* is characterized by larger access with meritocratic criteria (16 to 50 % of the relevant age group), flexible curricula, direct or delayed entry after secondary education, comprehensive universities with diverse standards, democratic institutional governance with a broad representation of various stakeholders, connectedness to

ordinary societal political processes, interest groups and party programs, variable standards differing in severity and character. In mass higher education, the function of universities is to prepare much broader range of elites that includes the leading strata of all the technical and economic organizations of the society. (Trow 2006, 243–263.) The third and the last mode, *universal higher education*, is characterized by universal access (51 % of the relevant age group or above) with minimal educational qualifications, relatively unstructured curricula, postponed entry after secondary education, lifelong learning, part-time studies, great diversity in the character of universities with little common standards, strong public interest on higher education, managerial approach governing the institutions, and relativistic “value added” principle as the main academic standard. The main function of universal higher education is to prepare the majority of population to live in an advanced industrial society characterized by rapid social and technological change. (Trow 2006, 243–263.)

These three phases of higher education are ideal types abstracted from empirical reality to emphasize the functional relationships among the several components of higher education systems common to all advanced industrial societies (Trow 1973, 18). There are, however, fundamental differences between higher education systems concerning how each of the phases manifest themselves. The US was the first country in the world to develop a system of mass higher education decades earlier than this development emerged in Europe. According to Trow (1999, 314), the US had the organizational and structural framework for a system of mass higher education already in the beginning of the 20th century, long before it has mass enrollment.

It is important to note that the movement from elite to mass higher education or from mass to universal higher education does not necessarily mean that the forms and patterns of the previous phases disappear. On the contrary, there is evidence that each phase survives in some institutions and in parts of others, while the system as a whole develops from one phase to another. For instance in mass or universal system, elite institutions can flourish, and elite functions continue to be performed within mass/universal institutions. (Trow 1973, 20.) Especially the US system has been successful combining the features of elite higher educa-

tion with mass and universal higher education even in the same institutions. In the American “multiversity” (cf. Kerr 2001/1963) mass and elite types of higher education exist side by side within the same institution. One (although not the only one) example of this are the differing roles of undergraduate and graduate education in research universities. Undergraduate education of one college can perform mass or universal functions at the same time with elite functions performing graduate education of that same college. It is not uncommon that universities have a relationship with their graduate students quite different from what they have with their thousands of undergraduates. Graduate education performs elite functions by inducting graduate students into their academic discipline and the assimilation by graduate students of a pattern of values, attitudes and ways of thought and appreciation is the most important single function which a university department performs. The future elite of scholars are reproduced in elite graduate schools (of elite universities). In the US, the relatively small numbers of scholars and scientists who later make significant scholarly contributions are disproportionately the graduates of a small number of elite graduate schools and departments of the top research universities. (Trow 1976, 370; 2006, 252.)

World class universities and global ranking lists

In recent years the pressure of globalization has turned the focus of universities, as organizations, more and more to the global level. Universities are operating in a competitive and market-oriented environment. The emergence of global higher education markets has also introduced the global rankings of universities. World class university (WCU) refers typically to a status of an individual university in global competition which is measured through peer reviews, quality assurance, tables, indexes (citation analysis) or various annual ranking lists (e.g. *ARWU by Shanghai Jiaotong* or *World university rankings by Times Higher Education Supplement*)¹. WCU as well as

¹ History of global university rankings is relatively short, even though national rankings have been quite prevalent especially in the United States for a long time (Salmi & Saroyan 2007). Rankings

the university rankings have been extremely fascinating phenomena in the spheres of policy making, media and academic world. However there is no single universally accepted definition of WCU². As Philip Altbach (2004b) has said “everyone wants a world-class university” but “no one knows what a world-class university is, and no one has figured out how to get one”. (Altbach 2004b.) In addition, it is by no means clear how to reliably measure the global academic excellence of universities.

The idea of the WCU and global university rankings are products of the global era. Rankings have become widespread global phenomena and whether we like them or not – they are here to stay. Rankings try to provide an answer to the existential question “is there actually a best university?”, and if there is “which university is the best?” The two famous ranking lists (*ARWU and World University Rankings*) have recently completed this niche, even though the methodology, reliability and validity of these rankings are highly problematic. Ranking lists include many caveats, which have been critically examined in many publications (Dill & Soo 2005; van Raan 2005; Marginson & van der Wende 2006; Marginson 2007; Salmi & Saroyan 2007; Deem et al. 2008; Mohrman et al. 2008; Billaut et al. 2009).

Rankings are executed mostly by quantitative methods and data (e.g. funding, publications and citations, awards, faculty members, students). Common problem of rankings is that the results are statistically not significant (Marginson & van der Wende 2006). Rankings are heavily “Anglo-Saxon”, and particularly US oriented. WCU regime “reflects the norms and values of the world’s dominant research-oriented academic institutions”. (Altbach 2004b; cf. Marginson & van der Wende 2006.) These are considered as “the gold standard” (Altbach 2006, 2)³ and

“transcended national borders” in the early years of the 21st century. First global university ranking was implemented 2003, by Shanghai Jiao Tong University. Times Higher Education Supplement executed university ranking first time in 2004. (Merisotis & Sadlak 2005.)

² WCU is a university, which underpins excellence in research, has top-quality academic staff (especially professors), favourable working conditions (job security, salaries and benefits), academic freedom, enthusiastic intellectual atmosphere, internal self-governance as well as adequate facilities (libraries, laboratories and working spaces). (Altbach 2004b.) In short WCU is dependent on talent, resources, governance and time (Salmi 2009).

³ Few university rankings (US News and World report, Canadian Maclean’s or German ranking CHE)

American research university is considered as an ideal university model of modern global university (Salmi & Saroyan 2007). Rankings are likely to also increase the dependency and supremacy of English as the *lingua franca* of science and enforce the authority of certain prestigious journals (Altbach 2007a; Deem et. el. 2008; Mohrman et al. 2008).

Rankings emphasise “difference of power and authority” and obscure “differences of purpose and type” (Marginson & van der Wende 2006, 55). In this way rankings tend to ignore the diversity of institutions, missions, goals and programmes. The unit of measurement is typically university level (Salmi & Saroyan 2007), than discipline or department level (Marginson & van der Wende 2006). Rankings are a paradox: their results, methodology, comparability and reliability are highly controversial, but various stakeholders (students, researchers, teachers, administration, government officials, politics, and businessman) are keenly attracted to the results of rankings. Rankings lists typically enforces the attitudes and opinions of stakeholders about the quality and reputation of universities, even though the actual quality issues cannot be adequately evaluated in rankings. Global rankings become a standards and yardsticks for ‘good universities’. It is evident, that the need for objective criteria and evaluation knowledge is significant. In this respect it would be more constructive to develop and secure “clean rankings”, that are “transparent, free of self-interest, and methodologically coherent” (Marginson 2007, 141).

WCU’s and ranking lists can create outlooks that may reinforce the tier of elite universities in national higher education systems. The outcomes of this process can be conceptualised as the purposeful development

take into account differences in institutional status of universities. For example Maclean’s regards three categories: primarily undergraduate, comprehensive and medical-doctoral. (Salmi & Saroyan 2007.) CHE ranking is based on survey data thousands of teachers, students and third-party, analysis of publication and institutional data and it is multidimensional, subject-related and diverse. CHE ranking positions universities in to classes of top group, middle group and end group. In the latest edition CHE evaluated over 300 higher education institutions in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the Netherlands. (CHE 2010.) It also is likely that the latest global ranking project – funded by the European Commission and conducted by CHERPA-network – will include many elements from CHE ranking. CHERPA – the Consortium for Higher Education and Research Performance Assessment – is a European network of leading institutions in this field: the CHE, CHEPS, the Centre for Science and Technology Studies (CWTS), and the research division INCENTIM at the Catholic University of Leuven. For more information, see e.g. <http://www.che.de/cms/?getObject=302&getNewsID=983&getCB=309&getLang=en>

of new elite universities. In this process, the role and interventions of government and business life are significant. Building processes of internationally competitive top-level universities is seen as a solution for the emergence of quality and excellence in universities. This is a crucial idea of new higher education policy.

New higher education policy

In the turn of the millennium, universities around the globe faced complex challenges of globalisation, digitalisation and marketization. Globally speaking, universities are breaking national borders and entering into global markets of education and research. The university as an institution is no longer merely academic or public/state oriented institution, but a strategic associate in the various and complex public-private alliances, also in global level. Universities are in front line of economic, industrial and social development in the new economy. They are operating in spheres of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades 2004), entrepreneurialism (Clark 1998) and global pressures (e.g. Altbach 2004a). National and supra-national higher education policies have played both reactive and proactive roles in the rapidly changing operational environment. The regulative state has transformed into a strategic, even corporate-like state. The university is stretched and split into strategic excellence centres, whereas as 'low-price' disciplines are being critically evaluated or amalgamated into strength areas. At the same, time academic excellence is valued in high-priced disciplines, seen as serving the new economy.

"New higher education policy" is based on the incorporation of knowledge, research and innovations. In this policy, universities are primarily instruments of economic growth through knowledge production, innovation transfer and capitalising processes (e.g. Olsen 2007, 31–33). In the new policy environment, universities are operating in triple helix with state and markets. The idea of science, as an economic good legitimates the governance, management, funding and steering of university. Science is an "endless transition" into practice. (cf. Delanty 2001; Etzkowitz 2002; Scott 2009.) In this context the role of the market is powerful

and the boundaries of public and private interest are blurring (cf. Henkel 2009; Scott 2009). Universities are a significant part of national innovation systems, a booster of national economies, but also more tied to markets and private interests (cf. Mowery & Sampat 2006). Processes between the university and the new economy are the core of academic capitalism.

Academic capitalism entails an active role of universities and academics in capitalising the university. Academics are “actors initiating academic capitalism, not just as players being corporatized”. University-state-industry relations constitute complex networks in the institutional sphere. In this sphere academic capitalism takes various forms, for example technology transfer, commodification of education and research services. Knowledge is the “critical raw material” of the new economy, which is “to be converted to products, processes, or service”. (Slaughter & Rhoades 2004, 1–15). In general, new higher education policy includes a dilemma of public knowledge (cf. Stiglitz 1999) and even semi-privatisation of science. This is a real challenge for the basic missions of the university and opening up fluid knowledge production systems. However, knowledge is interpreted more regularly as a private, rather than a public good. (Scott 2009.)

This is reinforced by competition and market-orientation of universities. In academic capitalism the focus and emphasis is on investments in “academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime” instead of investments in public good or liberal education regimes (Slaughter & Rhoades 2004, 305). The university is a diversified organisation and has “multiple bottom lines” (Marginson 2007, 125). This context requires extensive diversity. However, it is presumable that the differentiation of universities and disciplines is continuing. In the new higher education policy this is nurtured by strategic steering and funding and development of strategic centres of excellence.

Scott (2009) argues that development of the university as a market institution is related to the decline of welfare state. Universities operate in a post-welfare state, in which the state is specifying its responsibilities in a new way. State is “no longer a trustee, or guardian, of the (non-market) public interest, but instead a ‘purchaser’ of public (or even private) services on behalf of citizens/taxpayers/customers)” (Scott 2009, 62). New global and market-oriented “post post-public era” includes ideas of

deregulation and corporatization, in a way which reconstructs research university (Marginson 2007). Universities operate in more responsible manner, aiming at strategic development and implementation. However, the state will be the “primary financier of knowledge production” (Delanty 2001). In the new economy, markets are in the “foreground” and the state is in the “background” (Slaughter & Rhoades 2004, 4).

Policy turn and new higher education policy in Finland

The expansion of Finnish higher education system after the World War II was related to a larger societal shift from an agricultural society to industrialised and urbanised society. The Finnish economy was recovering from wartime and system of state governance (e.g. ministries) was established. Eventually the baby-boom of the late 1940's influenced for demand of higher education in the 1960's and early 1970's. In the building period of the welfare state, the transition from elite to mass university education was subsidised, funded and regulated with separate “development law” for the years 1967–1981. System-based and state-led law ensured the growth of resources to the universities. Eventually all of the existing universities became publicly funded, state owned universities. The outcomes of this egalitarian higher education policy can be summarised as an extensive regional university system, tuition free university education, the idea of equality in terms of genders and social background in access and social coherence and solidarity throughout the university system.

The past success of the Finnish university system has been built on the egalitarian ideals of past HE policies where regionally extensive education and research system were considered as a basis of the modern welfare state. Part of this policy considered universities as tools in increasing both social and gender equality. Now, Finnish university system is undergoing relatively significant transition from egalitarian welfare state university system into competitive post-welfare state university system. This transition is related to a wider structural change in society, where the knowledge based economy is emerging and pervading. This shift is backed

up by globalisation, worldwide networking and digitalisation. Consequently the Finnish Government and Ministry of Education initiated two major policy reforms; the reform of university law and the structural development of higher education. Both of these policy processes aimed to enhance the international competitiveness of universities. This aim required both structural synergies (e.g. critical mass and multidisciplinary) and economies of scale (larger units) and strategic focusing of institutions and research areas.⁴ (e.g. VN 2005; OPM 2006, 2008a, 2008b). However, the breaking point of egalitarian and distributive HE policy was the decision concerning the Finnish public research system made by the Finnish Government, which stated that the HE system should not be expanded anymore. (VN 2005.)

The Finnish Government approved the resolution on structural development of the public research system in 2005. It was stated that “a crucial challenge is to develop world class R&D in fields most relevant to the national economy, to societal development and to the citizens’ well-being”. The main aim was to enhance world class expertise in “Finland’s areas of strength”. This required changes in financial autonomy of universities. (VN 2005.) Government’s decision was a base for reform of university law and structural development of higher education. The Government resolution was a breaking point of egalitarian and distributive nature HE policy. A new era of excellence (cf. Readings 1996) was emerging in Finland. New HE policy was aimed to increase the international competitive advantage of Finnish universities by merging resources into larger unit sizes and by focusing on strategic areas of research and education (cf. Tirronen & Nokkala 2009).

In October 2006, the Ministry of Education selected “Innovation University” as one of the three national leading projects of structural development and appointed a working group to prepare the necessary development projects. From the beginning, this was explicitly considered

⁴ Finnish policy aims are parallel with the policy of European Union, which consider universities as the “foundations of European competitiveness” (COM 2006, 2). Union emphasises more autonomous, but more accountable universities. In this context universities are expected to “modernise” themselves by reforming university management and decision making systems and by concentrating research and education into strategic focus areas. (e.g. Maassen 2007.)

as a WCU-project. The working group was ordered to report by February 2007. (VN 2007.) In their report, the working group proposed a merger of three existing universities, *Helsinki University of Technology*, the *Helsinki School of Economics*, and the *University of Art and Design Helsinki* into one new university. (VN 2007.) On November 2007, the Finnish Government decided to reform the juridical status of universities and on the establishment of Innovation university (OPM 2007.), which was eventually be named as “Aalto University” (Aalto-yliopisto). Preparations of new university law were continued and a draft version was ready in August 2008. The government’s proposal for new university law was finished in 2008 and it was forwarded to the Finnish Parliament in spring 2009. Parliament passed the bill in June 2009, and the legislation came into force from the beginning of 2010.

The great advantage of mergers like Aalto University is that they can result in stronger institutions able to capitalize on the new they may generate. But top-down initiated mergers can also be risky, potentially aggravating problems instead of resolving them. Building WCUs with political decisions can be unsuccessful especially in countries, where the governance structures and arrangements that have historically prevented the emergence of WCUs (cf. Salmi 2009, 39, 44). This is certainly the case in Finland, where past higher policies have emphasized equity principles e.g. with regional policies supporting universities in peripheral areas and with balanced distribution of state funding to universities.

New elitism in the universal higher education

As it was discussed earlier, traditional elitism in higher education was a dominant historical phase preceding the transition to mass and universal higher education. It was based on a privilege of birth or talent, and its main function was to shape the mind and character of the upper classes and prepare them for elite societal roles. Now it seems that a new kind of elitism succeeding mass and universal higher education is emerging. Unlike the traditional elitism, which was dealing with the privilege of few students, the new elitism is referring to the privilege of few institutions,

based on past prestige, current merits or future prospects. The main function of the new elitism is to pick out (as the original Latin word "eligere" implies) by ranking institutions deemed to be world class universities. The main function of the new elitism is instrumental: to gain competitive advantage over the other post-industrialized knowledge societies by the means of creation of knowledge, innovation, prestige and influence.

Establishment of the Finnish Aalto University is one example of the new elitism. It was chosen as "top-level" university based on political and economic factors, and its establishment was backed up by wide support from the political and economic elite of Finnish society. By heavily supporting the Aalto University project, Finnish higher education policy has taken steps which can be considered as "new elitism". New elitism was specifically emphasised in the distribution of resources. The Finnish government has committed to donate 500 million Euros to Aalto University equity, if Aalto University succeeds to collect private capital totaling 200 million Euros. In addition, the Finnish Government subsidizes Aalto University by annual increases on state grants until 2015. (OPM 2008c). Only after this point, these grants are opened gradually for the bids of all other Finnish universities.

In addition to establishing Aalto University, new Finnish HE policy contains also other elements that can lead to vertical stratification among the universities. These include 1) strengthening emphasis on non-budget supplementary public and private funding; 2) corporatization of universities (universities as independent legal persons, financial responsibility and managerial leadership; diversity in university boards); 3) contractual liability and strategic government steering (performance measurement, more emphasis on strategic dimensions); 4) improving research capacity (enforcing by strategic steering and specialization of universities, global scope and research university); 5) public-private cooperation (technology transfer, centers of strategic excellence, universities as partners). Nevertheless, adaptation to these rapid and extensive policy changes is likely to take time for many universities, not least from Aalto University, and it is likely that the measurable long term outcomes of the policy can be seen only after ten years.

Policy changes in Finnish higher education policy need to be

understood in a wider European context. Europeans aspire to invest in developing WCUs as a means to become an economically competitive counterbalance to the US. Given the role of the US national economy and American higher education system as world leaders, it is no surprise that Europeans benchmark themselves primarily against the success of the US (cf. Altbach 2007b, 73–74). However, European policymakers seem to forget that Europe lacks many of the structural and cultural features which add up to a distinct American advantage in fostering most of the WCUs. American higher education has been better adapted, normatively and structurally, to the requirements of a post-industrial age (Trow 2000, 7). This is evident e.g. in combining the features of elite (graduate) and universal (undergraduate) education in the top US research universities. Unlike in Europe, in the US the market has performed many of the functions that in Europe are performed by law and regulation. These include the spirit of competition, institutional diversity, and responsiveness to market for students, strong institutional autonomy, and diversified sources of financial resources – all factors allowing greater diversity and fast speed of expansion (Trow 1999, 314–315).

In Europe, on the other hand, higher education has always been highly regulated by the governments – a feature which has been to a large extent absent in US higher education (Trow 2000, 5). Also egalitarian principles in higher education policy have been much stronger in Europe than in the US. Within this context, we should remember that highly ranked US WCUs have developed *organically* during the past 100 years. Now many European countries, like Finland, try to build up institutions *synthetically* by political power in a period less than a decade. The development of WCU with real academic excellence is a long and complex process, which cannot be “copied and pasted”. The policy transfer is a risky business, which tends to ignore traditions, history and culture. Strong inputs have as risk of generating weak outputs if the strategy is too linear. Resources and (the large) size of the institution are far from being the only factors behind building up academic excellence.

Conclusions

According to Martin Trow (2006, 246), universities in Western democracies became increasingly meritocratic during the 20th century when at the same time societies around them became increasingly egalitarian. Now, when universities have followed societies by becoming egalitarian by adopting the ideals of mass and universal higher education, societies around them have become increasingly meritocratic. New higher education policy emphasizing selectivity, excellence and performance, is an expression of the meritocratic principles in the full meaning of the term. Merits, whether gain by the past performance or prospects of the future, are creating privileges among universities. These privileges, in turn, are creating phenomenon of new elitism in higher education.

In this chapter we have examined the concept of new elitism and new higher education policy and their relations to the Finnish higher education policy, especially the establishment of Aalto University. Transition from welfare state into global corporate state challenged the ethos of the university as a public and scientific institution. This has been backed up by new higher education policy. A basic assumption of traditional Nordic welfare state was to reduce social inequality by public services, e.g. tax-paid university education, and by income transfers, e.g. study grants and housing allowance for students. University education is in this context a mechanism to advance equity between citizens and regions. A fundamental principle of this policy is that, university education is legislated as tuition-free. Universities are state institutions promoting principles of public service alongside the scientific research and teaching. Welfare State University was basically a "Humboldtian" type of university, with a strong emphasis of "Wisconsin" type of public service. So, are we moving on a path toward new elitism? Perhaps taking steps towards a new Finnish model? Both of these assumptions are possible. The new model includes a "state-led market" idea of the university. The present higher education policy consists of an idea of a new elitism in the context of universal higher education, but it also has some features of traditional welfare state ideology. This new university paradigm includes principles of equity and solidarity, but combined with policy which emphasis differentiation and

strategic focusing. The state will be a strategic coordinator and principal funder of university education. Even though the autonomy of universities has been increased, the relationship between the university and the state is strong. In Finland, the role of the state will remain significant in the future, even though it seems that some signs of individualisation, stratification and marketization can be perceived. The realisation of solidarity ultimately depends on the acceptance of high, progressive taxation.

For a long time, Finnish higher education policy has been based on consensus politics concerning equality and equity. New higher education policy and new elitism are now breaking with, to a certain extent, this tradition. The Finnish university system may take some steps towards Anglo-Saxon model, in which elite and mass sections are side by side both in the system and institution levels. Elite tiers can be thicker in ten years time. However there are no significant signals of transition to an US style model. New elitism is certainly emerging, but according to the prerequisites and steering of Finnish state.

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In the shifting sands of policy – University academics' and employees' views and experiences of Finland's new higher education policy

The university in the turbulence of new policies

From 1960s until the 1980s, the Finnish university had developed under “the state development doctrine” under the protection of the national government, enjoying relatively extensive academic freedom in relation to research, teaching and administration (Rinne 2010; Kivinen, Rinne & Ketonen 1993). During the past few decades, this situation has changed. The functional environment of the university at the beginning of this century was characterized by pressure to adapt to the changes and challenges of a globalizing world. Today, the universities must balance between two cultures; the traditional academic culture and the culture of the free market.

The universities have been given new social responsibilities in the name of internationalization, accountability and assessment. In the tumult of change, the university and its task and values have been questioned, and a new higher education paradigm is taking the stage. The university of our time has been depicted and analysed using concepts such as the 'entrepreneurial university', the 'manageristic university', 'academic capitalism' or the 'MacDonaldisation of higher education' (the McUniversity). These terms have been used, to refer to the changed characteristics of the tasks of the university: the production of knowledge to those outside the university, tightening competition for funding, an emphasis on risk-taking and innovation as well as an ever-increasing demand for (cost)effectiveness, profit-seeking and immediate benefit in all the activities of the university (e.g. Kivinen, Rinne & Ketonen 1993; Slaughter & Leslie 1997; Clark 1998; Ritzer 2002; Koivula & Rinne 2005; Rinne 2010).

With the advent of these new policies, the universities have been 'responsibilized' to a new extent (Neave 2000, 17). This has had deep effects on the governance and administrative culture of the universities. The universities are being driven towards administrative activities of the 'low trust/high control syndrome', with strategically centralized but operationally decentralized evaluation and control systems (Reed, Meek & Jones 2002, xxii). According to Martin Trow (1996), this is simply an alternative to the belief and trust that were formerly directed towards the universities, and actually means a reduction in the autonomy of universities – in other words, the flight of power to other authorities.

This development is changing universities as organizations. The traditional university organization with *collegiality*, loose structuring, professional bureaucracy and academic expertise, has been replaced by various corporate, service, entrepreneurial and managerial models and visions as the organizational principles of the university (de Boer, Enders & Leisyte 2007, 29–30; Rinne & Koivula 2005; Rinne & Koivula 2009). However, entrepreneurial universities also need new types of bureaucracies and ever more administrative staff to maintain their activities, such as evaluation and quality assurance (Clark 2003; Cowen 1991).

A considerable proportion of these changes have actually adapted from of the so-called New Public Management (NPM) principles and practices

of the business world applied to the governance, administration and leadership of the universities (see e.g. Deem 2001; Koivula & Rinne 2005; Patomäki 2005). NPM is a doctrine about how to administer and govern the public sector that began in the United States in the 1970s. NPM sees public administration as a producer of services and, as such, it should be expected to meet the same productivity and efficiency criteria as businesses operating on the private market. This philosophy was brought to Finland mainly by the OECD (Patomäki 2007). Reforms in administration and leadership that have been made according to the principles of NPM include decentralizing administration, emphasizing competition, favouring the model of leadership prevalent in the private sector, saving resources, precisely defined and measured performance standards and performance guidance (Chandler, Barry & Clark 2002, 1053–1054).

NPM can be seen as an entire socio-political reform movement which is moulding a new conception of the state and its functions. The role of the state has changed from a producer of services to that of a regulator of supply of services. The border between society (the public sector) and business has become more fragile and unclear (Ball 1998, 2004; Kwiek 2006). It could be said that we have shifted from the state control model to the state monitoring and evaluation model (Neave & van Vught 1991). Neave (1988) calls this the rise of the 'evaluative state'.

Our chapter on the changes of Finnish Higher Education policies is based on the research tradition, which could be called 'social-historical' tradition. This tradition wants to perceive and locate the university in a historically determined and changing place as well as a crucial social institution representing the high valued academic and cultural capital and the social power relations of society. This holistic tradition is most of all interested in analysing the historically changing position, status and role of university in society. At the same time it is a conflict theory, which is interested in the changing relations of power, autonomy and managerial culture in inner and outer relations of university, society and different interest groups or stake holders. The classic Clarkian triangle of coordination gives this tradition one point of examination analysing the historically changing place of the university steered by the controversial powers of the state, the market and the academic oligarchy (Clark 1983, 2003).

The tradition has more generally some common features with the functionalistic approach by looking at university as the place of social reproduction, reproducing social selection on manpower and qualifications of academic manpower as well as storing manpower aside from labour market. But at the same time it contains the neo-Weberian approaches of analysing the university as the place or battlefield of professional groups about their status and power. In this field also the employee groups are battling one against the other and the professors with their traditional academic power against the growing power of the new managerial elite groups in deciding the rules of the game. (Cf. Collins 1979; Parkin 1979; Murphy 1988; Bourdieu 1988).

We are also trying to combine in our analysis Foucauldian concept of power and the ideas of the new modes of the governance (e.g. Foucault 2000; Miller & Rose 2008). Power is not only seen as based on permanent hierarchies or structures, such as the state or official institutions, but rather it is by nature a relationship of activity and interaction – strategies and tactics which determinate different positions and relationships of the actors in a certain political context. Our approach can be described as a critical higher education policy analysis which tries to combine both the macro and micro levels in order to understand the effects that the recent fundamental changes in higher policy has caused to the university as an institution, organization, as well as a working environment. This kind of research which has been actively pursued in the Anglo-Saxon countries (e.g. Anderson 2006; Hoech 2006; Henkel 2005; Chandler, Barry & Clark 2002; Deem 2001) is needed more also in Finland.

As examples of the new conditions and frames in Finnish university policies we will present the results of a fresh survey, which is part of the joint project “Power, supranational regimes and new university management in Finland” of research centers CELE and SOCE at the universities of Turku and Helsinki, funded by the “Power in Finland” research program of the Finnish Academy. As part of our wider research we performed a survey in the spring of 2008 among the employees of two Finnish universities, Turku and Joensuu. The purpose of the questionnaire was to examine the effects and significance of university policy, university

administration, university governance and the new methods of steering from the point of view of different employee groups. The questionnaire was administered to the entire teaching and research staff as well as the entire personnel involved in administration, development and planning. The questionnaire was sent to 2902 persons, of which 1315 responded. Thus, the response rate was 43.3 %.

The new means of governance: Policy technologies and techniques

In our research project we place our analysis in a certain historically significant era of HE policy, in which the techniques, discourse and explanations of governance are witnessing significant changes which seem to be modifying the relationships between and status of various actors in the academic world.

Stephen Ball has analyzed the policy based on new global, neo-liberalist values using the so-called policy technologies approach (Ball 2003, 216). He defines policy technologies as follows:

Policy technologies involve the calculated deployment of techniques and artefacts to organize human forces and capabilities into functioning networks of power. Various disparate elements are inter-related within these technologies: involving architectural forms, functional tests and procedures, relations of hierarchy, strategies of motivation and mechanism of reformation or therapy. (Ball 2003, 216)

The basic elements of the new policy technologies are, according Ball, *market form, managerialism and performativity*. These have replaced or are replacing at least partially the 'old' forms of policy governance such as bureaucratic administration, representative democracy and expertise based on professionalism (Ball 2003; Simola 2009). The driving in and adaptation of these technologies entails a complete paradigm shift in policy. These are exactly those forms of policy-making that define the 'new covenant' between the public sector and the private sector in global politics and which supranational actors, with the OECD at the fore, have

been enthusiastically spreading throughout various countries in recent years (see e.g. Ball 2001, 2003, 2004; Kallo 2009).

In Finland the principles of new policy technologies culminate in a new University Act (SA 2009). In that law universities are given a yet stronger financial and administrative status. They are made “independent legal persons”. The universities are now more closely resembling businesses and managed by the principles of NPM. The power of boards, rectors and deans has been increased at the expense of collegial decision-making. The status of university employees is also approaching that of those working in the public sector: tenured posts are being changed into contracted positions. The new law is the culmination point to break away from the old Finnish national university model and rush for the new neo-liberal university model.

According to Ball (2003, 220–221), the application of these policy technologies has numerous effects, which are limited not merely to the practices and techniques of governance and leadership. They have a significant effect on shared values, interpersonal relationships, the individual’s status and identity, as well as on work practices and work content in institutions and organizations. As a matter of fact, they produce new types of relationships, status and values, as well as new types of identities (Simola 2008). Market form by nature produces new selfishness, looking after one’s own interests, individualism and a culture of competitiveness at the cost of community spirit and sociability. The lives and activities of both individuals and organizations are tinted to a new extent with the fight for survival on the market.

The managerialistic form of governance adopted from business life has, to a great extent, permeated the public sector in Finland, as elsewhere. According to the doctrines of the new public governance, employees have to be made to feel a commitment to the operational culture and its values. As Ball (2001, 33) says, they must learn to feel that they are both accountable and personally committed to their own organization.

The hectic state and constant hurry of present-day working life are, using the concepts of policy technology, performativity; this means continually ‘putting on display’ the performances of individuals and organizations for evaluation (assessments, reports, producing plans, recording outcomes, indicators, statistics, etc.). Ball refers to the performativity

culture in education as the "economy of education." In such a situation, the competition for resources, security and recognition, and an attempt to make work more efficient become vital. All this naturally changes the conditions and significance of work. Indicator systems which describe work performance become more important than their social and economic effects (Ball 2006, 694).

Policy technologies are implemented using certain techniques, through concrete practices and methods. In the context of new HE policy we mean with these techniques the variety of reforms concerning administration, governance, management, controlling and steering which were introduced in the Finnish universities since late 1990s. In this study these are: the outcomes-based salary system, the annual working hour system, work time allocation, quality assurance and evaluation.

When examining the effects and meanings of the new policy from the point of view of university employees, it must be borne in mind that global policy and NPM are not, however, processes that change everything simultaneously. Rather, we are looking at complex and phased processes: changes in discourse, the shifting of goals and emphases, borrowing, spreading and adapting 'best practices', harmonization, experiments, developments, comparisons and evaluations (Ball 1998; Dale 1999; Green 1999). However, the implementation of the techniques as a part of the new HE policy has been carried out by a top-down direction. Many reforms have been formulated by small groups of civil servants or experts. They have been quasi-democratically submitted to the actors they affect with an extremely tight timetable for commenting. In this respect, quite a radical change took place in the planning culture of Finland in the late 1980s.

The reception of the new policy is reserved

In the following, we will examine the views and experiences of university employees concerning the general lines of the new policy, policy techniques and administrative culture. We will first analyse the view of the entire respondent population, after which we will take various background factors into account.

The attitude of the respondents toward the new HE policy lines and principles were investigated with the simple question “*what is your opinion of the new Finnish HE policy?*” (see figure 1.) This question consisted of 14 Likert-scaled statements.

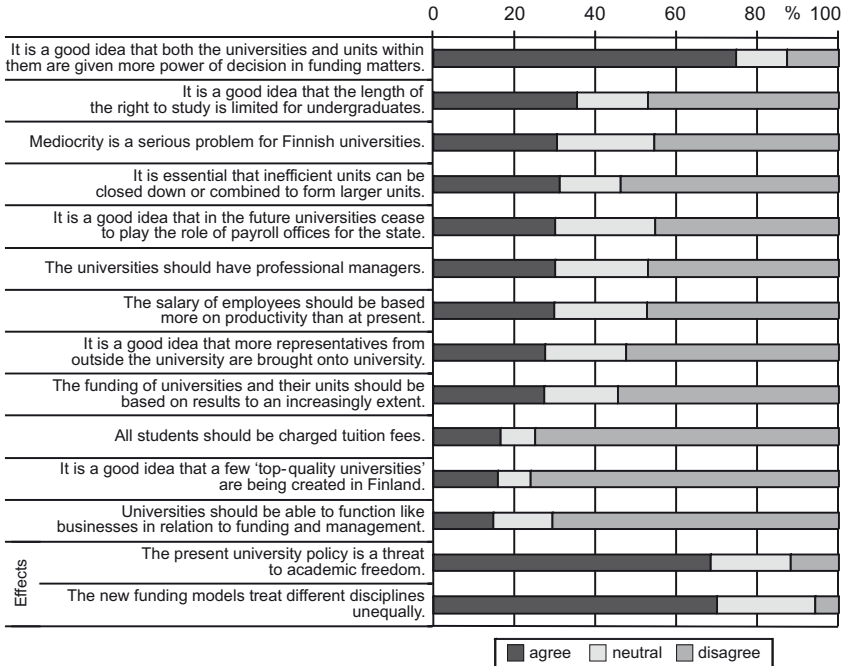


Figure 1. Attitudes toward the new HE policy items

The general picture we get is that university employees have a fairly reserved attitude to the new policy lines. In particular, the huge investments in the ‘universities of excellence’, as well as making universities into businesses-like institutions, receive little understanding from those working in the everyday university world. The respondents were also rather categorically opposed to introducing tuition fees. They had a repulsive attitude toward the effects of the new policy: the great majority of them thought, that the new policy is reducing scientific freedom, and the new funding models are leading to inequality between different disciplines. The only policy point that was acceptable to the majority

was the increasing of decision-making power in relation to the funding of universities. However, only one out of four respondents considered it a good idea that universities will cease being 'salary offices' of the state.

In the following, we will analyse the acceptance of the policy according to only two background factors; the employee groups and discipline. For this purpose, the statements measuring the attitude toward the general policy lines were subjected to factor analysis to form sum variables. To describe the various sub-areas of the policy four factors¹ were formed, which relatively well describe the areas.

Table 1. Attitude toward the new HE policy by background factor: the means of the sum variables on the scale 1=extremely negative – 5=extremely positive

| | Managerialism | | Accountability | | Competition and the centre of excellence policy | | Entrepreneurialism | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-----|------------------------|-----|---|-----|------------------------|-----|
| Employee group | F = 20.44 p = 0.000 | | F = 9.00 p = 0.000 | | F = 3.73 p = 0.002 | | F = 9.81 p = 0.000 | |
| | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd |
| professors | 2.1 | 1.0 | 3.0 | 1.0 | 2.6 | 1.0 | 2.4 | 1.1 |
| senior assist., ass. | 2.5 | 1.1 | 2.7 | 0.9 | 2.4 | 0.9 | 2.3 | 0.9 |
| lecturers, teachers | 2.5 | 1.0 | 2.6 | 0.8 | 2.3 | 0.8 | 2.2 | 0.9 |
| researchers | 2.7 | 1.0 | 2.7 | 0.8 | 2.5 | 0.9 | 2.5 | 0.9 |
| upper admin. pers. | 3.3 | 1.1 | 3.2 | 0.9 | 2.7 | 0.9 | 2.9 | 1.1 |
| lower admin. pers. | 3.1 | 1.1 | 2.8 | 0.9 | 2.5 | 0.8 | 2.5 | 0.9 |
| Discipline | F = 9.81 p = 0.000 | | F = 14.34 p = 0.000 | | F = 20.45 p = 0.000 | | F = 18.99 p = 0.000 | |
| | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd |
| Hum. | 2.2 | 1.0 | 2.3 | 0.8 | 2.1 | 0.8 | 1.9 | 0.9 |
| Edu. | 2.6 | 1.0 | 2.6 | 0.9 | 2.3 | 0.8 | 2.2 | 0.9 |
| Soc. | 2.2 | 1.0 | 2.6 | 0.9 | 2.2 | 0.9 | 2.2 | 0.9 |
| Law | 2.2 | 1.0 | 2.5 | 0.8 | 2.3 | 0.9 | 2.2 | 1.0 |
| Nat. | 2.7 | 1.1 | 2.9 | 0.9 | 2.6 | 0.9 | 2.6 | 0.9 |
| Med. | 2.7 | 1.0 | 3.0 | 0.9 | 2.9 | 0.8 | 2.7 | 0.9 |

¹ – The new managerialistic governance and management ($\alpha = 0.691$; avg= 2.6; sd= 1.1).
 – Accountability ($\alpha = 0.625$; avg= 2.7; sd= 0.9).
 – Competition and the centre of excellence policy ($\alpha = 0.612$; avg= 2.5; sd= 0.9)
 – Entrepreneurialism ($\alpha = 0.525$; avg= 2.4; sd= 1.0).

Professional status, discipline and university are connected with the attitude toward the new HE policy. Upper administrative personnel differ consistently from the rest of the staff groups for their more positive attitude in all sub-areas. This group's opinions diverge not only from those of the lower administrative staff, but also from those of professors, whose attitudes vary considerably in different sub-areas. It is on the question of managerialistic policies that the various staff groups differ most from each other. It is not very surprising that both administrative staff groups had a clearly more positive attitude in this respect than the teaching or research staff. While the administrative staff represent the most positive attitude toward the new policies, at the other extreme we find the lecturers and teachers who do the floor-level work of teaching and research. Of the various disciplines, those in the faculties of medicine and natural sciences consistently had more positive attitudes, and those working in the humanities more negative attitudes.

Attitudes of the administrative elite most positive toward the new policy techniques

At the shop floor level the policy technologies are implemented through the policy techniques. The respondents' attitudes toward these techniques were investigated using a statement battery on a 5-step Likert scale² which was aimed at 1) the new salary system, 2) total annual working hours, 3) the working time allocation system 4) quality assurance and evaluation. A sum variable was formed from the statements of each technique. From the means of these variables we can see that on the general level the attitude of the entire group of respondents was mildly reserved, if not negative (see table 2).

When comparing various employee groups we can see that most positive experiences and views were again found among the upper administrative personnel, especially concerning quality assurance and evaluation,

² In addition, the respondents were given the opportunity to express their opinion on each technique freely by responding to open-ended questions.

but also concerning the working time allocation system. It is possible to distinguish two staff categories with respect to attitudes on policy techniques: the more positively oriented administrative staff and more negatively oriented teaching and research staff. This difference is intensified in relation to quality assurance and evaluation.

When examined according to discipline, the most reserved in their attitudes were those in the humanities. When discussing the new salary system, we can notice a kind of polarization between the representatives of the 'soft sciences', the humanities and education with their negative attitudes and the social sciences, natural sciences and medicine with their positive attitudes.

Table 2. Attitude toward policy techniques by background factor: the means of the sum variables on the scale 1=extremely negative – 5=extremely positive

| | The new salary system | | Total annual working hours | | Quality assurance and evaluation | | Work time allocation | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| Employee group | F = 11.08 p = 0.000 | | F = 0.74 p = 0.595 | | F = 19.98 p = 0.000 | | F = 7.97 p = 0.000 | |
| | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd |
| professors | 2.6 | 0.7 | 2.6 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.7 | 2.2 | 0.7 |
| senior assist.,ass. | 2.7 | 0.6 | 2.6 | 0.7 | 2.4 | 0.7 | 2.1 | 0.7 |
| lecturers, teachers | 2.5 | 0.7 | 2.6 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.7 | 2.2 | 0.8 |
| researchers | 2.8 | 0.6 | | | 2.6 | 0.6 | 2.3 | 0.7 |
| upper administr. p. | 2.9 | 0.7 | | | 3.0 | 0.7 | 2.9 | 1.0 |
| lower administr. p. | 2.8 | 0.7 | | | 2.8 | 0.7 | 2.6 | 0.9 |
| Discipline | F = 11.87 p = 0.000 | | F = 2.10 p = 0.064 | | F = 16.16 p = 0.000 | | F = 4.50 p = 0.001 | |
| | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd |
| Hum. | 2.5 | 0.7 | 2.5 | 0.7 | 2.2 | 0.6 | 2.1 | 0.6 |
| Edu. | 2.4 | 0.6 | 2.5 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.7 | 2.2 | 0.8 |
| Soc. | 2.9 | 0.7 | 2.8 | 0.7 | 2.4 | 0.6 | 2.6 | 0.9 |
| Law | 2.6 | 0.5 | 2.7 | 0.9 | 2.3 | 0.7 | 1.5 | 0.4 |
| Nat. | 2.8 | 0.6 | 2.6 | 0.7 | 2.5 | 0.6 | 2.2 | 0.7 |
| Med. | 2.7 | 0.7 | 2.6 | 0.8 | 2.8 | 0.7 | 2.3 | 0.7 |

The distribution of the roughly categorized responses to the open-ended questions drew an even more negative picture of the attitudes of university personnel toward the new techniques than the closed questions. Of the responses concerning the new salary system and total annual working hours, as many as 80 % contained negative content. Negative experiences and views were also found in the majority of responses concerning other techniques. There were 67 % negative responses concerning the working time allocation system and evaluation. For none of the techniques did the proportion of positive responses exceed 10 %.

On the whole, the attitudes towards the salary reform can be described as negative, uninformed and contradictory. Many of the open-ended answers, the style of which varied from ironic comments to bitter personal experiences, or even to rude remarks, reflect the very negative feelings and experiences of the respondents:

I feel like I have been treated so unjustly that I would be completely paralyzed if I thought about it every day. I've already experienced the worst feeling of being screwed/depressed/humiliated, but I could arouse the same feelings again if I started thinking about the new salary system and my own case!!!!!! (219/female/lower administrative staff)

The respondents' attitudes were very sceptical also concerning the fairness of the reform of total annual working hours system. Responses related to negative effects and experiences were tinted by uncertainty. Over 60 % were of the opinion that the system has caused unnecessary extra work. Majority of the respondents felt that the system did not assist in the rational planning of one's work, nor in general describe the reality of university work.

The work plan is mainly a joke for the work of a professor, by which I mean 1600 hours is not enough to cover the time needed by a professor for a moderate amount of research (including guidance of graduate students and taught courses plus e.g. filling out application to the Academy of Finland for funding), which in my opinion is around 600–800 hours per term. ... The university has now come up with the idea that in June and December this joke of a paper should even be updated. This is impossible, because the time management system will not record as single hour above the 1600 limit. (161/female/prof.)

Only one fifth of the respondents believed that the new monitoring of working hours system would help them in the evaluation of the results of their work or usage of time, and only one out of ten believed that it would help them plan their work and allocate their working time better. 80 % thought that the system created unnecessary extra work, and 60 % considered it a new form of control.

The system is without a doubt the biggest joke that I have ever come across in my life, although it was implemented and institutionalized in all seriousness. About 70% of the staff at our department, myself included, 'allocate' our working hours one day before the close of the semi-annual report period. The system is completely useless, takes an unreasonable amount of time, is categorically arbitrary, and it has no benefit from any point of view. Could somebody please say out loud that the emperor has no clothes on. (42/male/researcher)

The attitude of the respondents to quality and evaluation is very reminiscent of the attitudes toward other techniques. Over half of the respondents felt that such activities took an unreasonable amount of time from other more important tasks. A clear majority saw these activities as being tools for politics and for polishing the public image of the university. Clearly more than half did not think that "the centres of excellence policy" was a good way to develop quality. Half of the respondents felt that these techniques were too foreign and one-sided to be used in the academic world.

The quality assurance system is based on empty images, which are used to justify totally different matters. The system works as an argument for closing down and combining units. Much do, which 'consultants' from business-life have sold to the meat-heads. And it's all been done the hard way, using outdated tools. (...) The whole thing is a gift from the hair-brained to the market forces. The choice of audit points and the results show clearly that there are ulterior motives involved. It's meant to keep people quiet and on their toes. The craziest thing of all is that in some departments they've had mock audits of their own so the staff will be ready when the 'reviewer' finally arrives. (113/male/professor)

A non-democratic and non-transparent administrative culture

University employees do not have very positive opinions about their university’s administration and decision-making. Respondents were extremely sceptical about the transparency and democracy of decision-making: as many as 80 % of the respondents were of the opinion that important matters are decided in places that are beyond the reach of ordinary university employees, and over 60 % thought that when their opinions are presented to decision-makers they have no influence (see figure 2). About one-half of the respondents thought that power in the university is concentrated in the administrative staff: presenting officials and other officials.

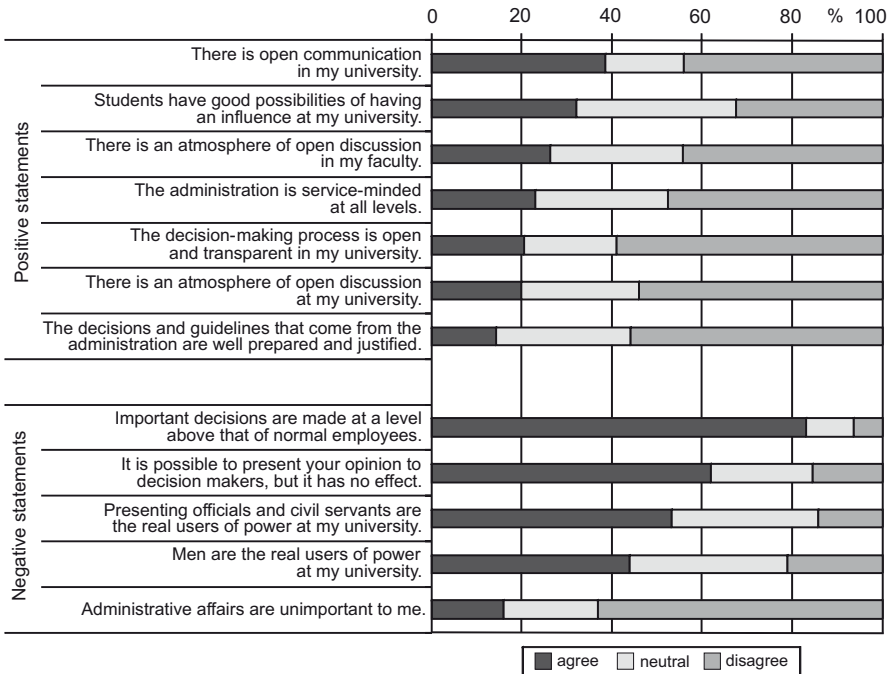


Figure 2. The attitude of respondents to the administrative culture – raw distributions by response to statements

The four sum variables described below were formed from the statements³ to describe the sub-areas of attitude toward administrative culture. The means of the sum variables confirm the picture given by the raw distributions: attitudes are reserved in all sub-areas, with the means remaining clearly below 3, nor are there large differences between sum variables. When comparing the attitudes amongst different background factors most of the differences show out to be statistically significant (see table 3).

Table 3. Attitudes toward administrative culture by background factors: the means of the sum variables on the scale 1=extremely negative – 5=extremely positive

| | Openness, transparency | | Democracy | | The functionality of administration | | General positive attitude towards the administration | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|--|-----|
| Employee group | F = 5.65 p = 0.000 | | F = 8.41 p = 0.000 | | F = 8.03 p = 0.000 | | F = 8.25 p = 0.000 | |
| | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd |
| professors | 2.8 | 1.0 | 2.5 | 0.6 | 2.5 | 0.8 | 2.6 | 0.6 |
| senior assist., ass. | 2.5 | 0.9 | 2.5 | 0.6 | 2.4 | 0.8 | 2.5 | 0.6 |
| lecturers, teachers | 2.5 | 0.9 | 2.4 | 0.5 | 2.4 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.6 |
| researchers | 2.8 | 0.8 | 2.6 | 0.5 | 2.5 | 0.8 | 2.6 | 0.5 |
| upper administr. p. | 2.9 | 0.8 | 2.7 | 0.6 | 3.0 | 0.9 | 2.8 | 0.6 |
| lower administr. p. | 2.6 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.5 | 2.7 | 0.9 | 2.5 | 0.5 |
| Discipline | F = 11.31 p = 0.000 | | F = 5.64 p = 0.000 | | F = 5.52 p = 0.000 | | F = 11.67 p = 0.000 | |
| | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd | avg | sd |
| Hum. | 2.4 | 0.9 | 2.4 | 0.6 | 2.3 | 0.9 | 2.4 | 0.6 |
| Edu. | 2.4 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.6 | 2.4 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.5 |
| Soc. | 2.5 | 0.9 | 2.4 | 0.5 | 2.4 | 0.7 | 2.4 | 0.5 |
| Law | 2.8 | 0.9 | 2.6 | 0.5 | 2.6 | 0.8 | 2.7 | 0.6 |
| Nat. | 2.8 | 0.9 | 2.6 | 0.5 | 2.5 | 0.8 | 2.6 | 0.5 |
| Med. | 3.0 | 0.8 | 2.6 | 0.6 | 2.7 | 0.7 | 2.7 | 0.5 |

³ – Openness, transparency ($\alpha = 0.828$; avg= 2.6; sd= 0.9).
 – Democracy ($\alpha = 0.678$; avg= 2.5; sd= 0.5).
 – The functionality of administration ($\alpha = 0.557$; avg= 2.5; sd= 0.8).
 – General positive attitude towards the administration ($\alpha = 0.821$; avg= 2.6; sd= 0.6).

The employee groups differed very clearly in their attitudes toward the administrative culture of their university in all sub-areas. It is not surprising that upper administrative personnel view their own field of activity in the most positive light. An interesting result was that the lower administrative staff identified more closely in their attitudes with the teaching and research staff than with their upper administrative colleagues.

When examined by discipline, attitudes were slightly polarized. The attitudes of humanists, educationalists and social scientists were more reserved than those of respondents from the faculties of law, natural sciences and especially medicine in all sub-areas. The latter group was distinguished even more for their positive attitude toward openness and transparency.

Conclusions

The results of our survey clearly indicate that the majority of the Finnish university staff have a rather reserved attitude toward the values and doctrines of the new university policy. In the Ballian terms we may come to the conclusion, that the employees were not very enthusiastic about the basic elements of the new university policy technologies; the market form, the managerialism nor the performativity. In particular, the spirit of competition and the centre of excellence policy, which are in the core of new policy technologies as well as making universities into businesses-like institutions, do not receive the unrestricted approval of those working in the everyday university world.

As to the question of power, our results indicate that university workers were not enthusiastic about the new policies of diminishing the academic power in favour of managerialist leaders and getting more distance from the state by stepping further to the direction of market steering in the Clarkean triangle of coordination. Connected to this, the respondents were concerned about the autonomy of university: in majority's opinion, the new policy reduces scientific freedom, and the new funding models may lead to inequality between different disciplines. These opinions differ a lot from those presented by the Ministry of Education (e.g. Vanttaja &

Jauhiainen 2009). The only policy aim that was acceptable to the majority of the respondents was the increasing of decision-making power in relation to the funding of universities – in other words, the increase in autonomy of university. However, only one out of four respondents considered it a good idea that universities will cease being government bureaucracies.

The general trends concerning the entire sample cannot, however, hide the fact that based on our study we can say that the university staff is rather strongly divided, even at some points polarized, in their perceptions and attitudes. This division would seem to reflect the power hierarchy of the academia surprisingly directly. Those upper level civil servants on the peak of the Finnish university hierarchy are, in many respects, perceived as being very aloof from the floor-level workers – whether they are academic teachers or researchers, or those working in the lower echelons of administration and planning. Upper level civil servants seem to identify more readily than the other groups with the values and principles of the new university policy. The attitudes towards the new administrative culture strengthened the picture of the confrontation between the academics and the administration elite. The rhetoric of openness and transparency that is so frequent in today's administrative discourse does not seem to have become reality in the experiences of our subjects. The furthest from the civil servant elite in their attitudes and perceptions are the university teaching staff: lecturers, untenured teachers, and to some extent also assistants. This may be seen as alarming, since lecturer and salaried teachers represent 44 % of the teaching staff⁴ and 10 % of the entire staff of Finnish universities (Kota 2008).

The upper administrative staff also differed from the professors, who in fact in some respects were closer to the civil servant elite in their attitudes and perceptions. On the other hand, the position of the professors in the middle ground between the academic floor-level workers and the administrative elite is also filled with conflict. In many respects, they represent the traditional core of power in the university, the professional academic power, and their status and possibilities to exert an influence are

⁴ Professors, lecturers, salaried teachers, senior assistants and assistants.

presently being pushed to the periphery by the managerialism of NPM. This was apparent in the professors' rather cool attitude toward managerialism, the increase of external decision-makers and professional managers in the universities. Professional status was not the only thing that explained the attitudes of the respondents. Again, we can distinguish two poles which, without a doubt, represent the division of power, resources and ability to exert an influence in the universities, and which perhaps are drifting further apart with the advent of the new policy. In the main, those from the medical faculty are more positive to the new policy, while the more critical respondents represent the humanities.

At the shop floor level the policy technologies are implemented through the policy techniques. Our results indicated that the attitudes towards these matters were also very sceptic and the open-ended responses intensified the picture. Especially the new salary system has not been very successful either in principle or in its practical implementation. The attitudes and experiences toward this system crystallize the problems of the new policy and a certain type of credibility problems. They saw that it increased managerial power, but at the same time also the (neo) bureaucratisation of management and other functions. Many experience it as a system which is amoralizing, unjust and which increases competition on both the personal and work community level (e.g. Ball 2001, 2003).

Rather common to the experiences regarding the other techniques was the feeling that they are bureaucratic and have increased 'busy work', which is one of the essential features of a performativity culture. The open-ended responses in particular reflected the type of discourse included in a performativity culture in a way that Ball (2006, 692–693) very appropriately calls 'fabrication'. Fabrication refers to expedient display, social representation or self-presentation by individuals or organizations without the aim of presenting the truth, but instead with the goal of doing whatever works best in a particular political context or market-centred, performance-centred and outcome-centred environment. This is a contradictory process; on the one hand, it means keeping up the appearance of efficiency through figures and outcome indicators, and on the other hand, submitting to ruthless performativity and the rules of competition. Alternatively, it may be a question of conscious participation, playing the

game, the cynical adopting of a superficial and foreign language, 'intellectual sport', as British university employees described their attitude to quality assurance in Hoecht's (2006, 555–556) interviews.

Overall, our main results are understandable against the background of the old Finnish university tradition. The neo-managerialism and other principles of the new policy are in many respects diametrically opposed to the old ideal. The neo-managerialistic administrative and governance culture is pushing aside the deeply rooted and widely accepted collegial administrative tradition which was the result of the democratisation struggles of the 1970s, and which emphasised the different kind of autonomy of individuals and faculties. We are dealing with both a conflict of power pools and a clash of cultures.

Perhaps it is possible to look a bit deeper into the power structures of the university and the basic principles of the changes. According to the results the university staff may be divided into academic traditionalists and academic marketisers and the majority seems to be somewhere in between, closer to the traditionalists. It would seem that there is a kind of resistance movement, or at least opposition and suspicion, toward the new market-driven university policy; to the market form, managerialism and performativity as the new policy technologies. This movement is, without doubt, connected with the defence of the old kind of autonomy of the university and with the collegial, professional and bureaucratic nature of the university institution (cf. Hay & al. 2002). It would also seem that abrupt, top-down changes orchestrated from above will not become the guiding light of the bottom-heavy university staff instantaneously, but rather that the implementation of such changes may take generations (cf. Clark 1983, 2003).

However, the picture of the effects and significances of the new policy is not black and white. More critical research is needed to find out how the new policy will be met with in the future: to whom and what kind power it gives, by whom and how is it resisted, how will it affect organizational culture of academia and the identities of the academics and other staff? These and many other questions are very topical especially in Finland where the implementation of the new HE policy with the radically reformed University Act in earnest has begun.

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The role of basic research at the entrepreneurial university: Back to basics?

Introduction

During the last decades the research function of higher education institutions has undergone substantial changes in both Finland and other western countries. With the emergence of the so-called knowledge intensive economy, the role of university research has been revised and redefined. On the one hand, due to a growing importance of scientific knowledge in society, the status of research has strengthened. New knowledge produced in universities is regarded as the core element in economic growth since the success of nations, regions and enterprises in the global competition is seen to depend on how quickly and effectively scientific knowledge is converted and commercialized into products and processes. On the other hand, this trend has meant that university research is increasingly viewed only from an economic angle, emphasising its societal relevance and economic utility. This is manifest in science and higher education policy, increasingly subordinated to innovation policy, which perceive universi-

ties mainly as an integral part of the national innovation system, not as sites for academic scholarship and intellectual pursuits for their own sake.

In higher education studies and science studies the transformations in the university context have triggered a great deal of discussion about the impacts of these changes on research practices and their underlying values and ideals. Several influential conceptualizations have been presented, aiming to capture the current nature of university research. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) speak about the rise of "academic capitalism", pointing to the increasing need of universities, departments and academics to compete over external revenue, since state funding for higher education is in decline. This fosters market-orientation in all activities. The so-called mode discussion, in turn, suggests that knowledge production has transformed from traditional disciplinary-based and curiosity-driven basic research (Mode 1) into externally funded, problem-oriented, transdisciplinary research conducted in the context of application and evaluated by economic and societal utility (Mode 2) (Gibbons et al. 1994). The concept "post-academic science" introduced by Ziman (1996), for its part, argues that the bloom of the Mode 2 type of research leads to the replacement of traditional academic values and norms by market-oriented ideals, converting university research into a secretive pursuit of private goods instead of the common good and publicly available knowledge. This brings university research close to industrial research conducted within firms. Correspondingly, the concept "triple helix" by Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1997) argues for blurring boundaries and increasing similarity in research conducted in academia, industry and governmental research institutes. However, some have maintained that the changes in university research are not all-inclusive, leaving space for traditional academic values and practices (e.g. Ylijoki 2003). For instance, Clark (1998) suggests that by establishing various kinds of market-oriented buffers, universities are able concurrently to turn entrepreneurial and to protect their "academic heartland" committed to the practices and values of basic research.

While there are differences among these concepts and their underlying premises (e.g. Hessels & van Lente 2008, Shinn 2002), each of them claims that a significant transformation is taking place in the ways

university research is carried out and how the science-society contract is defined. This change concerns especially basic research and its relation to applied research and experimental development. Basic research has long enjoyed a special priority position in the science system, gained after the Second World War as a result of the crucial contributions it was seen to have made in the war efforts. Calvert (2004, 252) describes this position by stating that basic research was regarded as “the highest expression of the Western scientific world view, involving the autonomous pursuit of knowledge, free from government or private interference, its value system closely identified with the values of Western democracy”. Later, the notion of basic research, along with the terms applied research and experimental development, has become institutionalized in the official OECD statistics about research and development (R&D), originated from the year 1963 (see Godin 2003). In these statistics basic research is defined as “experimental or theoretical work undertaken primarily to acquire new knowledge of the underlying foundations of phenomena or observable facts without any particular application or use in view” (Frascati Manual 2002, 77).

The priority position of basic research was linked to a linear model of innovation in which basic research forms the foundation for applied research which, in turn, leads to product development. This model justified the public investment in basic research, promising that in the end it benefits the public good and produces applications for the needs of society. However, as the linear model has given way to interactive models of innovation, emphasising the reciprocal influence between scientific research and applications, the legitimation of basic research has become more problematic and complex: society is asking more clearly visible and direct value for the money spent on university research. (Calvert 2004, Gulbrandsen & Kyvik 2010, Kyvik 2007, Miettinen 2006.) Thus, it can be said that the changing nature of knowledge production in academia – as epitomized by such concepts as academic capitalism, Mode 2, triple helix and post-academic science – ultimately concerns the role of basic research and the values, norms and practices associated with it.

In this chapter we will explore empirically the current position and role of basic research in Finnish universities, thereby contributing to the

ongoing debate on the changing nature of university research which by and large has not been grounded on empirical investigations (e.g. Hesses & van Lente 2008). Our research questions are: Is there still place and need for curiosity-driven and academically oriented basic research? What is the relationship between basic research, applied research and development work at the current era of entrepreneurial university? What kinds of external and internal pressures characterise research practices and how do academic units cope with them?

Our empirical data¹ consists of an online survey to all heads of departments and separate research units in all Finnish universities (N=627), conducted in autumn 2008. In total 255 department heads responded to the questionnaire, the response rate being 41 %. All disciplinary groups are relatively well represented in the data. The questionnaire included 19 sets of structured questions about the characteristics of the current research practices and their changes during the last three years. The three year period was selected because we were particularly interested in the effects of the recent structural reforms of the university sector. In the second stage of the study in 2009, the survey data were deepened by in-depth interviews with 31 academics working in four units at four different Finnish universities and representing different disciplinary groups: humanities, natural sciences, social sciences and technology. Both junior and senior researchers, including the heads of the units, took part in the interviews.

Before embarking on the analysis of our data, we will present some background information by a brief statistical overview of the recent trends in research and development in Finland. We will focus on research funding, since funding can be seen as the most effective steering mechanism of universities (Kyvik 2007, 388). Then, drawing upon our empirical material, we will offer answers to our research questions. At the end of the chapter we will discuss more generally the nature of university research and ponder on the role and position of basic research in it.

¹ The data were gathered in a sub-study of a collaborative project "Universities' structural development, academic communities and change", conducted among the Unit for Science, Technology and Innovation Studies, TaSTI and Higher Education Group, HEG, at the University of Tampere and the Finnish Institute for Educational Research at the University of Jyväskylä and funded by the Finnish Ministry of Education.

Overview of Finnish university research

Finland was the first OECD country to incorporate the concept of the national innovation system into its policy documents at the turn of the 1980s and the 1990s. Since then, this notion has provided a general guideline for science and higher education policy steering. In accordance with this systemic approach, university research is seen as a node in the interactive model of knowledge production and diffusion in society, underlining the societal and economic role of universities (cf. Nieminen 2005; Pelkonen 2008; Välimaa & Hoffman 2008). This emphasis is also expressed in the new Universities Act (2009), which states that while carrying out the basic missions – research and teaching – universities must interact with the surrounding society and promote the impact of research findings on society.

The focal role assigned to scientific research is manifest particularly well in the extensive increase of research funding in Finland. The share of R&D of the gross domestic product grew rapidly during the 1990s, especially between the years 1995 and 2000 when the share of R&D increased from 2.3 per cent to 3.4 per cent. This expansion was made possible through a government's additional funding programme which provided extra resources for overall R&D activities, including university research. For instance, in this five year period the budgets of the two principal research funding agencies – Academy of Finland (the research council system) and Tekes, the Finnish Funding Agency for Technology and Innovation - more than doubled, the graduate school system was introduced and programmes for centres of excellence in research were launched (Löppönen et al. 2009, 4). After the rapid growth, the first decade of this millennium has been a period of stabilisation, and the increase in the share of R&D has become slower, being 3.7 per cent in 2008. Yet internationally, this figure is high, putting Finland in this respect at the top after Sweden among the EU countries. Moreover, in 2009 the share is estimated to rise to 3.9 per cent, but this is basically due to the decrease in GDP under the current financial crisis. (Statistics Finland 2010.)

While the vast majority of R&D is conducted in industry, also the total volume of university research has grown substantially. During the period

from 1991 to 2006 university research expenditure almost doubled: the budget funding increased 1.5-fold and the external funding 2.5-fold (Vuolanto et al. 2010). In practice this means that university research is more and more carried out by external, competitive funding stemming from various sources. The most important external funding source is the Academy of Finland, its share of all external research funding being 31 per cent in 2007, while Tekes accounted for 18 per cent, private business for 15 per cent and the EU for 11 per cent of the total external funding (Löppönen et al. 2009, 23).

At the moment the share of external funding of the total research funding in the university sector is 50 per cent. However, this figure varies significantly across disciplinary fields as their market positions and possibilities to attract external money differ (Ylijoki 2003, Ylijoki et al. 2011). The share of external funding is lowest in humanities, 36 per cent, demonstrating a strong dependence on solely academic funding agencies. At the other end of the spectrum lies technology in which the share of external research funding is 60 per cent. Apart from the Academy of Finland, technological fields receive revenue from a variety of sources, especially from industry either directly or via Tekes co-funding.

The changes in the funding patterns have also had an impact on the number and composition of the academic staff. Namely, the number of research staff has grown considerably – 38 per cent during the ten year period between 1997 and 2007 – whereas the person-years in teaching posts (professors, lecturers, senior assistants, assistants, fee-based teachers) have increased only very little (Löppönen et al. 2009). Thus, as a result of the growth of external funding, universities have experienced a rapid increase in the number of project researchers, working mostly on short-term projects by short-term contracts. Between 1994 and 2004 the amount of this category of academic staff grew almost 2.5-fold. (Ylijoki & Hakala 2006, 21).

Currently, the dominance of externally funded project research has also raised concern about the state and quality of Finnish science, as epitomized in the recent research assessment by the Academy of Finland. The assessment pays particular attention to statistics which show that by several indicators the positive trend in Finnish science has recently turned

into a negative direction when compared with other OECD countries. The number of publications almost doubled during 1988–2008, but has declined since then. The same recent negative turn can be seen in the share of Finnish publications of the world publications and in the number of citations that Finnish publications have received over the last few years. Funding is mentioned as one of the principal reasons for this downturn, since funding from Tekes, private business and ministries, all directed to applied research and development, exceed the volume of funding for basic research. The summary of the assessment concludes: “One factor contributing to these trends could well be that research funding in Finland as well as the current science and technology policy debate tend to lean quite heavily in an applied direction. A disproportionate amount of research at universities today focuses on application and product development at the expense of basic research.” (Löppönen et al. 2009b, 17). Hence, it is assumed that the macro level changes in funding patterns have had some unintended and unwanted effects, related mainly to the position and role of basic research within Finnish universities.

Current research practices: Basic, applied or development work?

Our survey provides fresh empirical material to explore the current research activities and the relationship among basic research, applied research and development work in Finnish universities as a whole. It is noteworthy, however, that the survey data do not allow a path to actual research practices but is limited to the views and opinions of the respondents, that is, the heads of the departments and research centres. In the questionnaire we explicitly asked them to estimate first, how important the different forms of research are at their own units at the moment and second, whether there have been changes in the volume of the different types of research over the last three years. The concepts basic research, applied research and development work, no doubt, are far from clear-cut, involving blurring boundaries and different definitions by different actors for different purposes in different contexts. However, in spite of all

ambiguities, these concepts are in general use, demonstrating that they are understood similarly enough to make it possible to discuss them in a socially meaningful way (Gulbrandsen & Kyvik 2010; Calvert 2004).

The results show that basic research still holds a very strong and firm position in universities (see table 1). Over 90 per cent of the respondents say that basic research is either very important or important at their unit, and practically no one thinks that it is unimportant. However, almost an equally high share of the respondents says the same of applied research: more than nine out of ten consider it very important or important and only 7 per cent not at all important. Only a slight difference can be discerned in favour of basic research, since it is seen as very important more often than applied research. From these figures it can be deduced that basic research and applied research are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but on the contrary, they both have a focal role in current research practices. Development work, for its part, has a quite different profile. Less than one fourth of the respondents consider development work very important, while approximately one third think it is not at all important. Thus the position of development work is clearly more marginal when compared to both basic and applied research.

Table 1. *The importance of and change in different types of research according to the heads of the units (%)*

| | Basic research | Applied research | Development work |
|----------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| Importance | | | |
| Very important | 68 | 56 | 24 |
| Fairly important | 26 | 37 | 44 |
| Not at all important | 6 | 7 | 32 |
| Total (n) | 100 (252) | 100 (247) | 100 (238) |
| Change | | | |
| Increased | 25 | 36 | 34 |
| Unchanged | 69 | 62 | 60 |
| Decreased | 6 | 2 | 6 |
| Total (n) | 100 (244) | 100 (236) | 100 (218) |

When we asked about the changes in the volume of different types of research over the last three years, the majority of respondents answered that there has been no change (see table 1). So, somewhat surprisingly, instead of transformation, stability and continuity seem to characterise the situation in this respect. To the extent some change was reported, it concerned an increase in volume – the decrease option was hardly ever chosen. It is worth noticing that the increase tended to be slightly more common in applied research and development work than in basic research, faintly hinting at the strengthening of applied research strategies as compared to basic research. The general trend, however, appears to be that there has been no extensive transformation in the volume of any of the research types nor in their interrelationships, as in most cases all types have remained unchanged.

However, there are some significant differences among disciplinary groups, reflecting the characteristics of cultural traditions, funding bases and market positions of different fields (Becher 1989; also Lytinen et al. 2010; Ylijoki et al. 2011). While basic research is important in all dis-

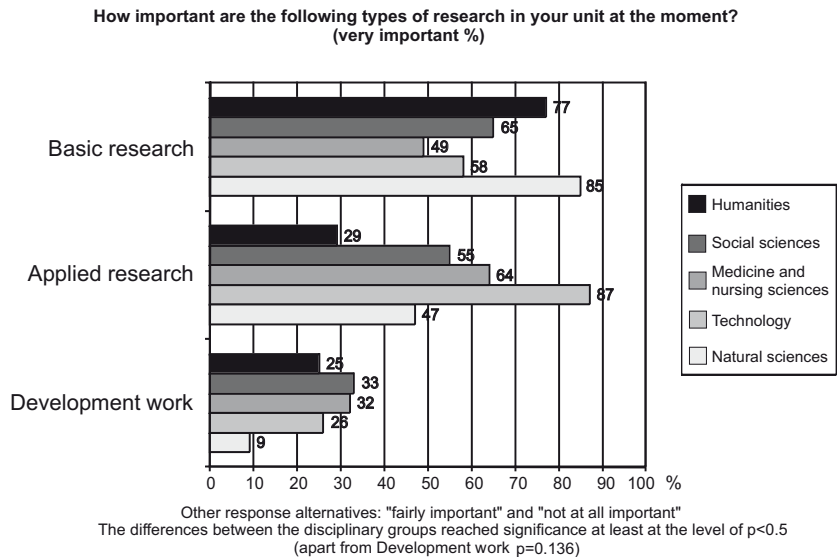


Figure 1. The importance of different types of research by disciplinary groups

ciplinary groups, it is especially true in natural sciences and humanities. In the former 85 percent and in the latter 77 per cent of the respondents consider basic research very important for their unit. The opposite end is represented by medicine and health sciences in which less than a half of the respondents say that basic research is very important. Social sciences and technology are located between these extremes. (see figure 1.)

The profile of applied research is quite different, to some extent even inverse. Namely, the respondents in humanities and natural sciences, most emphasising the importance of basic research, perceive applied research least often as very important. By contrast, technological fields are most strongly inclined towards applied research, since nearly 90 percent of the respondents in this field consider applied research very important for their unit. Social sciences along with medicine and health sciences hold the middle position in this regard. Thus it can be summarized that the role of applied research is most salient in technological fields, whereas orientation to basic research is especially characteristic in natural sciences and humanities.

As to development work, the prominent feature is that it does not gain a strong position in any disciplinary group. It obtains the highest score in social sciences and in medicine and health sciences in which about one third of the respondents report that development work is very important for their unit. In natural sciences development work gains least importance, as only 9 per cent of the respondents perceive it as very important. As a whole, development work thus remains in a minor position in all fields.

Apart from disciplinary groups, the types of research also differ by organisation type. The traditional organizational type, academic department involved in both teaching and research, has a somewhat different profile than university research centres solely focusing on research (see figure 2). The representatives of the former are considerably more oriented to basic research, and by contrast, research centres put more weight on applied research. Moreover, the latter are also significantly more inclined towards product development.

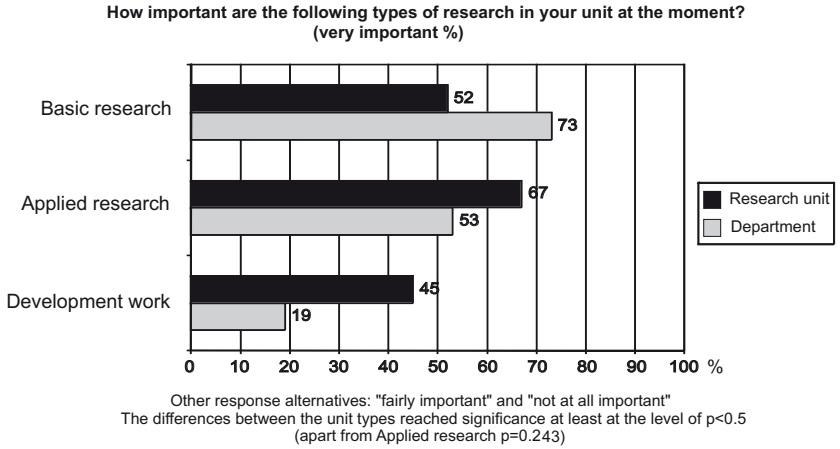


Figure 2. The importance of different types of research by organizational type

These differences can be explained by the funding pattern. In the survey, the respondents from university departments consider budget funding very important much more often (82 %) than those from research centres (44 %). Conversely, the respondents from research centres see external funding as very important (88 %) much more often than those from university departments (52 %). Overall, it appears that departments are more academically oriented favouring basic research, whereas research centres tend to be more externally oriented, emphasising the importance of applied research strategies.

All in all, our results do not offer support to the claims for dismissal and downswing of basic research. Instead the general message is that there has been no radical transition from basic research into applied research. Based on our survey, both basic research and applied research have a crucial role at the present-day university, whereas development work occupies a much more peripheral position. This overall picture holds true across academia despite of differences in orientation among distinct disciplinary groups and organisational types.

This conclusion gets support also from other items in our survey. Traditional academic values and criteria characterizing basic research gain a primary standing also in the respondents' views concerning the selection of research topics, research collaboration, publication patterns, main audiences for research and the notions of quality (Marttila et al. 2010). For instance, with regard to the topic choice, the top three criteria include international scientific importance of the topic, personal interest of the researcher, and theoretical or methodological importance of the topic, each estimated as very important or important by over 80 per cent of the respondents. Each of these top criteria speaks for the academic relevance of basic research. On the other hand, influential though less important are such criteria as the availability of funding, the focus areas established by the unit and the societal relevance of the topic, as more than a half of the respondents see them as very important or important. All these criteria point to the significance of externally oriented applied research. Thus, our survey results as a whole testify to the strong and deep-rooted hold of curiosity-driven, academically oriented basic research and its living side-by-side with market-driven, externally oriented applied research.

Basic research still going strong

While highlighting the co-existence of basic research and applied research within academia, the survey results do not entail much material for exploring their mutual relationship. Some clues, however, can be discerned. When we asked the respondents about difficulties in research, the following factors were considered to hinder research work very much or much by more than a half of the respondents, ranging from 75 per cent to 51 per cent in a downward order: short-term funding, insufficient basic funding, increasing management duties, time pressure, difficulties in combining research, teaching and administrative tasks, insufficient number of permanent research staff, lack of peaceful research time and prevalence of short-term contracts. All these factors are related to funding arrangements, including employment conditions and new managerial duties. In this way the results suggest some kinds of tensions and discrepancies among the different types of research.

The interviews with academics provide more nuanced accounts of the current research practices. As a whole the interview material tells the same story as the survey results. Although the chronic need for gaining external funding has increased the amount of applied research and to some degree also development work, basic research is still seen as an absolutely necessary core duty, establishing the foundation for all other activities, including product development and other kinds of applications. The following quotes illustrate the tone of the interviews:

We have plunged more and more into applied research and project development, bigger funding lies there. You really need to be a bit worried about basic research. (...) The big scientific inventions are made in basic research, this is for sure. Applied research is only concerned the commercialization of an idea discovered in basic research. If basic research is neglected for too long, the applied end will fade out too. (Professor, technology)

Our tradition is in basic research. But we are fully aware that we should have applied research, it would be easier to sell. Yes, we have realised this. (Professor, humanities)

According to the interviews, basic research thus gets the primary role which needs to be protected and fostered. This does not mean, however, that applied research or development work is perceived only as a necessary evil. At the very least they offer funding, and in doing this, they keep the units alive and researchers out of unemployment. Due to the strong dependence on external revenue, the continuity of employment for the research staff is a big challenge for the units, causing strain and concern.

I have to work pretty hard in order to attract money from somewhere so that we will stay at the plus side in the budget. The only way to really save money is to sack a researcher. You can sack a researcher and save real money, you cannot save on anything else. Is this right, then? (Professor, technology)

Apart from providing funding and employment, applied research and development work by themselves entail positive elements. This is emphasised by interviewees in all disciplinary groups covered by our study,

including humanities where the roots of the applied orientation are not as long as in the other fields. A professor in humanities explains the newly emerged determination in the following way:

On the whole what has increased is some sort of looking in the mirror and also looking out the window for the impact of our research, where it is, is it within the academic field or is it somewhere else. We are intent on applicability so that our research would have an impact in our fields of expertise and even on political decision-making. (Professor, humanities)

Hence, the academics interviewed are not in principle against the current policy demands for societal and economic relevance of research. Rather, applied research may promote the motivation of academics by implicating that their work is meaningful and useful for a wider audience than just one's colleagues in academia. In addition, social relevance and practical utility are also associated with ethical considerations over academics' responsibility towards society, tax payers and citizens.

Tensions among the types of research

In spite of the importance attached to both basic and applied research – and to some extent also to development work – the co-existence of the different research types does not always proceed smoothly in harmony. The academics say that they constantly have to “sniff” funding possibilities and then to “infiltrate the academic element” into their project plans if they want to get funding and hold to more academically oriented research interests. Thus, the interviews are full of accounts of balancing between conflicting demands of basic research and externally funded applied projects, concerning, among other things, differences in the time span and objectives of research. In our interview material these tensions are especially acute in the field of technology which has most external funding and closest collaboration with industry.

While we collaborate a lot with companies, they of course want us to deliver results which they can utilise immediately to make money out of them. And of course we try to develop these kinds of results, but we should also remember the

academic side, we should really think about it too. But the companies want a different kind of output; they are interested in different things. (Senior researcher, technology)

Furthermore, basic research is said to require not only a long-term time span but also risk-taking and “freaky topics” which may in the end turn out as failures. By contrast, the funding bodies of applied research and development work are usually not willing to take part in such endeavours, but tend to favour projects with clear targets and certain outcomes. This creates a tension between “routine research” and “creative research”, as one professor in natural sciences puts it. Ultimately it is a question of scientific progress and the quality of research.

In my opinion the research front should fly high in the sky and be innovative. And this is perhaps totally incomprehensible from the service angle. It is my fear that this kind of risk taking and plunging into new worlds which is necessary in science is becoming increasingly narrow, and only such things are perceived as meaningful that are believed to bring benefits relatively soon. (Professor, humanities)

The conflict of interest becomes particularly apparent with regard to publishing. Academically oriented basic research is committed to the public availability of research results, which forms one of the most deep-rooted norms in science, as epitomized by the Mertonian imperatives of science (Merton 1968). By contrast, the funders, especially in companies, are eager to attain patents and commercial benefits from their investment, which hinder or delay publishing. In an extreme case, a special paradox arises: the most successful studies cannot be published, only failures of some kind. This dilemma is explained in the following quote:

We have to make an awfully exact and detailed agreement which says who owns the results, and all publications need to be approved by the financier. Over the last years the number of our publications has decreased explosively because we need to get permission from companies for everything. (...) This leads to a situation that if there is nothing to patent, we are allowed to publish. The research is a failure in this respect. And if we are not allowed to publish, it means that now our research has been a success. (Professor, technology)

Related to tensions in publishing, gaining academic merits and fulfilling financiers' wishes can also turn against each other. Individual academics as well as research groups and university units are assessed on the basis of their academic merits, principally by the publication record. Publications in top journals, however, are only rarely a priority in the interests of the funding bodies. An exception is the Academy of Finland, which provides "academic luxury", as one interviewee remarks, but this funding is extremely competitive. So generally, the situation requires sensitive balancing between competitive demands and pressures.

It is like an academic suicide to start to write only some reports because as a university researcher you are evaluated on the grounds of being the leading academic expert and visible in the field. It is a very delicate, sensitive balancing act to succeed in promoting one's research and researcher career that appears to be academically substantial and credible, and to do it in such a way that it is also of interest to also application oriented financiers in companies and all other stakeholders. (Professor, social sciences)

Combining a basic research orientation and a more applied orientation thus involves severe difficulties. This tends to work against basic research because dependency on external funding steers or even "dictates" research activities: there are only "such projects for which somebody is willing to pay", as a professor in natural sciences remarks. The role of basic research is therefore vulnerable, although highly appreciated.

Concluding remarks

Drawing upon our empirical results, it can be concluded that research practices in the current context of the entrepreneurial university are characterized by co-existence of basic research, applied research, and – to a lesser extent – development work. Instead of the transition from basic research into applied forms of research, as claimed for instance by Gibbons et al. (1994), Ziman (1996) and Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1997), the different research types are combined in a variety of ways, depending especially on the disciplinary field and organizational type. In this

our results resemble the recent findings among Norwegian academics (Gulbrandsen & Kyvik 2010). The general trend appears to be that academics strive for what Gulbrandsen and Langfeld (2004, 249) term “dual relevance”, interconnecting scientific interests and user interests, that is, basic research and application-oriented research. This combination, in turn, is facilitated by the flexibility and ambiguity of the terms basic and applied, allowing at least some possibilities to “tailor” research either as more basic or more applied according to the audience to whom the research is presented (Calvert 2000, 2004).

On a whole, the role of basic research nonetheless seems to be strong in Finnish universities, indicating that basic research continues to have appeal among academics, including junior researchers whose overall university experience is different from senior academics (Hakala 2009; Henkel 2000). It can be argued that curiosity-driven basic research, firmly associated with deep-rooted academic ideals and values, constitutes a powerful and influential social construction which offers a base for identity building for both individual researchers and academic units. This appeal is also linked to academic merits and career promotion. As Kyvik (2007, 409) points out, since recognition and reputation within academia are granted on the basis of the scientific quality of research, researchers as a norm have a strong personal interest in and motivation for combining applied and basic research.

The rise of the dual relevance strategy, a sort of “use-inspired basic research” (Stokes 1997), includes both positive and negative aspects. On the one hand, our results indicate that there is an increased awareness of potential for wider utility of research results and more responsiveness towards social, economic, societal and political needs, which may enhance the meaningfulness of research work. Yet, on the other hand, it is often the case that the dual relevance strategy leads to severe tensions and conflicts of interest, requiring constant balancing between competitive, often contradictory, expectations and pressures by different stakeholders at both the organizational and individual levels (cf. Jongbloed et al. 2008; Tuunainen 2005). As a result of the difficulties in putting the dual relevance strategy in practice, the future of this strategy appears to be problematic, even in jeopardy. Correspondingly, although academics

in our study are committed to basic research and perceive it as absolutely vital, their accounts are tinged with worries and concern over the future of basic research as they feel that the dependency on external funding is strongly steering research into a more applied direction.

The concern over basic research discerned in our study gains resonance from the recent assessment of the status and quality of Finnish science by the Academy of Finland (Löppönen et al. 2009), which also points to unwanted consequences of the recent policy steering and funding patterns. Both underline the detrimental effects of focusing too much on the direct utility of results in short-term projects by short-term project researchers. There are signs that a wider concern in this regard is about to rise. For instance, Gulbrandsen and Kyvik (2010) suggest that a counter-movement from the emphasis on applications towards stressing the relevance of basic research is emerging. As an example, they refer to the Nordic countries, all of which have established extensive programmes for centres of excellence and in this way fostered the position of basic research. They conclude that irrespective of actual research practices, at least “the rhetoric pendulum seems to be swinging back to an emphasis on a traditional notion of basic research” (Gulbrandsen & Kyvik 2010, 346). According to our results, the pendulum swing would be welcome to Finnish academics, albeit in a moderate degree, leaving space for application-orientation and disciplinary differences as well.

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The problems with prolonging studies and delaying: The beginning of graduates' working careers from the Finnish national and international perspectives

Introduction

In Finnish higher education (HE), the prolongation of university studies has been given focused attention in both policy discussion and research. The worries over the long duration of degree earning process and delay in the beginning of the graduate working careers are typically fuelled by international comparisons and country reports, the most important of which come from the OECD and EU. Thus, this chapter will mainly take the comparative stand when discussing the reasons for why the prolongation of studies is such a characteristic problem for the Finnish HE system. In addition to making a case in point that how the Finnish HE system compares against selected other European HE systems with respect to

study times and integration of new graduates into the workforce, the article will discuss how the goal of hastening the throughput of the HE sector is addressed in the Finnish HE policy making both by Finnish national and international agents.

In part one, we will review major concerns, viewpoints, and policy actions as they have evolved over the past few decades in Finland. Three stages are discernable. The length of university studies was considered originally to have a significant impact upon the nation's economy. It was then understood as a key factor in international competitiveness. Finally, in light of the ageing labour force, the emphasis returned to the impact that this phenomenon has on the nation's economy.

In part two, we will broaden our analysis through a comparison of the Finnish higher education system with those systems found in Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom. We aim to illustrate how labour markets, and particularly Finland's labour market, are affected by these issues in higher education. We will draw on information provided by two recent pan-European graduate surveys. Special attention will be given to the view that the time spent with students status reflects on, not only the characteristics of national HE systems, but to a great extent also the more general differences between the types of labour market regimes in how the young people are integrated into the labour markets.

Finally, we will summarise these two viewpoints. We will discuss the extent to which prolonged university study and delayed working careers in the Finnish context – including the policies that are intended to solve these problems – compare to the realities of other national systems and individual students.

The political discussion concerning the duration of studies

Delays in the completion of university degrees has been seen as a problem since 1965, when the Finnish degree system was first compared to educational systems in the United Kingdom and United States, where master's degrees were completed in four years. Since then, the topic has

been discussed thoroughly in Finland's HE political circles. The main problem with delayed graduation is the financial burden that it places upon the Finnish educational system. Were Finland successful in shortening the duration of studies and lowering the average age of its graduates, this would help reduce the financial pressure involved in the future changes in the age structure of the work force as tax revenues would not be affected as much. (cf. Merenluoto 2007; OPM 2003b.) Though various education reforms have been implemented, none of these has been successful in shortening the average time to completion; on average, it still takes about 6.5 years to graduate from Finnish universities with a master's degree.

In the 1960s, as part of a broader desire to strengthen society, the Finnish government sought to make higher education available to all. At that time, efficiency was already high on the educational policy agenda, since any delays in graduation meant that educated people remained in school when they could (and should) be contributing to societal welfare. (cf. Rinne 2004; Silvonen 1996). A lack of efficiency meant loss for the entire Finnish economy. The concept of *calculated student place* was introduced as a measure of the resources needed to educate one full-time student. This has been the primary tool in discussions over delayed graduation.

Educational reform focusing on the duration of university studies was undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s. It was proposed that the master's degree be divided into two parts, the basic degree and the specialist degree, which in all should take five years to complete. In the end, it was decided that there would not be a separate bachelor's degree because it was thought that an intermediate degree would in effect lengthen the duration of studies. This made the master's degree the first degree in HE. At the same time, every study unit was to be measured for the average time it took a student to complete it. The reason behind the change to uniform study units was that it would make it possible to compare different courses of study with one another. (KM 1968; Lampinen 2003.) During the reform that followed, the departments were required to lower the workloads placed upon students. However, it was feared that this would correspondingly lower the perceived importance of the subjects. So instead of making the units easier to study, as was meant in the reform,

the units were packed with more substance, and hence they were even more difficult and cumbersome to complete. (Mikkonen 2000.) At this time the status of the university within the society started to shift. The state now took upon itself the right to determine the goals of the university. (VNp 19.12.1974.)

The concept of the government-led university, however, was called into question in the 1980s as market-oriented thinking strengthened. Low costs became the main concern. Because educational efficiency is hard to determine, continual evaluation was required. One simple and quantifiable indicator was the time it took for students to finish their degrees. Though the target time-to-completion was 5–6 years, it took on average 6,5 years to graduate (OPM 1991). At the same time there was an influx of students into the universities, and it took more and more money to sustain the system. The Ministry of Education noticed that this influx was due in part to the long duration of studies. Once again reforms were undertaken, and this time they succeeded in lowering student workload even though the impact on the time-to-degree was minimal. (Lehtisalo & Raivola 1999; Mikkonen 2000.)

As the effects of the educational policies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Union (EU) strengthened in Finland in the 1990s, the questions of the competitiveness of the degrees offered by Finnish universities became increasingly important. It was recognised that, while 5 years should be sufficient, the average time-to-degree was still 6.5 years. Both the OECD and the EU continued to criticise Finnish universities for their lack of efficiency and the duration of studies among their students. (OECD 1995; Rinne 2004.) Reforms of the higher education degrees followed as the criticism for the one-cycle master's degree increased and the two-tier system was once again promoted and implemented in the bachelor reform of 1994. However, the effects of these changes on the duration of studies were insignificant. (Lampinen 2003; Mikkonen 2000.)

Towards the end of the 1990s, the average length of university study was still at 6.5 years. For the first time in the history of Finnish higher education, a limit on study time was proposed. There was outrage in political and social circles, as well as among student organisations, and

this limit was not put into place. (OPM 1998.) In light of the declaration of Sorbonne, there was still a need to lower the duration of studies. There was also a need to strengthen the significance of the bachelor's degree, since its status was fairly weak partly due to the uncertainty of its significance and the surplus of master's degree holders in the workforce. The idea was that the bachelor's degree as such should and would comprise a clearly separate higher education degree comparable to the bachelor's degrees in other EU countries. This would act as a way to make international comparisons of higher education systems easier. (Ahola & Mesikämnen 2003.) The next educational reform was carried out in 2005 within the Bologna process. This time, it was mandated that all unnecessary study units truly be cut from each degree program. European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) was to be introduced as an aid in creating easily readable and comparable degrees. Uniform two-tier degree structure amongst the countries participating in the Bologna process was to be created. Personal guidance was to be introduced more thoroughly than before, and students were required to develop personal study plans. (Ministry of Education 2010; OPM 2003a.)

In 2005 a limitation to the duration of university studies was again introduced and passed. The limitation of the right to study was placed in relation to the calculated length of the master's degree. For master's degree planned to take five years to complete, which is the case in most disciplines, the student can use seven years. So the student has in effect two extra years. If the student wishes to complete only the bachelor's degree, the extra time was limited to a year. It is also possible and permitted to stay absent from the university for up to two years without losing the right to complete a degree. So the actual limit for completing a master's degree planned to take 5 years to complete is approximately nine years. Added to the nine years is the time that a student wishes to use on paternity leave or in voluntary military service, as these are not counted as time spent studying. Two more measurements of the success of this process were also introduced. First, the number of those who had graduated within the stipulated time was compared with the number who had not graduated. The second indicator was the total number of full-time students in the university. (OPM 2003a; Yliopistolaki

1997/2005.) These changes were put in place at the same time as the new two-tier system. This time the two-tier system held, and today they remain separate from each other, even though the bachelor's degree is still viewed as an intermediate phase to the master's degree. Once a student enters university, he or she has the right to study both degrees. After the reforms of 2005, progress was monitored closely, and the London Communiqué reported that Finland was in compliance with the changes agreed upon for the EU's educational system. Efficiency was one factor, though greater stress was placed upon the employment of new graduates. (London Communiqué 2007.) Despite these changes over the years in the degree structure the duration of studies has remained constant (OECD 2003, 2009).

In conclusion, the problems concerning the duration of studies in Finnish higher education are threefold. First, students take longer on average to graduate from Finnish universities than other universities in OECD-countries. (OPM 2003a.) Second, the population is aging. For Finland to cope well with the resulting fiscal burden, it is important to lengthen the average active work life of each individual. Third, in order to remain competitive within the EU, it is important to shorten the duration of studies.

Delayed graduate working careers and the types of education and labour market regimes

This section considers, first, how degree earning and HE-to-work transition processes vary depending on the type of national labour market and, second, the extent to which the delay in the commencement of graduates' careers can be associated with the institutional framework itself. This dependence is examined by comparing the Finnish institutional frame to those found in Italy, Germany, and the United Kingdom. These three national education/labour market frames are considered, in the European context, as representatives of typical institutional frames with respect to the combination of occupational specificity of the education/training system and strictness of labour

market regulations.¹ The strictness of labour market regulations, especially in terms of the strictness of employment protection legislation, and the degree of occupational specificity in the education and training, are two institutional level factors that are often in use when making classifications of different types of national institutional frames or education and labour market regimes. This applies especially for the so called education-to-work frameworks, the focus of which is on how the young people are integrated into the labour markets in different types of national institutional frames. Compared to the three typical institutional frames, the structural organization of the Finnish education/labour market system resembles most the German system, characteristic of which is a high level of occupational specificity and labour market regulations. The strictness of employment protection legislation in Finland represents the average European level and is thus between the extremes of the Italian and British ideal types (see OECD 2004, table 2.A2.4).

The division between the academic and vocational sectors of the Finnish HE system superficially resembles that of the German model. However, the Finnish vocational sector, i.e. the UAS (Universities of Applied Sciences) sector, enjoys a less established status than its German counterpart, the FH (Fachhochschule) sector. The UAS sector also includes programs such as nurses' training that are not included in the FH sector and are not traditionally considered "higher education". Although the Finnish HE system, like the German system, undoubtedly has greater 'vocational thrust' than either the British or Italian systems, it is important to note that the Finnish institutional frame is not representative of extensive coordination in the education-work relations, as is the ideal case of Germany.

We base our comparison of Finland with these three other HE and labour market systems on information provided by recent pan-European

¹ The concept of "occupational specificity" refers to the extent to which the education and training prepares to work in a specific occupation. At the same time, this concept also refers to the extent to which the recruiters have a trust on educational diplomas with respect to that they are indicators of the skills and knowledge required to work in a specific occupation, i.e., the signaling power of diplomas (cf. Scherer 2005).

survey data, namely the CHEERS and REFLEX data.² Table 1 presents a summary of the differences between the types of institutional structures based on the characteristics of the institutional context itself as well as on characteristics of the degree earning process and transition from HE-to-employment. Characterizations of the degree earning and HE-to-work transition processes are based upon the analysis of the CHEERS and REFLEX data, and they are generalised to the extent that they should not reflect temporary changes in the graduate employability but relatively permanent system-level differences (for a more detailed discussion of REFLEX and CHEERS based indicators and their values, see, e.g., Lindberg 2007, 2009; Schomburg & Teichler 2006; Kivinen & Nurmi 2003). Variations between the countries are illustrated applying a three-phase model of the progression of the degree earning and transition processes (see the top of table 1):

(1.) applying for HE → (2.) studying in HE → (3.) working career as a graduate.

In table 1, characterization of the institutional differences is based on Scherer's (2005) framework. The Scherer's (2005) framework is a case in point of how the cross-country variations in the duration of education-to-work transition process and in the quality of the outcomes of this process, can be explained by the type of national institutional frame. Evidently, the level of graduate employment and the duration of the process of integrating new graduates into the labour markets reflect on, to a great extent, the organization of the national institutional frame in the above discussed respects (cf. Lindberg 2009). Therefore, the relatively smooth HE-to-work transition, in Germany and Finland, in terms of low unemployment level and high standard for the quality of first job, can be explained with the combination of relatively strict employment protection legislation and

² The REFLEX data ('The Flexible Professional in the Knowledge Society, New Demands on Higher Education in Europe') was collected during 2005 and 2006. The target group consisted of graduates from the year 2000 from an ISECD5A level education in fourteen European countries and Japan. The REFLEX is the follow up to an earlier survey data commonly known as CHEERS or "Careers after Higher Education, A European Research Survey." The CHEERS data were collected in 1999, and its target group was graduates of the academic year of 1994/95 in eleven European countries.

The problems with prolonging studies and delaying: The beginning of graduates' working careers from the Finnish national and international perspectives

Table 1. Progression of the degree earning and HE-to-work transition processes in different types of institutional frames: characterizations based on the analysis of the CHEERS and REFLEX data

| Characteristics of institutional frame ^A | Applying for HE and studying in HE | Working career as a graduate |
|--|--|--|
| Germany and Finland: (university graduates with master's; FH / UAS sector graduates) | | |
| Strictness of employment protection legislation: high Level of occupational specificity: high | Delay in the beginning of studies: high (low at the UAS sector) Delay in the finishing of studies: high (low at the UAS sector) Transfers between programs at the first degree level: high Participation to labour markets with students status: high | Average occupational status of first employment: high (low at the UAS sector) Match between level of degree and job requirements: high Level of unemployment: low Level of job-to-job mobility: low |
| Italy: (university graduates with master's) | | |
| Strictness of employment protection legislation: high Level of occupational specificity: low | Delay in the beginning of studies: low Delay in the finishing of studies: high Transfers between programs at the first degree level: low Participation to labour markets with students status: low | Average occupational status of first employment: high Match between level of degree and job requirements: low Level of unemployment: high Level of job-to-job mobility: low |
| The United Kingdom: (university graduates with bachelor's or master's) | | |
| Strictness of employment protection legislation: low Level of occupational specificity: low | Delay in the beginning of studies: low Delay in the finishing of studies: low Transfers between programs at the first degree level: low Participation to labour markets with students status: low | Average occupational status of first employment: low Match between level of degree and job requirements: low Level of unemployment: low Level of job-to-job mobility: high |

Notes. A: Derived from Scherer 2005, table 1.

occupational specificity of education (see the phase of “working career as a graduate” in table 1). The German/Finnish type of the model is, in many respects, opposite to the (neo)liberal labour market regime present in the UK, in which the low level of both the labour market regulations

and occupational specificity coincides with low standard for the quality of the first job and high level of job-to-job mobility. Characteristics for the Italian type of institutional frame is high level of labour market regulations and low level of occupational specificity, the combination of which is considered to be a reason for the characteristically long waiting times for the first jobs (i.e., the high unemployment level) for the highly educated people in Italy.

Differences in the organization of labour markets nationally are helpful as for analyzing reasons for the delayed graduation times. There are nevertheless considerable cross-country variations in the student and graduate careers, for understanding of which the big picture provided by the classifications of national education and labour market regimes is, as such, too crude.

When examining the characterizations of the degree earning processes as presented in table 1 (see the phases of "applying for HE" and "studying in HE"), integration of highly educated people into the labour markets in the German/Finnish institutional frame differs from those in the Italian and British frames in that the time spent with student status is most prolonged, and integration to work life takes largely place as a student rather than as a new graduate. Typical in both the German and Finnish contexts is a delayed entry into the HE sector from the (upper) secondary level. Equally typical for the German and Finnish HE students after they have been admitted into the system is what could be described as incremental integration into the labour markets. This is partly due to the stronger vocational thrust of the training and internship periods, and partly because of spontaneous student participation in labour markets, which is unrelated to the degree programs. Due to the fact that a number of students are active in the labour markets well before graduating, the phases of studying and the beginning of the working career as a graduate are, in reality, difficult to separate from each other in Germany and Finland.

The great number of students who combine working and studying in Germany and Finland is illustrative of, or can be explained with, the fact that the skills and work life readiness that new graduates are expected to have, are generally higher in the German/Finnish type of education and

labour market regime than in the other two types. The emphasis on work experience gained as a student is one important factor underlying the prolonged time spent with student status in these two countries.

Although the Finnish institutional frame can largely be associated with the ideal type represented by Germany, some features regarding both the structural organization of the HE system as well as how the students actually make use of the system in spontaneous and non-standardised ways emphasise the peculiarity of the Finnish case. These features are essential as reasons why the delay in graduates beginning working careers is considered particularly problematic in the Finnish context.

First, it is important to notice that, while the delay in beginning of careers is considered a rather ubiquitous problem for the functioning of the Finnish HE system, it actually mainly concerns only the university sector. The greatest difference between Finnish and German systems concerns the role that the vocational HE sector has in relation to the university sector. On the basis of the REFLEX data, The German university and FH sectors appear to be quite similar with respect to the age of new graduates, as well as their occupational status. UAS graduates, on the other hand, appear to be, with respect to age and the average occupational status of first jobs, more similar to the British bachelor's degree than graduates with master's degrees in Finland, Germany or Italy.³

Second, as was discussed above, participation in labour markets with student status is extensive amongst Finnish students. What is even more distinctive for the Finnish system is the excessive number of students who continue in their student jobs after graduation: nearly half of the Finnish graduates in the university sector and one-third in the UAS sector continue in the job where they worked while studying (source: the REFLEX data). These proportions are considerably greater than in Germany, not to mention in the British or Italian context. The situation is thus rather para-

³ This is not to say that UAS graduates from some particular programs, such as some fields of engineering, could not compete on equal bases with university graduates. However, many of the programs at the UAS sector are of the kind that the occupations for which they train are assigned a markedly lower socio-economic status scores than traditional types of academic occupations, for which the university programs are assumed to train. Therefore, when using internationally standardised occupational status indexes, such as Ganzeboom et. al's (1992) ISEI index, the average occupational status score for the UAS graduates is bound to be low.

doxical. Finnish students work and aim to secure a job before graduation, while at the same time, the delay in new graduates' beginning working careers is deemed to be very worrisome by the HE policy makers. As paradoxical for HE policy-making as this phenomenon may be, it reflects the incentives created by the Finnish type of institutional frame to integrate into labour markets with student status, as well as a strong tendency to avoid becoming an unemployed degree holder. The issue is not only that the functioning of the labour market institutions, this including, among other things, employers' recruiting practices, create incentives to gain work experience as a student. It is equally that the Finnish HE system is flexible in that it allows, for those enrolled as full-time students, them to work while studying to a considerable extent.

Third, transfers between programs/institutions at the first degree level are clearly more common in the Finnish system than in the German system. However, in Germany, these types of transfers are more common than in the British and Italian systems. On the basis of REFLEX data, the share of university students who changed their field of study at the first degree level (i.e., between master's degree programs) is about 6–8 %. In the Finnish context, the most typical type of transfer at the first degree level is the UAS-to-university transfer, about 13–15 % of UAS students. For a point of comparison, in Germany, the respective proportion of FH students transferring into the university sector is only about 7 %. About half of the UAS students transferring into the university sector also change their field of study. Changes in field of study within the UAS sector are rare, which reflects the fact that dissatisfaction with the UAS program, or the need to acquire additional qualifications, is realised through transfers into the university sector rather than as a change of program within the UAS system.

To conclude, prolongation of studies and study-related matters in general, provide only a partial explanation for the high average age of the new graduates and for the delay in the beginning of the graduates' working careers in Finland. Other explanatory factors comprise prolongation of the phase of applying for HE, due to which many of the students are relatively old at the moment of graduation, even if they had completed their degrees in timely manner. Another matter is that for many students

integration into the labour markets takes place with student status, which is a complex issue in itself and comprises of multiple factors, such as: combining working and studying, continuing in the same job already held as a student, and tendency of prolonging the time spent as a student rather than becoming an unemployed graduate. Also, transfers between programs at the first degree level (this including UAS-to-university transfer) are one potential factor leading to delay in the beginning of working careers for some of the graduates.

Cross-country comparisons have put emphasis on the issue that the functioning of both the education/training system and labour market institutions have adapted to each other on the course of a shared evolutionary process, so that functioning of one cannot be adequately understood without considering the other. Considering this, attention should be, besides on the duration of the degree earning process and HE-to-work transition, also on the standard for the quality of the first employment and on the subsequent job-to-job mobility. When comparing the degree earning and HE-to-work transition processes between the Finns and British, both of these processes undoubtedly last markedly longer amongst the Finns. By the same token, however, the standard for the quality of first employment, and the stability of careers during first years after graduation, are markedly higher in the Finnish context than in the British. This illustrates that depending on how the relations between HE and world of work are organised nationally, different types of problematic apply for the degree-earning process and beginning of graduates' careers. This is also indicative of that the reasons for the delay in the degree-earning process and beginning of careers lie, to a substantial extent, outside of the domain of HE policy (cf. Lindberg 2009).

Discussion

The long history of policy discussions and actions over the duration of studies and the employability of graduates prove, by themselves, that the hastening of graduation and graduates' working careers is very difficult. Why is this? First of all, it is important to bear in mind that Finland is

by no means the only country in which the degree-earning process is delayed, due to one reason or another, and the age of new graduates is deemed to be too high. The case of Finland is not particularly exceptional, in the above respects, when compared to a similar HE system, which operates in, more or less, similar labour market regime. Comparisons between Finland and the UK or USA, which have been used as points of reference from the 1960s onwards, have proven to be very difficult due to the structural, organizational and cultural differences between the national HE systems, these systems operate in distinctly different types of labour market regimes. Different types of HE and labour market regimes show considerable variations as for the extent to which the integration into labour markets takes place as a student, standard of the quality of the first job, and mobility during early career phases between jobs and occupations. All these matters are reflected in how students make use of the HE system in a given national framework, and thus, in the duration of studies. This is not to say that the delayed graduation times could be one-sidedly reduced to the characteristics of the labour markets nationally, on the contrary. Reasons for the prolonged time spent with student status, such as combining working and studies, are equally a characteristic of the Finnish HE culture as they are a reflection of the organization of the Finnish labour markets.

Second, concerns about the delay in studies and in the beginning of working careers are essentially based on averaged information about the characteristics of the student population. However, average levels do not necessarily appreciate the complexity of the issue, as the student population is very heterogeneous. Some have, or want to start, families, some have economic or motivational problems, and for some it is very difficult to adjust to student life in the university. Conversely, some want to study as much as is possible in order to secure a job or simply out of plain interest in all that the university has to offer. There are many reasons, only a few of which have been mentioned here, and some of which are impossible to affect through policies and educational reforms. The Finnish HE system is certainly very flexible in that it allows for working while studying and to generally prolong the time spent at student status, although many of recent policy suggestions indicate a shift towards stricter control

The problems with prolonging studies and delaying: The beginning of graduates' working careers from the Finnish national and international perspectives

of the progression of studies and reduction in the flexibility in this regard. A particular challenge for the educational reform seems to be to find a middle ground between flexibility in the routes of entry and modes of participation, which are generally considered characteristics of the Finnish system worth keeping, and the ways the students are urged to complete their studies on time.

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Different worlds of financial autonomy: Reflections on Finnish higher education institutions

Author's note

This chapter discusses recent trends that show how the financial autonomy of Finnish higher education institutions (HEIs) manifests in practice. Two higher education sectors in Finland, universities of applied sciences (UAS) and universities, have very different histories in which their financial autonomy has taken shape. Until recently, the UAS sector was referred to as polytechnics. However, when profiling themselves in the English language, all former polytechnics currently refer to themselves as universities of applied sciences, although the Finnish form of this type of HEI and the legislation governing them remained unchanged in the Finnish language, specifically, *ammattikorkeakoulu* (AMK)¹. Financial autonomy is

¹ While these types of discourse changes are interesting in and of themselves, I will use UAS in this chapter, except when referring to the polytechnic legislation and my own dissertation research (In Part III), which was focused on Polytechnics prior to the adoption of the UAS term.

essential for running a university or a UAS. The legal frameworks of financial autonomy of Finnish universities were reformed in 2009, but not the UAS. A reform of autonomy in UAS sector has begun, but administratively and legally separate with respect to universities. Previous research has tended to concentrate financial autonomy within the scope of institutional autonomy. Moreover, previous research on autonomy has focused on governmental steering, steering mechanisms and aspired to measure and compare the level of autonomy between HEIs. Less explored, is how HEIs act to enhance and take advantage of their financial autonomy. This chapter will show some examples of strategies applied by Finnish polytechnics to extend their financial autonomy.

Higher education policy trends concerning financial autonomy

Higher education policies in Finland and elsewhere highlight the important role of higher education in promoting regional, economic and social development. HEIs are expected to be competitive, innovative, efficient, performance oriented and responsive to their external stakeholders. In this respect, the financial aspects related to autonomy have been of growing interest in Finland and internationally. Financial autonomy can be seen an incentive provided to HEIs for responding to the aforementioned policy goals.

Creating new legal capacities is one of the most recent examples in which one of a policy goal is extending the financial autonomy of public HEIs (see e.g. Finland: Finnish Ministry of Education 2006 & 2007; Britain: Pratt 2007; Germany: Schimank 2005; Palandt 2003; Japan: Yamamoto 2004; Austria: Eurydice 2006). Both the status of legal entity and lump-sum funding are significant for financial autonomy. Another current policy trend is the expectation that HEIs are increasingly expected to secure operating funds from external sources, compete for these funds and diversify their funding bases (e.g. Andersson 1995, 18; Clark 1998, 6–7; Meek & Wood 1997, 267; Michael & Holdaway 2001, 722).

The autonomy of HEIs can be formally guaranteed in the legislation,

as is the case in Finland (Universities Act 2009; Polytechnics Act 2003; Finnish Constitution 1999). In practice, this means that improvements in autonomy are usually results of national policy reforms. The recent major university reform changed the frameworks of financial autonomy of universities and granted HEIs the status of legal entity. As legal entities, the universities have legal capacities distinct from the state. However, financial autonomy is not particularly prominent in the current Finnish legislation on HEIs. These laws determine the legal frameworks of financial autonomy. A crucial element of autonomy concerns how HEIs use and are able to use financial autonomy within legal and other institutional frameworks.

The Finnish university and UAS sectors have no common legislation, public funding systems, identical tasks, governance or ownership structures. The Finnish UAS sector is not involved in research in the same manner as the universities. Research and development in the UAS is closely linked to applied research, projects and services (Ministry of Education 2010, 14 and 18). A number of recent national and other policy documents (e.g. Ministry of Education 2006 and 2007; Ministry of Education 2008; Governmental programme 2007, Finnish Council of University Rectors 2002 and 2005) have recognised the importance of increasing the financial autonomy of Finnish universities, but the financial autonomy of Finnish polytechnics has not captured national attention in policy debate.

This paper focuses on the latest trends regarding the financial autonomy of Finnish HEIs. The focus is on the UAS sector, because it is a highly complex context in which financial autonomy emerges. Moreover, the author's dissertation was related to the UAS sector. In the discussion, reflections on financial autonomy are extended to universities.

The historical roots and conceptual ambiguity of financial autonomy

What kinds of worlds are there behind the topic of financial autonomy? And why to refer to different worlds rather than a single world? Financial

autonomy is not clear-cut either conceptually or empirically. Factors such as historical backgrounds, contexts and conceptual ambiguity can be identified as having linkages with the emergence of financial autonomy of HEIs. All different autonomy concepts have historical roots and contextually related development phases. Moreover, both HEIs and their autonomy originate from various economic, historical, legal and political systems, including developments which evolved in different phases (Neave 1988, 47; Olsen 2005, 10–16). This means that HEIs contain specific structures and features from their distinctive histories that reflect and shape their overall autonomy in general and financial autonomy, in particular and this cannot be fully understood without a profound knowledge of their wider background and contexts.

The financial autonomy of the Finnish UAS, for example, has unique features due to the background of their pre-merger institutional forms and distinct historical background of those institutions. The UAS inherited – intact – systems of ownership, governance and public funding of the upper secondary level pre-merger institutions, which further shaped the frameworks governing how the financial autonomy of the current UAS appears. In the university context, the first manifestations of financial autonomy date to the Swedish regime of the 1600's. In that time the Academy of Turku, a predecessor of the University of Helsinki, inherited the traditions of the Swedish Universities of Uppsala and Tartu, including the financial privileges entitling the university to its own funds and assets. From the point of view of financial autonomy it is important that these funds and assets were controlled by the university, both and separate and separable from other types of funds and assets. Only two universities, the University of Helsinki and Åbo Akademi have been legally entitled to these historically exceptional and special financial privileges (Ministry of Education 2006, 38–39). Since 2007 all Finnish universities were allowed to establish their own funds and have their own assets (*Laki yliopistolain muuttamisesta* [Act on amendments on Universities Act] 2006). These amendments to national legislation were viewed as 'first aid' to improve the financial health of the financial autonomy of universities in 2006.

Conceptually financial autonomy is related to 'autonomy' in 'financial issues'. However, there are no theoretically or empirically precise defini-

tions that would be valid for all HEIs, or all higher education systems, specifically, what elements comprise the essential elements of autonomy and financial issues. The scope of the concept of financial autonomy may vary considerably; approaches from narrow to broad can be discerned. However, neither narrow nor broad perspectives that adequately consider financial autonomy can be identified.

A narrow perspective is often seen in approaches focusing on the material content of financial autonomy, like the freedom to set levels of tuition and fees. These types of detailed lists in a form of batteries of applicable conditions and restrictions do not shed light on the complexity, multifaceted and dynamic phenomenon of financial autonomy. In broader perspectives, the constitution of frameworks in which financial autonomy manifests are considered. Broad perspectives lead to considering multiple actors and their complex set of various changing relationships together with contextual framework factors connected with the overall constitution of financial autonomy. In broader perspectives, we face an amoeba-like problem meaning that all various dimensions of financial autonomy and factors affecting and shaping financial autonomy are not simple to isolate or even study together (cf. Ordorika 2003).

In this chapter, financial autonomy is mainly considered from the institutional perspective of a HEI. Thus, the institution is the actor whose financial autonomy is discussed. The phenomenon of financial autonomy is not merely an institutional level phenomenon, but can concern at the system level of higher education, in separate sectors within the higher education system, organisational units and individuals within HEIs. Although the unit of analysis spotlighted here is an institution, the financial autonomy of Finnish universities and the UAS do not manifest identically.

The earlier research on autonomy has often focused on central government control and steering and/or measurement the level of HEI autonomy (see e.g. Amaral & Magalhães 2002; Berdahl 1990; Sizer & Mackie 1997; Volkwein & Malik 1997; Neave & van Vught 1991). It has been usual to approach financial autonomy within the scope of institutional autonomy, typically seen as the level of freedom to allocate funding (see e.g. Ashby & Anderson 1966). In addition, a tradition of

measuring financial autonomy levels *visa á vis* the central government is well established in the literature (see e.g. Christensen 2010; McDaniel 1996; Rothblatt 2002; Salmi 2007; Sheehan 1997; Volkwein 1986). Specifically, this research focuses on and highlighted the importance of governmental steering, governmental steering mechanisms and whether or not a HEI is authorised, for example, to borrow money, own buildings or control financial surpluses. However, financial autonomy manifests in a number of relationships, not only with respect to the central government. Operating environments are global, turbulent and new demands prompt contemporary HEIs to make strategic choices concerning their profiles and key development areas. This implies that the nature of relationships between HEIs and their external environments are more diversified, complex and dynamic than in the past.

There are fewer studies on how HEIs respond to the actions of their steering and funding bodies. HEIs can also be active actors both initiating and extending their financial freedoms and powers. As a whole, the financial autonomy of HEIs requires new approaches to adequately understand the phenomenon. Definitions of the autonomy of HEIs seem to be mainly connected to their teaching and educational functions in previous research literature. Hence, the HEIs are not explicitly defined as economic entities they have actually become.

In Finland, the universities and UAS do not have identical features as economic entities or in terms of the type of the legal status they have acquired. These distinctions are discussed in the following section.

Frameworks of financial autonomy of the UAS and universities

The frameworks of financial autonomy are considered here from three points of view: 1) legal status, 2) economic and financial and 3) internal governance. Legal status provides enabling or restrictive conditions for an institution to act as a legal entity, in its own name. As legal entities, HEIs have the legal capacity to enter into binding contracts, borrow money, own buildings, establish funds and are in fact independent organisations

acting in their own names (cf. Milgrom & Roberts 1992, 20). Economics and finance deal with the management of financial issues (acquisition and allocation of resources and monitoring performance resulting from such allocations) as an independent economic entity. Internal governance has to do with decision-making and decision-making structures concerning an institution's finances and operations. (Kohtamäki 2009, 77–79.)

Before elaborating these perspectives, it is useful to note that each Finnish university entitled to award degrees and receive public funding is recognised by name in the Universities Act. The UAS has been established through the operating authority granted by the state to the owners of the UAS. The operating authorization provides a mandate for an owner to maintain a UAS and receive public funding. The operating authorizations are granted at the discretion of the Ministry of Education and Culture although the final authority rests with the Council of State.

The Finnish UAS is a special type of HEI and are not legal entities. Their oversight legislation does not contain stipulations concerning the legal status of institutions. The status of legal entity is a characteristic of the owners of institutions according to this legislation. There are four legal types of UAS owners: foundations (at the time of press, one foundation owns a UAS polytechnic), companies (13), local authorities (4) and joint local authorities (7). At the time of publication, a two-member review committee, authorized by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Finland prepared proposals how to reform the UAS ownership, funding and steering. One major proposal is to change the type of legal status of each UAS into a company model. According to this committee, the company model is a transparent form of ownership supporting ownership steering and autonomy of UAS. Moreover, the majority of the UAS already are owned by the companies. (Ministry of Education and Culture 2010, 42).

Operationally, the present owners are not similar actors; specifically the purpose of their existence, varies a great deal. Local authorities promote the welfare of their residents and sustainable development in their areas (Local Government Act 365/1995). The purpose of foundations and limited companies is expressed in a charter or in domain-specific regula-

tions. The owners also have distinct administrative structures. Each legal type of ownership organisation has their own forms of statutory governing bodies and may also have governing bodies that are not required by statute. Each owner applies its own type of financial and strategic steering systems and policies. Some organisations do not reveal the nature of the financial autonomy of the UAS they own.

The Finnish university reform (2010) changed the legal status of the universities from state agencies into legal entities, either entities under public law (14 universities) or foundations under private law (2 universities). Hence, the universities are legally distinct entities from the state.

As economic entities the UAS sector is not independent. Rather, they are more accurately characterized as sub-units of their ownership organisations, i.e. the legal entity is the owner of the UAS. It is important to note that independent economic entities are legally and administratively distinct from other independent economic entities and have their own budget, revenues, expenditures, cash management, capital, accounting and financial management. Despite the fact that the UAS are not independent economic entities they can have financial control over their budgets and other financial issues, at the discretion of their owners. In the university context, by contrast, their new legal status means that universities are separate independent economic entities and can be economically characterized in the terms above.

The internal governance structures of a polytechnic are often comprised of an internal governing body and the rector. They are responsible for running the UAS and its internal operations. State legislation specifies the tasks of this governing body. The UAS is entitled to formulate their own internal regulations. However, the strategic and financial steering of the UAS remains in the hands of their owners. Current legislation makes a clear distinction between the tasks of the UAS and its owner. In this way, the legislation aims to enhance the internal governance of polytechnics.

The universities under public law have governing boards, senates and rectors. The foundation universities have also governing boards and rectors, but instead of senates, governing boards. The governing board is a strategic and financial steering body. The senate in universities under public law determines the terms of office and the number of

governing board members, appoints external governing board members and approves the financial statements of the university. The Universities Act defines how the formal decision-making power is internally divided between these bodies within the institution.

From these three perspectives, the frameworks of financial autonomy of the Finnish UAS and university are quite distinct. In the case of the UAS, the frameworks reviewed can be seen as complex and more interest driven, compared with the universities. Both of the higher education sectors have close financial linkages with the state and in the case of the UAS also with their owners. The universities and UAS operate under the performance-based steering of the Ministry of Education and Culture and receive in the case of UAS over 80 % (in 2007) of their operating costs and in the case of universities 56 % (in 2008) of their operating costs and investments from the state budget. In the case of UAS distribution of public funding goes through the Ministry to owners and they allocate funding to the UAS directly to the institutions or to internal operating units of UAS. Allocation of scarce resources always stimulates interests: how the resources are divided, by whom and to whom and for what purposes. In continental Europe, system-level steering of HEIs has been developed on the assumption that HEIs are state institutions (Amaral & Magalhães 2002, 2–3). This has been the case in Finland, until very recently. How the current differences in frameworks of financial autonomy emerge is discussed in the following section. This is also the case in Finland.

How financial autonomy emerged: Universities versus the UASs

When a HEI, like a Finnish UAS, does not have its own legally-based control of its financial autonomy, is this actually problematic? Alternatively, can the fact that Finnish universities have a far greater degree of legal latitude with regard to financial autonomy be interpreted as generous? When the frameworks of financial autonomy between the two higher education sectors differ in a quite concrete way; what does it mean and more accu-

rately does it lead to differences how their financial autonomy actually emerges? There are no simple answers, because financial autonomy does not emerge in one single way and the nature of financial autonomy is multifaceted (cf. Christensen 2010). Neither legal entity nor diversified funding is the whole picture on financial autonomy.

Kohtamäki (2009) demonstrated that the manifestation of financial autonomy of Finnish UAS can be classified as *legal, formal and genuine financial autonomy*. The financial autonomy of UAS was studied in relation to the owners of UAS and the Ministry of Education and Culture. Legal financial autonomy was defined as autonomy in financial issues guaranteed in legislation. Polytechnic legislation refers to autonomy in internal matters to this type of HEI, but it is not clear what falls under the category of internal matters. Basically, each UAS has similar legal financial autonomy. UAS board is authorised to specify the grounds for the allocations of the appropriations granted to the institution (Polytechnics Act 2003). Legislation is always interpreted individuals or groups of acting in different capacities and decision-making bodies. Hence, the results of these interpretations were not found to be identical between UAS

Higher education is free for students in Finland. Thus, tuition fees are not applied. The new Universities Act (2009) and amendments made to the Polytechnics Act (2003) in 2007 allowed Finnish higher education institutions to sell educational services in international markets to customers that can be states, organisations or private corporations. In this way the higher education institutions can collect tuition fees from international students from countries outside EU/EEA. Another way to raise funds is to charge fees in a five-year experiment from international students (outside EU/EEA) on Master-programmes held in foreign language. According to the amendments made to the Polytechnics Act in 2009 the polytechnics can charge tuition fees from international students (outside EU/EEA) studying in post degree education. Charging the tuition fees requires that the university or the polytechnic have scholarships available for these students.

Formal financial autonomy of UAS was defined as the autonomy inherent in budget documents, financial regulations and instructions concerning procurements, entering into contracts or contracting premises.

It is at the UAS owner's discretion to define who is authorised, for what and to what extent. As such, formal financial autonomy varies between the individual UAS. Local regulations, set by the owner can be restrictive with respect to acquisition of resources, although the budget is not subject to a similar logic. Concerning public run universities, formal financial autonomy is overseen the governing board. A foundation board is the ultimate decision-making body in the two Finnish foundation universities. These universities do not have separate university governing boards.

Genuine financial autonomy is defined as autonomy experienced by an actor controlling their own financial autonomy. It is not necessarily identical to legal or formal financial autonomy. Availability of resources is critical for genuine financial autonomy (Volkwein 1986, Herbst 2007) as is the authority of a HEI to acquire and control resources. Availability of resources is also related to the capacity of a HEI to influence and attract funding from their current and new resources. As described earlier, public funding in a form of lump sum funding is currently paid by the Ministry of Education and Culture to the owners of UAS and the owners re-allocate those funds within their budgets for their HEIs. Thus, the operating funds are not paid directly to the institutions, but through the budgets and purses of their owners.

Diversification of funding structures has not developed in the polytechnic sector because of the high percentage of public funds. Moreover, both the Finnish UAS and university sectors are dependent on these public funds. The universities are actively searching for new types of private donors, as the recent legislative changes now allow for this. Universities have attractive economic incentives set by the state. Each collected Euro from the private sector by the end of June 2011 is augmented 2,5 times by the Ministry of Education and Culture. In this way, the universities are rewarded for diversifying their funding base. Because of the high amount of public money, the result of fund raising campaigns may not necessarily lead to genuine diversification of funding structures. The state is still the major critical funding body for both Finnish higher education sectors. By critical, it is meant that if the state withholds funding neither type of the institution can function.

To sum up, the legal, formal and genuine financial autonomy of Finn-

ish HEIs are not identical in their scope or contents between the two Finnish higher education sectors or between individual institutions. In the UAS context, HEIs that have single-function owners (running only that UAS) express more satisfaction with their formal and genuine financial autonomy than HEIs run by the multi-function owners (major operations in other than the UAS sector). In the latter case, the UAS has to compete on resources with the other operating units of their owners. Moreover, they have to comply with the financial regulations and instructions that are originally established for the other purposes and operating fields than higher education. In the section below, it will be considered examples of strategies applied by Finnish UAS to influence their financial autonomy.

The potential enhancement of financial autonomy

The Finnish UAS institutions are actively enhancing their financial autonomy. They are calculating the potential advantages with respect to their two major funding and steering bodies: the owners and the Ministry of Education and Culture. The emerging strategies have to do with the availability and stability of resources and the extent of financial autonomy experienced in relation to these two sources of funds and authority. On the basis of interviews with six UAS senior managers (Kohtamäki 2009) four types of strategies calculated to reduce external influence are clear: Extending UAS' control of autonomy, changing the HEIs situation, decreasing the importance of resources and increasing the importance of self-generated resources (cf. Pfeffer & Salancik 2003 and Goedegebuure & Meek 1994).

The financial autonomy of a UAS is based on to a large extent on written regulations. When a UAS aspires to extend its own control over its financial autonomy, one measure was initiating changes in the regulations promulgated by the owner. This type of autonomy is related to the formal financial autonomy. However, when formal modifications are approved by regulators, this has been found to improve the potential to achieve genuine financial autonomy. This runs counterintuitive to the mainstream assertion that posits an extension of financial autonomy

mainly takes place through diversifying funding sources with a mix of state and non-state funds (see e.g. Clark 1998; Meek & Wood 1997; Michael & Holdaway 2001). The Finnish UAS sector is almost completely publicly funded and the share of public funds has increased during the previous decade. The proportion of basic governmental budget funding to cover their operating costs was 80 per cent in 2000, 82 per cent in 2005 and 87 per cent in 2008. If other public funding sources, like state project funding, are included, the shares of public funds are higher.

In some cases, when UAS personnel have perceived the financial steering exercised by the owner as micro-management, they have shifted to the use of ministerial steering. This meant erecting boundaries between the HEI and the owner, including the owner's other operating units. In these cases, the UAS emphasises their role as a HEI, part of a national higher education system, subject to governmental performance based steering and a responsible partner to a negotiated agreement on target outputs. These were also tactics to bind the owner to those targets, forcing the owner to allocate all public funding paid to the institution. The principle underlined was that the owner of the UAS does not interfere with the public funding paid by the Ministry of Education and Culture to the owner. The ministerial target agreement was used as the reference point for financial frameworks for the institutions in these cases.

Changing to the legal type of ownership organisation, for example from a local authority to a company model, was another strategy employed by some in the UAS sector. In addition, there have been four recent mergers in the UAS sector and new ownership has resulted in all cases. However, the mergers are so recent that experiences of financial autonomy in a merged UAS has not been studied yet.

Where UAS personnel regarded ministerial steering as restrictive, they have strengthened the relationship between the institution and its owner in some cases. In these situations UAS personnel have emphasized their common and shared organisational purpose; as an integral element of the owner's entity with the owner. The symbiosis, in which both parties enjoy significant advantages are played up. The working relationship with the owner was also nurtured because the owner was providing investment funding for the UAS. In some cases, a UAS maximised their operating

revenues through the extra student intake. However, the state funding model has been changed and the new funding formula is no longer based solely on student numbers.

An UAS can rely on the liquidity of their owners, if they choose. However, the economic circumstances of the owner affect the HEI, unless the financial income of the institution is otherwise guaranteed. Establishment of fund (*rahasto*) by the owner proved to be one way for a UAS to guarantee the stable flow of financial resources and decrease the importance of the of the owner's resources. The fund was built up, for example, from the financial surpluses of the UAS. Some case studies of the UAS sector also highlighted the importance of income generated from educational and R&D services in the local region. This raised the profile and potential of their operations and performance.

Conclusions

In exploring the key issues connected to financial autonomy, HEIs can be considered as economic entities and actors using and taking advantages of their financial autonomy. The actual status of legal entity is key for the nature of financial autonomy, but it is not the only primary or decisive factor. The financial autonomy of both Finnish higher education sectors emerges as legal, formal and genuine financial autonomy despite the fact that universities have the status of legal entities, while the UAS sector does not. Moreover, all three types of autonomy emerge multi-dimensionally (Christensen 2010).

The financial autonomy of Finnish HEIs is to a large extent, regulated autonomy. The linkages between HEIs and the central government are still dominant with respect to emergence of the financial autonomy. In the case of a UAS, the local financial and operating frameworks laid down by their owners, alongside the frameworks of the central government are crucial. In practice, the most important financial autonomy within these regulated frameworks is genuine financial autonomy. Genuine financial autonomy is the autonomy a HEI utilises and is able to utilise in their relationships between the internal or external actors.

A key question that has arisen in the debates that surround financial autonomy concerns whether or not there will actually be concrete gains linked to the diversification of HEI funding bases. Finnish universities are now strongly encouraged to diversify their funding. The encouragement is tied to concrete economic incentives. These incentives are not on the table for the UAS. On the other hand, both the universities and the UAS sector have been authorized to engage in commercial activities and charge tuition and fees as new funding sources. To date, there is little research how the universities and the UAS sectors have or will utilise these new possibilities (However, see Cai, Hölta & Kivistö in this volume). However, in the case of multiple sources of funds or revenues the financial dependency of the HEIs may remain unchanged (Herbst 2007; Christensen 2010). Financial autonomy is not static; it varies from situation to situation and from time to time.

As in many other countries, the genuine financial autonomy of Finnish HEIs will depend on the availability of resources and other factors like ministerial steering, accountability, environmental pressures and management culture (cf. Christensen 2010). Financial autonomy takes on different meanings in situations when resources are abundant and available, compared to situations where resources are limited (Volkwein 1986). Availability of resources is partly dependent on how a HEI is able to affect resource flows. Risks linked to financial autonomy are not always apparent, but sometimes become apparent when a HEI starts to function like a market actor (Salmi 2007). Financial autonomy is typically seen as something desirable, but it can also be misused.

Finnish universities confronted their new financial autonomy alongside a major economic crisis and other pressures like the governmental productivity programme (doing more with less) and structural development programme of HEIs (down-sizing). Moreover, there is more or less widespread disappointment among the university staff towards the fundamental university reform. The UAS reform concerning their ownership and public funding has commenced. It remains to be seen what will happen for financial autonomy in new ownership structures based on a company model, if the proposals will be accepted.

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Administrative costs and the new financial autonomy of Finnish universities

Introduction

The expansion of public expenditures in higher education has been associated with demands for enhanced accountability and effectiveness. These demands have required a more active managerial approach to the administration of universities and increased pressures for universities to seek revenues beyond those provided by public funding (Ward 2007, 10). Universities are an important component of human capital formation. They are also a major expenditure component for taxpayers. The efficiency by which inputs produce desired output is thus an important public policy issue (Abbott & Doucouliagos 2003, 96.) In Europe, higher education organisations have been confronted with new models of management to improve accountability and efficiency. Devolution, massification and entrepreneurialism have triggered this development (Rhoades & Sporn 2002, 5). There is a greater need for universities to manage all their

processes – academic as well as organizational – to maximize their cost effectiveness (Scott 2003, 303). Universities do not pursue profit, but they must manage their costs carefully (Marks 1998, 253).

The last years in Finnish universities have been labeled by the phrase “structural development”. From the beginning of the year 2010 Finland got a new university law (558/2009) according to which the financial position of universities changed quite radically. The new university law extends further the autonomy of universities by giving them a more independent legal status, either as public corporations or as foundations under private law. At the same time, the universities’ management and decision-making system was reformed. The reform will facilitate operation in an international environment. The aim is, for example, that the universities will be better able to compete for international research funding and diversify their funding base (Ministry of Education 2009). Connected to the structural development process, going on for couple of last years in the universities, we conducted a research project which was finalised in 2010 (Kuoppala, Näppilä & Hölttä 2010). The research project concentrated in the managerial and structural change processes in Finnish universities. We paid attention to the consequences of the structural development and we also tried to discover information about how Finnish universities were preparing themselves to the new position given to them in the new University Law.

From our research material (Kuoppala & Näppilä 2009; Kuoppala, Näppilä & Hölttä 2010) administrative duties can be highlighted as an interesting area connected to both the new law and structural development. Through the new law universities get bigger financial autonomy, at least from certain perspectives. The new law sets pressures to the development of cost accounting at the universities. From the accounting perspective also administrative costs get more importance as a major part of the total costs of universities. While the financial basis of research at the universities has changed dramatically, a discussion about the increase of administrative duties, particularly among the highest rank positions at Finnish universities, has been going on. The increase of administrative duties is mainly connected to the differentiation of the funding base, and to the different duties of applying, following up, and reporting during

the research process. This discussion emerged also in our own research material. In this chapter we try to give some insight to the changes of administrative costs and administrative duties of academic personnel at the Finnish universities during the last decades. We will first review the latest phases of financial development in Finnish Universities in order to give an overview of the latest developments connected to cost accounting and administrative costs.

New financial position of Finnish universities

Before 2010 the financial position of Finnish universities was an accounting office under the state budget. As accounting offices universities carried through quite dramatic financial reforms during the 1990s when the performance based management ideology was put into practice in the Finnish state administration. As a consequence of the reform, a lump sum budgeting system was initiated, which meant that the operational expenditures were allocated to universities in the form of one budget appropriation.

According to the new university law there are financially two types of universities in Finland. There are two universities in the form of a private foundation and the rest are independent corporations under public law. In both forms universities have profit and loss account on which their revenues and costs are counted. As independent financial units they have their own monetary economy. Consequently, universities can own property, and their financial position is based on equity capital and liability. Universities have their own bank accounts, too. According to the new financial position, universities can also plough their own assets and borrow money (Meklin 2010; see also Miettinen et al. 2009, 247–315).

Universities get their basic funding still from the state. The composition of basic funding is constructed so that 75 % is delivered on calculatory basis, including indicators of quality, effectiveness and extent. The rest (25 %) is allocated based on other priorities of educational and science policy. The Ministry of Education and Culture has defined several criteria for the more detailed allocation of resources for each univer-

sity. Parts of these criteria are defined in the performance negotiations between the Ministry and each university, and are documented in the performance contracts between the Ministry and each university separately.

Fixed capital is equity that is permanently ploughed into the university. Other own equity capital is equity that is allocated to a university from the surplus it has produced, state property donated to it by the state during the grounding phase on the conditions of other own equity. Other own equity is possible to be carried forward into the fixed capital. The revaluation reserve shows the amount of revaluation of permanent assets. The new financial position of Finnish universities is demanding for the administration of the university organisations, and particularly to the cost accounting system.

Also in the future universities can receive competitive funding from public authorities, the Academy of Finland and Tekes (the Finnish Funding Agency for Technology and Innovation), and from the EU research programs. Universities can also carry on chargeable activities which are divided into at most cost price fees for performances under public law and freely priced commercial performances. Universities can greet donations, testaments, and other property assignments, too, and they get in their service incomes of dividends from the companies they own. Furthermore universities can aim to increase their property and use their capital income to fund their functioning (Yliopistolakityöryhmä 2007, 3–4).

Universities have profit responsibility both for their economy and their functioning. This makes it possible to more free price fixing in commercial functioning, and this includes particularly adult and further education services. In addition, universities have a limited right to tuition fees in international markets regarding students outside the EEA-countries, and some ordered organized master level special programmes. Overall the question is about a new kind of combination of freedom and economic responsibility. Financial autonomy – separation from the state, independent property position and independence – gives the universities more latitude in the future to collect capital, and to organize their functioning, and to carry on business, too. Universities have their own liquidity control and they are expected to control risks, and to follow up profitability and to control it (Pöysti 2009, 2–4).

The importance of cost accounting has increased during the last decades in Finnish higher education units. There are at least two main types of reasons for this development (Meklin 2010). The first type of reasoning is based on needs outside the university. Connected to the ideas of New Public Management (NPM), the importance of accountability has increased as a part of the performance based management system in the whole Finnish state sector.

In this context, the idea of 'value for the money' gets the formulation 'value for the taxpayer's money'. Furthermore, it can be connected to the common effectiveness demand seen more often as a duty of universities, too. Performance based steering of higher education system by the central state authorities can be connected to the same way of thinking, getting its concrete formulation in the allocation of resources for higher education through the state budget. Third form of outside pressures to cost accounting is connected to the diversified financial basis, particularly research funding in Finland. Different financiers have different requirements for the cost accounting, and the reports coming out from the system.

Secondly, the increasing importance of cost accounting can be justified on the basis of internal reasons. Internal reasons are broadly connected to the changes of financial structure of universities, but more concretely, they can be connected to the needs of internal management of university organisations. The importance of these reasons grows on the basis of the new financial autonomy afforded by the new university law. There are growing needs to know by what kinds of costs the achievements of a university are produced. University management should be aware of the products for what the resources are allocated. More and more information should be available about the surplus value produced by the used resources and about the contrary cases, too. Are resources used on e. g. unnecessary project applications? Accounting information is needed also to evaluate the allocation of resources. And finally accounting information should be used even for the purposes of managing the functioning of individual's own functioning (Meklin 2010).

Cost accounting includes problems at the universities. It is important to bring out the costs from the point of view of internal management. There exist several possibilities to make administration more effective

at the universities. The modern methods used in Finnish universities are electronic handling of invoices and external service centres. They can make administration more effective but the danger is that costs are often moved to the core functions. These reforms may produce the so called invisible transaction costs. While costs are accounted on the basis of performance, the problems arise when the costs should be counted for the common resources used together by the result areas and projects. Main problems are connected to the allocation of indirect costs. Another problem area in the universities is the allocation of personnel costs. In 2007 the overhead costs were 78 % of the personnel costs at the University of Tampere, and they were divided between office supplies and services, costs for office space, common costs of the university (e. g. library) and costs of department. According to Meklin (2010) the cost accounting should be profitable. This means that the benefits of cost information have to overrun the costs of its production. In cost accounting it is "better to be approximately right than to be exactly wrong". There are severe doubts, connected to recent developments, whether this principle always holds.

The above description of the new financial position of Finnish universities draws attention to many critical questions of cost accounting at the universities. These questions are connected particularly to the funding of research. On the one hand, financiers of research require more detailed and complex reporting about the use of resources, on the other hand, more detailed information is needed inside the university for the management purposes. One consequence might be the growth of administrative duties of the academic staff. Another consequence might be the growth of different administrative units and positions in the university organization, which leads easily to risen overhead costs and, what is more, causes more pressures to apply all the time more project funding to cover rising overhead costs. So there exist elements for a vicious circle-like development.

Academic capitalism and the Finnish development

On the general level, one way to analyse the features of administrative and financial development in the field of higher education has been by using the concept of academic capitalism. This conceptualisation was brought into discussion by the book of Slaughter and Leslie (1999). In higher education these phenomena have been analysed also through the concept of entrepreneurial university. This formulation is based on the writings of Burton Clark (1998, 2004). Both conceptualisations are dealing the changing relationship between higher education institutions and their environment.

Academic capitalism, according to Rhoades and Slaughter (1997, 12–15), connect to phenomena like increased global economic competition, managerial control, and neoconservative public policy. In the universities one manifestation of academic capitalism, existing already from the 1970s, is the declining portion of public, block grant support for the universities in relation to all institutional revenues. Furthermore, not-for-profit institutions in the academy are taking on the characteristics and activities of profit-making organizations. In the United States, during the last decades, also public universities have turned to fund raising activities as well as private ones. This has meant that public universities have redefined public service to include also services for a fee. Private funding of research has remained on quite low level in the US, too. The development has led to the growing competition on public funding.

Academic capitalism shows oneself, according to Rhoades and Slaughter (1997, 17–23), in the growing managerialism in both the governance and in the workforce of universities. The growth of the category of “managerial” professionals has been noticed in US universities at least in the beginning of 1990s. At the same time academic programs have been merged, reduced, and reorganized. One feature connected to the academic capitalism in US universities is the increased managerial sway in regard to faculty member’s time. Overall executives seem to have gained greater discretion and flexibility in restructuring the faculty workforce. There exists also another growing category of managerial professionals, the “middle management” of higher education, who function e.g. in the

fields of student services, research administration, technology transfer, and internal development functions.

In the United States already in the 1980s several policies aimed to promote closer connections between the business world and higher education. According to Rhoades and Slaughter (1997, 24–25) the aim was to enhance US corporations' economic competitiveness. State funding was directed to fields and units at least perceived as wealth producers. In consequence funding for social sciences and arts was cut down, while the amount of money for biotechnology and engineering increased.

In their internal policies universities produce disincentives in the long run by raising and inventing new kinds of administrative taxes. Restructuring inside the universities has included features that have been put into practice on the basis of supposed economic criteria, but include also reshaping of fields and reallocation of resources inside the broader field. This development has taken place based on the reallocation decisions made by institutions themselves. (Rhoades & Slaughter 1997, 28–32.)

Ylijoki (2003) has analyzed administrative and financial development features in Finnish higher education in the context of research work. According to Ylijoki, the definition of academic capitalism consists of both direct market activity and market-like behaviour. Consequently these phenomena exist both on the level of higher education institutions and on the level of individual researchers at the universities. Expressed in a more concrete mode academic capitalism can be defined as a phenomenon that enhances both market-orientation and competition in the functioning of universities. Clark (1998) analyses the development of entrepreneurial university from the perspective of how higher education institutions adapt to the changes in their environment. According to Clark it is possible to connect the entrepreneurial modes of functioning to the traditional academic values. In a way Clark connects the entrepreneurial development to the contradiction that has always existed between the managerial-administrative element and the academic-scientific element of the matrix structure of the higher education institutions (Clark 1983).

According to Ylijoki (2003, 315, 328–329) features of academic capitalism can be observed in the Finnish universities in several connections.

One of the main forms of changes is a labor market effect making older researchers to act as employers seeking for funding for their younger colleagues. Particularly for the younger researchers the development means short term bounds to the research themes getting funding. University research reacts to the changes of funding on the disciplinary basis. Technological fields and humanities are situated at the opposite ends on the funding map and social sciences somewhere in between (Ylijoki 2003, 327–328). Background for this kind of development in Finland is the same kind of changes in public block grant support for higher education as described by Rhoades and Slaughter (1997).

The changes in the Finnish funding structure of university research follow the same kind of path as noticed by Rhoades and Slaughter. Finnish universities are defined as an intrinsic part of the national innovation system. Furthermore, universities are expected to promote the development of internationally competitive industries. As a proof of this kind of expectations is the rapid and substantial increase in governmental research funding through the National Technology Agency, Tekes. The aim of the agency funding is to promote the competitiveness of industry, particularly in technological fields (Ylijoki 2003, 331).

Market orientation in funding brings more uncertainty inside the universities. One factor behind the increase of uncertainty in Finland is the growing competition for public research funds. The development of academic capitalism brings with it new duties like the need to generate external funding, create links across and outside academia, fill in all sorts of evaluation forms, write applications, and attend to numerous administrative assignments. These features concern also academics in the tenured and senior positions. The deterioration of academic working conditions is connected to the introduction of result-based management into the Finnish universities from the beginning of 1990s. Another feature, brought into the Finnish universities from the beginning of 1990s, is the growing managerialism. Connected to this kind of development, there has been the overall aim towards bigger department units through reorganization and mergers. According to Ylijoki (2003, 331–332) recent development in Finnish universities has led to the co-existence of two value sets, one based on market orientation and the other on academic

orientation. Their co-existence requires constant balancing and a lot of extra energy from the researchers.

As Rhoades and Slaughter (1997) pointed out, one feature connected to academic capitalism inside the universities is the rise of managerialism. What is more, the growth of administrative costs relate to the ever heavier managerialism. It has been typical to the Finnish universities, too, to raise and invent new kinds of administrative taxes. As Ylijoki (2003) has pointed out, this development produces new kind of duties for academic personnel functioning in different levels of the academic hierarchy. In the next section we review the problems of administrative costs in more detail.

Administrative costs

Leslie and Rhoades (1995, 189) define administrative costs in the university context as costs based on institutional support or combination of institutional support, academic support, and student services. By academic support they mean all costs associated with libraries, museums, academic computing and other support activities. Leslie and Rhoades then formulate 11 propositions, based on earlier research, explaining from different angles the reasons for the growth of administrative costs:

1. diversifying revenue sources
2. state regulation and organisation dependency
3. organisational complexity
4. faculty's functions moving to administrators
5. growth of consensus management
6. administration generating administrative growth
7. mimetic isomorphism, imitation of successful organisations' administration
8. normative isomorphism, effect of professionalization of administration
9. closer distance to budgetary decision maker produces particularly the growth of central administration
10. connection of administrative units to external structures of power and privilege, and

11. relationship between internal administrative stratification and external structures of power which, according to the authors, complements the other growth propositions.

Several of the above propositions listed by Leslie and Rhoades have potential importance in the Finnish higher education context, too. The emphasis on the generation of alternative revenues describes well the development in the Finnish higher education institutions. Even under the new University law (558/2009) Finnish universities are quite heavily regulated by the state, and they are also dependent on the state as the main funding source. It can also be questioned if the structural development of universities has diminished their organizational complexity at all. Connected to the structural development processes both mimetic and normative isomorphism has affected Finnish universities. Universities adopt successful administrative structures from each other. Professional co-operation among university administrators promotes also the transmission of administrative ideas between universities.

William Massy (2003) has connected the growth of administrative costs via quality to the public trust in higher education in the United States. According to Massy many, particularly financial, pressures from the environment can be seen as different forms of erosion of trust among the stakeholders of higher education. This means that attention should be paid to cost containment and to quality of education. Gary Rhoades (2001) paid attention to cost containment by asking in his article questions about productivity in an academic institution. Rhoades asked first the question "productivity of whom". He paid attention to the fact that most campus employees are not faculty. During the last decades, the biggest growth numbers in personnel groups have been in support professionals, in other words neither faculty nor administrators. By this kind of reasoning Rhoades comes up to what he calls "Rhoades' principles" of managing productivity.

By questioning the productivity of whom, Rhoades brought out the fact that when thinking about productivity in the university context, attention is paid only to the productivity of faculty, not to the productivity of administrators and support personnel. It is often so that faculty

does not form the majority group of personnel at universities. Based on these facts Rhoades (2001, 622) draws the conclusion: "...to understand productivity in academic institutions one has to go beyond faculty."

His four principles in connection to "whom" question are: 1) To focus on production instead of controlling employees' activities. 2) Productivity should be considered on the basis of joint production. By the joint production principle Rhoades means the idea that academic production is based on interactions between different activities, connection between instruction and research to be mentioned first. On the other hand it is connected to the involvement and effects of support personnel on the productivity of academic functions. 3) The counterproductive principle means that every effort to promote productivity includes potential to counterproductive responses and outcomes. This means that production promotion efforts should be evaluated after certain time intervals. 4) Attention should be paid to non-faculty factors and costs of production when promoting productivity. In the Finnish context attention should be paid on the joint costs of all different functions of university, including the productivity of administration. During the last years certain administrative functions have been outsourced to service centers. Based on these solutions there are symptoms of counterproductive responses and outcomes due to the distance between service centers and universities.

The next question asked by Rhoades was "productivity for which unit of analysis". By dealing this question Rhoades points to the differences of disciplines, and differences between university units on different levels of organization. He brings up also the shortage of research based information about the support units' organization and productivity.

He then continues his list of the principles of managing productivity. 5) The fair measurement principle is connected to his claim that differences between e.g. disciplines should be taken into account in productivity measurements. 6) Attention should be paid to joint production efficiencies, as was pointed out already on the individual level in principle 2. The ecological fallacy principle (7) pays again attention to the importance of support units' role in total productivity of academic units. Also this second question of Rhoades has a contact surface in the Finnish reality. It can be asked if the different cultural nature of disciplines is fairly

taken into account when productivity is measured e.g. on the basis of publications. In the fields of social sciences and humanities this problem has connections to the evaluation of publications in Finnish compared to publishing in English. The question of which unit's productivity should be counted raises up again also the importance of the organization of support services in relation to the productivity evaluation.

Rhoades continues his analysis by asking "productivity according to what functions". Discussing this question he highlights the importance of longer perspective in production evaluation. The optimization principle (8) states that productivity should be considered as optimising the performance of various goals and functions, instead of paying too much attention to individual goals in isolation. By the misplaced efficiency principle (9) Rhoades wants to pay attention to the interactive, longer-term, and complex nature of fundamental educational, social, and economic functions of institutions to be considered when institutions' outputs are evaluated. The question of what functions are taken into consideration when productivity is evaluated resonates in the Finnish reality, too. In the Finnish evaluation practices there are features where different targets are artificially tried to be evaluated separately, like research and teaching, particularly on the post graduate level. In the Finnish context, it can be argued that too much attention has been paid to the age of graduates without taking into consideration their qualifications in the labor markets. The principle of misplaced efficiency denotes to the perseverance problems of e.g. changes of master level education which take about five years to affect in practice.

The last question asked by Rhoades is "productivity in whose interests". Through this discussion he finally highlights the importance to analyse in detail the composition of stakeholder groups. The disaggregated stakeholder principle (10) highlights the diversified nature of stakeholder groups. Rhoades' point is that different productivity evaluations lead to different efforts that affect different stakeholder groups differently. By his stratification principle (11) Rhoades wants to pay attention to the effects that productivity initiatives have on social stratification within and outside of the institutions. Finally Rhoades raises the question of plurality of interests in developing and evaluating higher education. One

consequence of the Finnish development of higher education funding has been the growth of importance of various stakeholders. First of all the group of financiers includes as diverse groups as the state representing the common interests of people, and the special interests of different ministries and branches of the government. Private financiers include at the moment foundations, firms, associations and alumni. Other important stakeholder groups are students, employers of graduates, and the scientific society.

Gornitzka et al. (1998) have analysed the bureaucratisation of universities based on empirical data from Norwegian universities. One main result of the study was that relatively more resources were spent for administration than for research and teaching. From the perspective of this study another result, in line with the ideas of Leslie and Rhoades (1995) and Rhoades (2001), was that it was not possible to find out any one reason for the growth in administrative positions. There were both external and internal reasons in administrative growth at universities. Based on the results of the Norwegian study, administrative growth is the result of many small decisions taken on different levels and various forums of decentralised and fragmented decision-making system of universities.

Discussion about administrative duties in relation to the basic academic functions has been going on for a quite long time. As mentioned before, it was already on the agenda of Burton Clark (1983) to raise the contradictory relationship between the academics and administrative units in higher education institutions. The matrix structure of universities was, according to Clark, the decisive feature. Two years after Burton Clark's book Pamela Tolbert (1985) wrote an article where she tried to explain the increase of administrative costs in private and public universities and colleges by combining two organisation theoretical perspectives, institutional organisation theory and resource dependence theory. In the next chapter we review some studies shedding light on the development of administrative duties of Finnish academics. Changes of administrative duties of different rank positions highlight some background factors affecting to the efficiency of academics in their main duties, research and teaching. At the same time this can be connected to the problematic

highlighted by Gary Rhoades about the importance to consider academic productivity from the perspective of joint production.

Administrative duties of Finnish academics

In the Finnish context, the change of administrative duties in the universities has been followed by a series of time budget studies of academic personnel (Tilastokeskus 1984; Leppälahti 1993; Tilastokeskus 2006; cf. Hakala 1988). The material from these studies is comparable because same kind of data collection method and classifications were used in the studies. Between the first two surveys there were no dramatic changes of administrative duties among different rank positions. When the working time of different rank positions was compared between the two latest surveys the first surprise was that the working time of professors had remained the same. The growth of administrative duties, discussed at the time, was not, however, confirmed by the results of the latter survey. On the contrary, the amount of administrative duties decreased from the year 1992 by one percentage point.

On the other hand, the amount of administrative duties had increased in other rank positions, for senior assistants four, for lecturers two, and for assistants, one percentage point. At the same time the amount of teaching of professors had increased by one percentage point. Teaching duties in other rank positions had changed to the same direction, for senior assistants six, for lecturers seven, and for assistants, three percentage points. The amount of research had decreased quite dramatically in all lower rank positions, for senior assistants nine, for lecturers nine, and for assistants, four percentage points. For professors the amount of research had remained the same. In conclusion it can be said that administrative duties and teaching load had increased a lot among lower rank positions, and this has happened mainly at the expense of research (Leppälahti 1993; Tilastokeskus 2006).

The second time-budget survey conducted by the Statistics Finland was used as a basis when evaluating the administrative scale benefits in the departments of Finnish universities. The term structural development

was used in connection with the administrative reforms of the 1990s. These reforms were mainly connected to the enlargement of departments in different universities. In practice, this has happened either through reorganisation or mergers. The improvement of operational preconditions of teaching and research has been announced as an ideal aim of these reform processes. The more factual reasons are the changeover to the performance based management system and the rationalisation of university administration. This reform has connections to the working time because it is claimed that particularly in the small departments a considerable portion of the working time is spent on administrative duties. What is more, this time portion is considered to be away from the main duties, teaching and research (Lipponen 1995).

Thought follows the idea that administrative duties are decreasing through merging departments because of the administrative economies of scale. In consequence this means that when the size of an organisation grows the proportion of administrative functions decreases. On the basis of the study (Lipponen 1995) there does not, however, exist any unequivocal economies of scale of the administrative structure. On the other hand the growth of administrative size may cause growing administrative costs elsewhere due to the difficulties of co-ordination between the different parts of the organisation. Consequently it is claimed that administrative costs decrease only to a certain level, after which they would start to increase again. From the point of view of research it is also important how one defines administration, in other words how administration is operationalised.

Another problem with the studies on administrative economies of scale is that they often deal with large organisations. According to one study conducted in Norway, the traditional theories of administrative economies of scale did not, as such, suit to university departments (Lipponen 1993). Based on the time survey results it seems that administrative duties are concentrated on professors. As already pointed out, the increase of administrative duties has spread during the latest decade also among the lower rank positions. When the time budget results are connected to the size of departments measured by the number of research and teaching personnel there is no dramatic variation between the dif-

ferent size categories. In other words, the size of a department seems not to affect the amount of administrative duties of research and teaching personnel (Lipponen 1993).

Finland participated recently in the international comparative study of academic professions (Aarrevaara & Pekkola 2010). According to the results of this study the more the academic respondents in Finland had administrative and service duties the less their working functions included research. On the other hand the number of teaching hours didn't seem to decrease or increase when administrative and service hours increased. This phenomenon was apparent among researchers and senior researchers. Among assistants there was no statistically significant association between the administrative and research hours. Among lecturers the situation was opposite than with other professional groups of academics. With lecturers the increase of administration and service hours was connected to the decrease of teaching time. With professors there was not any statistically significant association between the amount of service hours and teaching and research hours. Instead when the administration hours grew the number of teaching and research hours decreased (Aarrevaara & Pekkola 2010, 49).

Administration and administrative costs are a problematic area for research of higher education institutions, because it is difficult to assess together all the perspectives of administration. If we take seriously the problem of increased administrative tasks during the recent years, we should pay some attention to the problems of administrative duties of academics and review carefully the research conducted dealing with this kind of problems. The development of administrative costs is particularly important in the Finnish context of the new financial autonomy of universities. If there is a risk of rising administrative duties of the leading academics as a consequence of the organizational reform it is even more justifiable to analyze the phenomenon.

One problem raised up by our own research results (Kuoppala & Näpölä & Hölttä 2010) was the increase of the administrative work based mainly on the different functions connected to project funding from different kinds of outside sources. These critical opinions about increased administrative duties can be connected to the problems of cost account-

ing brought up earlier. They are also closely related to the structural development processes in the Finnish universities during recent years. Many support services particularly in the fields of personnel administration and financial administration have been outsourced to the special service centers. These structural reorganisations have taken place during the time period when the financial basis of research funding has changed dramatically.

In Finland, research group leaders used about one third of their work time for collecting research funding and administering the research projects. So, these leaders spend also their work time in searching, preparing and administrating different kind of research projects (cf. Ollila 2009, 79–80). These duties take about 36 per cent of their work time and 64 per cent of the work time goes to the proper work, research. In Finland, universities' external research funding is growing, and it seems that the described secondary administrative activities are taking more time and place from the primary activities of research and teaching. This means that the secondary activities take more and more inputs (salaries, working hours) off from the primary activity (Kuoppala, Näppilä & Hölttä 2010, 87).

On the basis of our own research it can be summarised that the structural development of universities in Finland has meant the centralization of support services and decrease of lower level administrative personnel in accordance with the productivity program of the state administration. At the same time the employment of new administrative professionals like planning officers, development and quality officials has increased, raising the personnel costs of university administration. The problem from the productivity perspective is that the centralized support service arrangements do not support the functioning of the centers of excellence. Particularly the administrative work (administration of funding) of leaders of some bigger research groups has increased because of the increase of outside funding (Kuoppala, Näppilä & Hölttä 2010).

Conclusion

Structural development has been a reform process in Finnish higher education for the last years. During the first phases of structural development the main aim was to intensify the functioning of higher education institutions. Firstly this can be connected to the outside pressures based on the changes in the social environment of higher education. These pressures originate from the changes in the socio-economic system, and they can be also connected to the changing role of government as the main financier of higher education. In the form of demands to make functioning more effective they got an expression typical for the closer institutional environment of higher education institutions.

Internal pressures to increase the efficiency of functioning in higher education can be connected to the aims to free more of academics' time to basic functions, teaching and research. The changed financial structure of research in Finland, based on competition and financial sources other than direct budget funding, seems to lead to the opposite direction. The development can be interpreted either as featuring new concrete forms of academic capitalism in the Finnish context, or as a development towards the entrepreneurial university. In both cases one outcome seems to be the rising administrative costs. In this chapter we have argued that the Finnish development has connections to theorizing based on the ideas of academic capitalism in the forms of questions by Gary Rhoades.

Particular problem from academic perspective is that one consequence seems to be the decrease of time to be used for teaching and research. These kinds of results were found from different kinds of research material. Both the earlier analysis done in time budget surveys and the later analysis of the changes of academic professions give some impressions of increasing administrative duties of Finnish academics. Our own interviews of leaders of top research and teaching units point to the same direction. At the same time there exists a paradoxical tendency of growing administrative costs. The growth of administrative costs is very multidimensional by its roots. Consequently, the remedies are not found by using simplified overall solutions based on e.g. administrative economies of scale thinking. Bigger departments or outsourcing of support

services are not suitable all-round solutions. In the permanent funding structure the solution for the growing administrative load on the level of individual researchers seems to be a hard nut to be cracked.

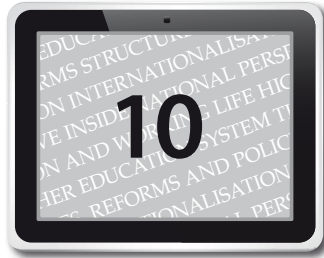
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Part III:
**Internationalisation – A view from a
small Northern country**



Internationalized campuses just don't happen: Intercultural learning requires facilitation and institutional support

Introduction

Globalization affects Finland's place in the global economy, and has changed its companies' operations internationally and its discourse on multiculturalism within society. This latter trend is expected to increase since Finland needs a future influx of foreign workers to replace its retiring native workers (Lassila 2003; Ministry of Labour 2007). One source of new workers could be international students trained in Finnish higher education institutions (HEIs) who will remain in Finland for their professional careers.

Internationalizing higher education systems is one means to address globalization challenges (van der Wende 2007). Over the past decade, Finland's Ministry of Education and Culture (MoE) has published

papers and directives to guide the internationalization of education (e.g. MoE 2001, 2007). Every Finnish HEI has an internationalization strategy and actively seeks international collaboration, increased intake of international degree students, expanded exchange programs, and higher international profiles (Crawford 2008). But few of these programs attend to the Finnish students and HEI personnel who will never live or study abroad.

The MoE's *Strategy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions in Finland 2009–2015* (2009b) presents strategies and measures for internationalizing higher education. The focus of this paper is on the first strategy, which envisions a “genuinely international higher education community” (MoE 2009b, 26–31) in which all students, staff, and researchers can develop the competencies needed to participate in the international arena. Mobility (outbound and inbound) of students, teachers, and researchers is a key component of this strategy. The increased number of non-Finnish individuals is intended to “internationalize at home”; the process involves “high-quality study modules” integrated into all degree programs, completed within personal study plans, and achieved through inter-university cooperation, the use of e-learning, and the presence of non-Finnish teachers and a multicultural student body (8% by 2015). The individual HEIs, faculties, and departments are responsible for operationalizing these visions within the context of their institutional strategies.

The report rightly identifies several important deficits in the current internationalization status of its tertiary system (of specific interest here are the decline in the mobility of students, teachers and researchers in the past decade; that HEIs have very few non-Finnish teachers and researchers; and non-Finns' competence and cultural know-how have not been used as resources to enrich the Finnish society, businesses, and higher education system), and multiple challenges to Finland in a globalized environment that higher education can address. The MoE ties these internationalization strategies to the recent reform in the Universities Act (MoE 2009a) that gives each university more economic and administrative freedom while requiring them to specialize (e.g. Carlsson et al. 2009), with the expectation that such reforms and other government policies will

result in these universities drawing additional income through national and international funding sources for research. The combination of these policies is expected to make Finland more innovative and internationally competitive, and a more integrated society. Yet an additional stressor can be found within the Finnish higher education arena that can affect an institution's or department's desire or ability to invest in internationalization strategies: the call from several quarters that the current number of universities (16) and polytechnics (known also as universities of applied sciences, UASs; 25) should be significantly reduced (e.g. Hautamäki 2010; MoE 2009c; YLE 2010).

Therefore, we explore three points in this paper. First, the internationalization at home (IaH) literature provides considerable research regarding practices that may have significant implications for Finland. Second, we summarize the results of two studies conducted at Finnish HEIs that explored intergroup interaction through IaH-like programs. Finally, we consider some ideas on what can be implemented to improve the likelihood that IaH could provide the outcomes that the MoE envisions for the students, and, ultimately, the society and economy of Finland.

Internationalization of higher education institutions

Universities worldwide face similar challenges: continual search for funding; competition for quality students, teachers, and researchers; program and curricular restructuring (Cooper 2007); and striving for quality, often in the form of international recognition. Internationalization has become one means to accomplish these various goals.

Although considerable literature on internationalization in higher education has focused on mobility, other topics, including IaH, are gaining attention. While some universities use the term *internationalization at home* in their plans, their descriptions rarely indicate how these programs or activities measurably impact their at-home students' intercultural/international development. However, educators generally accept that higher education is enriched by inbound culturally diverse students (Barker 2000; Welch 2002) and domestic ethnic minorities and

immigrants (Nilsson 2003; Stier 2003). Some of IaH's core components include

- dimensions of international/intercultural education integrated within teaching and learning
- extracurricular activities that further internationalization and intercultural interaction
- sustained interaction between students and faculty of diverse cultural backgrounds, and
- a closer relationship between the university community and local ethnic minorities (Wächter 2003).

Additional components include cross-border or domestic programs, international research networks, forms of transnational education, language learning and/or lingua franca use, curriculum development, and uses of ICTs (Crawford 2008; de Jong & Teekens 2003; Larsen et al. 2004).

The IaH emphasis is on the intercultural learning that arises when students and teachers (and by *teachers* we mean the broadest concept of the educator's work, including but not limited to classroom instruction, advising, supervising, and research) from dissimilar cultural and educational backgrounds interact on campus. Said differently, an *international* education focuses on the mobility dimension and international perspective on knowledge and events, while an *intercultural* education is created through a variety of programs and interaction opportunities to which both domestic and foreign-born persons contribute and from which both benefit (Crichton et al. 2004). While Nilsson (2003) considered IaH everything except mobility, we believe that outbound mobility can play a crucial role in IaH if programs are designed to systematically integrate the knowledge, experiences, perspectives, and skills gained by students and teachers while abroad (e.g. Savicki 2008; Teichler 2004; Teichler & Jahr 2001) for the benefit of their at-home peers. According to Lestinen and Riitaoja (2007), this is not happening effectively. Mobility research emphasizes that, minimally, adequate pre-departure preparation and post-return debriefing improves the likelihood of positive outcomes; recent research suggests that ongoing facilitation while the students

are abroad further enhances the developmental benefits (Savicki 2008; Vande Berg & Paige 2009).

Most internationalization strategies that include IaH elements, including that of the Finnish MoE (2009b), seem to presume that simply having international students on campus results in internationalization. The mingling of host students with international students can result in a rich and productive learning process (Ryan & Hellmundt 2003; Ward 2001), causing increased awareness of cultural diversity, development of an international perspective on and recognition of the non-neutral nature of knowledge, as well as various opportunities for cognitive and affective learning (Crichton et al. 2004; Messman & Jones-Corley 2001; Soeters & Recht 2001; Volet 2004; Ward 2001).

However, in the sparse research on host students, one point is consistent: the lack of integration between host and international students. These limited, often superficial, interactions hinder opportunities for growth in both groups (Brown 2009; De Vita 2005; Dunstan 2003; Eisenclas & Trevaskes 2007; Peacock & Harrison 2008; Sánchez 2004; Ward et al. 2005). Research suggests several potential reasons why intergroup interaction is infrequent, thus challenging IaH implementation. Host students may feel negative emotions (anxiety, discomfort, frustration, irritation) over intergroup contact because of the innate cultural differences, and expect complicated interaction (Peacock & Harrison 2008; Sánchez 2004), although not all studies confirm this (e.g. Crawford 2008; Ward et al. 2005). Host students may fear they might inadvertently offend, embarrass, or stereotype, or that they will be misunderstood or disliked (Dunne 2009; Peacock & Harrison 2008). Thus, the "safer" route is simply avoiding intercultural contact (Dunne 2009). Moreover, the lack of intergroup socialization can impede in-class interaction, create resentment, reinforce stereotypes and negative attitudes (Eisenclas & Trevaskes 2007), and undermine the very purpose for bringing the two groups together. Thus, an internationalized curriculum incorporates multifaceted means to address and support the full range of cognitive and, in particular, affective components of intercultural growth (Eisenclas & Trevaskes 2007).

Language issues also present significant stumbling blocks to intergroup interaction. The need to adapt one's language style, or to decipher

embedded identity issues or cultural values, creates negative emotions (Brown 2009; Dunne 2009; Peacock & Harrison 2008). The Finnish context is further complicated because host students and most internationals speak English as second-language users. The linguistic ability of any student group, including Finnish students, can vary; many understandably lack confidence (Taajamo 2003), have difficulty with complex syntax or vocabulary (see Kim 2001), or find communicating in a second language emotionally or cognitively draining (Crawford 2008). The traditional Finnish communication style might also impact interaction, including which topics are suitable for conversations (Carbaugh 1995), the use of silence (Sajavaara & Lehtonen 1997), and perceptions of social distance (Tulviste et al. 2003).

Other barriers involve lack of commonality on interests or practices, differences in age, or unequal familiarity with popular culture or sports (Dunne 2009; Peacock & Harrison 2008). Preferences in socialization spheres (e.g., public versus private) create situations in which the different groups would not even have opportunity to socially interact (Dunne 2009). The literature also suggests that often the multicultural classroom, a natural venue for intercultural interaction and internationalized processes and content (Chang 2006; Crichton et al. 2004; Hurtado 2003; Ryan & Hellmundt 2003; Soeters & Recht 2001), is often ineffectively managed, lacks specific cross-cultural learning goals and measurable outcomes, and misses opportunities to employ intercultural collaborative work groups or encourage intergroup interaction (Peacock & Harrison 2008; Ward 2001). Left to their own choices, students will naturally gravitate toward work groups comprising mostly host members or international members, even though students generally see value in diverse perspectives on group tasks (Eisenclas & Trevaskes 2007; Peacock & Harrison 2008; Summers & Volet 2008). De Vita (2005) and Leask (2009) note that for intergroup collaborative work to be meaningful to students' intercultural learning, it needs sufficient preparation, guidance, management, and support.

The role of the teacher on the internationalized campus, and particularly in the classroom, cannot be underestimated. Teachers, the vital link in students' internationalization (Cushner 2008), need to actively assist students in managing conflict, addressing difference, and reflecting on

experiences so that positive outcomes are possible, even from difficult situations (Hurtado et al. 2002). The literature suggests that classes and coursework be reconsidered regarding content and pedagogy, classroom structure, and expectations on learning styles and assessment, so as to encourage student engagement in all aspects of the learning process and with their co-learners (Hurtado et al. 2002). Ideally, teachers can be seen as “cultural translators and mediators” (Cushner 2008, 172), connecting course content to events and knowledge within global and local environments (Green 2003). But researchers (e.g. Stone 2006; Ward 2001) find little evidence that higher education teachers are adapting either their content or pedagogical methods.

Leask (2009) says internationalization takes place within formal and informal (beyond the classroom) curricula; both are equally important in supporting and furthering the intercultural/internationalization practices of the other. Activities outside the classroom (e.g., clubs, sports, workshops, festivals, study trips, internships) and residential arrangements (e.g. programs and integration within residency halls, dining halls, commuting circumstances) offer multiple opportunities for engaging dissimilarity (Henderson 2009), although the same barriers exist as within the classroom. Yet, unlike passing, perhaps superficial, classroom interactions, informal curricula activities offer opportunities for more in-depth interactions and perhaps relationship building. Therefore, Klak and Martin (2003) recommend that some elements of the informal curriculum, particular extra-curricular activities, be included within the formal curriculum. Moreover, structured formal and informal curricular programs may support intercultural friendships that could also benefit intergroup relations through the extended contact hypothesis (Pettigrew 1998; Wright et al. 1997). This potentiality is important in Finland, where relatively few Finnish students have classroom contact with students with a dissimilar background.

Finally, the literature addresses the nature of the curriculum at an internationalized HEI. Briefly, the discussion questions whether discipline-specific curricula are in fact the preparation students need in a global environment (Leask 2009). Some researchers suggest that curricula should provide foundational knowledge of the field, with the balance of any cur-

riculum filled with other essential skills and knowledge, such as communication (intercultural, negotiation, conflict management), critical thinking, and learning-to-learn skills; observational, analytical and reflection development; and fostering a pluralistic worldview, all which would allow students to understand and connect with world events (Cooper 2007; Volet 2004; Yershova et al. 2000). Further specialized learning would take place in advanced academic degrees and through lifelong learning (Ericsson 2000; Tuijnman & Boström 2002; Yorke 2003). Cooper (2007) emphasizes that a truly internationalized curriculum promotes the likelihood of essential attitudes and skills to permeate all disciplines and programs so that *all* students benefit.

Studies of two Finnish Buddy Programs

A Buddy Project of voluntary social interaction

The Buddy Project of the University of Jyväskylä is a student-union organized program that brings together Finnish and international students for voluntary social interaction. Each semester, registrants are assigned, usually randomly, into groups of approximately four Finns and four international students, depending on the number and ratio of registrants. At the program “kick-off,” the groups are designated and then some ice-breaking activity takes place. The group members then organize their own meetings and develop relationships.

Crawford’s (2008) study sought to determine if and how Finnish students who had never lived abroad could develop intercultural competency by interacting with international peers on a voluntary basis. She conducted semi-structured interviews with 11 volunteer “at-home” Finnish informants: seven participants from the Buddy Project cohort of Autumn 2003 and four from a single group that met in Autumn 2002 and Spring 2003. Additionally, four Buddy participants who had lived abroad six or more months were included in the study for comparison. The interviews addressed a variety of areas, including the nature of interaction within the group; informants’ perceptions of their interaction, intercul-

tural skills, and any development from their interactions; motivations for participation; aspects learned about their own and other cultures from their interaction experiences; and aspects of their preparation for, behavior during, and reflection after interaction.

Among the interview results was that many of the groups did not maintain ongoing interaction after the kick-off, a typical outcome according to the informants. Issues such as language difficulties, time constraints, and motivation impacted if and how often the groups met. Yet even when the groups met, the informants did not necessarily reflect much on the nature of the interaction or any subsequent intercultural growth.

It also became clear that interaction between members of the host culture and international students is not a clear or simple path. Issues such as one's intercultural knowledge, the nature of the individual's motivation, one's personality and temperament, how observant and/or reflective the person is regarding the interaction, and group dynamics can affect not only what the at-home informant experienced, but how he/she made sense of it. Moreover, the Buddy Project has no formal organization providing any type of ongoing support. Some informants felt "alone" in the process and expressed desire for more institutional/organizational support, particularly in the early weeks when they were unsure of how to interact effectively.

Very few of the informants could point to any measurable time observing dissimilarity (in self or other) or reflecting on own or others' cultural behaviors, even when some informants had developed good friendships with international buddies. The majority of them emphasized the search for similarities rather than differences. While this is essential for relationship building, and considered a good outcome in intercultural interaction and adaptation (Kealey & Protheroe 2000; Kim 2001), it does not allow for exploration of cultural differences on multiple levels, from which important learning can take place.

Crawford also found that simple interest is not sufficient to sustain interaction with diversity: The informants who fared best in this study were those who had clear interest, plus an emotional engagement, sustained action, and commitment to engagement. Without this "engaged motivation," the difficulties that arise in intergroup interaction could

result in at-home students backing away from the challenges, and thus losing out on intercultural development, as well as friendships.

Finally, despite literature that indicates that at-home students can develop intercultural competency even if they do not spend significant time outside their home culture (Nilsson 2003; Paige 2003; Stier 2003, 2006; Teekens 2003), Crawford concluded that at-home students would not encounter a full enough range of experiences, particularly within the affective areas, to cause perspective change or transformative learning, which are essential to achieving intercultural competency. Nevertheless, some students did demonstrate growth in areas of intercultural learning. While that cannot replace the value of an abroad experience, it does provide important developmental perspectives to at-home students that might not be gained otherwise.

A Buddy Project with compulsory participation

The Buddy Project in HAMK University of Applied Sciences (Bethell 2009) has been implemented with multiple student groups since 2008 as part of compulsory English and communication studies. The international students are first-year mechanical engineering degree students; the Finnish students are typically part-time mechanical engineering degree students, who are usually older than the international students and employed. The aims for the international students include integration and familiarization with the local community; improved cross-cultural adjustment (Furnham & Bochner 1997) to reduce culture shock (Adler 1975; Oberg 1960); improved English communication skills and some basic Finnish language acquisition; and the development of networks to help them gain insight into the Finnish working environment and culture. The aims for the Finnish students are in line with IaH and include intercultural communication experience and the possibility to introduce their workplaces in English.

In the initial project implementation, only one facilitated meeting was arranged at the start of the course when all the students met each other for the first time. As a response to feedback from the first implemen-

tation, later implementations have included two further facilitated group meetings during contact lessons. Students were given worksheets and during the initial meeting they collected information on their randomly selected buddies. Finnish students were expected to take their international buddies on a tour of their workplaces, conduct a simulated job interview with the international student, and write a report/study diary of their experiences and tasks. International students were expected to visit their buddy's workplace, prepare for the job interview, and write a final report/study diary. These tasks and all communication were conducted in English. The students selected the form of communication; however, versatility and practice in communications techniques – SMS, face-to-face, phone, e-mail, and instant messaging – were encouraged. The students worked independently; the lecturers acted as facilitators, when necessary. The written tasks were assigned as compulsory parts of the course and evaluation was based upon the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001).

In the initial project, the lecturers frequently facilitated and encouraged communication during the course. Experiences and problems were discussed during contact lessons and through e-mail; all other discussion between the students took place outside the classroom. Based upon student feedback and the time constraints of the teachers, the second implementation of the project in 2009 was slightly different: A discussion environment in Moodle 1.9x was established and fewer contact lessons facilitated the communication process.

Students in both implementations reported positive experiences and the aims of the project were achieved. Moreover, concrete results beyond the original aims were obtained: friendships, some summer workplaces for the international students, and continued contact after the project. The Finnish students said they benefited from significant intercultural experiences and English-language communication. However, some Finnish students complained that the project took too much time and effort. This concern needs to be addressed: How to motivate students regarding the need for this internationalization process in their working environment.

The fact that the Finnish students were older, a potentially significant cultural difference (see Dunne 2009), was, in fact, a positive aspect, since

they frequently adopted the role of Finnish “parents” and helped the younger international students adjust to Finnish life. In regards to communication, the lecturers noticed that communication in the second implementation was not taking place in the Moodle environment and assumed that it was taking place outside the environment, as in the initial implementation. However, the feedback revealed a reduction in actual communication, as compared to the initial implementation. One of the main reasons for this could be the reduction in encouragement and facilitation by the lecturers. This project highlighted the role of the teacher as a facilitator in the internationalization process. A major barrier to maintaining sufficient levels of facilitation is time and monetary resources.

Some implications of the studies

Cushner (2008) lends support to Crawford’s conclusion that true IaH, in terms of developing intercultural competencies, cannot be achieved for host students who never live for a significant period in another culture. In order to achieve such competencies, students need the affective experience of being the “other,” to see and examine the many assumed (ethnocentric) aspects of one’s home culture from alternative perspectives, to feel unsure about what is what and how to manage in an unfamiliar reality, sometimes without adequate tools and support – and to confront these realities 24/7 (Cushner & Mahon 2009). These experiences cannot happen in one’s home environment, where an individual usually knows what is expected and, if not, knows how to obtain information and, if things get too tough, can back away from difference into his/her comfort zone of familiarity.

And multiple studies (see e.g. Allport 1954; de Vita 2005; Leask 2009; Pusch 2004; Teekens 2003; Ward 2001) confirm Bethell’s conclusions that successful intergroup interaction must be facilitated and have structured support by knowledgeable HEI personnel, lest the students’ motivation and activity atrophy, and groups again gravitate toward separateness, with lost learning opportunity.

Both studies point to the fact that intergroup experience needs to be

consciously planned, encouraged, facilitated, and supported by teachers and staff, and students prepared for engagement not only when they are going to a dissimilar culture but, and especially, for experiencing dissimilarity within their home culture. The research is clear that, without intervention, successful intergroup interaction – and gains in intercultural knowledge and skills – will happen only for a very small, very motivated, minority of host students, those who embody “informed cosmopolitanism” (Peacock & Harrison 2008).

Internationalization: Changing rhetoric into reality

The outcomes of these two Finnish Buddy Project studies and abundant international research underscore the fact that internationalization of higher education does not simply happen, no matter what the governmental or institutional vision. “Comprehensive internationalization is a change that is both broad – affecting departments, schools and activities across the institution – and deep, expressed in institutional culture, values, and policies and practices. It requires articulating explicit goals and developing coherent and mutually reinforcing strategies to reach them” (Green 2002, 10–11), and that “everything an institution does should be permeated by or imbued with an international – or perhaps better, a multinational, multicultural or multiethnic – perspective” (Cooper 2007, 523). Although the role of internationalization of learning in higher education has been advocated for two decades, the literature around the world and in Finland suggests that putting the idea into practice remains in the margins of higher education activity (Cushner 2008; Green 2003), although some programs and departments have achieved world-class international environments and outcomes, often as a by-product of operations, not by design (Hoffman et al. 2010).

Thus, we agree with Cushner (2008): Students and, by extension, societies and businesses, will not benefit from intercultural and international perspectives until internationalization becomes central to and integrated into higher education. This is especially critical in Finland, where most students are not enrolled in international degree programs that, by their

very nature, weave international/intercultural practices and concepts into learning processes.

That said, we recognize the many constraints facing contemporary Finnish HEIs. The literature provides multiple ideas on how HEIs could internationalize, but space does not allow us to present many. Moreover, limited resources, in particular, may mean many good ideas remain beyond the reach of most teachers and departments. Therefore, the internationalized and intercultural learning processes may need to progress from adaptations to how teachers teach, how they prepare coursework and assessments, how they invest their time in collaborative and networked interaction with colleagues, and the shifting of limited resources to assist as many teachers as possible develop the skills needed for internationalized education. Based on our own experiences and observations, informed by the literature, we offer several suggestions¹ for internationalizing, presented within themes.

Matters of the curriculum and teachers' development. While a complete curriculum reassessment through the lens of an internationalized education and 21st labor needs would be most preferred (see e.g. Cooper 2007; Leask 2009), it may not be practical in the current higher education environment. Nevertheless, the curriculum can be adjusted in concrete ways to make teaching more internationally effective and that offers students a different vision of contemporary higher education. This would also affect the teaching and planning processes that teachers undertake to fulfill course requirements. We propose three concrete areas:

- Individual courses can be internationalized in a wide variety of ways: The only limitations are imagination and effort.
 - ◇ Establish a network of colleagues in the same disciplines at universities in other countries and work collaboratively to integrate international and intercultural perspectives on the subject matter into core courses and key electives. Such a network could facilitate peer teaching within a blended learning environment

¹ Additional suggestions, as well as a more fundamental vision on higher education in the 21st century, will be presented in Crawford and Bethell (in preparation).

(via live or asynchronous online or video presentations) to all students in the network's course, supported by an in-class teacher in the native language.

- ◇ Draw on and integrate into the course content the experiences and knowledge of diverse others already in the classroom: foreign degree and exchange students, returning Finnish exchange students, and at-home students of diverse ethnic or cultural backgrounds.
- ◇ Encourage or require students to keep blogs or learning diaries (mediated, video, or paper-based) for reflection on issues regarding engaging dissimilarity at home (or during exchange), or in exploring international perspectives on courses.
- The curriculum for degree programs also can be rethought and reworked to provide coherent international and intercultural perspectives throughout the entire learning period.
 - ◇ The MoE already recommends that exchange periods be integrated more explicitly within degree structures. Therefore, when the exchange plan is being conceptualized, means for intentional learning of international and intercultural issues, as well as means for capturing the exchange students' intentional learning for the benefit of their at-home peers, need to be built into the predeparture, exchange period, and debriefing programs.
 - ◇ Additionally, the MoE (2009b) calls for international learning to be integrated into the student learning through their personal learning plans. One way to facilitate that is through a "passport" scheme, a document created and updated by the student throughout his/her degree program where all of his/her intercultural experiences that faculty members can verify are certified. Such a process would not only provide a means for the administrators to oversee and support the formal and informal international/intercultural learning of students, but also exemplify that such learning takes place through diverse means and in multiple venues. The passports also could provide official record of such learning for the benefit of the students' CVs, since international competencies are increasingly required in the workplace.

- ◇ Because the informal curriculum can provide opportunities for intercultural learning that will support and supplement the internationalization of the formal curriculum, providing a firm and formal foundation of intercultural knowledge and skills opens any number of interesting possibilities for learning. Including a course early within the curriculum that provides basic but very important intercultural theory, practices, and skills would allow students to develop the knowledge and skills needed to critically engage dissimilarity and international issues, whether in the classroom, around campus, through the media, and within their societies. A similar course could be offered to teachers and staff.
- The teacher in any internationalization process is the keystone, since teachers provide not only the formal content of internationalized learning but provide the foundation for much of the informal intercultural learning that students will undertake outside the classroom. Therefore, attending to the needs for international and intercultural development within teachers, researchers, and staff cannot be minimized. For brevity, we focus specifically on teachers here.
 - ◇ As learners themselves, teachers need to take an active role and advantage of opportunities to develop pluralistic perspectives and measurable (as well as tacit) knowledge and skills in intercultural and international issues. Through workshops or in-service programs, for example, teachers could learn how to integrate and support different voices within the discussion of field-specific content; address conflict, ethnocentrism, lack of motivation within the classroom, and/or the effects of culture shock upon international students; present course materials and pedagogical practices that are sensitive to differences in learning styles and cognitive styles, and so forth.
 - ◇ Throughout the year, most universities host perhaps dozens of foreign guests, speakers, researchers, and/or exchange teachers/administrators. Through prior arrangements, many of these individuals may be willing to participate in some forum integrating international perspectives. Establishing a formal process for identifying such individuals and informing teachers of when

they will be on campus would allow teachers or departments to extend invitations and arrange programs for students or staff.

- ◇ Finally, embracing diversity and alternative perspectives can also be facilitated through interdisciplinary or cross-disciplinary interaction throughout the campus or abroad. Such activities will also offer benefits for preparing students for professional lives in which scientific fields are not as segregated as they are on university campuses.

Mobility. The literature underscores that this facet of higher education internationalization remains essential. However, these programs need to be pointedly reviewed to keep the outcomes and benefits of mobility from being simply an individual consumption of the exotic (see Messer & Wolter 2007) or a matter of mobile bodies but not mobile minds (Neave 2004).

- As noted above and in several EU and Finnish MoE documents, student exchange needs to be integrated into the curriculum in a way that does not deter students interested in a study period, internship, or traineeship abroad. Moreover, students need facilitation to maximize their learning potential, before, during and afterward (Savicki 2008; Vande Berg & Paige 2009). Oversight of such processes can be accomplished by academically- and experientially intercultural-qualified individuals within the program, department, faculty, or institution.
- Exchanges are important in helping individual teachers develop their intercultural and international perspectives, since their sensitivity toward diversity is significantly increased through their own first-person experience of being “the other” (Cushner & Mahon 2009). However, since many teachers find it difficult to spend long periods in another culture because of their professional and family responsibilities, multiple short-term experiences may be necessary. In such a reality, sufficient preparation – knowledge, skills, reflection techniques, etc. – and debriefing so that their experiences can be as developmentally productive as possible – are particularly critical for outbound teachers.

- A means to systematically capture the learning and insights of returning mobile teachers and students would be valued as a means to reinvest within the university community the perspectives and knowledge gained during the abroad period (see e.g. Miller & Fernández 2007).

Administrative support. Teachers' success in integrating elements of internationalization into their courses relies significantly on the support and facilitation of the institutional administration at various levels. In some cases, it may require a new perspective on what constitutes quality education and fidelity to the fields associated with the department or faculty, and what "teaching" at a 21st century HEI entails. Nevertheless, concrete steps by administrative personnel could include

- Facilitating teachers' efforts in networking with international colleagues and its impact on classroom teaching.
- Allowing teacher facilitation and support of student learning within interactive learning environments to be considered equal to class contact hours when designating teachers' workloads.
- Provide department-, faculty- or institution-wide access to qualified experts as consultants or workshop presenters on topics such as e-pedagogy, intercultural theory and skills, experiential learning, and managing and benefiting from in-class diversity.
- Work with teachers in uncovering external funding sources for collaborative work or research on the various aspects of integrating international perspectives within the curriculum and specific courses/programs.

Students. All of the suggestions proposed above are in vain if the students themselves do not see the value for their personal and professional lives and make the effort to engage diversity, explore alternative perspectives on knowledge, and commit to integrating any number of internationalized components within their learning process. However, students should not be assumed to innately understand the need for any of these aspects of 21st century higher education, and thus such needs and the underlying rationales may get far more traction if made explicit.

- During the initiation to each student's developing their personal learning plan, the role of internationalization, intercultural issues, blended learning, and the emphasis on critical thinking, collaborative and independent learning, and lifelong learning within their degree program can be clearly explained. With this background, students can then make better choices regarding their degree requirements and choices for independent learning.
- Each semester, a variety of programs and events take place at on- and off-campus venues, where students can meet dissimilar others and hone their intercultural skills, or experience alternative perspectives. Some means to inform students of such offerings could be instituted, and students encouraged to engage these informal curricular opportunities.

Financial resources. Very few concrete programs are initiated – let alone continue – without adequate funding. This is especially true in an era of HEI reform, when HEI leaders are devoting more time to finding funds to pay for programs. The MoE (2009b) indicates that some supplementary funding for internationalization can be negotiated, but it is unlikely such funding will be significant enough for every program in every institution to make significant changes. Yet even small increments may be useful in providing a structure for teachers to develop their skills, learn new techniques or technologies, access research, and collaborate more closely with colleagues abroad. Moreover, if HEIs indicate that internationalization is a key strategy, then it follows that some institutional funding could be focused on the realization of this strategy, at least on par with other key institutional strategies. Based on our experience, one way of improving financing potential for internationalization projects is to integrate them with ICT projects.

This paper has addressed the Finnish Ministry of Education's (2009b) strategy for internationalizing higher education through programs emphasizing internationalization at home and mobility. We fully concur that this strategy is essential for preparing HEI students for professional lives in a global environment and for an increasingly diverse society.

While HEIs are not the only educational venue for exploring the multifaceted elements of internationalization, they do offer a unique opportunity for impacting student populations for a variety of reasons, not the least of which are the normative value of friendships, intellectual development, and access to a diversity of opinions and experiences (Antonio 2004; Klak & Martin 2004; Pascarella & Terenzini 1992).

As the literature presented earlier in this paper indicates, internationalization and intercultural development do not simply happen: Desired outcomes are more likely if facilitated, but done so within research findings appropriate to the task, learning objectives, and pedagogical applications. While tertiary-level educators clearly appreciate the need for integrating an international perspective and for assisting students and teachers in intercultural development, real constraints exist in achieving those goals. We provided a few concrete ideas on how HEIs, specifically at the department and program level, can concretely move toward internationalization. While every new process takes additional time, and in some cases may require additional funding, these suggested projects represent rather conservative approaches, representing baby steps rather than large strides.

While we personally feel – and the literature supports our perspective – that a dramatic rethinking of the higher education process is in order, we recognize that few institutions will be able to implement in the short term such a significant shift in conceptualizing and presenting higher education. Therefore, for the majority of institutions, slow but steady progress toward internationalization must suffice. The process begins with the first step.

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Internationalized campuses just don't happen:
Intercultural learning requires facilitation and institutional support

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Finnish higher education institutions as exporters of education – Are they ready?

Introduction

One important dimension of recent Finnish higher education reform is to encourage higher education institutions (HEIs) to export fee-based education services (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture 2009). The current legislation has allowed Finnish HEIs to charge tuition fees from students coming outside the European Union (EU) or European Economic Area (EEA) (hereafter referred to as foreign students) under two conditions. First, the 2007 Amendments to both Universities Act (1997/645) and Polytechnics Act (2003/351) allowed Finnish HEIs to charge fees for their degree education programmes when the fees are paid by a third organisation rather than individual students, which is called “made to order” education (*tilauskoulutus*) model. Second, according to the new Universities Act (558/2009) and the additional Amendments of Polytechnics Act (2003/351) both effective from the beginning of 2010,

Finnish HEIs are able to charge tuition fees on a five-year trial basis for separate Master's programmes from foreign students, provided that the arrangements include a scholarship scheme.

Although the export of higher education is an emerging phenomenon in Finland, it is far from being a new policy issue in the global context. Similar activities have already been conducted by HEIs in the countries like the UK, Australia and New Zealand for over two decades. In the context of these countries, export education is defined as "an educational services approach based on a public-private partnership with market-driven services that may provide a surplus to the institution, high quality educational and pastoral services to students, and export income to the nation, within a strong national regulatory framework" (Adams 2007, 410). The export approach to international education has also been recently adopted by some European countries.

From the perspective of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (2009, 40), international education can be developed to a profitable business with direct economic benefits. Such a market approach is underlined by two assumptions (Elonen 2010). First, as there are no new Finnish economy-boosting companies in sight, – unlike the Nokia Company in 1990s – and Finland needs to search for sectors that could bolster employment and generate income for the national economy. Given the recent government policy priorities and emphasis, higher education, although only to limited extent, is clearly one of these sectors. Second, it seems that there is an ever-growing demand for good quality higher education around the world, and this situation is likely to continue in the future. This shows a favour towards models used in the UK or Australia, where higher education has become a major export service. However, the unique advantages of these countries, such as the availability of diversified courses delivered in English and the environment that provides for improving English language skills are not available for Finland. Also given the facts that Finland is geographically isolated from important economic and industrial centres, has rather high living expenses, a climate which may deter international students or immigrants, and a difficult language, Finnish HEIs may encounter additional challenges when promoting their fee-based education.

Under the new legislation and governmental initiatives, Finnish HEIs are strongly encouraged to reconsider their strategies on internationalisation, particularly with respect to the commercial dimension. As expected by the Ministry of Education and Culture (2009, 40), “the higher education institutions themselves have a key role to play in marketing their competence”. This indicates that while the legislation provides Finnish HEIs opportunities to develop commercial education activities, the institutions are also expected to be able to promote their educational offerings in more professional ways. However, with only a very few exceptions, it has been generally assumed that the HEIs have not yet been able to work out their strategies for increasing the inflow of overseas bachelor’s and master’s degree students (Arrevaara et al. 2009, 417).

So far, there has been little empirical information available about the concrete commercialisation activities of Finnish HEIs at the institutional level. Therefore, the question to be explored in this chapter is: *to what extent Finnish HEIs are ready to start exporting degree-based education to foreign students?* Our investigation mainly deals with the reactions at the institutional level, while the responses of academics at operational level are excluded in this research. To answer this question, eight semi-structured interviews were conducted, including three group interviews and five individual interviews. There were in total 11 informants, comprising one vice-rector and a program administrator respectively from two Finnish Universities of Applied Sciences (UAS 1 & 2), two vice rectors respectively from University 1 and University 2, two high level administrators respectively from University 2 and University 4, a former rector of University 3. The selected HEIs represent different geographical location, size, disciplinary structure and operation culture. In addition, two senior officials of the Centre for International Mobility (CIMO), one representative of export association of Finnish companies, Finpro, operating in Beijing (Finpro) and one representative of the Finnish Embassy in China (Embassy) were also interviewed.

All interviews were conducted between December 2009 and May 2010. Direct quotations from participants have been edited for clarity. In addition, the details of the respondents and their units have been withheld in the interest of protecting the anonymity of the organisations and individuals concerned.

This chapter starts with a literature review on export education in both the international and Finnish context. It is followed by an introduction of the conceptual framework for understanding “export readiness”. We then move on to the analysis of empirical data collected from the interviews following the framework of “export readiness”, discussing related challenges. It concludes with some suggestions for Finnish HEIs in developing higher education export.

Export of higher education

Due to the novelty of the topic, it goes without saying that the scholarly discussion in Finland related to exporting higher education has been relatively scarce. This area has been previously discussed for instance by Cai & Hölttä (2006), Hölttä, Pekkola & Cai (2009) and Cai (2010), but only with an emphasis on China as a potential market area. Some recent studies were conducted in areas remotely related to exporting higher education, such as the estimated equity and efficiency impacts of tuition fees (Hölttä & Kivistö 2009).

Hölttä (2007) has classified the internationalisation of Finnish universities to five consecutive but overlapping modes: 1) traditional individual based mobility, 2) internationalisation based on bilateral institutional agreements, 3) programme based internationalisation, mainly in the framework of the European Union, 4) internationalisation based on institutional and disciplinary networks, and 5) market based internationalisation. The internationalisation of Finnish HEIs has been traditionally characterised by the features of the modes two to four. This framework is useful in highlighting recent reforms of international education as a transition towards model five, which needs quite different strategies, institutional support services, and funding for the investments in product development and coordination.

Compared to the studies in Finland, international discussion about the topic has been more extensive. Bennell and Pearce (2003, 216) regard the recent rapid growth in education exports as a part of the increasing internationalisation of education, particular higher education provision.

Higher education has been inherently international, in terms of the international exchange of research, pedagogies, scholars and students (Healey 2008, 354; Martin 2007, 12), but what appears new is the cross-border education with a strong commercial aim (Martin 2007, 207). One of the best cited definitions of cross-border education was given by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in 2005:

...cross-border education includes higher education that takes place in situations where the teacher, student, programme, institution/provider or course materials cross national jurisdictional borders. Cross-border education may include higher education by public/private and not for-profit/for-profit providers. It encompasses a wide range of modalities, in a continuum from face-to-face (taking various forms such as students travelling abroad and campuses abroad) to distance learning (using a range of technologies and including e-learning. (OECD 2005, 9)

Knight (2006) understood cross-border education as the movement of people, programs, providers, knowledge, ideas, projects and services across national boundaries, and thinks that cross-border education may signify a horizontal move from development cooperation to a trade approach. According to the trade approach, the cross-border education is regarded as a service trade or education export (Knight 2002). The tendency towards market model of internationalisation is driven by both growing demand for higher education in the developing world and the governmental initiatives of education providing countries (Healey 2008). Furthermore, it “is largely the consequence of the rapid reduction of trade and communication barriers and other globalising tendencies” (Bennell & Pearce 2003, 216).

The changes towards seeing higher education as a trade (export industry in particular) were first spotted in the 1980s and 1990s when international education emerged in some countries as a significant service industry. Full cost tuition fees were first introduced in the UK as one of the reforms initiated in early 1980s to encourage HEIs to seek funding sources outside government funding scheme (Williams 1997). In Australia, the education of foreign students started to move from a taxpayer-subsidised activity to a export industry in 1986, when the federal government policy “made it illegal for universities to subsidise foreign

students from government funds" (Adams 2007, 411). Similar changes took place in New Zealand ushered by the 1989 Education Act, which introduces tuition fees on a full cost recovery basis (New Zealand's Ministry of Education 2001).

It should be noted that even though the US has been the biggest higher education export in terms of the enrolment of international students, "the activity does not contextually have an export look or feel" (Adams 2007, 411). Canada is a similar case, where the fee levels in public institutions are below the full cost of education (ibid.).

While the tendency that higher education is becoming an export sector has been commonly accepted, Healey (2008) used the five so-called 'Main English-Speaking Destination Countries' (MESDCs) – Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States as examples to illustrate trends regarded as unsustainable in the medium-term. His arguments were based on an analysis of the supply- and demand-side drivers in the higher education sector. On the supply-side, when charging fees from domestic students is allowed, many universities may "begin to retreat from internationalisation and return to their 'core activities' of research and teaching domestic students" (Healey 2008, 354). On the demand side, "as the higher education sectors in developing countries scale up and consumers become more sophisticated, it is likely that demand to study abroad, particularly at the lower status universities now so dependent on international students, will decline rather than continue to grow at recent rates" (Healey 2008, 354). Nevertheless, according to Healey the trends in education export won't change within the next 15 years. Other critical views about the nature of global higher education can be seen in Marginson's (2006, 2007) studies, which has been focusing mainly on the inequalities and externalities created by the education export and global higher education.

Nevertheless, export education is seemingly still a growing phenomenon worldwide, also in Europe. Most European countries have traditionally employed a non-commercial approach to international education as their central strategy. However, several nations, such as France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and the UK (The Academic Cooperation Association 2008), have started to adopt an export approach to international higher education.

Recently there have been policy tendencies towards the export of education also in Nordic countries, which have previously been amongst the most notable promoters of tuition-free higher education. For instance, in addition to Finland, Denmark started to charge fees from foreign students in 2006, and Sweden is going to take similar action from 2011. However, despite these developments, the export of higher education is still a very marginal phenomenon in European higher education area, except in the UK.

A framework of export readiness

In an empirical study, Naidoo (2010) has demonstrated that in the context of Australia, Britain and New Zealand, the success of export education is, to a large extent, determined by the export readiness of a university. Export readiness refers to how a university is externally focused in meeting the needs of the relevant stakeholders involved in the international student recruitment process. Among other aspects, market orientation (or specifically export market orientation) is a central element and an antecedent of export readiness. Market orientation is about the implementation of the marketing concept and the organisation's ability to be responsive to customers and other relevant stakeholders, in order to be profitable. In the higher education context, export market orientation primarily includes three elements, 1) export competence, 2) management commitment, and 3) export coordination.

Export competence refers to an organisation's competitive advantage in the export business. One fundamental source of advantage is the organisation's previous experience and expertise in export, because managers are more alert to opportunities and overcome international risks in those areas they have experience.

Management commitment refers to a favourable attitude that a university's top management has towards exporting. The attitude includes the way managers make sense of the world, the managers' openness to and awareness of the diversity inherent in doing business internationally, and the ability to handle this. This attitude is likely to lead to proactive managerial behaviour in taking risks in export education activities.

Export coordination has been defined as the integration of inter-functional capacities. To develop education services, it is very important for a HEI to coordinate its operations to respond to positive export opportunities through establishing coordination across its internal units and cooperation with external organisations.

Following Naidoo's framework, we will now analyse how ready Finnish HEIs are to export education, based on empirical data from the interviews.

Export competence

The interview analysis on export competence includes two aspects: experiences of export education and knowledge of education market.

Experiences of export education

In terms of offering fee-based education, most Finnish HEIs only have the experience in the field of continuing education, providing short-term training or certificate based education. The continuing education in Finland is mainly for domestic students. Only a very few institutions have recently developed fee-based non-degree programmes for foreign students.

Offering fee-based degree programmes to foreign students is a totally new phenomenon in Finland. Even the vice rector of UAS 2, who had strong motivation to develop export education, admitted that they had little experience on exporting education. A similar point was made by a former rector of University 3: "I think that the problem is that none of us have any experience or very few have experience of organising education leading to degree to foreign market".

While most Finnish HEIs have difficulties in developing and marketing such kinds of fee-based education services, UAS 1 has already developed a tailor made degree programme in nursing specially targeting Chinese students. This program started in September 2009 with

an enrolment of 10 students, who already graduated from a three-year bilingual (English and Chinese) nursing programme in China, from which 120 ECTS credits would be accepted by UAS 1. The students were going to study for additional 90 credits provided by UAS 1. In the autumn semester 2009, the students studied at UAS 1's partner institution in Shanghai, China, where UAS 1 sent teachers. In 2010, the studies were scheduled to continue at UAS 1. Different from other international degree programmes run by UAS 1, this programme charged fees from a Chinese company that ordered the education from UAS 1 for the students. However, in practice the students paid all the fees, but through the company (Interview UAS 1). This case has been criticised by Finnish Student Union and even considered as illegal by the Ministry of Education and Culture. At the moment, this seems to be the only concrete case on export of degree based education (Interview in CIMO).

Knowledge of education market

The understanding of market and marketing is heavily based on relevant experience. Since Finnish HEIs in general have little experience in education export, it is not surprising to hear the views like "I don't think universities have knowledge of doing educational business" (Interview University 3), and "We have not been searching the market: Where are the most potential markets? What are the needs of the market? Where you would have the most and the best opportunities to win kind of foothold (in the market)?" (Interview in CIMO).

The lack of knowledge of the market is also due to the fact, as commented by one university vice rector (Interview University 1), that Finnish HEIs have no tradition of marketing. This point was further explained by the vice rector of UAS 2:

Finns are not good in marketing. That is one of the problems we have. We intend to be too modest perhaps and maybe a bit too honest also in some cases. ... We ought to learn maybe a bit more the American approach and both things are good and great even if we know that we are not.

Nevertheless, some interviewees have reflected upon the problems of developing and promoting Finnish higher education programmes in prospective geographical market areas. For instance, one problem is that the development of international programmes is mainly “product based”, rather than “marketing based” (Interview CIMO). To be competitive in the market, the programmes must really be of high quality (Interview University 1, CIMO) and relevant to local demands (Interview University 3).

The discussion of interviewees clearly demonstrated that Finnish HEIs lack knowledge about specific market areas and about the demands of local students. For instance, when they talked about the Chinese market, two opposite views emerged: while some believed there were big opportunities and tremendous needs for higher education in China (Interview University 3), some considered the market there had already been saturated or was even diminishing (Interview University 4).

According to Naidoo (2010), without prior international experience and knowledge of the market, it is difficult for institutional managers to identify opportunities. This explains why there was little reflection by the interviewees on concrete opportunities emerging for Finnish HEIs, although some agreed that the new governmental initiatives and policies may generate more opportunities and potentials for HEIs (Interview CIMO). The only concrete view shared by most interviewees was that Finnish HEIs need to find their roles in certain niche markets where Finnish higher education has advantages.

Management commitment

Management commitment includes two aspects: attitude and commitment.

Attitude

Despite the fact that Finnish HEIs lack experience and knowledge about export education and the market, the institutional leaders and admin-

istrators were aware of this very well. On the one hand, they realised the need to know more about the market, as commented by the former rector of University 3; “we have to do quite a lot of in understanding the customer and the markets for Finland”. On the other hand, they tended to be more open and flexible to develop their export education strategies, as indicated by the interviewee of University 4:

Those education providers that have a long stand in the market may have already developed sort of specific ways and patterns. They can decide what programmes to provide and under what conditions. Then it is up to the students whether they take it or leave it. But since we are newcomers in the market, I don't think we could really act in such a way. Rather, we have to be very flexible. We have to be very sensitive to what the buyer would like, in what form they would like to organise the programmes' teaching. ...So we try to be as flexible as possible and open to different options. (Interview University 4)

The attitudes towards developing export education fall into three categories. First, some interviewees were very optimistic and active in developing commercial export education. For example, the vice rector of UAS 2 took a very positive view towards the export education. Since the legislation now allows HEIs to charge fees for degree programmes, he said, “we should take the chance and start selling them outside EU”. For him, the benefits of export education are numerous. One important aspect is the financial benefit. As financial sources are getting narrower and narrower all the time because the government cannot subsidise HEIs as much as in the previous times, HEIs obviously need to get more funding also through export education to backup the development of new programmes. This can, to some extent, support local Finnish students as well.

Second, some interviewees basically agree with the governmental export education initiatives but prefer a development (or aid) approach instead of a commercial one, as stated by the vice rector of University 1:

So there are two approaches and personally my emphasis is on the idea that we do export, not so much on a commercial basis but mainly on a developmental basis where our ideas are not so straightforward business minded but towards long standing cooperation and finally the outcome might be good also in economic terms via other kind of indirect returns. When you go to Sub-Saharan

Africa and you educate their experts, it might lead to the situation that when they are in a decision making position to make important investment they might think of Finland as an alternative.

However, if the development approach is applied, international education is not expected to generate revenue for HEIs. Rather, it requires more investments. This leads us to the following questions: Do we have enough resources? If we invest more to foreign students, how about our own students here in Finland? Is it a “business” worth making? (University 1) How to strike a balance between national duty and international opportunities? These concerns also exist at the national level, as an interviewee from CIMO said,

My worry has been that we have been lacking a kind of a vision where we want to go. Now through this strategy, I think we are gaining to some extent, but still we do not have a very solid picture, where do we want to be, what is the vision for Finland for coming years, and also I would say that we are still lacking some resources, perhaps.

Third, some are a bit suspicious of export education. As the vice rector of University 2 put it, “I think this kind of quasi system, required by the Ministry, where we collect tuition with one hand, but at the same time give scholarship with the other hand, is the most stupid thing we could do”. Referring to the Denmark’ unsuccessful experience on charging tuition fees from foreign students, his colleague, a high level administrator, commented, “we would not repeat the same mistakes they made”.

Though Naidoo (2010) only stresses the importance of managers’ attitudes, the attitudes of teachers or other relevant staff are also crucial in export education in the context of Finnish higher education. As it is stated by an interviewee from CIMO, “marketing is still something very new in Finland ...what we have to struggle with is how to change that way of thinking”.

Commitment

The level of HEIs’ commitment to export education has been generally considered to be low by the interviewees at CIMO. One reason for this is

that the HEIs are undertaking big reforms in addition to the export education dimension at the moment and they do not have much time to start these kinds of activities.

Nevertheless, there is clear variation between HEIs in terms of their commitment to export education. It has been argued that the more positive attitude institutional managers have towards exporting, the more able they are to commit the time and effort to developing export education activities and handling the risks of internationalisation. This point is echoed by the interviews.

For instance, UAS 2, whose vice rector is very positive to export education, tended to react very fast and had already made deals on commercial education activities in Spring 2010.

University 1, where the vice rector has a moderate attitude, has already started to take action but mainly on the preparation and planning stage. He predicted, “if we are really going to sell something it means that we should start right now, plan programs, which can be then started about two years from now”.

University 2, where the interviewees felt reluctance towards exporting education, had not developed any concrete activities concerning export education. As stated by the vice rector of the university:

At the moment, we don't have any fee-based educational programs (including both contract-based education and tuition fee collecting programs). We haven't been very proactive in these. I think [...] joint ventures [with other universities] would be a good starting point for us rather than that we would start doing this by ourselves.

Export coordination

Related to this, the interviewees talked about three important aspects of export coordination, namely institutional collaboration, national coordination, and international cooperation.

Currently, inter-institutional cooperation and coordination between Finnish HEIs has been insufficient and HEIs have been mainly working

independently or separately on export education. In fact, HEIs even have not been willing to inform others about what they are preparing, because other HEIs are considered as competitors. For instance, competition between Finnish HEIs (especially the universities of applied sciences) in recruiting Chinese students was observed by the Finnish Embassy in Beijing and FinPro's Beijing Office (Interview: Embassy, FinPro).

Against this background, the vice rector of UAS 2 called for cooperation and coordination between Finnish universities of applied sciences in exporting higher education:

We are such a small country and maybe in a long run all universities of applied sciences can get a fraction in the education markets of countries like India and China. Maybe in the beginning we have all sorts of competition and even jealousy between the universities of applied sciences, but I believe there is a tendency towards cooperation.... We would definitely need each other more, agree on what sort of terms and what sort of schedules etc. ... we need to build the programmes together (Interview UAS 2)

Although some regional networks and institutional cooperation concerning developing export education already existed (Interview UAS 2), there is no official coordination structure of education export at the national level (Interview CIMO).

When it comes to promotion of Finnish higher education in China, several Finnish governmental organisations are involved, such as the Finnish embassy in China, CIMO's Liaison in Shanghai, and FinPro's offices in China. Based on the interview with officials from the Chinese Embassy and FinPro's office in Beijing, it seems that there were not many cooperation mechanisms and information sharing systems between these organisations. Nevertheless, many interviewees had high expectations of the government's plan (Future Leaning Finland project) on developing an educational export cluster, as a coordination network for promoting export of higher education.

It should be noted that CIMO has been quite active in marketing Finnish higher education through cooperation with some international organisations, such as NAFSA (Association of International Educators), EAIE (European Association for International Education) and APAIE

(Asia-Pacific Association for International Education). CIMO was also trying to utilise the platform of Shanghai Expo 2010 to make Finnish higher education better known in the global education markets (Interview CIMO). However, HEIs themselves have not been very much involved in cooperation with these international organisations.

External limitations on export education

Besides talking about the market orientation of Finnish HEIs, the interviewees also discussed some external limitations and challenges for exporting Finnish higher education, such as legal limitations and shortage of financial resources.

As previously mentioned, the new legislation allows Finnish HEIs to charge fees for their degree programmes through a “made-to-order” model. However, it was argued by most interviewees that the law is not clear enough in its interpretation and it is not encouraging for institutions to develop fee-based degree education either. Following the “made-to-order” mode, there must be some organisations or companies to buy degree education programmes from Finnish HEIs, but in reality, individual students are likely to be the final clients. As the vice rector of UAS 2 put it,

The Ministry of Education and Culture has put certain borders which we find hard to cross. For example, the rules and regulations behind this system are pretty hard to interpret at the moment, and there are several kinds of interpretation, some of which are so strict that you can't really sell anything if you follow them.

Moreover, there is no sufficient governmental commitment supporting Finnish HEIs financially. Within the current budget framework, institutions do not have much funding to prepare education export activities. Even though some institutions are trying to make needed investments, they mainly utilise limited resources just to design their educational programmes. Other needed actions, like conducting a thorough investigation of targeted markets and marketing education programmes, are often impossible to implement. However, according to one administrator from University 4, this situation may change in the near future:

This situation is probably going to change... You keep on hearing that the government may take more active role in supporting universities, but initially they just thought that the universities should take care of everything (for developing export education). ... There are many examples from other European countries that governments have actually supported the higher education.

Concluding discussion

The transition from the traditional Nordic model of higher education towards a market oriented model is not painless. In the case of Finland, the success of this transition may, on the one hand, depend on how clearly the Finnish government and Finnish HEIs identify the challenges and find corresponding solutions. This study, through examining the readiness of HEIs to export education, has illustrated a number of challenges, such as the lack of experience and knowledge in marketing, the insufficient motivation and commitment, the lack of coordination in exporting education, and the need for a clear vision on export of education. Against the problems discovered by this study, some suggestions are provided.

First, the present legislation provides the HEIs with major obstacles in the export of education. In the current situation, the interpretation of the laws should be very clear regarding the export of commercial based education. This may motivate institutional leaders to be more committed to export education. Moreover, it is important to consider different strategies when developing export education activities. The most promising markets for Finnish HEIs are mainly in transition and developing countries, but the market logic may be totally different between these target countries and between education programmes. For the programmes which are expected to lead to high paid segments in the labour markets, it can be expected that students and their parents are ready to contribute to tuition fees, especially in China and South East Asian countries. However, in other cases (e.g. programmes in Social Sciences and Humanities, and the Education in African countries) funding may be separated from the participation in studies. In these circumstances, the funding agencies may be international development agencies, scholarship funds, or Finnish development aid programmes.

Second, regarding the problem that Finnish HEIs have less experience and competence in export education, several things can be done. a) More studies on export education and targeting markets should be conducted, and the government should provide strong support for this kind of research. b) Although there are not many export education activities among Finnish HEIs, a few successful examples may still be discovered. Promoting and sharing successful experience with other institutions would be an effective way for Finnish HEIs to quickly enrich their knowledge on export education. c) Hiring foreign experts and cooperating with agencies from target countries are also ways to make up for the Finnish HEIs' deficiency of export competency. d) To cooperate with universities from other countries which already have expertise and proven experience in markets operations for export education. Strategic alliances with, for example, British, American or Australian universities might provide easier access to markets than individual efforts.

Third, the development of export education also requires effective coordination at the national level. Almost all institutions involved in the interviews are strongly looking for centralised support from CIMO and have high expectations on the establishment of a new national infrastructure for the support of education export, which is an essential part of the implementation of the new internationalisation strategy for Finnish HEIs (Ministry of Education and Culture 2009). The new organisational support will be integrated to the support organisation for industrial products, and it will be coordinated by the Ministry of Employment and Economy. Besides these efforts by the government, further cooperation between universities and enterprises in export business may be largely improved. On the one hand, using the linkages to some Finnish industry brands may help Finnish HEIs to have their names and programmes easily accepted in foreign countries. On the other hand, Finnish enterprises may expand their markets in targeting countries through educational means (Hölttä et al. 2009).

The biggest challenge for the future of Finnish higher education export lies in the genuine willingness to invest resources in this project. This challenge calls immediate and decisive actions both in the level of policy-makers and HEIs. Otherwise, any further discussion about exportability

and expected demand of Finnish higher education is fashionable policy rhetoric lacking actual meaningful content.

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Internationalization and the invisible language? Historical phases and current policies in Finnish higher education

Introduction

Finnish higher education has since the 1800s been a nation state project (Välimaa 2001). In recent years, however, the higher education developments and political demands for increased internationalization, and student and staff mobility (see Nokkala 2007; Hoffman 2007; Garam 2009; Ministry of Education 2009) have challenged this relatively stable and traditional understanding of higher education as, first and foremost, a national issue. Systematic internationalization processes since the late 1980s (Saarinen & Laiho 1997; Nokkala 2007) and recent university reforms have now brought the issue to the forefront.

While internationalization has been in the focus, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the role of language(s) in this process. This

is somewhat surprising, since many of the goals of internationalisation, such as increased international co-operation or ability to operate in increasingly international and multicultural environments, would seem to indicate a need to use languages other than the national ones. Some attention has been paid to the use of national languages in *research* (see Hakulinen et al. 2009), but the impacts of internationalisation on policies and practices of university *teaching* have been largely unarticulated both in policy debates as well as by researchers.

Finland (together with the Netherlands) hosts the largest amount of foreign language study programmes in Europe, in proportion to the size of our Higher Education system (Wächter & Maiworm 2008; Garam 2009). This proves Hughes' (2008) point of an "Anglophone asymmetry": in a need to "attract" (as the political metaphor goes) international students, Non-Anglophone countries (such as Finland and Netherlands in Wächter & Maiworm's 2008 study), resort to offering programs in English, trying to adjust to a scene the Anglophone countries have had a 20-year advantage in developing. This, as Hughes (2008) points out, is an issue of both intellectual and economic equality and equity (Hughes 2008), as the Anglophone countries dominate the markets by attracting largest numbers of foreign students and by being able to charge the highest fees.

"Language" has, in general, featured in education policies mainly from the point of view of politically supporting the bilingual status of Finland on one hand and on supporting the study of foreign languages with different kinds of programmes. In the latest development plan for education and research (Ministry of Education 2007), "language" appears on about a hundred occasions, and these boil down to three general contexts:

- securing the official bilingual status and the rights of the Swedish speaking minority
- developing language education of immigrants (instances of teaching of Finnish or Swedish to immigrants clearly outweigh mentions of supporting the teaching of immigrants' own mother tongue
- internationalization and its needs.

Individual languages are not mentioned, with the exception of those mentioned in the Constitution (Finnish, Swedish, Sami languages & sign languages).

During recent years, our higher education system has been adapted in many ways to meet the demands of the European Higher Education Area (Saarinen 2008). The new internationalization strategy for Finnish higher education was published in the beginning of 2009, calling for further measures towards internationalization. The new university law (2009) changed the legal status of universities from the beginning of 2010 into public law entities or private foundations and this new position is motivated largely from the point of view of internationalization and its attractiveness (Yliopistolaki 2009).

All these processes challenge Finnish higher education from the fundamental perspective of universities and polytechnics as national institutions (providing a public service) in a globalizing world.

This chapter analyses the tensions caused in the traditionally national Finnish higher education policies by demands for “internationalization”, by taking *language* as the point of departure, and aiming at understanding the emerging trends towards multilingualism and the increasing use of languages other than Finnish or Swedish in higher education. The starting point is an observation made in an earlier article (Saarinen forthcoming): in current internationalisation trends of higher education policy, as observed from the micro level of foreign language programmes, language appears invisible. It seems that the role of language is taken for granted and that internationalisation takes place in situations where language is a self-evident tool. The fact that language (either as individual languages or as a generic notion) rarely gets mentioned in the context of internationalisation produces an understanding of language as something so self-evident that it needs not be stated or problematized in the goals of the international strategies of HEIs.

In this article, I will first make a historical overview on the situations where language has been visible. Then, I will look into recent policies of higher education and its internationalisation and their relation to languages. I will close the article with a brief, hypothetical look into the future: Will language become visible again, and in what circumstances?

The questions I will be answering in the main body of this chapter are:

- *Does “language” have a role in the past and present internationalization policy of Finnish higher education, explicitly or implicitly?*
- *What challenges does the traditionally national language setting of Finnish higher education face, with the increasing demands for internationalization and the increasing English language degree programmes?*

Historical position of language in higher education

The languages of tuition in Finnish higher education have, since Independence in 1917, been Finnish and Swedish. However, in practice since the 1990s, English has been increasingly used in the higher education sector. The new University law of 2004 gave universities, for the first time, the right to give degrees also in other languages than in their official languages of tuition. Before this, universities had the right to give tuition (but not to grant degrees) also in other languages. This possibility was continued in the university law of 2009 (Yliopistolaki 2009). This development had in fact started already in the late 1990 especially in the polytechnics and later also in universities (Pyykkö 2005).

The present situation is, naturally, a result of a longer historical development. Latin was the language of the Royal Academy of Turku, founded in 1640, until the early 1800s, not only because of its international lingua franca status, but also as Latin was seen to “educate and discipline” the youth (Klinge et al. 1987). The domestic challenge to Latin at the Royal Academy of Turku first came from Swedish rather than Finnish, since at that time, Finnish had barely begun to gain formal status as a written language. In doctoral disputations, Latin remained the only language until 1852, when Swedish (and in 1858, along with the national romantic awakening, Finnish) was made an official language for doctoral disputations (Klinge et al. 1989; Tommila 2006; Hakulinen et al. 2009).

Latin was also the language of internationalisation for most of the early history of European higher education. Mauranen (2011) has suggested that Latin kept its status as lingua franca, because there were no mother tongue speakers, i.e. it was not a living threat to local languages.

Latin may consequently have been viewed as a more neutral language than the many, already by the 16th and 17th century politicized languages such as French, German or English. It is, however, also possible that the position of Latin within the Catholic Church may have had an influence. During the Reformation, Latin lost some of its status as local languages increasingly started to be used. (Saarinen forthcoming).

National higher education and breakthrough of national languages

Latin remained the language of higher education until the 19th Century. As a language of tuition, it was first challenged by Swedish and then, gradually, Finnish. In doctoral disputations Latin remained the only possible language until mid 19th Century, until Swedish (1852) and Finnish (1858) were made possible. (Klinge et al. 1989; Tommila 2006; Hakulinen et al. 2009). By the late 19th century, Finnish was seriously challenging Swedish as the language of higher education. Latin, however, remained the language of internationalisation of Higher Education, until replaced by German by the end of 19th Century.

The first years of Independence

During the first years of Finnish Independence, two new (private) universities were founded, both based on language ideologies. The Swedish language Åbo Akademi (Åbo Akademi University) was founded in 1919, while the Finnish language Turun yliopisto (University of Turku) was founded in 1922. The reason behind this simultaneous promotion of both Finnish and Swedish language education was that University of Helsinki was "becoming Finnish" either too quickly or too slowly, depending on which side of the language divide the person stood. (Klinge et al. 1987; Tommila 2006.)

In 1924, the languages of the University of Helsinki were stated as Finnish and Swedish, but in practice, teaching took place largely in Swed-

ish. This led into the language debates of the 1930s, which were solved in 1937, as a decree was drafted stating that the language of tuition at the University of Helsinki should be Finnish, but rights of the Swedish speaking students should be guaranteed: A fixed number of Swedish speaking professors should be appointed (Tommila 2006; Klinge et al. 1987). University of Helsinki remains a bilingual university to date, with a responsibility for certain Swedish language training such as training of lawyers, medical doctors, dentists and agricultural experts.

The language political feuds of higher education eased away gradually, in the 1930s as the bilingual principles and practices for the University of Helsinki were agreed on. Higher education policies focussed in the postwar decades on regional policy questions, as new universities were founded in the eastern and northern parts of the country based on regional policy arguments (Kivinen et al. 1993). Implicitly, language questions were still present in the postwar years, as the new universities were explicitly Finnish-speaking.

The period after the Second World War witnessed, however, another language policy development. In the late 1930's, according to Numminen (1987), only some five or six of the then approximately 100 full professors spoke English, while the rest operated internationally in German. After the war, English gradually replaced German as the language of internationalisation of Finnish higher education. At least two factors promoted this development. Firstly, the foreign policy direction of Finland changed drastically as a consequence of the Second World War, as the orientation towards Germany weakened and Germany lost the cultural and political position it had held in Finland (and elsewhere in Europe) in the first half of the 20th century. (Hietala 2003, 135.) Secondly, the growth of English as the language of internationalisation was strongly promoted by the United States of America "cultural foreign policies" since the war. The U.S. first started to direct back the war loan funds paid by Finland towards the study of Finnish students in the United States, and in 1952 Finland joined the international Fulbright network (Fulbright Center 2011).

The period of internationalisation of higher education

The 1980s witnessed a new era in Finnish higher Education policies, as the new principles of Management by results started to take over from the more centralised post-war policy making (Kivinen et al. 1993). Features of this change were strong decentralisation, increasing demands for accountability and quality assurance, individualization of education, and changes in funding structures.

During this new period also policies of internationalisation started to take shape and systematize. Already in the 1980s exchange programmes (both for students and staff) started to grow, and universities were rewarded among other things for internationalisation (see Saarinen & Laiho 1997). The Centre for International Mobility CIMO was founded in 1991 to promote internationalisation of education at all levels.

In Finland, already in the early 1990s, there was strong political support for setting up international degree programs both to attract international students and to foster "internationalisation at home" for Finnish students. The polytechnic sector, in particular, was active in this. In the 1990s, degree programmes in German and French existed alongside their English language counterparts, but gradually English became, in practice, the only language in international degree programmes in Finland. Some programmes do exist in Finnish (for student of Fenno-Ugric studies) or in Swedish.

Historical summary

Table 1 summarizes the historical periods of languages in Finnish higher education and its internationalization.

As the previous chapter shows, language(s) have, basically, been visible in history of Finnish higher education during two periods. Firstly, the period of national awakening in the mid 19th century finally broke the era of Latin and brought to the front national (and living) languages, both within Finland (Finnish and Swedish) and in international contacts (German). The second period of visibility took place after the declaration

Table 1. Languages in different periods of Finnish higher education

| | Language of tuition | Language of internationalisation |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| c. 1640–1850 (period of pre-national higher education) | Latin | Latin |
| c. 1850–1900 (period of national awakening) | Swedish =>Finnish | Latin => German |
| c. 1900–1930/40 (period of language policy) | Finnish, Swedish | German |
| c. 1950–1980 (period of regional policy) | Finnish, Swedish | English |
| c. 1990 – (period of internationalisation) | Finnish, Swedish (English) | English |

of Finnish independence, with the founding of new universities based on language motivations, and the language policy debates at the University of Helsinki.

Next, I will look into the current policies for internationalisation and the position of languages in this situation.

The current period of internationalisation and the position of language(s)

The internationalization period in Finnish higher education started in the late 1980s, and was at that time geared towards internationalisation of research (Nokkala 2007). The first focus was on student and staff exchange programmes. In the 1990s and especially 2000s, the weight turned on developing foreign language study programmes. As a consequence of the first policy for internationalisation (Ministry of Education 1987), foreign language degree programmes were set up; initially in the polytechnic sector, and after that in universities

The number of international programmes in Finnish higher education grew fast. In 1996, there were approximately 75 English language programmes in universities and polytechnics; in 1999 this had almost doubled. In December 2010, there were 335 international degree programmes

(Bachelor's and Master's level) at universities and polytechnics. These are overwhelmingly English; two were run in Swedish (the other national language in Finland), and five in "other" languages, which means Finnish and Fenno-Ugric degree programmes offered for foreigners. Measured by the share of English taught programmes against all programmes, Finland ranks second in Europe after the Netherlands. Measured by the proportion of institutions providing English language programmes, Finland ranks first in Europe. (Wächter and Maiworm 2008.)

The next internationalisation strategy of 2001 (Ministry of Education 2001) made specific reference to the "competitive edge" offered by English. "English language" programmes were also referred to, but mostly reference was made to "Foreign language" programmes.

The latest internationalisation strategy for higher education was accepted in 2009 (Ministry of Education 2009). Also this document refers systematically to "foreign language" teaching, when, in fact, English is meant. "English" is, in other words, clearly conflated (or euphemized even, as Lehtikoinen, 2004, indirectly suggests) into "foreign":

The higher education institutions offer high-quality education focused on their fields of expertise, given in foreign languages. (Ministry of Education 2009, 26)

Even when the strong position of English is acknowledged, reference is made to *foreign languages*:

Higher education institutions have increased education given in foreign languages leading to a qualification. In proportion to the size of our higher education sector, there is an exceptionally large amount of teaching available in English. (Ministry of Education 2009, 14)

The dual attitude towards *foreign language* on one hand and *English* on the other reflects, on one hand, the practical relationship to English as the current international *lingua franca*, and, on the other, the Finnish goal of promoting other languages as well. However, linking *English* and *foreign* in this way fades out language from internationalisation. I will move to this invisibility of language in internationalisation next.

This invisibility of language in the context of internationalisation and

globalisation has been noticed recently elsewhere as well. The American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL) organized in March 2011 a conference, where Pratt held a plenary titled "Why Don't Theories of Globalization Think About Language?" Pyykkö (2011, 26) has, along the same lines, written about the invisibility of language in Finnish Innovation policy, where language has been hidden behind words like co-operation, interaction and communication. Language is rendered invisible in internationalisation, but why?

For an article (Saarinen forthcoming) I looked into the short marketing blurbs of the foreign language degree programmes of four universities (University of Helsinki, University of Turku, University of Jyväskylä and Helsinki University of Technology) and four polytechnics (Metropolia Polytechnic, Laurea Polytechnic, Turku Polytechnic and Jyväskylä Polytechnic), found on their website front pages. There were 73 cases, and I specifically looked into mentions of language in these texts that were in average 100 words long. Four categories in relation to languages emerged (Saarinen forthcoming):

1. Knowledge of English is presented as a basic and necessary entry qualification. (N=5)
2. Implicit or explicit reference is made to participation in the study programme giving language skills or intercultural skills (N=21).
3. Languages and/or communication and/or intercultural skills are mentioned specifically as program contents. (N=7)
4. No particular reference is made to languages or culture (N=40).

Out of the 73 English language programmes in the data, 40 made no mention of languages in their web introductions whatsoever. This implies, first, that language in general is taken for granted, and second, that English is self-evidently the language of tuition in the so-called foreign language degree programmes in Finland. Mauranen (2011) has said that while English has come to stay in the globalised university world, it is not the same English that we learned at school. The key words of Global English are interactionality and clarity.

What does self evidence of language mean?

Why, then, the conflated usage of “foreign” for “English”? This euphemism may imply willingness in principle to promote languages other than English – a steady policy goal since the 1990s (Tella et al. 1999). It might also be due to an unwillingness to specifically acknowledge the strong position of English in Finnish society (see Hakulinen et al. 2009 for a criticism of English and Leppänen et al. 2008 for an analysis of English in Finland.) In any case, language is treated as something more or less self-evident in Finnish policies of higher education internationalisation.

This self-evidence can take place at least on two levels:

First, the analysis above clearly indicates that it is taken for granted that the language is English with no exceptions. Any exception would, by definition, be explicitly mentioned.

Second, it is possible that the language of tuition is not mentioned, because language is seen instrumentally, merely as a technical tool. As such, it is irrelevant what the language in question is. This may reflect a view of language where language is either reduced to disciplinary specialized vocabulary or even to “multicultural small talk”.

Discussion: Is the invisibility of language breaking?

The invisibility of language and the euphemization of *English* for *foreign* seems to reflect a paradox of internationalisation. Increasing international co-operation may, in fact, lead into increasing linguistic homogenisation, as the increase in global mobility reduces the available common languages into English (in comparison with the earlier, more regional internationalisation). On the other hand, this might also be a macro political illusion, if we base our observations only on policies or on the current study programmes. For instance in Denmark, interesting research is being conducted into the position of local languages in internationalisation. It seems that, for international students, the local language may also be becoming a *lingua franca* (Haberland 2011). This leads us into a direction that is out of the scope of this short article: will we be witness-

ing a geographical or disciplinary localization and diversification of language practices in the world of higher education and research?

Officially, the aim of Finnish internationalization is both to attract foreign students and to internationalize Finns. However, we can ask, whether these are indeed compatible aims, and what kind of internationalisation is promoted by presenting English language degree programmes as self-evidently international. Current higher education policies seem to encourage "internationalisation", but the position of language is both unclear and unproblematic.

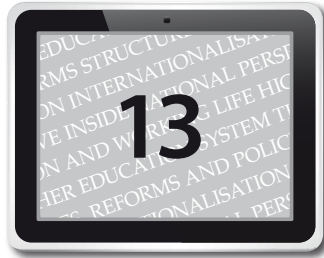
Language has always surfaced in Finland in times of some kind of national turmoil. Past examples of this are the period of national awakening in mid 19th century, and the two first decades of independence. Since the Parliamentary elections of April 2011, it is obvious that we have come to another such phase in Finnish history. Language has become a political issue again, and this is reflected in the political discussions about the position of Swedish in Finland. This is true also of internationalisation developments in Finland. In early 2009, a (Finnish) student filed a formal complaint to the Office of the Chancellor of Justice about English language tuition, appealing to his/her constitutional right to receive tuition in his or her mother tongue. The Office ruled against the student (OKV/1001/1/2009), but the issue alone indicates that language is becoming visible again.

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Part IV:
Inside Finnish academia



A comparative perspective on the work content of the academic profession

Introduction

This chapter examines the comparative research on the academic profession and gives a picture of the Finnish academic profession's characteristics in a comparative framework. It presents an overview of the Finnish part of the international Changing Academic Profession (CAP) survey, its motivations and context. Empirical work based on comparing the structure of academic work illustrates the challenges in undertaking such comparisons between different national systems.

The comparison presented here is between Finland, Germany, Italy, Norway and the United Kingdom. Although these countries are all part of the European processes of integration of higher education, and they responded to the same questionnaire in their respective national surveys, the structure and definition of the academic profession in these countries remains different. The comparison illustrates gradually the challenges of

comparison of different branches of the academic profession and the challenges of definition of independent variables within the European framework. The challenges are caused by the existence of different types of higher education institution and different definitions of academic profession.

Higher education reforms and changes of work in academies

Enders and Teichler (1997, 347–348) correctly predicted in the 1990s that the academic profession would be a victim of its own success. According to their understanding, many of the major working conditions have deteriorated because the academic profession has accepted new responsibilities in the process of the ‘scientification’ of society and economy, and in training masses of highly qualified labour for society. New responsibilities have come with new resource dependencies and competence needs. Abbot (1988, 210) had the same impression in the 1980s when he pointed out that the growth of the amount of information in society means that universities are losing the monopoly on knowledge production, and they can no longer ensure the knowledge base for students throughout the lifetime.

Applying Light’s (1974) definition, an academic profession implies a strong occupation, which plays a key role in recruiting and educating academic workers, and evaluating the qualifications of the members of the academic profession. It is responsible for regulating the quality of the profession’s work. In addition, the profession has high prestige, and its operations are based on complex knowledge. The academic profession has therefore self-complementary features, like other professions. According to Dill (1982, 266) academic notions such as “the search for truth”, “selfless devotion to academic work” and “academic freedom” are constitutive conceptions to justify the status of academics within influential occupations. Paradoxically however, these academic values have to be in line with the knowledge and values of the entire society to ensure the power and prestige of the profession. Thus, the content of academic values and work has been modified to respond to changes in society.

There are several drivers in society which have consequences for the work content and values of the academic profession. First, the diversification of academic responsibilities can be tracked to changes of the society in which higher education institutions are operating. Knowledge society development challenges higher education institutions to improve the production, transmission and dissemination of technical and social innovations. In that sense, Finnish universities and universities of applied sciences (UAS) should become more flexible, transparent and accountable. At the national level, the changes can be seen through the growing importance of 'innovation systems'. In Finland, higher education institutions are seen as essential parts of the innovation system in which their key partners are regionally based Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (ELY), the Finnish Funding Agency for Technology and Innovation (TEKES), and local governments.

Second, ongoing structural reforms, targeting the shift to more efficient, effective and transparent higher education (Teichler 2007, 21–22), are changing the functions and tasks of the academics. The ministry-driven mergers and profiling of higher education institutions alongside with new steering and funding mechanisms, and a new university law, are transforming Finnish higher education to apply more corporation-like institutional behaviour (Aarrevaara et al. 2009). This development is creating new forms of control and emphasising accountability and performance driven academic work. Management has become an essential part of the profession's work.

Third, the number of externally funded projects has grown rapidly. This has meant increased demand for a flexible research workforce and created new more project-specific academic positions. The insecurity of the early stages of the typical Finnish academic career is not a new phenomenon for western academic professions. However, because of the massification of higher education, and the phenomenon of rapid expansion of academic degrees, new characteristics are affecting the efficiency of academic organisations.

The inability of Finnish academics, and more generally, of higher education policy, to address the demands of the new environment, is what the external reviewers criticise most about the Finnish national

innovation system. The most severe criticism addressed an unclear division of labour between universities and other public research institutions, and a poor introduction of global perspective into academic activities (Veugelers et al. 2009, 80). From the perspective of professional academic work, the need for a division of work in higher education institutions is crucial. In short, teaching and research are the areas where the expertise of academic profession has traditionally been strong. In global higher education markets, universities have been directed towards areas where their risks are higher and competence lower than they were under the traditional public mode of operation (Aarrevaara & Maruyama 2008; Maassen & Olsen 2007, 10–11). This has created a new challenge for the academic profession.

The CAP survey provides a defined picture of the academic profession in its changing environment. It also provides knowledge of working conditions, governance issues, and explores the influence of the academic profession. It provides a possibility to describe the trends of the reform of the national higher education systems by institutional models, disciplines, and generations. The survey collected information on academic work in very broad terms. However, the CAP survey is intended to give an overall picture of Finnish higher education's role in teaching and research, and to the conditions that exist for academic work. The value added for Finnish higher education research through the CAP survey is in increasing the fragmented information we have of Finnish higher education and adding a comparative perspective.

The characteristics of Finnish CAP-survey

The Finnish academic profession has been studied from several stand points in recent years. It has been studied, for example, from the perspective of working conditions and attracting researchers' integration into Finnish higher education (Hoffmann 2009; Välimaa 2004). An important viewpoint is also the content of academic work in the era of structural reforms in higher education, and academic cultures with their values and practices (Aittola & Marttila 2010; Hakala 2009). In addition,

several statistical studies have mapped the academic profession's work time and income (Statistics Finland 2006). Albeit that many studies have been carried out on academic work and profession in Finland, no comparative quantitative studies have been conducted on the theme.

Defining the sample and defining the profession

Even though the Finnish CAP data has been analysed prior to the publication of this chapter, those articles and publications have a national focus, whereas the CAP survey and questionnaire were designed for an international comparative study. This presented a few difficulties for Finnish respondents in answering the questionnaire: some of the questions, which were not contextualised, were difficult to understand and apply in Finnish higher education environment. In defining the Finnish academic population, three factors have to be discussed in more detail: the bilingualism of Finnish higher education, the inclusion of both higher education sectors (universities and UASs) and the inclusion of PhD students in the population. These factors need discussion and questioning when the academic profession in Finland is studied.

One of the constitutive factors in creating a representative sample was to launch the questionnaire in three different languages: in both official languages of Finnish higher education (Finnish and Swedish) and in English as the *lingua franca* of the scholarly community. The translation of the questionnaire from English into two other languages also presents restrictions, because it caused intra-survey reliability problems. These problems, however, were minor compared to the international validity and reliability problems caused by the (direct) translations. Multilingualism is one of the challenges that a scholar in Finnish higher education faces when entering to the field. Launching the questionnaire in Swedish created more opportunities to study the differences in academic work according to the primary language, and probably also increased the response rate (Aarrevaara & Hölttä 2008, Aarrevaara & Pekkola 2010).

The second important decision that took place in sampling was the inclusion of both sectors of the higher education system. In Finland the

higher education system consists of two complementary sectors, universities and UASs, and these sectors are different in terms of history, culture, focus and mission. The mission of the UASs is defined in the legislation as threefold: they (i) have the responsibility to provide and support the development of a professional workforce, (ii) carry out applied research and development and (iii) support regional development and lifelong learning. In addition, the UASs are developing (professional) adult education and providing vocational teacher training (Polytechnics Act 351/2003). Thus, the mission of the UASs is mainly to produce applied knowledge and skills to be used by other sectors of society.

In universities, the mission is defined somewhat differently and linked directly to the academic community and values. The mission of universities is: "to promote free research and academic and artistic education, to provide higher education based on research, and to educate students to serve their country and humanity". In addition, universities are required to advance lifelong learning, interact with the surrounding society and promote the impact of research findings and artistic activities on society (Universities Act 558/2009).

The differences in mission jointly with the differences in the status of academic staff, and the legal link between the constitutional autonomy of universities and academic freedom exemplify the different contexts for the work and the profession (The Constitution of Finland 731/1999; Universities Act 558/2009; Polytechnics Act 351/2003). The Finnish CAP data also indicate clearly the differences between the sectors. Roughly speaking, the UASs are teaching-oriented centrally governed cohesive institutions, and the universities are research-oriented loosely coupled institutions (Aarrevaara & Pekkola 2010). From the legal mandate of the institutions, as well as from the Finnish CAP data, it can be asserted that the name of the research programme "Changing Academic Profession" should be amended by adding an 's' at the end (cf. Pekkola 2009; Aarrevaara & Pekkola 2010).

Inclusion of both sectors creates major challenges for the researcher who approaches the academics within higher education with one questionnaire. The validity problem was most evident for the respondents from the UAS sector. The mismatch of the questions and the UAS envi-

ronment probably lowered their response rates. Regardless of the problems of international questionnaire, the Finnish sample is representative enough to make generalisations about the Finnish academic profession. Notwithstanding the challenges, the inclusion of both sectors of Finnish higher education systems is also an advantage of the study. Many variables are pertinent to both sectors and the sectoral differences can be documented and verified with statistical methods.

The third major challenge of the Finnish sample in international context was caused by the inclusion of certain researchers in the sample population of the academic profession. While in some countries the PhD students are considered as (fee-paying) students, in Finland the attitude towards doctoral students is ambivalent. In the Finnish case many doctoral students are employed in doctoral programmes and they work full time and are paid a monthly salary, have quite strong autonomy, and have the official status of employees. (On ambivalent status of Finnish young researchers see Pekkola 2010.)

In addition to pondering over the groups of workers who were included in the sample, those who were excluded also need to be taken into consideration when describing the sample and the population. In the Finnish sampling, the edge of the academic profession was defined as falling inside the boundaries of higher education institutions. All of the academics who were not on the full-time payroll of the higher education institutions were excluded. For example, Finland has a long tradition of docents (honorary or adjunct university lecturers) working in all sectors of society. In addition, academics working in public or private research institutes outside of the higher education sectors were excluded from the sample. In some countries in which research is organised within institutions outside universities, these researchers would probably have been considered to be part of the profession.

Comparative study

Comparison as a systematic method for obtaining information is a general approach in all social sciences, and provides a solid basis for

the creation of knowledge. From this angle, the CAP survey presents a unique opportunity to compare data from both the core societies of the international hierarchy in higher education and also emerging countries (Cummings 2008, 35). Most studies based on the CAP data have been comparisons based on single country studies, but some thematic comparisons based on conceptual frameworks have already been published. The CAP survey's strength lies in the fact that there are analytical country reports produced by each national CAP-team which highlight characteristics of their higher education systems. We will utilise these reports and the classifications developed by the national research teams of the international CAP survey. Thus, the analysis of this paper shares features from both idiographic and nomological approaches.

Some questions in the CAP survey are appropriate in some countries but not all of them. Countries which took part in the Carnegie survey in 1992 had an interest in retaining most of the earlier questions to enable the implementation of time series analysis. Some countries which conducted the survey for the first time did not apply all of them. This makes the project interesting. For some of the countries, CAP data formed a time series but for others, it is just a snap shot of the year/s 2007 – 2008. Albeit, the data were used in different research frames and the questionnaires were almost similar.

The CAP survey represents a nomological and generalising research approach, enabling singular causal explanations or empirical generalisations (Ringer 2006, 365). It provides useful information for a certain set of criteria. In most cases, when obtained data are analysed using statistical methods, large amounts of details about national higher education systems can be lost behind generalisations. Nomological comparisons between countries will generally bring understandable evidence on the work of the academic profession.

The nomological research approach has its strengths in cases where researchers or readers do not know the country context completely. Universities are sufficiently similar institutions in terms of structure, personnel and functions. Globally, they are addressing similar expectations.

Studying work related differences in five European countries – what do we compare?

The CAP study provides the opportunity to compare trends of the academic profession in global terms. However, even the comparison of quantitative data within one continent is challenging. All of the five countries presented here are members of the European Union or the European Economic Area and the Bologna process: Finland, Germany, Italy, Norway, and the United Kingdom (Aarrevaara & Hölttä 2007; Aarrevaara & Pekola 2010; Teichler 2007; Rostan 2008; Vabø 2007; Brennan et al. 2007). The selected countries demonstrate the challenge of comparison for the reader. The data used in this comparison are from weighted international database. Following paragraphs give an idea of comparative analysis and the nature of nomological information, with a definite knowledge on national samples. The structure of samples gives an idea of the academic profession and academic work, as it is understood in other countries.

To illustrate the difficulty of comparison and the differences in the demarcation of the academic profession, we present a single dependent variable study between the nations. We compare¹ a simple, seemingly culturally neutral variable, i.e. the average proportions of work time spent on research and teaching by nations, and try to explain the differences by elaborating on the results.

In the structure of academic work the variation between countries seems to be moderate. The comparison in table 1 gives the impression that Finland and Italy are countries in which the largest part of working time is spent on academic activities. It seems that the UK is clearly different from other countries with larger share of teaching and other tasks.

¹ For this purpose the statistical analysis does not give any extra value. Still it can be mentioned that most differences in results are statistically significant.

Table 1. *Proportion of research, teaching and other work time during teaching period by country*

| Country | | % of research | % of teaching | % of other duties |
|-----------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Finland | Mean | 38 | 41 | 21 |
| | N | 1312 | 1312 | 1312 |
| Germany | Mean | 36 | 35 | 29 |
| | N | 1236 | 1236 | 1236 |
| Italy | Mean | 38 | 43 | 19 |
| | N | 1627 | 1627 | 1627 |
| Norway | Mean | 39 | 36 | 25 |
| | N | 778 | 778 | 778 |
| United Kingdom | Mean | 26 | 42 | 32 |
| | N | 1017 | 1017 | 1017 |
| Total | Mean | 36 | 40 | 24 |
| | N | 5970 | 5970 | 5970 |

Institutional type

It is worth taking into account the differences in samples and to try to find out what the averages stand for. The first step in explaining the means is to describe the institutional types in samples. The German sample includes public research institutes and universities of applied sciences (Fachhochschulen) (Teichler 2008, 131–135). The Norwegian sample includes universities, university colleges and research institutes (Vabø & Ramberg 2009). In the research institutes, the working conditions and environment are quite different from higher education institutions (Vabø & Ramberg 2009). In the Finnish sample two higher education sectors are included, but not the public research institutes. The samples of Italy and UK include only universities. The British sample can be divided into three rough categories of higher education institution: pre-1992 universities, post-1992 universities (former polytechnics) and post-2004 universities and higher education colleges (after the legislative change in 2004 university status can be bestowed on institutions without research degree awarding power). The Italian sample includes 30 out of 75 universities (Rostan 2008, 166).

The different structure of university work in UK can be further analyzed with the help of 'institution type' as an independent variable. Regardless this, the research group from the United Kingdom is the only national team stating explicitly that "the higher education system in the United Kingdom gives a good impression of being a single unified system, and its academics appearance of a distinct uniform profession" (Locke 2008). The binary nature of British system was demolished fifteen years ago. Still, it seems that there are differences in accordance with the old sectoral borders. Even the standardisation of the universities into the three subgroups mentioned above by the UK's research team does not explain the differences in the structure of academic work when comparing the UK with other countries. The data have to be divided further. It seems that the so-called Russell group universities (the 20 leading universities in UK) are more 'continental' universities than other universities in UK in terms of the distribution of work time. In the Russell Group universities, research takes one-third of the working time. It could be argued that when treating all UK universities as a statistical unit we lose one important factor of British system, namely the diversification of teaching and research universities (see table 2).

Especially in the Finnish, but also in the German case, the national level comparisons are problematic. In representative samples, both sectors of higher education are included with respective shares of their size of the population. The share of the university sector is larger than the non-university sector is in both Finland and Germany. Consequently, the results hide the dual-nature of the higher education systems, profession and work in these two countries (tables 1 & 2). As a result of having a larger university sector, the national level comparison gives a distorted picture of university sector. Thus, it can be questioned if the national workforce of higher education institutions is a solid population in dual systems or should all of the international comparisons carried out at the sectoral level.

Table 2. Proportion of research and teaching working time during teaching period by country and type of institution

| Country | Institution type | | % of research | % of teachings |
|----------------|---|------|---------------|----------------|
| Finland | Universities | Mean | 46 | 34 |
| | | N | 997 | 997 |
| | Universities of applied sciences | Mean | 14 | 61 |
| | | N | 313 | 313 |
| Germany | Universities | Mean | 39 | 31 |
| | | N | 906 | 906 |
| | Universities of applied sciences (Fachhochschule) | Mean | 17 | 60 |
| | | N | 198 | 198 |
| | Art academies (Kunsthochschule) | Mean | 20 | 47 |
| | | N | 9 | 9 |
| | Helmhotz Institute | Mean | 53 | 14 |
| | | N | 111 | 111 |
| United Kingdom | Russell Group | Mean | 32 | 36 |
| | | N | 229 | 229 |
| | Other pre-1992 universities | Mean | 26 | 43 |
| | | N | 411 | 411 |
| | Post-1992 universities | Mean | 21 | 45 |
| | | N | 165 | 165 |
| | Post-2004 universities | Mean | 15 | 57 |
| | | N | 28 | 28 |
| | HE colleges | Mean | 25 | 45 |
| | | N | 61 | 61 |

Seniority

At the national level, the differences of working time distribution based on seniority seem to be significant in Finland, Germany and Norway. As seen in table 3, in all of these countries, junior academics are spending more time on research, and in Finland and Norway they also have fewer administrative and other tasks. In the UK and Italy, the career related differences are almost non-existing according this comparison. This might relate to the differentiated priorities and interests between academic and administrative staff (Kuo 2009, 47–48).

Table 3. Proportion of research and teaching working time during teaching period by country and seniority

| Country | Academic Rank | | % of research | % of teachings |
|---------|-------------------------|------|---------------|----------------|
| Finland | Senior position | Mean | 26 | 44 |
| | | N | 362 | 362 |
| | Junior / other position | Mean | 43 | 39 |
| | | N | 909 | 909 |
| Germany | Senior position | Mean | 26 | 44 |
| | | N | 505 | 505 |
| | Junior / other position | Mean | 43 | 28 |
| | | N | 717 | 717 |
| Norway | Senior position | Mean | 30 | 42 |
| | | N | 517 | 517 |
| | Junior / other position | Mean | 58 | 25 |
| | | N | 255 | 255 |

The differences in the work of juniors and seniors can be explained by the structural and legal context of the higher education systems. In Germany, the gap between junior academics (academic staff, wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter) and senior academics (higher education teachers, Hochschul lehrer) is wide. The majority of PhD students are regular employees of the universities, but still one of the characteristics of their work and career is protracted uncertainty. The Habilitation gives the young academics a formal eligibility for a university professorship. Habilitation requires about five years of academic experience after completing the doctorate, and it is awarded on average at the age 40. As in Germany, the academic profession in Finland and Norway is also a controversial concept. In Norway, like in Finland, the status of PhD student can be associated with membership of the academic profession as well as that of a student (Bennion & Locke 2010). In the Norwegian case, it can be interpreted that many junior workers are part time staff, whereas in the Finnish sample, only full time staff were included.

In Finland, the gap between seniors and juniors is not as wide as in Norway. As mentioned before, the Finnish higher education system has a strong dual nature. This seems to be the explanation to the differences between the two Nordic countries. As can be seen from table 4, the bal-

ance between research and teaching for senior and junior respondents in Finland is opposite in the two sectors. In the UASs, research seems to be a sign of seniority while in the universities, teaching is. Thus, in Finland, the national average of the work of seniors and juniors is altered in the case of polytechnics. It gives an opposite picture of seniority in the UASs compared with the universities.

On the basis of prior findings of the similarity of Russell Group universities with German and Finnish universities it could be presupposed that in Russell Group universities, the differences in the work of seniors and juniors would be parallel to Finnish and German respondents, but this appears not to be the case (see table 4). This finding leads us to examine who are seniors and juniors in the countries under comparison.

Table 4. Proportion of research and teaching working time during teaching period in Finland and UK by type of institution

| Country | Institution type | Academic Rank | | % of research | % of teachings |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|------|---------------|----------------|
| Finland | Universities | Senior position | Mean | 29 | 42 |
| | | | N | 277 | 277 |
| | | Junior / other position | Mean | 53 | 30 |
| | | | N | 695 | 695 |
| | UASs | Senior position | Mean | 17 | 48 |
| | | | N | 85 | 85 |
| | | Junior / other position | Mean | 13 | 67 |
| | | | N | 212 | 212 |
| United Kingdom | Russell Group | Senior position | Mean | 32 | 32 |
| | | | N | 108 | 108 |
| | | Junior / other position | Mean | 32 | 40 |
| | | | N | 115 | 115 |
| | Other pre-1992 universities | Senior position | Mean | 28 | 39 |
| | | | N | 223 | 223 |
| | | Junior / other position | Mean | 26 | 47 |
| | | | N | 176 | 176 |

In the CAP survey, the distinction between seniors and juniors is not based on seniority by age cohort, but it is based on academic seniority. Academic seniority has been defined by the national research teams,

and the selection to the categories is based on academic ranks of the respondents. The division is extremely interesting. Table 5 lists the academic ranks which are considered to be senior and junior within this comparative frame. In the United Kingdom a typical junior respondent is a lecturer, in Finland a researcher. When comparing Finnish university juniors to the British ones, it is a comparison between researchers and lecturers. This gives an explanation why the results by seniority are so different in Finnish and Russell group universities. The Italian sample

Table 5. *The academic ranks by country and seniority*

| Country | Senior position | N | Junior / other position | N |
|-----------------------|--|-----|--|-----|
| Finland | Professor | 212 | Researcher | 393 |
| | Principal Lecturer | 76 | Senior researcher | 72 |
| | Assistant Professor | 58 | Assistant | 75 |
| | Other Senior | 40 | Lecturer | 367 |
| | | | Other Junior | 106 |
| Germany | Professor Categorie C4, W3 or similar | 217 | Junior professor | 22 |
| | Professor Categorie C3, W2 of similar | 251 | Other kind of Professor (Hochschullehrer) | 76 |
| | | | Other academic Position above entrant position | 310 |
| | Professor Categorie C2 or similar | 68 | Other academic Position on typical entrant position or below | 455 |
| | | | Other | 9 |
| Italy | Professor | 514 | Assistant professors | 639 |
| | Associate professor | 533 | Other | 11 |
| Norway | Professor 1 | 343 | Assistant professor (Amanuensis) | 15 |
| | Associate professor (Foersteamanuensis) | 235 | Assistant professor (Univeritets- og hoegskolelektor) | 52 |
| | | | Research Fellow (Post doc) | 84 |
| | Associate professor (Foerstelektor) | 21 | Research Fellow (PhD) | 211 |
| | Researcher 1 (senior researcher (research institute, prof 1 eq)) | 5 | Other | 13 |
| | | | Researcher 2 (senior researcher, research institute) | 27 |
| | | | Researcher 3 (research institute) | 13 |
| United Kingdom | Professor | 216 | Lecturer | 378 |
| | Senior lecturer/researcher/reader | 459 | Researcher | 88 |

includes only academics that are registered in the Information System of Inter-University Consortium. Thus, the titles of the respondents are full professor, associate professor and researcher/assistant professor (Rostan 2008, 166). Inclusion of a variable based on seniority reveals why there are no career related differences in the UK and Italy.

In this comparison we used only two independent variables in studying the proportion of work time used in research and teaching activities. By studying the independent variables that are often taken for granted in international comparisons, we have shown that apples and pears can easily be compared under seemingly solid standardisations. It can be questioned should we study the structure of higher education system, and the professions in the higher education comparatively, rather than just study the academic profession. Of course these types of study should be supplementary.

Conclusions

The CAP survey represents the quantitative tradition of research including also a time series approach to several of participating countries. We have argued in this chapter, that CAP has its strengths and, as any research, also problems to be solved. The context of the national higher education system is an important element in comparison. The benefit of nomological research is that different countries and higher education institutions can be compared in general concepts. This allows a careful statistical analysis in comparing the reference countries. The disadvantage is that the academic work is hard to describe in detailed concepts typical to the idiographic research approach.

One of the lessons for scholars of Finnish higher education system, learned from the CAP survey, is the difficulty of comparison of the structure of academic work internationally. The dual nature of the higher education complicates the comparison of research and teaching oriented higher education institutions. In many reference countries there are teaching only or teaching oriented universities, and all of the research universities are 'national' research universities. In Finland, all of the

universities are research universities but in some sense they all are also national teaching institutions. Internationally the Finnish university sector can be considered either as teaching universities or research universities depending on their focus. The international comparisons are even more difficult when the non-university sector is included in the analysis.

To compare higher education institutions is challenging, and scholars should understand the limitations of this kind of comparison. If the context, samples and variables are not familiar, let alone the cultural differences in questions and answering techniques, the statistical analysis can be misleading. This simple study shows how important it would be to have a member of each country subjected to comparison in comparative quantitative study. The definition of solid units of comparison is difficult, and it is said that inadequate comparison is similar to comparing apples and pears, counting meaningless averages on non-solid populations. It also shows that comparative analysis almost always leads the scholar to study themes that in other studies would be taken for granted. This is the benefit of systematic comparison.

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Precarious work at the 'entrepreneurial' university: Adaptation versus 'abandon ship' Individualization and identity work: Coping with the 'entrepreneurial' university

The research presented in this chapter draws on discussions of the individualization of work and workers in precarious positions, both of which are connected to neoliberal politics and ideology. I connect the precariousness of many employment relationships and the individualization of work to questions about gender, work and family dynamics. In discussions about higher education, 'academic capitalism', the 'entrepreneurial university' and 'meritocracy' are commonly used concepts inside and outside Finland. In Finnish studies of higher education these discussions have often not been connected to gender or family. Social support, coping (or survival) and gender have been closely looked at (Husu 2001) but not from the perspective of recent changes or politics; the entrepre-

neurial university has been studied (Ylijoki 2003; Hakala 2009), but gender and work / family balance have remained outside the main areas of focus. Precarious work has been discussed within Finnish universities, though mainly at the conceptual and political level (Vähämäki 2006). Other studies that relate the questions I am interested in, have considered the change from 'Humboldtian' values to neoliberal values (Ylijoki 2003) and alleged 'knowledge society' and ideology and values driving those discourses (Välimaa & Hoffman 2008).

My starting point is that in Finnish society and universities there are ongoing conflicts between collective ideas and ideals, such as support and equality and individualist ideas, such as meritocracy, competition and entrepreneurial attitudes. I inspect these conflicts at the level of experiences and interpretations of academics in precarious positions. In this research, gender is approached as a set of practices and expectations that affect both men and women. Men and women are not so much compared; rather the question is how gender and attitudes towards men and women in academic positions and other gendered positions (in the family) affect these related but distinct sets of social dynamics. The concept of *coping strategy* is used in order to illuminate the manner in which academics construct their identity as researchers in potentially insecure positions (see Alasuutari 2004). Specifically, how academics justify the prevalent social order, criticize it – while subsequently rationalizing their actions as academics in accordance with their constructed idea of the system. Alasuutari defines coping strategy as 'making use of existing public discourses related to the subject position'. This involves integrating 'the subject position into the rest of their life' (Alasuutari 2004, 132.)

The research presented in this chapter is part of a larger project on gender, fixed-term work and work/life reconciliation. The starting point of the project has been an assumption that temporary contract work increases work/family conflict and consequently decreases well-being at work. The project uses surveys, registers and interviews to map out consequences of temporary contracts on having children, taking family leaves and well-being issues at work. My own research has focused on universities as a case example where temporary contracts are increasingly favored compared to the number of permanent positions (Välimaa 2001) of fixed

term contracts, and thus a forerunner in implementing and normalizing precarious work conditions in Finland.

Background

The recent reforms in Finnish higher education (driven by the OECD, EU, and Finnish Government) have affected academic work in many ways. One of the groups that has grown and whose position has been changed remarkably are academics employed in temporary (or 'fixed term') contracts or whose work is primarily financed by scholarships from foundations. Neoliberal policies have bolstered the idea of the 'entrepreneurial university' (Clark 1998), which means both direct market activities and market-like behavior in universities (Slaughter & Leslie 1997; Ylijoki 2005). Finland has embraced market logic linked to ideas about national competitiveness that assumes innovations created in universities as part of a national innovation strategy (Välimaa & Hoffman 2008; Välimaa 2001) and therefore increasing the demand for more (short term) research funding, projects and doctoral students (Välimaa 2001). This has partly divided academics into at least two distinct groups: the precarious fixed-term employees who wander from one project to another and to those in permanent, relatively secure positions are (ibid; Bryson & Blackwell 2006).¹ The supply and number of researchers is high while the secure positions are scarce (Duberley et al. 2007; Ylijoki 2008). Another important feature of this situation is emphasis on competition in order to maintain the quality of the research and teaching; which could also be seen as market-like behavior, 'competition for external funding without the intention to make profit' Ylijoki 2005).

Because of this emerging stratification of the academic labor force, it is important to discuss the position of disadvantaged groups, the nature of precariousness and ways to adapt – even resist – this situation.

¹ The increase in research has mainly meant research done by doctoral students. The students are older than in the UK since the Master's theses are more extensive and the students often work as well as study and are a part of the paid department staff. As said, it is mainly the well-educated young women in Finland whose position is precarious.

Another important topic is gender, since fixed term work is more typical for women (Lehto & Sutela 2009), and higher education studies in other European countries (e.g. UK) suggest that these dynamics constitute a trap for women, while a stepping stone for men (Bryson 2004). Also, neoliberal politics, promoting the combination of work and family need critical attention. Specifically, do academic capitalism and entrepreneurial ideas change family-friendly politics, policies and practice? For example, the willingness and attitudes surrounding parental leave? How is the subject position of a researcher integrated to life outside work and gendered obligations in private life? Highly educated women currently postpone having children (Sutela 2006), however that generalization may only scratch the surface of family politics in the academy.

Precarious work in the academy: The Finnish context

My study illuminates the connections between politics, organizational practices and the possible influences these have on academics and their scholarship. I am focusing on how academics identify themselves, their position – in with regard to work, gender and family – and cope with it. I will first explore the debates on changes – neoliberal politics and its companions: precarious work and individualization. Then I will reflect on the nature of these experiences, accounts of justification (adaptation) and critique. Lastly I consider gender, especially parenthood, zooming in on experiences, how the current situation and its demands are interpreted (in gendered ways).

Individualization of the risk, and precarious work

Individualization is a concept that links neo-liberal politics to people's lives. Individualism can be interpreted as attractive. This interpretation has its roots in overly romantized ideas of the counterculture, to be free from the constraints of society, from the norms and roles – to be authentic self: 'not to be categorized' (Marquand 1992). The same is true in post-

feminism, not to be seen as a woman, but as an individual. But being a free individual has its risks and responsibilities. As several sociologists have pointed out: this way of viewing things assigns the responsibility of one's fate to that individual. This has been underlined in the research on work (Beck 2000) and through notions centered on identity projects in general (Giddens 1994). Additionally, as Marquand (1992) has pointed out, the identity choices are far from free: to be free and authentic is to be entrepreneurial. Academic capitalism and the entrepreneurial university are related to neoliberal ideology: market value is important, workers are encouraged to be entrepreneurial and competition is seen as the key to quality.

The concept *precarious work* relates to individualization: Market risks are shifted to the employee, instead of the employer (Beck 2000). Even though a precarious worker is relatively free, freed from, for instance, loyalty to the employer, s/he is in an insecure position – at least when the competition of scarce positions is tough (Berardi 2003). The worker is therefore like an entrepreneur, responsible for their employment and sometimes even their funding, as it is often a case in academe.

Bryson and Blackwell (2006) use term 'precarious employee' describing the status of temporary and hourly paid teachers in UK universities. Employers use them as a flexible work force, quick to recruit, cheap and easy to dispose of. They relate an increasing trend towards use of temporary contracts to the 'casualization' of the academy which can also be seen in other parts of Europe and the USA. Although hourly paid teaching can be promoted or seen as a stepping stone, it is clearly an insecure one. In my study, I have broadened the scope of precarious academics – beyond teaching staff – keeping in mind that fixed-term workers are a diverse group. Moreover, in Finland hourly paid teachers are rare since the majority of externally funded researchers who have doctoral degree have a teaching responsibility (usually 10 % of their working time).

Key questions include:

- Do the academic fixed term workers feel that their position is secure or insecure?
- Do they see themselves as entrepreneurial winners or losers?

- Do they perceive they are participating in a 'knowledge society success story' or, alternatively, the 'steady deterioration and erosion of working conditions'?
- Are they portfolio workers with choices or trapped in their situation? (Brown & Gold 2007).
- How do people cope with their perceived situation? Are they coping by adapting to external demands of work and changing their identity as required, by overlooking the situation, or even abandoning the identity they are offered?

Support and coping

In international and nationally-focused higher education studies, especially when gender is discussed, there is an excessive emphasis on social support². Social support is important in an academic career, even though individualistic thinking and the notion of meritocracy tends to make this invisible to some degree. The idea of meritocracy and managerialistic platitudes concerning transparency create an illusion of isolated individuals, achieving career goals based solely on merit (eg. Krefting 2003; Knights & Richards 2003), despite the reality that work and results are often outcomes of research groups, co-operation, supervisors, formal and informal networks, and even patronage. Additionally, private support is meaningful; negotiations within the family can lead to career-enhancing or constraining decisions, caring responsibilities can be shared or not, and emotional support can play a crucial role. If support is scarce, coping strategies are needed. (Aisenberg & Harrington 1988; Husu 2001).

Coping strategies are in this body of literature usually understood as practical ways to cope with difficult situations ('survival'), for example, the processes related to establishing oneself as a recognized professional, for females succeeding in disciplines that are traditionally masculine or balancing family and work responsibilities that seem like zero-sum-

² Network approach on academic work (e.g. Gersick, Bartunek, and Dutton 2000) deals often with parallel questions, though does not pay so much attention to private life.

games. Coping strategies can be interactional styles – or ways to combine roles, for instance being a nurturing teacher or a colleague for women (see Krefting 2003). Coping can be conceptualized as *identity work*. Additionally, social support literature and practice often seeks solutions that key in on raising *group consciousness*, emphasizing the need of support for women as an unprivileged group. However, this strategy is not very popular in times of individualization and post-feminism. The same goes with other collective ideas, such as labor unions.

Often, identity work is connected to femininity and masculinity; features and actions that are related to men and women as distinct groups. Brevis (2000, 178) states that the organizational environment may require working women to construct a sufficiently masculine identity to assure their survival. 'Striving to accomplish masculinity for working women may involve paying less attention to dress, make-up and hairstyle.' Furthermore, masculinity is often connected to devotion to work seemingly without other responsibilities (e.g. Kelan 2008). However, identity work as a coping strategy may fail, if not recognized (see Adkins 2002). Interpellation – to be seen in a role that was not intended, is a distinct possibility (Butler 1997). Additionally, it has been claimed that achievements and merits are conceived differently in relation to gender (Ellemers et al. 2004). Intentions and aspirations can be interpreted according to the identity category one is seen to occupy. For example, even women without children can be perceived as being on a 'mommy track' (Cummins 2005).

Coping strategies could be called alternative frames of interpretation or narratives that 'leave intellectual and emotional space for local, autonomous effort at improving academic work and its conditions' as Räsänen (2008) has asserted³. Alasuutari (2004, 132) has noted that in coping 'making sense of one's role and position is not enough; people have to create a specific attitude and perspective (toward the subject position, i.e. job) in order to tolerate the contextual conditions, maybe even finding pleasure and enjoyment from them'. In other words, Alasuutari

³ He does not use word 'coping'.

relates coping to *identity* (work) and situated *subject positions* which we enter, for instance in the workplace. Making sense of one's position, the *legitimization* of the social order that has put one in a particular position is simultaneously needed – and in need of critique. Additionally one has to *cope* with that position: tolerate or enjoy it. In other words, coping does not necessarily imply an underprivileged position, however it is needed in many types of situations. However, if coping means to learning to enjoy one's work, it is experienced differently, less consciously, than when it means tolerating or surviving. Identity work, taking a subject position, legitimizing it and coping in the circumstances that necessitate these strategies can create *group consciousness* (solidarity towards other in the similar positions, identity politics).

To put this in a different way, coping strategies can be understood as identity work – or narrating one's own identity – and practices – or 'doing' identity. Both entail ways to interpret the position, the work and practices linked to these as rewarding. In my study, the (often disadvantaged) academics linked coping to a seemingly never-ending series of short, fixed term contracts. This position intersected with other subject positions, for instance, age, gender and family position. The social orders that affect the subject positions available depended also on different disciplinary cultures and the material resources of the departments in which I located interview participants.

Data and analysis

I anticipated, prior to my study, that there might be differences between different disciplines, and fixed term work can sometimes be a stepping stone in one's career (Nätti 1993; Korpi & Levin 2001). The informants who took part in this study were from three different university departments: one department in the field of technical sciences, a second in the humanities and a third in the natural sciences.⁴ In the context of the

⁴ Further details have been omitted to protect the anonymity of the interviewees.

current emphasis on technical applications in Finnish higher education, research funding has been increased in the field of technical sciences, the natural sciences have also made funding gains, while the humanities have gained the least (see Nieminen 2005).

During the spring 2009 I carried out 31 semi-structured interviews with academics working on short (three years or less) fixed-term contracts or stipends. The informants were mainly contract researchers or scholarship-holders. They also include workers in teaching positions, and both PhD students and those holding doctorates. Sixteen were women and 15 men, and they were aged between 26 and 62. My focus was on work-family dynamics; therefore gender and family position were central features in this analysis. This was a qualitative analysis done within the constructivist paradigm: the overall aim is to understand human action, seeking the interpretations the informants had concerning their action and experiences. Interpretations are important because they are consequential: how one conceives her or his own situation directs her/his action. (E.g. Alasuutari 1995.) Especially the questions of coping and presenting oneself while reflecting an assumed insecurity is approached in a constructivist manner, as a mobilised set of discourses not a direct description of experiences. In practise I mapped out the positions the informants placed themselves in, in relation to a security – insecurity continuum, and then outlined major areas of discourse that either opposed the idea of being in an insecure situation, justified being in such position – or, on occasion, both.

Portfolio workers or 'coping strategies of the privileged'

There were interviewees who were not – or did not want to say that they are – in a precarious position. They did not see their position as insecure, or that they had any disadvantages in their career. Fixed term work was perceived – by them – as a normal way to organize work and it not necessarily linked to the inner hierarchies of their department. Some academics even viewed those in permanent, teaching jobs as 'lower' in

the department's hierarchy, since their focus on teaching was perceived by them as inferior to research. For instance, in the technical department, doctors were employed as senior researchers, which in the Finnish system, usually means higher wages than those working in an assistant professor's post. At the same time, in humanities faculties, it is common that doctors are employed as researchers or have scholarships and are paid less than assistant professors. Therefore the material situation can be different – as is the perception of permanent teaching job's in different disciplines.

However, the fact that the informants were selected for a study on fixed term positions and well-being at work, may imply the possibility that their position is not near the top of the academic hierarchy. The interview, in and of itself, placed them in position of a participant who is accountable, in an analytical sense (Heritage 1984). Therefore, there may have been a need for these informants to assure the interviewer that their career on solid ground: present oneself as one with the future or otherwise to justify their choices. Considering other reasons to adapt or to use coping strategies, there is the unquestioned fact of relatively low wages, especially in comparison to the private sector. These comparisons were acute to engineers and to a certain point, also to natural scientists. The construction of oneself as someone with secure future was, of course, situated. One interviewee could answer that his or her positions is secure but also that their career advancement may suffer because of their family obligations.

Orientation to the future is said to be decreasing in an individualistic era when work is uncertain (Adkins 2002). However Ylijoki (2010) found in her study a group of short-term academics who were future-oriented. According to her, this orientation was slightly more common in accounts of men than accounts of women. In my study, this holds true: there were many who said they live 'day by day', and those who were future-oriented were more often men than women, although the field affected to the orientation more than gender. The relation to neoliberal discourse was not apparent, and the orientation was related to a picture of university with only limited risks and high work security. In that one technical department where the fixed-term employees felt the most secure, they based

their assumption on the material conditions are good and competition scarce. Therefore it is questionable to call these informants 'precarious workers'. However, the idea that the fixed-term work would be a stepping stone to permanent position was hardly ever expressed by the informants explicitly, only the confidence on one's career advancement gave that away. In an analysis of academic employment patterns in Finland, Välimaa (2001, 85) has stated that the 'structure of career development is difficult to describe as career ladder. Rather, it consists of various paths leading from one position to another'. Being in 'secure position' can mean either that you feel that your career advancement is secured or that you will get some assignment after this one.

Coping strategies in precarious situations

There were also those who saw their work insecure or had other complaints. These accounts can be divided into 1) a compensation view, 2) normalization of status quo, and 3) the glorification of the neoliberal system.

According to the data, some features in academic work seem to *compensate* for job insecurity, low pay and other disadvantages. The work is often considered as enjoyable because of its content and meaning (job satisfaction and academic freedom). The job can be experienced as suitable for one's life situation, for instance because of the temporal and spatial flexibility if one has young children. The discourses of academic freedom and flexible working arrangements were invoked in order to present oneself as an ideal researcher, not preoccupied with materialism, i.e. money and security. Alternatively, the same theme was used to present oneself as attached to multiple identities and roles, being a father, mother or musician, to whom the flexibility is important.

Those who cherished meaningfulness and contents of their work and their personal enjoyment were in somewhat similar to the group who had almost nothing to complain about. Their picture of the university is also very traditional (even Humboldtian), but while the material 'winners' claimed they felt no insecurity, the opposite position of this group

were those who felt insecure. In addition, there were those who seemed to be carefully weighing the pros and cons of their situation. The flexibility of university work was seen as ideally suited for family life, far better than the more rigid private sector (see Nikunen forthcoming). Temporal and spatial freedom were also evaluated as quite positive.

For some interviewees, adaptation to their current situation rested on the conclusion that things are roughly the same for everyone, or “it is the usual way of things”. The situation can be considered as negative, but since there is no escape, all one can do is resign oneself and adapt. I termed this the *normalization* of status quo and the idea of precarious academic work. The informants were unsatisfied and critical but did not see any possibilities of change. The university was presented as an unfair system, from which there was no escape.

There were additional claims that this is in fact, modern working life, that there is no going back and that one has to adapt to the facts of life. Some informants claimed that insecurity did not bother them, that it boiled down to a question of personality. Success in the allegedly meritocratic system in today’s ‘entrepreneurial university’ seems to be a key to this latter type of reasoning. From this position, the academy was presented as a fair meritocracy where the best survive. The neoliberal politics underlying this situation were almost *glorified*.

These strategies presented the current state of affairs in a deterministic fashion. Resistance or rebellion was not seen as an answer, although criticism towards the system was often expressed. Precarious positions were taken, at least not entirely denied, but there were always justifications. The system was criticized as unfair by others – where even patronage can occur. Others saw it as a fair meritocracy and justified it as such.

The ‘balance between hope and despair that the current political and emotional landscape’ has created (Mäntylä 2007), is approached differently by the interviewees. In some narratives, somewhat hopeful moments that are seen as enough, and moments of despair as inevitable. Being an academic, then means that one bears these fluctuations. Still, in many of the narratives the interviewees claimed control over their work and enjoyed doing it. Though, this is not certain, and some fields and topics are anticipated to be seen by the management as marginal for eco-

conomic growth, and thus not as likely to be financed. As a natural scientist said 'to be a professional researcher means that you do research on the topic that is hot at the moment. It is rare that you do research on the topic that you would like to do, at the moment.'

Gender, family and coping with precariousness

The coping strategies illuminated in the interviews are to some extent gendered. The 'academic freedom and enjoyment of academic work' (see also Ylijoki 2008) and 'adaptation to the unfair system' less, but meritocratic values were seen as problematic for women, and work-family conflict seemed to affect them more than men. Identity involved the enjoyment of one's work and critical stance afforded to professional, 'researchers'. However, families raised the issue of more explicitly gendered identities. Also, positioning oneself at a distance, thereby negating the need to cope is a masculine tendency, though clearly voiced by some of the female engineers interviewed. In interviews, the only challenges about the construction of one's own identity comes from the interviewer. However, in everyday interactions others may continually challenge one's own definitions. Because of this, gender neutrality is an easier option for females in masculine fields. But because the themes of the interview included gender and family: the interviewees were being categorized, at times, as 'women', 'men', (potential) 'mothers' and 'fathers'.

To the men interviewed, gender categorization was either surprising, confusing, bypassed as irrelevant or related to the teacher – student relationship. The identity of a father was easier to link with work, and some men were quite reflexive about this. To women, it was easier to see connections between gender and work, and combining the roles of 'mother' and 'researcher' However, the women interviewed were also more skillful in denying these connections, presenting themselves as individuals with no worries – thereby undermining their own positions in the long run. I found three different coping strategies used (mainly) by women relating gender (identity of woman or mother) and work: 1) A post-feminist / neoliberal gender neutrality "gender does not make a

difference" discourse and presenting oneself as a researcher while at work, instead of a woman, 2) There were stories of postponing pregnancy and other personal stages of life seen as unsuitable for a professional, and 3) Having a family with children was presented as an important counterbalance, ensuring well-being at work. The last strategy was also favored by the fathers. The career orientation was usually presented quite openly, there was only a few clear statements that "I am not a career woman" and placing children and family before the career was presented as passing phase of life, not a permanent condition.

The question of combining career and having children was articulated in terms of coping strategies by both women and men: Firstly there were neoliberal claims that the family has no effect on one's career. Secondly there were practices of minimalizing the effects of the family, for example, taking minimal – or no – paternity leave, timing 'leave as vacation'. Thirdly, "family first" discourse was also mobilized by men; Specifically that family assures one's well-being at work, or if one has to choose between these two, the family takes precedence.

Gender and family seem problematic for academic capitalism. Although there are some traditional features of academic work that seem to support family responsibilities, the main conflicts appear to be commitment to work and especially the culture of long working hours. Finland's short family-friendly era in the academy may have come to an end. The idea of gender-neutral meritocracy denies the meaning of critical social support. Additionally, individualization places the responsibility of coping with work / family conflict on employees – not the organizations that employ them.

Conclusions and discussion

Coping strategies can be described along a continuum: From accounts that present the status quo as the best possible order of things and one's position as optimal, secure and with a bright future, to accounts in which one's position is insecure, the future as something we are better off not contemplating because the university system is malfunctioning. Different

strategies for being a recognized actor in our current circumstances were mobilized – partly according to the degree of optimism or pessimism.

The success of coping strategies is not easy to evaluate, and is not the aim of my research. To sum up, an insecure position combined with strong belief in neoliberal ideas and meritocracy may entail risk in terms of self-esteem, as all researchers chase shrinking pools of research funding. The risks are individualized, thus failures, small or big, are seen as individual's own fault. In addition, the post-feminist idea that gender does not matter, or that having children is only matter of organizational skills and time management, is difficult to substantiate beyond anecdotal media idolization of super-women who 'have-it-all'. Those who cautiously weigh the pros and cons seem to be closer to the reality of today's academic life, in which open questions figure more prominently than easy answers. This approach does not present the evident risks for self-esteem: One does not have to invest so much in personal success and work. I have also tried to question deterministic explanations and silent acceptance, versus more productive ways to frame negative situations: Could there be ways to change the status quo?

The Finnish situation of higher education is not unique in the EU, but it has some unique features, such as a high portion of fixed term contracts and virtual absence of a tenure track type systems (though two universities have introduced the idea of tenure track year 2010). This means that even highly productive academics who have performed well for decades, do not necessarily have secure posts. As Bronwyn Davies (2005, 9) has stated, the neoliberal subject becomes both vulnerable and necessarily competitive, competition being necessary for survival. Many still believe that, culturally speaking, collective values are common in Finland: the welfare state is held in high regard and valued, unions' influence and popularity have only recently diminished, and (gender) equality is a widely accepted ideal (e.g. Jokinen 2005). Still, the countertendencies are getting stronger: political and governmental élites have taken on board the neoliberal criticism of the welfare state and promote individualistic values and entrepreneurialism. Equality is often seen as achieved, not something to strive for. Especially where university personnel are concerned, a once vibrant discussion of equality and education has stagnated

in recent decades (Hoffman 2007). Therefore it is not surprising that neoliberal ideas echo also in interviews of academics in precarious positions.

In comparison to the more permanent staff, the internalization of the neoliberal discourses can be different; while the senior staff has to prove they have managerial skills (see Brewis 2003), the younger staff has to prove to be good at the resulting competition – and believe in its fairness. According to Hakala (2009, 13 relying on Frank Fox & Stephan 2001, Gardner 2007) ‘satisfaction is always related to personal aims, as well as to understanding of what is feasible in the current environment and what other options are available’. Consequently, Hakala found that ‘junior researchers have developed a high tolerance for ambiguity and insecurity’.

Being critical is important to academics, but in today’s university this is often combined with cynicism. Improvements are needed and the current politics in which the changes are usually implemented by those outside the university (usually by the Ministry of Education) is eroding both democracy and autonomy of the universities, deserves criticism, there is a possibility for a person to become paralyzed if the criticism forms the core of one’s academic identity. Furthermore, as Räsänen (2008) has stated, neither belief in neoliberal politics, nor its criticism ‘can provide a basis for hope because they either celebrate the imposition of an externally determined order over academics, or reactively concentrate on resisting the new order on account of its damaging consequences’.

It is also important to acknowledge that academic capitalism and the entrepreneurial ethos fit better to the disciplines that have established relations to the private sector and production (Hakala & Ylijoki 2001). This means firstly, that material conditions of those disciplines are better than others, and therefore the no need to consciously ‘cope’, secondly, it means that identity work is not done in conflict of discourses but the picture is more coherent than in disciplines in which the narrative of the traditional university is in conflict with neoliberal values and entrepreneurial practices.

The institutional consequences of coping strategies can be unexpected. If politics have aimed to create more active competitors and in that sense increase creativeness, there may be those who choose to invest to other identities – and leave when other possibilities open up. Additionally,

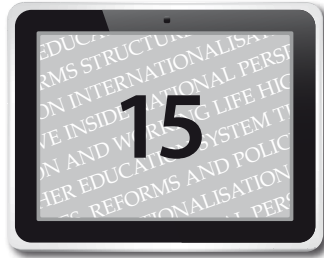
competition can stand in the way of co-operation. There are also the cynics who 'live one day at the time'. However, the way forward, by definition, demands a long-term outlook. And there are those who feel that their mental or physical health suffers because of the new climate of insecurity – on the same campuses where other academics feel no insecurity, because the department is so well financed. Ideals of individualization and meritocracy also create pressures between the different subject positions people occupy: For instance, an increase in work – family conflict. The government exerts a great deal of influence in both educational/work and family politics. Because this is the case, it may be time to illuminate counterproductive dynamics where the aims of the former negatively impact the latter.

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Understanding curriculum in Finnish higher education

Introduction

Understanding curriculum is ambiguous within the academic communities. For many higher education (HE) teachers, the curriculum generally means documented degree requirements, syllabus or series of learning experiences generated by students, or a list of the content of lecture series and the accompanying background reading. Curriculum has been perceived as something to be produced in response to administrative demands that would limit academic freedom. (E.g. Barnett & Coate 2005; Coate 2009; Fraser & Bosanquet 2006.) Therefore the academic community has generally been leery of the concept of curriculum and, in particular, curriculum development, appealing to the autonomous position of the university as an organizer of teaching (Fraser & Bosanquet 2006; Leathwood & Phillips 2000).

The downside of such evasive attitude is that little research has been

accomplished on curriculum in HE and scientific debate on the theme has so far been scant (Barnett & Coate 2005; Trowler 2005). Research on curriculum in HE is particularly challenging as case studies yield a picture of individual processes linked to a particular discipline or context, whereas extensive surveys do not necessarily access the diversity of curricular work in HE nor do they do justice to the educational cultures emerging from varying traditions. One current issue considering the research of HE curriculum is the linkages which relate disciplines and study programmes with the labour market needs (e.g. Barnett & Coate 2005; Bates 2008; Bennet, Dunne & Carre 2000; Garraway 2006).

Curriculum emphasizing knowledge and competencies to be transmitted by academics and reached by students represent a narrow interpretation of curriculum. The wider interpretation sees curriculum as an intentional and dynamic process, revealing the values, beliefs and principles in relation to learning, understanding, knowledge and disciplines, and the cultural and political purposes of education (e.g. Barnett & Coate 2005; Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery & Taubman 1995). In this chapter, we apply the wider perspective as curriculum has a crucial role as an interpreter, director and implementer of the universities' internal tasks, as well as those imposed from outside (cf. Fraser & Bosanquet 2006; Matus & McCarthy 2003; Smith 2003).

Our purpose is to describe and analyze the different meanings of curriculum in contemporary HE in Finland. The chapter is based on research carried out in two Finnish multidisciplinary higher education institutions (HEI), a research university (RU) and a university of applied sciences (UAS, vocational higher education) (Mäkinen & Annala 2010). The data was interview transcripts of academic teachers¹ (N = 45) during autumn 2009. The analysis was conducted by combining data and theory driven qualitative content analysis. Through the analysis it was possible to articulate variations in the academic teachers' interpretations. The focus was on what the transcribed text has to say about their meaning making

¹ The interview quotes substantiating the research findings are numbered and coded in such a way that the quotes disclose the interviewee's institution (university of applied sciences UAS or research university RU) and gender (male M or female F).

and purposes of the HE curriculum (cf. Krippendorff 2004; Kondracki, Wellman & Amundson 2002).

We approach curriculum through a framework with two dimensions (table 1). First we apply a schema developed by Barnett and Coate (2005) where three curricular domains are proposed, namely *knowing*, *acting* and *being*. According to Coate (2009), these domains may vary in terms of their emphasis within curricula, but should be developed together. The domain of *knowing* refers to the core knowledge of the discipline. *Acting* emphasizes competencies and skills that students are expected to acquire and refers also to how a student's expertise grows and develops through activities. The domain of *being* (self) denotes the formation of student's personality and identity. Here we qualify knowing, acting and being according to our data, that is, what kind of qualities academics emphasize in curriculum design.

The other dimension of our framework rests on Bernstein's (1996) conceptions of *introjection* and *projection* which have been used in describing the starting points of HE curriculum design (cf. Barnett 2000; Clegg & Bradley 2006; Moore 2001). By *introjection* Bernstein (1996) refers to the construction of curriculum on the basis of internal disciplinary interests. Introjection signifies teaching based on a discipline or subject taught, curriculum taking shape according to the subject content. By *projection* Bernstein (1996) describes the curriculum development on the basis of external demands, for example, on the competence demands of working life.

Table 1. Framework for understanding curriculum in HE

| Domain | External | Internal |
|---------|--|--|
| Knowing | Curriculum implementing knowledge-intensive education | Curriculum representing disciplinary knowledge |
| Acting | Curriculum producing competencies in employment market and society | Curriculum supporting growth of academic expertise |
| Being | Curriculum providing individual career success | Curriculum contributing identity formation processes |

According to Bernstein (1996), some disciplines have stronger inner boundaries than others in curriculum design. In this chapter, we use more straightforward approach than Bernstein's model by setting aside diverse disciplines, and analyzing both the prevailing internal objectives of HE and the external demands coming from outside the HE from the point of view of above-mentioned knowing, acting and being by Barnett and Coate (2005). Our view is that the integration of *external* and *internal* pressures is crucial to understanding the curriculum design through the wide perspective.

Curriculum – a respond to external objectives of education policy

HEIs in Finland implement science and education policy, where the mission of HE is to produce knowledge intensive educational services for society. The service function regarding society and the world of work is stipulated in the legislation governing Finnish HE. According to the Act on UAS (564/2009), the emphasis is on teaching based on the needs of labour market and regional development, whereas RU education is outlined to promote free research and to give the uppermost, research-based teaching, but also to educate students to serve one's country and the humanity (Universities Act 558/2009). When taking care of the tasks, HEIs should operate in interaction with the society and promote the social effectiveness of research results. Moreover, the universities have to promote lifelong learning. Consequently, HE is firmly linked to political, social, cultural and economical forces.

Curriculum implementing knowledge-intensive education

The interviewees were quite aware of the European Commission's attempts to modernize universities in favor of Europe's competitiveness in global knowledge-intensive economy and society (COM 2008; EU 2009a; EU 2009b). While EU reports (EU 2009b; EU 2010a) underline the intensi-

fication of constant development of the knowledge base in universities, the interviewed academics interpreted the idea of European innovative capacity and knowledge-intensive society to commodify education and resemble "the last process of colonialism through these competence-based curricula" (RU22M). Furthermore, although the Council of the European Union (EU 2009a) stresses the creation of the well-functioning 'knowledge triangle' of education, research and innovation, the academic staff, especially in the RUs, did not point out the role of the universities in enhancing social, cultural and economic development. Nor did they point out the mission of EU (2010b) according to which the universities should be more open and relevant to the needs of the society at large and return knowledge to the society.

Instead, the academics linked curriculum redesign primarily to the requirements connected with the Bologna declaration (1999) and the guidelines from the Ministry of Education (2008, 2009) focusing on deliberations on reforming the structural integration of the degrees (e.g. ECTS, three cycles). Several academics had perceived efficiency, productivity and time limits on degrees to be the postmodern keywords of curricula design, as the following citation shows: "Now we are thinking about learning and from the perspective of how to make it more effective and a short time" (UAS2M).

Ensor (2004; cf. Garraway 2006) also has noted that the discussion on development of economically responsive HE curricula has focused mostly on such aspects as credit exchange and program routes, rather than on the finer points of knowledge production, exchange and negotiation between academics and stakeholders. Nevertheless, in general the parlance in connection with Bologna seldom moved towards the qualitative reforms imposed by the EU (2010c).

The external demands were faced often with criticism. External expectations concerning knowledge base in curriculum were characterized as "a bottomless barrel of wishes" (UAS13M). The criticism was leveled to these considerations at the increasing demands with regard to content and dwindling resources. Some academics reflected the policy for graduating fast as contradictory to the goal concerning student's learning and growth of expertise.

Although those actively voicing criticism, especially in the RUs, were interested in education policy and as researchers endeavoured to analyse its various manifestations, they seldom evinced any solution to the problems noted. The evasive approach emerged in a somewhat compulsive adaptation with minimum effort. Again, for many UAS teachers the attitude to the regulations governing degrees appeared to be taken for granted.

Still some of the academics perceived demands for the reform imposed from outside as an opportunity to develop as HEIs and as curriculum redesigners. Some expected the reforms to bring significant clarity to curriculum. Yet, they had in mind an underlying desire to achieve content development in degrees, which was thought to follow on the heels of reforms in degree structure. They were aware that the progress of traditions and educational culture pertaining to HE is slow. Awareness entailed understanding about the processual nature of changes and of the incremental nature, that is, of advancing by small steps, which also emerged in Clark's (2004) research on the change factors of universities. The social awareness appeared as a need to implement changes in the spirit of modernizing HE by analyzing the internal prevailing practices and the world outside university:

Certain things in today's society are different from what they were maybe 30 or 40 years ago, so how the discipline responds to these changes, or how they are accommodated or what is important to conserve or what should be changed (RU23F).

The strength of such views is awareness of societal issues where externally imposed pressures for change would jumpstart, not just reactive, but proactive curricular reforms, which presumes the evaluation of the contemporary knowledge base in curriculum. Curriculum responsiveness to external perspectives could be considered one of the core areas of curriculum design, especially from the point of view of knowledge production through adequately theorized interaction and negotiation between academy, society and the life of work (e.g. Garraway 2006).

Curriculum producing competencies in employment market and society

Both in Europe (e.g. Fitzmaurice 2008; Stiwnne & Alves 2010; Young 2010) and in the US (e.g. Ewell 2001; Sullivan & Thomas 2007) the outcome-based thinking has gained a strong foothold, which is apparent in the shift in focus from teaching content to learning outcomes and competencies. Defining these outcomes or competencies that students have to attain as a result of their engagement in particular sets of HE experiences is intended to improve the assessment of how well prepared students are for life's challenges. In turn, on the basis of the students' learning outcomes, the HEIs can also be compared and placed in qualitative order (OECD 2010). The idea of a competence-based curriculum is frequently justified by its student-centeredness and by an approach conducive to quality of learning and teaching (Harden 2007; Sullivan & Thomas 2007). The next excerpt depicts the significance of competence-based curriculum from the point of a student:

Those coming from a university of applied sciences can say what they are competent of but those coming from a research university cannot say what they know and can. And then when these people are at the same workplace in the middle of their studies there arises a concern for our students that they cannot say what they can. (RU3F)

According to the study, competence-based thinking emerged as one of the main factors distinguishing the UASs and RUs. When the UAS staff spoke consistently of a competence-based curriculum and competence objectives, this was alien to most of the RU personnel. There was disinclination to conceptualise the university curriculum with such concepts which were illustrated as "quartal economy talk" (RU5F). The RU staff described the competence discourse, among other things, as commodification, regression to behaviorism, and educator's and vocational education concepts. However, many among RU staff conceded that they did not know what the meaning of the concept of competence actually was.

In contrast, describing the expertise required in working life was deemed an important part of curricular work in the UASs. Instead of the

individual subjects taught or the content to be covered, preference was given to competence objectives which were contemplated jointly with the representatives of working life. Still confusion was caused by the contradictory nature of the expectations relating to profound professional qualifications and extensive job placement possibilities:

Are we to produce all-round engineers who do alright in some jobs but then they don't cope so well in those professional tasks or are we to produce specialists, when the danger exists that that we'll make the wrong prognoses and the job placements won't work out (UAS11M).

This refers to the view of the Ministry of Education (2010) according to which the education offered, and the needs of the labour market in Finland, do not at present balance out. The Ministry is proposing fast measures to match the education offered with the needs of the job markets. According to the report, this represents an effort to enhance the anticipation of those arranging HE. Another question is, what kind of role the generic competencies have in HE curricula. The dissatisfaction of economic life with the generic competencies of university graduates, like problem-solving, ethical-moral decision-making, interaction and communication, were earlier the main issue in extensive curricular reforms in HE in the US (AAC 1985).

At the RUs, the changes in job markets, consumer culture and society were recognized as pressure, as something which should be taken into account in curriculum design. Many RU teachers have solved this by creating separate study modules oriented towards working life, but in the curriculum design the cooperation with representatives of working life was rare. Thus predicting the student's forethought competencies for job markets, and what was available in the curriculum, did not always match.

Placing emphasis on working life centered competencies raises certain matters of principle. What is at stake in the state and EU supervision of HE curricula is the promotion of economic growth and competition and the international mobility of labour, which Smith (2003) describes as the manifestation of neoliberal influence in education policy. Taken to extremes, work could be seen as a universal category to be aimed at and

on which a person's value depends (Barnett & Coate 2005). In this case the yardstick of curricular quality is employment and success in the life of work and the students are perceived as products to be trained for the job markets (cf. Parker 2003). This kind of employability agenda has turned out to be too narrow and problematic for example in the UK, where academics discuss the oversupply of graduates, and the on-going changes in the labour market and society in general (e.g. Brady & Kennell 2010; Tomlinson & Tholen 2010).

Instead, employability could be characterized as a negotiated order, meaning the formation of on-going labour market identities and their links to the context, structures and environment the students are working in (Thomlinson & Tholen 2010). These changing dynamics between student, HEI and the world of work need re-thinking in curricula design.

Curriculum providing individual career success

The HE curriculum is never neutral, but illustrates the conceptions of those composing it. These conceptions reflect the spirit of the times and the ideology and values of the surrounding society, as one interviewee articulated it:

Now we are living in a world in which we academics are concerned about the intrinsic value and exchange value of knowledge and that it is becoming an exchange value and an instrumental value, or it is already so. And all these reforms proclaim this. At the same time, an ethos is being created for young people about making the very surest choices; don't let your studies take a long time and be effective and at the same time we are concerned about losing the inherent value of knowledge. And at the same time we have a hedonistic consumer culture which has created an entirely different mentality. (RU22M.)

This utterance brings to the fore the domain of being, which has been underlined in curriculum design by Barnett and Coate (2005): how and towards what direction the student's sense of self and engagement with the world is supported in curricular processes. The divergent views, ethical values and tensions with regard, for example, to globalization, equal-

ity and humanity may bring sensitive issues to the surface in curriculum design (e.g. Cornbleth 2008; Madaus & Kellaghan 1992).

The Finnish academics pointed out the tendency, especially in the UASs, to support their students in finding jobs, in their career development and in creating social status. Such career conscious curriculum activates and motivates students to perceive the connection between studies, the growth of expertise and working life. In the extreme case it was a question about making a nice-looking CV. Some academics had observed that many students were not keen on rhetoric of slow growth but had already taken on board the ideology of effectiveness before arriving in higher education. They had observed that at the same time as students seek studies which are useful to them and promote success, they are wary of anyone exploiting them. The risk is that it encourages students to commodify education in the name of their own interests, objectives and employment. Smith (2003; cf. Sfard 1998) calls such views as acquisitive learning.

Still many students are in a life situation in which they are actively seeking their subjectivity and place in society, because “they don’t really know what they are about” (RU9M). Some interviewees reported on the basis of their experience that it is rare to revert to updating personal study plans after completion of the compulsory forms. Then making up the plan intended to support the student’s growth is frequently left for the student to do alone. The risk in this is that finding personal goals for study seldom becomes clear, and the personal study planning is not genuinely integrated into the curriculum (cf. Annala 2007). Furthermore, students unsure of their fields of study and future objectives may drop out of success-oriented HE.

Curriculum – an implementation of internal intentions of higher education

Next we discuss curricular domains of knowing, acting and being from the standpoint of promoting internal intentions of HE. The position of the HEI in the information society as a self-entitled producer and

acquisitioner of knowledge has been undermined (Delanty 2001). Again, universities may contribute to the development of society and humanity, not just the economy (e.g. Coate 2009). Universities produce experts and specialists to the society, and HE curriculum is in itself a social force, and in that process curriculum plays a prominent role in developing students' engagement with the knowledge, acting and their sense of self in the world.

Curriculum representing disciplinary knowledge

Universities in Finland, among others, have been described as the cradle of knowledge and cultivation. With knowing itself defined as the objective of science, we face a complex dilemma in designing curricula: the quantity of knowledge is vast, the sources of information are varied, knowledge changes, is amended and rapidly becomes obsolete. The profound nature of abstract and contemplative knowledge has been thought to compensate for many small pieces of knowledge (Delanty 2001).

According to Barnett and Coate (2005), the members of a scholarly community are rather reluctant to engage in critical evaluation of the curriculum design from within. The traditional way to understand curriculum in HE is to see it as a part of private pedagogic transactions between academics and students (Coate 2009). This may lead to a situation in which knowledge is held to be essentially separate and infallible. This kind of approach to knowledge as an intrinsic value projects Vallance's (1986) concept of academic rationalism. The purpose of HE is then to ensure that students assimilate knowledge structures pertaining to a certain academic tradition. The infallibility of knowledge and furthermore, its personalizing nature in curriculum design is illustrated in the following statement:

When teachers have been [working in UAS] for a long time, it becomes ownership, so that they feel that it is tantamount to a personal affront if there is a radical change in an individual's own field of teaching (UAS1F).

Such a perspective is paradoxical in HE environment in which the body of knowledge is an issue to constant reform and assessment. Our interviews showed that the RU teachers in particular devoted a great deal of time to considering how the most essential in their respective specific knowledge was conveyed to students. These interpretations are indicative of a hidden curriculum (Margolis 2001) in which the core of the discipline or degree programme could be found in the personal strengths.

The present study revealed the problematic nature of the relation between disciplinary traditions, the expertise of staff and the intention to pass the body of knowledge to forthcoming experts. The academics pointed out that because of the constantly proliferating amount of information and the quality thereof a more critical understanding about the meanings and structures of knowledge is required from the students. At the same time it was difficult for themselves to put into words what in general is relevant knowledge in HE teaching and how it connects with academic expertise. The results propose that by curriculum redesign it could be possible to take a stand on what the core of a given discipline is by perceiving science, curriculum design and changes in the world as an interactive process.

As the HEI seek its specific profiles, the borders between disciplines become blurred. The interviews confirm that multi-disciplinarity has become the modern core theme of both the RUs and the UASs (cf. DeZure et al. 2002). The attempts for the reanalysis of the body of knowledge also emerged in the discourse in which the academics stressed key themes, threshold concepts and phenomena as opposed to the subjects taught, like in the following citation:

Since you have to consider how two separate subjects can be merged into one discipline, and what that discipline ultimately is – – – here we set out so that we take certain phenomena for scrutiny – – – we put the phenomenon on the table, look at what people know about it, then we set about delving deeper, to see what can be found when we set about looking into the background. (RU16M.)

It was proposed by academics that the phenomena could be positioned on the interfaces between knowledge domains and disciplines. Such a way of thinking could help the student to build, to adopt and to produce

the knowledge and to comprehend the entire purpose of HE more clearly. At the same time, the attention is deflected from the question "what knowledge is important" to considerations of "how much knowledge is worth, and is knowledge to be the ultimate arbiter of worth" (Smith 2003, 36).

Curriculum supporting growth and academic expertise

One of the most topical issues in HE is probably how to accomplish competence by curriculum. Highlighting competence is not necessarily to downgrade the inherent value of knowledge and research, but rather a new kind of connection between knowledge and generic competencies which are perceived as a part of expertise as in the following:

Knowledge in itself, there needs to be a great deal of it, expertise is the basis of everything, but actual competence subsumes so many other things so that in order to be able to use that knowledge you need to be able to do so many other things (RU18F).

Barnett and Coate (2005) use the term acting referring to the process of attaining skills and knowledge: how a student's expertise grows and develops through activity, taking roles and following models and supervision. Acting is invisible, like the personal mastery of discipline or visible, like the engineer's or journalist's knowing how and knowing why. Such skills should be well integrated in curriculum and flexible enough so as to help students to cope in different situations and to move from one situation to another (Barnett 2000; Barnett & Coate 2005).

Vallance's (1986) concept of education as a cognitive process sheds light on this aspect. In it education is perceived as the development of students' broad-based generic competencies. These include problem-solving, and being both analytical and critical among others. For example, Rorty (1999) exemplifies this neopragmatic perspective by suggesting that the significant mission of HE is to stimulate criticality, expose prejudices and question received truths. According to our research, the generic competencies appear to be almost the most important competence objectives

in light of the internal objectives of the academic community (cf. Barnett 1990; Margolis 2001). They appear to be problematic insofar as they seldom are openly declared in curricula, and their relation to content taught is ambiguous. Likewise, Bennet et al. (2000) have found that students do not recognise competencies which are embedded entirely into the subject content. Yet, in academic fields especially students with an eye to future look for a rationale why it is worthwhile studying something as a major subject and what special, general or transferable competencies it generates (e.g. Crawford et al. 2006).

Academics face curricular pressure from the students and from the society. The academic teachers did not see it as essential to create curriculum exclusively on the basis of the needs of the labour market, but also felt that curriculum was a means of exerting influence in society, on 'conservative' workplaces and narrow expertise requirements. This point of view extends the concept of competence into nascent expertise which evolves in interaction and into lifewide learning, which is a precondition for the development of expertise during and after studies. The challenge throughout Europe for competence-based education is shifting the curriculum design from fragmentary subject thinking towards broader approaches. It concurs with the way Barnett and Coate (2005) perceive acting. Then education transcends the dualism between thinking and doing, the specific and the generic and offers the student an opportunity to unite knowledge and competence, intellectual and professional domains.

Curriculum contributing identity formation processes

Studying in HE typically entails a notion that studying has affected one's being: personality and identity development though it is decidedly difficult to describe what has been learned or how a person has changed. To form a professional and academic identity, and finding meaning in studies is not in point of fact to be taken for granted. As many as 25 per cent of Finnish students in HE do not find their studies meaningful (Kunttu & Huttunen 2009). Curriculum has a particular opportunity to support

the student in finding meanings and in identity formation. According to Pinar et al. (1995), curriculum should be not merely a document and its implementation, but is perceived to be an individual's experience, learning, lived text and goal-oriented consciousness in the world. Pinar (1994) emphasises the close nexus between autobiographical processes and curriculum. It is a question of the cyclical process of learning in which student's experiences of his/her own past and visions of the future dovetail into each other. Together they help students to attach themselves to study processes and to position themselves in their post-education life trajectories. The current research gave rise to the question as to the relation of knowledge and competence to students' own meaning making, life trajectory and identity building. One RU teacher describes this dilemma as follows:

You just haven't like thought that OK let's agree that we'll write some curriculum but let's agree that it will not be implemented as such. But then we didn't necessarily take any further stance towards it. But maybe those group processes revealed that, well OK, here we have this sort of a student just those things relating to the life of a young adult which are inevitably reflected in those studies. (RU13M.)

Many academics were of the opinion that provision should be made for an unpredictable future by offering students many-sided competencies. Thus they would be encouraged to build multilayered identities in relation to how they find the learning situations, academic community, culture and the world in general. The RU staff frequently made connections between discipline and identity, whereas in the UAS interviews identity was discussed mostly in connection with the professional identity. It was frequently considered that the identity only takes place in working life. However, identity could be formed on a broader foundation than a single discipline or profession. Studying should not be seen as merely a process of creating a CV for working life or as the mastery of the content of a certain subject, but rather as a qualitative process constructing personal meanings.

Vallance (1986) calls this as personal commitment to the curriculum. Commitment promotes the idea of lifewide learning and makes

a connection to the continuing changes in the life of work and society. Likewise, according to Barnett and Coate (2005), knowledge should be understood to be an open perspective on the world in which students can not only invest themselves but come to make their own claims on it in acts of personal knowing. On this basis, they argue that a personal relation to knowledge plays a pivotal role in HE. Barnett and Coate (2005; cf. Barnett 2007; 2009) associate curriculum with engagement, in which the cornerstone of study is not the intrinsic value of knowledge, the subject taught or learning outcomes, but the process of coming to know. For them exerting influence on being – dispositions and qualities – is among the main objectives of HE.

Conclusions

Understanding curriculum in Finnish HE has special features which are intertwined by the history of academic cultures in the RUs and UASs. In addition, disciplines and professional fields have their complex backgrounds, history, nature, status and research areas. Knowledge is produced and processed in multiple ways in various institutions and research fields, emerging in different curricular cultures (cf. Becher & Trowler 2001; Jaspers 1960/2009). Indeed, it would appear that the norms arising from inside and outside the HEI and the cultural practices within disciplines create a framework which either legitimize the development of curriculum or restrain it.

This present study brought to the fore curriculum in a comprehensive framework. The prevailing understanding about curriculum varied within six overlapping domains, which offered some directions and purposes to the process of curriculum development in HE. Like the schema proposed by Bennet et al. (2000) the present interconnected framework also includes views on disciplines, work and generic competencies (cf. Bates 2008). Bennet et al. (2000, 32) argue that their schema could potentially be applied to any discipline, to any course and to the workplace, and to any context. Conversely, our findings suggest placing particular emphasis on developing partnership with university staff, students and practition-

ers in discipline-specific and domain-dependent contexts as proposed by several other researchers (e.g. Aamodt & Plaza 1994; Barnett & Coate 2005; Crawford et al. 2006). Furthermore, the interconnected approach to curriculum seems to be fruitful in understanding the processes of integration of research and teaching, students' academic engagement and the complex HE discourses in general. In addition, the interconnected framework allows to see both external and internal demands and purposes more explicitly (cf. Margolis 2001).

The findings are in line with the so-called 'emansipatory' curriculum proposed by Fraser and Bosanquet (2006). The authors stress dynamic, reflective and interactive processes and shared experiences that take shape in autonomy, responsibility and empowerment of university staff and students in practice. Therefore, curriculum design could be understood as a process of change and development which consist of a series of social interaction and reflective examination of discipline and personal life histories within complex institutional contexts (Pinar et al. 1995; Barnett & Coate 2005).

Moreover, the results suggest that in both universities, a passive approach to the norms and guidelines of the HE policy is distinctive. The passiveness appeared as a reproductive function of the curriculum, according to Barnett and Coate (2005), where the purpose of curriculum and education is to maintain the hierarchies and powers in society. In this case the modernisation of HE happens in terms of the labour market and economic interest, and may lead to marketisation of HE. Consequently, passivity or reactivity doesn't position HEIs as a proactive discussant and cultivator though they are a seedbed of the future changemakers of society and world. Indeed, from the student's point of view passivism might turn the students into invisible objects of the curricular work.

The internal objectives of HE may also turn out to be reproductive if curriculum design and development are not subjected to critical evaluation. The main challenge is how these different processes of coming to know, to act and to be are made salient and the external and internal objectives integrated for mutual benefit. What is essential is that regulations from outside should not be perceived as shackles, but that curricula redesign should be capable of being consciously positioned to changes

in society, working life and education policy. Overall, curriculum perspective to the process of academic reforming and rethinking seems to be fruitful in understanding the complex HE discourses.

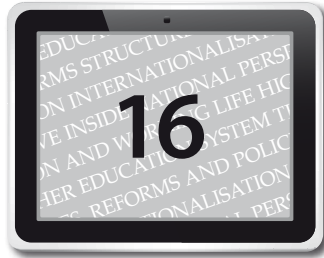
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Mapping guidance and counselling between policy and practice

Introduction

The Europeanisation of universities have seen significant developments in higher education (HE) guidance and counselling¹. The amount of research and development projects in university guidance and counselling has increased importance during the last decade in Finland and this has been the subject of evaluation, development and critical discussion (e.g. Moitus & Vuorinen 2003; Lairio & Penttinen 2006). During a time of extensive changes in HE and in the increasingly interconnected global era, the development of guidance and counselling has been regarded as an answer to many questions in policy and practice. However, theories and

¹ Here we use the term 'guidance and counselling' referring to various interpretations and practices of guidance, counselling, advising and supervising by teachers and supportive staff in higher education.

methods of guidance and counselling challenge any simple answers. The core of guidance involves providing a place for an individual to be heard and empowered (Law, Meijers & Wijers 2002; Peavy 1997). In practice, this implies balance between individual and societal desirable outcomes.

Guidance, seen from a policy perspective, is a mechanism to support public policy and educational aims in several areas (e.g. Ministry of Education 1999, 2004, 2008; Sultana 2003). On the other hand, guidance and counselling can be seen as a vehicle for meeting student-centred objectives in HE that emphasize objectives linked to better engagement in one's studies, and supporting students in plans for their education, personal lives and careers (see Van Esbroeck & Watts 1998; Rott & Lahti 2006). Student-centred approaches have been emphasized for several years in university pedagogy. However, at the same these approaches require better articulation with the culture, structure and social practices in HE which contain curriculum and learning environments and university specific forms of guidance and counselling services (Korhonen 2012).

Guidance and counselling is not a new topic in HE. Professors in medieval universities saw their task as guiding students in their intellectual and moral development, asking questions in society, while seeking knowledge and truth. According to Espinar et al. (2004) contemporary understanding about university guidance and counselling is based on different traditions. In the Humboldtian university tradition, the guidance is focused on the development of traditional academic competences and *Bildung* during the studies which defines the time spent in the university, whereas the French tradition emphasises the guidance with respect to the needs of working life, and the acquisition of generic and useful skills. The Anglo-American tradition emphasises a holistic view in guidance, focusing on the personal, academic and professional development (see also Van Esbroeck & Watts 1998). A more global archetype is the university-as-multiversity, where the education and learning of an individual is in focus. (Espinar et al. 2004.) This means new demands for the understanding and application of guidance and counselling in HE.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline contemporary issues in guidance and counselling in Finnish HE, in the light of development projects and studies completed in the last decade. To examine the prospects of

politics, research and the development of practices, we use a framework of a systemic model of guidance by Vuorinen, Kasurinen and Sampson (2006) which illuminates the issues of strategies and practices and their relationship to each other. The review of development projects and major focal points of research highlights the most significant issues concerning guidance and counselling in Finnish HE, on both research universities (RU) and the universities of applied sciences (UAS)².

In Finnish HE, policy is often put into practice through development projects. In addition, our review reflects systematic and sustained interest on particular phenomena, bringing critical points into focus. Our data has been drawn from the websites and reports of national *projects* in that included more than one higher education institute (HEI) and which included significant goals in developing guidance and counselling. The data for describing the *study areas* was collected through two routes. Firstly, presentations from thematic groups, organized by the Special Interest Group (SIG) of guidance and counselling, in the Finnish Educational Research Association (FERA). Secondly, an overview of doctoral theses completed during the past decade within faculties of education in Finnish universities. The data was analyzed using a guidance model by Vuorinen, Kasurinen and Sampson (2006) as a heuristic device to outline the main emphasis areas in research and development.

The contours of guidance and counselling in Finnish higher education

When examining guidance and counselling services in higher education we need a systemic and holistic perspective. With a systemic approach we are able to piece together the entity of guidance and define relationships and boundaries between different sub-systems or system elements. The systemic model of guidance by Vuorinen, Kasurinen and Sampson (2006;

² The Finnish higher education system consists of two sectors: Universities of Applied Sciences (UAS) and Research Universities (RU) which are complementary to each other. The mission of RU is to carry out scientific research and provide postgraduate education. UAS train professionals in response to labour market needs and conduct research for the regional development in particular.

see also Kasurinen & Vuorinen 2003; Vuorinen et al. 2005) has been developed to illuminate the articulation, congruence – and incongruence – between strategic planning and the implementation of guidance services. The authors argue that the model can be used to examine guidance services both from the users' perspective, or 'front office' while simultaneously highlighting the key mechanisms of planning and managing services, or 'back office'. These dual perspectives critically illuminate key and highly distinct domains of guidance and counselling. This multifaceted approach provides a useful framework to grasp the complexity inherent in the interplay of policy, research and development concerning guidance and counselling in Finnish HE.

The back office consists of the focal domains of policy, context and organization (Vuorinen et al. 2006). The *policy domain* concerns guidance policy development including the policy statements and legislation that shapes guidance services in HEIs. Policy is connected with the *contextual domain*, shaped by the local economic situation, consisting mainly of concrete decisions, norms and enactments which regulate research, education and counselling systems in HE internationally, nationally and organizationally. These contextual features are intertwined within educational settings. The *systemic domain* draws our attention to the manner of actual service delivery at organisational level. (Vuorinen et al. 2005, 2006.)

An exclusive focus on the back office does not shed light on the actual practices and needs of individual students. However, an appreciation of the back office is needed to fully consider the wider context of practice, as it constitutes the framework for effects of policy on guidance and counselling in HE.

The front office includes the domains of time, area, responsibility, content and methodology (Kasurinen & Vuorinen 2003; Vuorinen et al. 2006). These domains are much more visible for the actual users of guidance services, though the *time* is situated between front and back office perspectives. The time domain entails both the student days and post-educational spans: students' study phases and time-related inspection of the study process, and a continuum of lifelong learning, which covers individuals' transitions and the whole study and work career, where HE studies are one significant period. (Vuorinen et al. 2005, 2006.)

The *domain of area* focuses on different kinds of guidance: personal (psycho-social), educational (support for learning) and career (vocational) guidance (Vuorinen et al. 2006). Internationally-speaking, these are mainstream areas of guidance and counselling (Sultana 2003) and are key elements of the broadly used holistic student-centred career guidance model developed by Van Esbroeck and Watts (1998; see also Watts & Van Esbroeck 1999). The model fits to the Finnish HE context well because it draws attention to the key role of teaching staff as guidance providers in interaction with everyday studying environment. Students' needs constitute the baseline of the model. The further the services are located away from everyday teaching practises, the more they comprise distinct specialities and are carried out by professionals trained in these areas. Their specialties enhance the co-operation between different actors and pays careful attention to the *responsibility domain* concerning the roles of faculty and staff members in educational organizations. It is important to note the different tasks and competencies of teachers in charge of supervision and staff specialized in guidance.

The limitations of competencies become apparent in the intertwined division inside the *content domain*, which focuses attention on the key objectives and outcomes sought in guidance and counselling in HE. The contents of guidance can be examined, for example, according to guidance at a certain stage of study or according to the content themes of guidance. Finally, the *methodological domain* covers the different methods and approaches used in guidance and counselling and the optimal utilization of these tools. For example, guidance in large and small group as well as personal supervision and study counselling are generally used in most cases. However, the increasingly versatile capacity and associated use of information and communication technologies is a rapidly increasing area with many developments. (Vuorinen et al. 2005, 2006.)

The above mentioned front office domains are important when taking account of the most salient characteristics of HEIs. For example, the educational guidance in HE is often connected with particular pedagogical issues, thesis supervision or reflective practices connected to practical training. There is considerable international discussion about these particular themes of educational practices in HE (e.g. Dahlgren et al. 2007;

Delamont, Atkinson & Parry 2004). Supervision methods are amongst the most discussed pedagogical issues in HE (Dysthe 2002; Grant 2003). With regard to the international literature, the development of Finnish career guidance in HE reflects the trends of the international discussion in career guidance (Amundson 2006; Van Esbroeck et al. 2005). In addition, there has also been discussion about less traditional issues like e-mentoring (Shrestha et al. 2009). These particular qualities become salient when we look at the recent development projects and research focused on the issues of guidance in HE in Finland.

Developing guidance and counselling: the emergence of projects

In the case of guidance policy, during the last decade, educational development projects have had a notable role in HE in Finland. This results from the changes in the mid 1990's in the governmental funding of HEIs and the aims of European education policy (COM 2000; Treuthard, Huusko & Saarinen 2006). Policy makers in the HE sector started to pay closer attention to prolonged study periods (time-to-degree) and the length of the transition from education to the labour market (Moitus & Vuorinen 2003). Improved guidance practices were hoped to play a key role in HEIs regarding the facilitation and monitoring the completion of studies (Ministry of Education 1998). The Ministry of Education allocated targeted project funding aimed at these strategic issues and funding was obtained from EU programs. The national development projects can be seen as expressions – and subsequent – realizations of political will. And in that way the key elements of the front and back office were initially built on the foundations laid in development projects. A more detailed look at the way in which policy developments have been realized in the last decade is revealed in an overview to policy guidelines and linked projects aimed at developing guidance and counselling in Finnish HE.

The developmental plan for education and research for 1999–2000 emphasized the development of guidance and advisory services in order

to support progress in studies and to shorten time-to-degree (Ministry of Education 1999). In addition, the recognition of prior studies was highlighted. In subsequent plans, the emphasis shifted to the recognition of prior learning (Ministry of Education 1999, 2004). In 2005, Universities Act (556/2005) limited the length of study time, and made personal study plans and providing guidance for university students obligatory. The accreditation of prior learning was given more prominence in the development plan for years 2007–2012 when the Ministry of Education introduced additional recommendations (Ministry of Education 2007, 2008). These plans spelled out, recognition systems that “must be developed as part of the development of curricula, teaching and guidance, evaluation and quality assurance” (Ministry of Education 2007). This attention to develop guidance and counselling practices are highly interconnected with EU aims for growth and economic capacity.

Table 1 summarizes data from 15 national projects related to development of guidance and counselling in 2000’s. In addition, there are other educational development projects, which may have developed guidance, however, that is not a projects goal. For example, the goals in the project for recognition and accreditation of prior learning (AHOT 2010) doesn’t emphasize guidance or counselling, but later this may turn out useful, as happened in W5W-project (see Laitinen, Pekonen & Pirttimäki 2009).

In the early 2000’s, several projects aimed to increase guidance and counselling capacity and clarify their emerging role in Finnish HE. Developments emphasized in the *front office* focus on study paths, pedagogical processes and methodology (see Eriksson & Mikkonen 2003; Palovaara et al. 2003; Varjonen & Kallinen 2006). National evaluation of guidance and counselling services later showed that the lack of guidance was not the main problem (Moitus & Vuorinen 2003). In Finnish HE there has always been guidance and counselling, however, the challenge was in the perception of this as a systemic entity. A key question concerning the front office has been: how guidance services, both pedagogical and supportive, are visible for individual students and for the staff themselves.

Typically academic teaching staff has provided a lot of guidance as a part of their daily pedagogical work, e.g. supporting the growth of academic expertise and scientific thinking during lectures, seminars and

Table 1. *Projects concerning guidance and counselling in Finnish HE*

| Project | Time | Parti- pants | Goals concerning guidance & counselling |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| Tuella ja taidolla (With support and skill) | 2000–2003 | 2 RU | Give more guidance, improve quality in guidance (Eriksson & Mikkonen 2003) |
| Yliopisto-opiskelijan ohjauksen kehittämishanke OpOke (Development of HE by providing training for university teachers and systematic guidance and tutoring for students) | 2000–2004 | 4 RU | Create tutoring models (Palovaara, Haapaniemi, Naumanen-Tuomela, Olkkonen, Pirttimäki, Tossavainen, Turunen, Vanhala & Voutilainen 2003) |
| Oped, Oped-Laatu (-Quality) and Oped-Exo | 2000–2002, 2003, 2004–2006 | 25 UAS | 2000–2002: Map guidance services 2003: Improve quality in guidance 2004–2006: Enhance guidance for expertise in working life, improve guidance as a part of strategic goals of the institution, improve tutoring (Varjonen & Kallinen 2006) |
| HARKE – harjoittelun kehittäminen (development of practical training) | 2004–2006 | 26 UAS | Develop common practises in the guidance and assessment of practical training periods (HARKE 2010) |
| Werkko – ura- ja rekrytointipalvelujen kehittäminen (development of career guidance) | 2004–2006 | All UAS | Develop and promote career guidance (Werkko 2010) |
| W5W (Five years, two degrees) | 2004–2006, 2007–2009 | All RUs | 2004–2006: Evaluation of the curricula and the impact of the study counselling methods and personal study plans, PSPs 2007–2009: further develop the national curriculum and study counselling practises that were created during the W5W project (Five years, two degrees 2010) |
| TOHTIS – Tieteellinen asiantuntijuus ja akateeminen ohjaus (Scientific expertise and academic guidance) | 2006–2009 | 3 RU | Research project concerning supervision of PhD Students (Scientific 2010) |

Mapping guidance and counselling between policy and practice

| | | | |
|--|-----------|--------------|---|
| Aikuisopiskelijan ohjaus ammattikorkeakoulussa (The adult student's guidance in UASs) | 2007–2009 | 23 UAS | Develop practices in adult student's guidance and counselling (Aikuisopiskelijän ohjaus 2010) |
| Ohjauksen ja työelämätaitojen kehittäminen korkea-asteella (Development of Guidance and Working Life Skills in HE) | 2008–2011 | 10 RU, 1 UAS | Support study paths in HE, particularly graduation and transition to working life; including postgraduate students (Ohjauksen 2010) |
| Valtti – Valmis tutkinto työelämävalttina (Ready degree as a trump card) | 2008–2011 | 3 RU, 4 UAS | Develop career guidance models to promote studies and entrance to working life, brace expertise in teachers guidance skills (Valtti 2010) |
| Get a Life – tulevaisuusuntautunut uraohjaus korkeakouluopiskelijoille (- future-oriented career guidance for university students) | 2008–2011 | 1 RU, 3 UAS | Provide a future-oriented simulation tool for the students and guidance tools for the counselling personnel (Get a life 2010) |
| OTE – Opintojen tukeminen ja opetuksen kehittäminen opintopolun eri vaiheissa (Supporting the studies and developing of the teaching at the separate stages of the study path) | 2008–2010 | 5 RU, 5 UAS | Develop guidance in the beginning of studies and in the supervision of thesis (OTE 2010) |
| Osaajaverkosto – koulutuksen ja työelämän yhteistyö valmistumisen tukena (Co-operation of education and working life supporting the completion of studies) | 2009–2012 | 2 RU, 1 UAS | Develop guidance and expertise in guidance in co-operation with working life (Osaajaverkosto 2010) |
| Campus Conexus | 2009–2012 | 4 RU, 1 UAS | Produce practices (incl. guidance) which promote the engagement of the students to the expert community; prevent educational exclusion of HE students (Campus Conexus 2010) |
| Valoa (Light) | 2009–2012 | 6 RU, 8 UAS | Produce career-guidance model for foreign students (Valoa 2010) |

thesis supervision. Guidance and counselling has also been carried out by teacher tutors, student tutors, academic advisers, study counsellors and career counsellors. Supportive guidance services have been developed incrementally and reactively over the past decade, resulting from many projects and efforts that were not necessarily related. This has led to a situation in which a large number of personnel work with guidance; however their responsibilities have not been clearly defined. This results in the challenge engaged by this chapter. Specifically, mapping guidance and counselling services as an entity, as well as a continuum from the point of view of student's study path (see Campus Conexus 2010; Ohjauksen ja työelämätaitojen ... 2010).

During the past decade, it has become obvious that the development of guidance and counselling is firmly connected to institutional strategic goals, developing teaching and curricula as an entity and increasingly geared toward a student's transition to working life (Barnett 2007; Bates 2008; Garraway 2006). Here, the domain of the pedagogical and study process has widened into the issues of career guidance in HE (e.g. HARKE 2010; Werkko 2010). These sorts of policy and practice shifts are firmly in line with present life-long guidance policy (OECD 2004) but can be seen as problematic as they contradict the institutional cultures, like Humboldtian guidance traditions, which Finnish research universities have relied on.

As new educational reforms connected to the pedagogical and study process domain emerged, like personal study plans, it was quickly discovered these tools were difficult to implement as this level and type of collaborative, detailed planning was alien to university faculty and students alike. Effective implementation required rethinking of guidance services as an entity (e.g. Annala 2007; Laitinen, Pekonen & Pirttimäki 2009). As the overall understanding and capacity of guidance and counselling has developed, the projects have changed their focus to content and area domains, especially regarding distinct groups like adults, foreign-born students and students with an immigrant background, marginalized and postgraduate students (e.g. Aikuisopiskelijan ohjaus 2010; Scientific 2010). The quality and the methodological domains of guidance, for example virtual services, have also been under continuous development (e.g. Werkko 2010; Get a life 2010).

During the 'decade of projects', some HEIs have gradually incorporated development into their formal structures and functions. Founding educational development centres into the universities during 2000's could be seen as corresponding with an international trend in back office phenomenon (see also Gosling 2009; Grant et al. 2009). Many HEIs have employed student psychologists to support students with special needs in counselling and moved towards a multi-professional approach to guidance and counselling. However, especially in the UAS sector, there has been a tendency to integrate and strengthen tutoring within teaching processes instead of founding separate guidance services which reflects their emphasis on the pedagogical and study processes domain.

Evaluations have shown how developing guidance and counselling is a multidimensional and very slow process in loosely committed, autonomous organizations (cf. Kuoppala, Näppilä & Hölttä 2010). This was evidenced in similar recommendations in two reports – separated by nearly a decade – concerning guidance in Finnish HE (Moitus et al. 2001; Laitinen, Pekonen & Pirttimäki 2009). These slow-moving, repetitive challenges are: developing guidance services as an entity, integrating guidance into the teaching processes, diversifying the methods in guidance and paying attention to all the phases of the student pathway. These problem areas spotlight the focal point of context where the development of guidance is intertwined into cultural-organizational practices within the nexus of front and back office.

Despite the different strategic goals and profiles of RUs and UASs, since 2008 the co-operation between them is encouraged and rewarded which can be seen in Table 1, as the emergence of joint projects. At the end of the decade, the nature of development project funding changed. The Ministry of Education stopped the flow of strategic project funding at the beginning of 2010. However, several European Social Fund (ESF)-funded development projects were set in motion to implement the national development programme for 2007–2013. These programmes aimed to decrease drop-out rates, shorten time-to-degree, support the employment of graduates and strengthen the social inclusion of young people in society (Ministry of Education 2009). A new feature in some of these projects was research carried out alongside with development

efforts. This was a step to strengthen applications, by articulating the deliberate exploitation of research results in the development of practices.

Recent areas of study and trends in guidance and counselling

To overview the recent areas of research concerning guidance and counselling in Finnish HE, we examined the topics of 20 studies presented in the guidance and counselling Special Interest Group in the national FERA conferences during 2007–2009³ and 33 doctoral theses related to guidance and counselling area completed during 2000–2010 (table 2). Next, we discuss these studies and dissertations in terms of the front and back office domains of guidance and elaborate the features of these domains in Finnish HE.

Table 2. *The spectrum of research topics in SIG-presentations at 2007–2009 and Finnish doctoral theses in 2000's*

| | Research target being ⁴ | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| | RU | | UAS | |
| | SIG present. | Doctoral theses | SIG present. | Doctoral theses |
| "Back office" | | | | |
| 1) Political domain | – | 1 | – | – |
| 2) Contextual domain | – | 1 | – | 1 |
| 3) Systemic domain | 2 | – | – | – |
| "Front office" | | | | |
| 4) Study path domain | 2 | 4 | – | – |
| 5) Role expertise domain | 1 | 1 | – | 1 |
| 6) Pedagogical and study processes domain | 7 | 10 | 4 | 9 |
| 7) Methodological domain | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 |

³ Since the year 2007 the Special Interest Group of guidance and counselling has organized theme group every year in connection with the annual conference of the Finnish Educational Research Association (FERA).

⁴ RU= research university, UAS=university of applied sciences

According to the reports we examined, research concerning the political domain is increasingly linked to the globalised nature of HE policy (Kallo 2009). The contextual domain operates at the structural level of HEIs, concerning the formation of basics tasks and strategies of HE (Huusko 2009) and the evaluation of education, development and research tasks (Hyrkkänen 2007; Herranen 2003; Mäki 2000).

In the case of systemic domain, the research target was how the guidance service system is organized at institutional level, who guidance providers tend to be, how guidance and counselling services meet needs with respect to resources and the types of ideas and ideology directs guidance and counselling work. However, this area was present only at two presentations in the Special Interest Group (Lairio & Penttilä 2007; Saukkonen 2007). No dissertations have been made covering this domain.

When thinking about research in terms of time, research was focused on different transition phases in studies like routes and transition to HE (Purtilo-Nieminen 2009), transition from HE to the working life (Rouhelo 2009) or success and progression in HE studies (Merenluoto 2009). Also the progression, traditions and meanings of becoming as doctor from the point of view of one's own experiences was presented (Peura 2008). From the perspective of lifelong learning, the examination of counselling as a support for students' identity construction has been present in one SIG presentation topic (Lairio & Puukari 2009). Although in general this domain is an important area of guidance and counselling in policy documents, it is a surprisingly marginal topic for researchers.

Research connected to the domain of responsibility mainly concerned questions in the area of work and practise of counsellors, their division of labour, professional learning, expertise, support and conceptions of guidance. Thus in the context of HE this area focuses on the role-expertise domain, combining the domains of area and responsibility. However, this domain was in practice very seldom studied. Only one SIG presentation dealt with academic mentoring (Korhonen & Kallioniemi-Chambers 2007), one dissertation focused on tutors' know-how in the PBL implementation context (Poikela 2003) and one collegial co-operation of teaching staff (Savonmäki 2007).

Research areas relating to the content domain were the most actively studied in both of the examined contexts: in SIG presentations and in dissertations concerning guidance and counselling (Table 2). This domain is close to the HE pedagogic area in HE research and we renamed this category the pedagogical and study processes domain. The line between HE pedagogic and pedagogical guidance was defined by whether the study focused on larger issues than contents or teaching-learning processes in a course or study module. The topics related to pedagogical guidance were included in this examination. Research topics concerning wider content and study process themes, like professional growth and development in specific fields (Lähtenmäki 2006; Ora-Hyytiäinen 2004), development of scientific/critical thinking in specific fields (Kaartinen-Koutaniemi 2009), assessing students' approaches to learning and experiences of the teaching-learning environment (Parpala 2010), the development of teachers' learner-centered conceptions (Postareff 2007), collaboration and communality in higher education (Repo 2010), students' general orientation in studies and personal meaning of studies (Mäkinen 2003; Roisko 2007) were identified in this examination.

Other important research areas in the content domain concerned questions of guidance and support for the development of personal study plans (Annala 2007; Jääskelä 2005), counselling of specific target groups like international students (Taajamo 2005) and working adult students (Leskelä 2005), preparation and guidance of the thesis (Penttinen 2005; Rissanen 2003; Frilander-Paavilainen 2005), and practical training and apprenticeship periods in studies (cf. Sarja 2000; Vesterinen 2001; Jyrhämä 2002; Kaaresvirta 2004). In addition, studies related to supervision and guidance of doctoral students can be included in this area (Kosunen & Taipale 2007).

The recent research field of methodological domain covers diverse forms, tools and working methods used in guidance and counselling. The rapid expansion of ICT tools and online networks supporting learning processes in HE has generated several dissertations (Korhonen 2003; Tammelin 2004; Mäkelä 2010) which could be included in pedagogical guidance area. Also interaction and experiences of personal counselling discussions were the topic of one dissertation (Kukkonen 2007). Group

counselling methods have received significantly more attention in recent research presentations in the SIG (Penttinen 2009; Koivuluhta & Puhakka 2009).

In terms of the domains focused on in this chapter, increasing attention is noted in the pedagogical and study processes and methodological domain (domains 6 and 7; table 2). This is probably not a surprise amongst Finnish guidance and counselling researchers. As a whole, this type of research is more focused on the research university sector than to the UAS-sector. A pronounced emphasis on front office domain is also noteworthy in current research topics. Guidance and counselling researchers seem to focus on very practical research, stemming from questions and issues close to students' life world. In particular, the development of student life, professional growth and study planning processes receive a great deal of attention.

The analysis of the doctoral theses focused of guidance and counselling in HE forms a more detailed description of the study subjects. The pedagogical and study processes domain remains the main research area related to the guidance and counselling. Between the research university and the UAS, there is no noteworthy difference in this field.

Pedagogical and study process domain is by far the most active area of dissertation research during last decade in Finnish universities. Dissertations are conducted in the area of pedagogical and study processes (domain 6; Table 2) more than all other research areas combined. The study path domain on the other hand, is an example of a study area which is seldom researched. If it researched, the focus is on the research university student population. In general, as in the SIG presentations, the front office domains are more researched than the back office domains both in research universities and in universities of applied sciences.

This overview highlights a gap between policy trends and the contemporary guidance and counselling research fields. The need for fruitful interaction between policy makers, researchers and practitioners has been raised also in international discussion (e.g. Brown, Bimrose & Hughes 2005).

Discussion

Clear definitions of guidance and counselling topics can present puzzling questions because the field consists of contextual phenomenon that concern both theoretical frameworks and practical applications (e.g. Creamer 2000). Here, we concentrated on the educational rather than psychological viewpoint, but creating a boundary line around the topic 'guidance and counselling' remains a challenge. In addition, wide-ranging research and development projects in HE have clear connections to guidance and counselling. Therefore, this review of studies and development projects in Finnish HE guidance during the previous decade intersects a wider set of issues in HE, while at the same time hiding some areas of psychosocial counselling.

According to our review, during last decade the development projects have moved towards a holistic approach (Van Esbroeck & Watts 1998) in the development of front office domains. The holistic view emphasizes that a student should be seen as a comprehensive individual and the guidance services as an entity. The holistic student-centred model of guidance has been a popular tool for organizing guidance services in HEIs (e.g. Lairio & Puukari 1999; Herranen & Penttinen 2008) which is also used in collective plans for guidance and counselling (e.g. in Universities of Jyväskylä and Joensuu). The fruitfulness of this model regards the question as to how different specialities can strengthen the input of each other.

During last decade also a tendency to have separate projects in different institutions has moved towards co-operation in projects combining both RUs and UASs. The cultural differences of RUs and UASs make a particular challenge to the development of guidance and counselling. The organizational culture in UAS is more centrally planned and managed, but in RUs, the autonomous practices are characteristic, meaning loose commitment to institutional or political guidelines (cf. Kuoppala, Näpplä & Hölttä 2010). This may be one reason for the slow development of practices.

The networking in development projects offers a fruitful foundation to utilize both the scientific and applied studies in the development of guidance and counselling in HE. According to our review, the scientific

and research interest towards guidance and counselling has proliferated during last decade. However, in spite of general guidance and counselling policy trends or institutional strategies the research field can be seen as advancing along its' own route. Only during last few years research activities have taken a role in the Finnish development projects (e.g. Campus Conexus 2010; Ohjauksen ja työelämätaitojen ... 2010). The research done within development projects often focus on the applied studies during the development processes. Both examined lines of research, SIG-presentations and dissertations in education, show that the back office domains, like guidance policies and their connection to other HE policies, have not been very actively researched. The challenge that remains to gather all the information on applied studies, have dialogue again at policy level, and promote basic research on all domains of guidance and counselling from an international perspective. The regions in the shadows could prove invaluable in discussion when outlining the future research and development needs and prospects in guidance and counselling.

In contemporary Finnish HE policy, the guidance and counselling is seen as an answer to many challenges concerning both the competitive capacity Finnish HEIs and the well-being of individual students. There are political demands to develop practices that promote students' smooth transition from HE to working life, though the nature of guidance and counselling cannot be reduced as an instrumental or controlled activity to promote political purposes (cf. Law, Meijers & Wijers 2002; Peavy 1997). If projects are understood as implementation of political aims, there is a need to expand dialogue between research and development both nationally and internationally.

The mutual interplay between research and development may also promote critical discussion on educational policy in society. Measuring the outcomes of guidance is as complicated as definitioning guidance itself. It is difficult to provide hard evidence of the benefits of guidance in the economic level though there is theoretical support for the argument of benefits in the level of quality of individual's life (Maguire 2004). This challenges the aims of educational policy and the point of view of individual student lives. Maguire (2004) suggests that there is a

need for a longitudinal research of effects of guidance on individual life-course which can elucidate the relationship of short-term interventions concerning individuals and the wider longer-term social and economic outcomes. Still, our analysis of research made in Finland shows that this kind of wider 'front office – back office' scale framework is lacking in the research of guidance in Finnish HE, as well as in the international context. In addition because of the key role of teaching staff as guidance providers in Finnish HE, the issues of guidance and counselling should be considered in relation to pedagogy. As these are intertwined processes in the educational system, they should be discussed in a broader context of the strategic development of HE policy, in order to minimize the gap between policy, research and practice.

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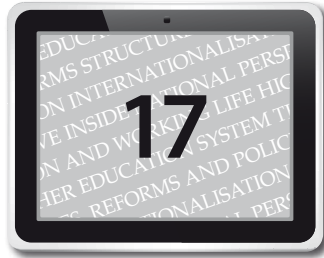
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Research on scholarly communities and the development of scholarly identity in Finnish doctoral education

Introduction

Doctoral education has become increasingly popular in Finland and the number of doctoral students has tripled during the last decade. Over 1500 PhDs graduated in the year 2007 (National Statistics 2008), which means that the number of completed doctoral degrees has quadrupled since the end of last millennium. Currently, there are altogether over 20000 doctoral students in the Finnish Universities. Simultaneously considerable national and international changes concerning the doctoral training environment and its learning objectives have surfaced. For instance, regarding the third cycle of the Bologna process, the European University Association (EUA) (Doctoral programmes for European knowledge society, <http://www.eua.be>) has brought forth the

following directions in developing doctoral education throughout Europe¹:

1. Doctoral studies should become more structured in the form of doctoral programs or research schools.
2. Specific attention should be paid to the position of post graduate students; they should not be regarded as students but researchers in the early stages of their career, who should be paid, granted social security, and accepted as full members of the scientific community.
3. Making a career of research should be made a more interesting and enticing option than it is at present time.
4. The mobility of students both geographically and between different sectors should also be encouraged.
5. The duration of doctoral studies should be limited. The recommendation is 3–4 years of full-time, financed studies.
6. Improving the transferable skills of doctors is also considered very important. A doctoral degree should allow for other career possibilities in addition to research (see e.g. Commission of The European Communities (2003): Communication from The Commission to The Council and The European Parliament. Researchers in the European research area: One profession, Multiple careers. Brussels 18.7 2003). Accordingly, in addition to a profound and wide-ranging academic competence, future doctors are expected to master, for example, socio-emotional abilities, leadership, development, and language skills as well as the capability for a multidisciplinary approach and utilize the research findings both commercially and socially (Suomen tieteen tila ja taso 2009).

These changes provide both new opportunities as well as challenges in developing doctoral education around Europe, including Finland. For instance, despite of the growing number of doctoral candidates, there are

¹ Aim and directions for doctoral education in Europe see also following documents: JQI 2004: Shared 'Dublin' descriptors for the Bachelor's master's and doctoral awards 23 March 2004 (ENQA European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education); Bologna Seminar on " Doctoral Programmes for European Knowledge Society" Salzburg, 3-5 February 2005; EHEA communique 2005:

still a large number of students who never finish their thesis. International studies on attrition in doctoral programs suggest that on average, only 50 % of postgraduate students finish their thesis (Bair & Haworth 1999; Gardner, 2007; Golde 2000, 2005; McAlpine & Norton 2006; Nettles & Millet 2006). Similar results have been reported in the Finnish context, suggesting that 45 % of doctoral students had considered withdrawing from their studies (Hiltunen & Pasanen 2006; Pyhältö, Toom, Stubb & Lonka 2009b). It has also been suggested that distress experienced by the PhD students is quite high (Hudson & O'Regan 1994; Toews, Lockyer, Dobson & Brownell 1993, Toews, Lockyer, Dobson, Simpson, Brownell, MacPherson & Cohen 1997; Ülkü-Steiner, Kurtz-Costes & Kinlaw 2000).

High attrition rates among doctoral candidates and problems in post graduate studies may stem from various reasons. Research on doctoral education has identified several complementary factors that contribute to the doctoral experience. For instance supervisory relationship (e.g., Aspland, Edwards, O'Leary & Ryan 1999; Mackinnon 2004; Hasrati 2005; Murphy, Bain & Conrad 2007; Sambrook, Stewart & Roberts 2008), scholarly community (Appel & Dahlgren 2003; Bair & Haworth 1999; Gardner 2007; Golde 2005; Pyhältö, Stubb & Lonka 2009a; Stubb et al. 2011a) as well as both doctoral students' and supervisors' personal beliefs about research and supervision (e.g. Brew 2001; Kiley & Mullins 2005; Lee 2008; Meyer, Shanahan & Laugksch 2005; Åkerlind 2008) contribute to the doctoral process.

In this chapter we focus on reflecting the role of *scholarly community* as a working environment for doctoral students from the perspective of becoming a scholar. By scholarly community we refer to a community of university-based scholars sharing academic traditions and conventions. Scholarly communities and academic cultures vary in terms of the research subject, that is, the studied phenomena that are characteristic of a certain community (Pyhältö et al. 2009a). Thus, a scholarly community often reflects values, norms, and conceptions of a certain research domain. It may also be multi- or interdisciplinary in nature. The practices in any scholarly community have their own cultural roots.

This contribution is a part of a national research project on PhD Education in Finland that aims to understand PhD education from three

complementary perspectives: central regulators and preconditions for a successful PhD process, academic supervision, and the dynamics of research groups as learning environments for academic expertise and literacy (e.g. Pyhältö et al. 2009a; Stubb, Pyhältö, Soini, Nummenmaa & Lonka 2010). The work has been carried out by using multiple methods including surveys, video recordings, and interviews. The data were collected at three different levels of PhD education from students, supervisors, and scholarly communities (e.g. research groups or seminars). Reflections presented here are based on the finding of this research project. The emphasis is on analyzing how doctoral students experience the scholarly communities in which their doctoral studies are situated. The project was funded by University of Helsinki, Finland (2106008) and Academy of Finland (121207)

Characteristics of Finnish doctoral education

Doctoral experience is situated in the practices of scholarly communities. These practices are framed by the general guidelines and structure of doctoral degree (Doctoral degree 1279/1991). In Finland, the doctoral degree requires thesis, seminars, course work (from 40 to 80 ECTS depending on the discipline) and a public defense of the thesis. Students need to apply for doctoral education. However, after getting permission for the doctoral studies the license has until very recently been valid for life.

Finnish doctoral education is highly embedded in conducting the thesis research. The doctoral research project is launched at the very beginning of the doctoral studies. Course work included in doctoral studies are usually individually constructed and based on personal study plans that typically include international conferences and some methodological studies. The emphasis in doctoral programs is in conducting doctoral research. There is no extensive separate course work before launching the doctoral research, instead seminars and course work are complimentary and designed to support the thesis project.

The average time for completing the degree is about six to seven years. Doctoral education is publicly funded and does not cost anything to

the student. However, the students do not automatically get funding for launching their doctoral project and conducting their studies. There are a number of different ways for funding doctoral studies, such as personal grants from private foundations, university posts, and project funding from the Academy of Finland (Hiltunen & Pasanen 2006).

The doctoral thesis can be done either in a form of a monograph or as a summary of articles (Finland's Council of State's regulation of university degrees 645/1997). The summary of articles consists of three to five (depending on the discipline) articles published in peer-reviewed international journals and a short summary including introduction and discussion. In most cases, students' mother tongue is Finnish or Swedish, but the articles and the summary are typically written in English.

The student has at least one advisor (a full professor in the field where the thesis is being done) and one supervisor. Also, the use of supervisory boards has become more popular during recent years. (International Postgraduate student Mirror: Catalonia, Finland, Ireland, and Sweden 2006.) Doctoral supervision is typically based on apprenticeship both in the research groups and in the supervisor-student dyad.

The evaluation process includes four stages. After the manuscript is accepted by the advisor and supervisor(s), the Faculty Council will name the pre-reviewers (usually full professors from other national or international universities) for the thesis. The manuscript is reviewed by the pre-reviewers and the doctoral candidate will revise the manuscript based on their comments. The Faculty Council shall then decide whether student is given permission to publicly defend her thesis and name the opponent for the thesis. At this stage, the thesis is printed and published with an ISBN number and sent to the opponent. After the doctoral candidate has publicly defended her thesis, the opponent will decide whether he/she is going to recommend the ratification of it. Finally, the Faculty Council will decide on awarding the doctoral degree.

To sum up, the national strategies for doctoral education emphasize the trust in the universities, scholarly communities and members of academia in organizing doctoral education. Accordingly scholarly communities are fairly autonomous in arranging doctoral education. The strategies and legislation set only fairly general goals and structure for

organizing doctoral education while the responsibility for designing, implementing and developing doctoral education has been sifted to the scholarly communities and the scholars.

The scholarly community as a working environment

There is plenty of information about how doctoral students are doing in general, for instance, whether they are satisfied or stressed about their studies (e.g. Gardner 2007; Ülkü-Steiner, Kurtz-Costes & Kinlaw 2000). Yet, we know surprisingly little about the context from where these experiences emerge. It has been suggested that the scholarly community plays an important role in how students experience their doctoral journey (Bair & Haworth 1999; Gardner 2008; Pyhäلتö et al. 2009b). Pyhäلتö et al. (2009a), for instance, argued that in order to an individual to become a researcher, participation in a scholarly community and culture is the key. They found out that both the definitions of 'scholarly community' given by the students and their experience of membership in this very community varied considerably: about one third of the PhD students felt isolated from their academic community or experienced the relation between themselves and the community as somewhat problematic. Recently, Stubb et al. (2011a) explored this relationship more closely. They discovered that there was also variation in students' experienced socio-psychological well-being in terms of scholarly community. Scholarly community was perceived slightly often as a source of burden than inspiration and empowerment, by the Finnish doctoral candidates in question. Moreover, the feelings of empowerment were positively related to study engagement and negatively related to stress, exhaustion, and anxiety. This indicates that the scholarly community can be considered and experienced in a variety of ways.

We consider the scholarly community to be a multi-layered learning community (Pyhäلتö & Soini 2006; Nummenmaa, Soini, Pyhäلتö & Soini 2009; Nummenmaa & Soini 2007). The widest, perhaps the most abstract level of scholarly community is the whole discipline, the international community of researchers and the arenas, such as journals and confer-

ence meetings, that promote the development of new knowledge in the discipline. The next level is typically the organizational level, which consists of the university and its faculties and departments (Nummenmaa & Pyhältö 2008). Typically closest to doctoral students are the various *communities of practices* (Lave & Wenger 1992) of the scholarly communities. These are communities such as research groups, research units, seminars, and, for instance, peers (e.g. Hasrati 2005; Shacham & Od-Cohen 2009).

It has also been suggested that the *practice* of a specific *community* may differ across disciplines (Becher 1994; Becher & Trowler 2001; Biglan 1973; Kamler 2008). In this respect, academic cultures can be portrayed in terms of whether they represent more *well-defined* or *ill-defined* research domains (e.g. Lonka, Joram & Bryson 1996; Mandl, Gruber & Renkl 1996; Voss, Greene, Post & Penner 1983; Voss & Post 1988). Typical of well-defined research domains ('hard sciences'), such as mathematics, is that the level of agreement about the basic pre-assumptions is quite high, whereas typical of ill-defined domains is that academics have several, sometimes opposing views or paradigms about the acceptable ways of approaching the research subject. Behavioral sciences represent ill-defined domains. Although it is easier to identify a correct solution in well-defined domains than in open-ended domains, the distinction between them is often fuzzy (Lonka 1997). For example, physics problems may seem quite open-ended when unsolved questions of quantum physics are being explored, and writing tasks may appear well-defined when authors are writing on a topic on which they have written many times before.

Stubb et al. (2011a) point out that academic cultures may also have different kinds of practices in respect of how the research work is typically carried out. For instance, in some disciplines it is more common to work in a research group, while in some others the research work is conducted more individually. These practices may also affect doctoral students' situation in different disciplines. It has, for example, been argued that science students are typically younger, full-time, better funded and working in research groups, whereas PhD students in education are typically part-time, mid-career and employed somewhere else, which leads them to juggle between academic and career responsibilities (Leonard, Becker & Coate 2004).

Stubb et al. (2011a) stressed that labeling disciplines solely based on their traditions and cultures, may give a rather simplified picture of the reality, since there may be a large variation in how research is done even within one discipline. Medicine, for example, is not a unified domain, since most biomedical sciences are rather well-defined research areas, whereas some other medical domains, such as public health, appear to be more ill-defined. Moreover the traditions and cultures within the disciplines are affected by the research policy as well as the general structure and aims of doctoral education. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that the very same scholarly community may be interpreted and experienced in a variety of different ways among students (Pyhäلتö et al. 2009a).

Developing scholarly identities

Conducting academic research is at the core of Finnish doctoral education. Accordingly, carrying out doctoral research can be considered as PhD student's work. Doctoral project also provides the primary context of becoming an academic expert (Mäntylä 2007). However, developing academic expertise is not only about skills and knowledge but also developing professional identities (McAlpine, Jazvac-Martek & Hopwood 2008; Pyhäلتö et al. 2009a). In the context of doctoral education professional identity can be reflected in terms of scholarly identity.

Accordingly, one relevant point of view is to look at the development of doctoral student's scholarly identity in terms of participation in the scholarly communities of practice. John-Steiner (2000) emphasized the idea of creative collaboration, where the act of scientific research is not seen as a solitary journey, but rather, as social construction of knowledge and a developing reciprocal understanding. During their doctoral studies, PhD students develop their future profession and take a stand toward the professional norms. As a part of this process doctoral students often internalise traditions of the community and assume the established way of communicating and thinking within the profession. Accordingly the scholarly identity adopted by the doctoral candidates reflect both what

the candidates themselves find important in their future work as scholars, based on their previous experiences and background, as well as others' ideas about accepted images about what a scholar in certain field should know and do. (Tickle 2000). This means that the doctoral student's identity as a scholar arises of complex and meaningful social interactions with peers and other members of the scholarly community.

Research on Finnish doctoral education has shown that there is considerable variation in doctoral students' experienced agency and the ways of interacting and participating in the scholarly communities (Ylijoki 1998; Stubb et al. 2011a). The fulltime students working in the projects are more likely to perceive the scholarly community as their primary working environment, while those students who do their doctoral studies part time may consider their primary working environment to be, for instance, a law firm or a hospital. Moreover, doctoral students' engagement in their doctoral projects as well as the ways in which the engagement is manifested can vary in the different phases of doctoral studies. This suggests that doctoral students may construct their identity as academic professionals in multiple complementary contexts.

The concept of professional identity implies both the person and the context. The professional identity hence refers to various meanings people can attach to their work, themselves as well as the meanings attributed by others (Beijaard, Meijer & Verloop 2004). It evolves from personal experiences and during one's life history. Professional identity consists of individual perceptions about oneself as a professional agent: it is an answer to the questions on how an individual perceives one's profession, who or what someone is, can be and want to become professionally in the future. It is also the framework through which doctoral candidates view their studies and find personal meaningfulness in the work. Furthermore, scholarly identity is reflected in the ways in which doctoral students perceive their peers, what they consider important to learn as well as in their study engagement (Archer 2000; 2003; Billet & Somerville 2004).

Moreover, it has been proposed that rather than being fixed, stable and unitary, professional identity is dynamic and multifaceted (Beijaard et al. 2004; Coldron & Smith 1999). This suggests that doctoral students

constantly develop and revise their identities as scholars in a cyclic dialectic process in which the formation and maintenance of structure and the readiness for exploration and change alternate. Historical as well as psychological, cultural and sociological elements all influence the student's sense of self as a scholar (Cooper & Olson 1996). Doctoral students also need to balance with a variety of demands they feel that they have to fulfill (Volkman & Anderson 1998).

Professional identity can be considered as an answer both to the question who am I at the moment, as well as the question who do I want to become (Beijaard et al. 2004). It follows that scholarly identity consists of sub-identities which relate to doctoral candidates' different contexts and relationships. Accordingly, it has been shown that doctoral candidates reflect their identities in terms of participation, role and task in the community as well as appreciation or lack of it received from the community (Nummenmaa et al. 2009). This involves not only variation among doctoral candidates on how they perceive themselves as part of the scholarly community, but also, that the students can adopt and sustain complementary scholarly identities at the same time. It has also been suggested that doctoral students are facing a challenge of dual identity work because of the socialization into two cultures at the same time: how to be a doctoral student as opposed to an undergraduate, and secondly, how to become an independent scholar (Golde 1998).

Developing the multiple scholarly identities enables doctoral students to navigate and orient themselves in the complementary contexts of academic life. Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (1999, 38–39), for instance, described the dynamic and interactive nature of professional identity in the following way: "*identity and subjectivity reflect different aspects and forms of agency that are manifested in the community. Concept of identity refers to rights, obligations and personal characteristics that are attributed for the members of the community, by the members of this community*".

Professional identity is continually informed, formed and reformed through self-reflection in the interaction processes of life (Beijaard et al. 2004; Burr 2002; Potter & Wetherell 1989). This means that development of scholarly identity involves ongoing reconstruction of the relationship between doctoral students and their communities. Attaining and devel-

oping one's membership in the scholarly community plays important role in professional learning and identity development throughout academic career. It also provides opportunities for developing professional autonomy and to give one's personal contribution to the community (Eteläpelto & Vähäsantanen 2008). Doctoral students' participation and sense of belonging are constructed and manifested in interactions with peers, supervisors, post-docs, professors and other members of scholarly communities. Hence, in terms of developing scholarly communities as working and learning environment for future scholars the core question is how to promote doctoral students participation and active agency in the communities (Sweitzer 2009; Stubb et al. 2011a).

Diverse scholarly communities – mutual challenges

In developing doctoral training, the universities face a variety of complementary challenges set by the disciplinary demands of the scholarly communities, the changing needs of working life as well as the international contexts for developing doctoral education. The main question, however, is what kind of practices and processes promote high quality learning and meaningful identity development in the everyday practices of doctoral education.

Our results show that doctoral students' experience of the membership in the scholarly communities range from outsiders to novices. Moreover experienced membership was related to experienced well-being (Pyhältö et al. 2009a; Stubb et al. 2011b). This suggests that the practices adopted by the scholarly communities guide and re-shape PhD students' learning, experienced well-being and behavior in various different ways. Lonka (2003) demonstrated the value of developing a safe atmosphere, promoting adaptive cognitions about academic writing, and the importance of using peer feedback in a successful PhD process. This suggests that the success in doctoral process is affected both by the quality of practices as well as by doctoral candidates opportunities and abilities to participate in the activities.

During their doctoral experience doctoral candidates are exposed to

various sub-cultures; they participate in different kinds of peer groups and adopt various roles in dynamic and complex communities of practice. These interactions provide opportunities for agency, avoidance, opposition, and resistance: here is inevitable tension in the interactions between the different candidates. It has been, however, shown that practices that require student's own initiative, planning, experimentation and reflection in collaboration with peers and senior members of the scholarly community may promote meaningful learning (e.g. John-Steiner 2000; Mandl et al. 1996; Moss & Kubacki 2007; Rothe, Ardenghi, Boyer, Chen, Emad, Hsu, Jaime, Kim, Ardenghi, Reis, Stith & van Eijck 2007; Soini 1999). Accordingly, Pyhältö et al. (2009a) suggested that an ideal working environment for learning researcher's expertise would provide *shared* control, where supervisors and senior members of the scholarly community would intentionally facilitate and promote learning by using activating and student-centered methods in order to help PhD students to develop their research skills (e.g. Styles & Randloff 2001). This process would then create a *constructive friction* (Vermunt & Verloop 1999), the urge to gradually develop more and more sophisticated academic skills and knowledge (Pyhältö et al. 2009a).

However, it is important to acknowledge that scholarly community is not a single entity (Pyhältö & Toom 2010). This was also reflected in variety of different meanings given for the scholarly community. This suggests that research on scholarly communities should focus on exploring the communities as complex and nested entities and study them from various complementary perspectives. From the perspective of developing doctoral education, this indicates that PhD students' participation and sense of belonging can be nurtured in several different ways and parallel contexts of participation (Stubb et al. 2011a). For instance, the supervisor may facilitate students' sense of belonging in interactional research community by encouraging them to attend conferences and seminars (Nummenmaa & Alanko-Turunen 2010). On the other hand, the supervisor can use a peer group as a supervisory resource, for instance, by training them to use constructive feedback strategies (Lonka 2003). At its best, the companionship between the supervisor and the supervisee gives support and motivation for conducting thesis research and for the

development of the identity (Nummenmaa & Alanko-Turunen 2010). Students can also be encouraged to form their own support groups. Not all the social resources for development are situated in formal research and educational settings. In fact, creative learning often takes place in informal settings and boundary crossings (Zittoun 2008). Solem, Hopwood and Schlemper (2011) suggested, for instance, using “departments, through semi-planned events, such as social gatherings and professional development opportunities”, for this purposes. At its best, these kinds of informal gatherings provide forums for building networks and each other’s supplement the competences. Another reason why doctoral students’ participation in the faculty activities can be considered central is that they are the future faculty (Stubb et al. 2011b; Stubb et al. 2010a). Students are also the essential resource for creating innovations and new knowledge. Accordingly, it is important both for doctoral students as well as for scholarly communities to promote students’ participation in different networks and groups, interacting with other experts.

However, a high quality culture of learning cannot be defined in terms of a detailed collection of fixed attributes or certain set of practices carried out in a research group. Rather the focus on studying and developing doctoral education should be on the doctoral training processes as a whole, including exploring successful communities that provide different kinds of opportunities for participation. Moreover, learning and thus the best practices of doctoral training are to certain extend context dependent. This means that they need to be negotiated, constructed and re-constructed within and between the scholarly communities in which doctoral training is situated. This often requires both awareness and questioning of the existing culture, its qualitative re-analysis, and creating a culture of thinking and learning (Costa 1992; Senge 1990; Argyris 1990). Our ongoing research on PhD experience by using thorough interviews is going to shed light how PhD students and their supervisors truly experience the practices of their scholarly community. We are hoping that our ongoing and future studies help us constantly improving our practices and developing increasingly meaningful and effective ways of helping the PhD students to flourish.

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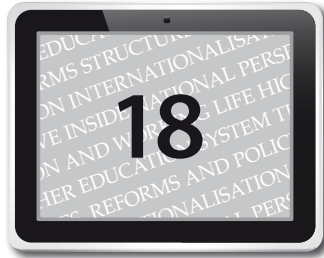
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Part V:
Higher education and working life

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Current employability and graduate employment research in Finland

Introduction

Across Europe, the Bologna Process demands that universities concentrate more on employability. The concept of employability can be found in all the main documents of the Bologna Process, but its significance has changed dramatically. In Sorbonne (1998) and in the Bologna declaration (1999) employability remained only a by-product of the harmonisation of higher education systems. The London Communiqué (2007) gave a stronger and more independent meaning for employability. The message was even more clear in the last Communiqué (Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve 2009): *Employability empowers the individual to fully seize the opportunities in changing labour markets. We aim at raising initial qualifications as well as maintaining and renewing a skilled workforce through close co-operation between governments, higher education institutions, social partners and students. This will allow institutions to be more respon-*

sive to employers needs and employers to better understand the educational perspective.

The implementation of Bologna Process is shaping Finnish universities. This can be seen in the quality assurance schemes and the employability discussion embedded in recent reforms (Puhakka, Rautopuro & Tuominen 2010). The employment of graduates has become a more significant factor for the universities. The Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture is about to operationalise the employment of graduates as a part of its funding allocation scheme. Employment surveys have also become a crucial part of the quality assurance systems of many Finnish universities. By creating quality assurance systems, universities are trying to prove to employers, students, as well as society that their education is solid and the skills and knowledge acquired at the university are transferable and relevant in today's' labour market.

Because of these trends and demands, employment statistics are needed. Higher education institutions, ministries and other stakeholders, like student and trade unions and employer organisations are keen to have this kind of information. From a scientific point of view, the kind of information in official statistics and survey data can only be viewed as raw data, which can have practical and political significance.

The focus on phenomena related to graduate employment is international – with graduates all over the world trying to find their place in the labour market upon graduation. Even if the field of graduate employment research has emerged quite recently, there are already hundreds of studies, which have analysed various aspects of the phenomena such as over-education, appropriate employment, skills, employability and regional mobility. There remains a need to study employment and employability in national contexts. Schomburg and Teichler (2006, 139) sum up current need in the key findings of CHEERS-project (Careers after Higher Education: a European Research Study: Higher Education and Graduate Employment in Europe), which was the source of over 200 publications and presentations:

the CHEERS survey demonstrates so striking disparities of graduate employment and work in the 11 European countries and Japan that common elements seem

to be at most secondary. They also concluded (2006,142) that Finally, differences between countries are more striking features of relationships between higher education and the world of work than we tend to assume in the wake of universal trends towards a "knowledge society" or presumed European and global trends of convergence.

The European Union has evidently tightened the bonds between educational systems and the labour market (Kivinen, Hedman & Kaipiainen 2007). Kivinen & Nurmi (2003) claimed that universities in Europe have become more school-like and vocational. In becoming more vocational, the contents of university studies are increasingly keyed in on the assumed needs of the labour market and various professions.

The simplistic notions of employment and employability that can be seen in the latest documents related to the Bologna Process are clearly labour market-driven (Puhakka et al. 2010). The ethos implied by the Bologna Process is that universities have to renew themselves in order for European Union to succeed in the global economic struggle. It is easy to understand why employability has become one of the core concepts in the Bologna Process. It is an answer to the twin demands from students and the labour market. Students want education that enables their smooth transition to the world of work. On the other hand the labour market wants graduates who are well suited for the world of work. The emphasis on employability reflects these short-term benefits of the university education.

With this policy discussion in the background, we will analyse the current state of employment research in Finland and in appendix 1, classify the analysed studies. The article also offers a critical examination of research in the field of employability and graduate employment in Finland. The article concentrates on analysing the Finnish higher education sector that consists of universities and polytechnics. The latter institutions are vocationally oriented higher education institutions and profile themselves as "universities of applied sciences", in the English language, although no such conceptual shift – or Finnish language translation – has occurred in the eyes of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture. Therefore, these HEIs are termed "polytechnics" in this chapter.

Finnish graduate employment research started in the 1970's

Employment research was first introduced in Finland in the 1970's (e.g. Vuorinen 1975). The first employment studies were quite small, fragmented, statistical surveys, which lacked theoretical discussion and presented findings in the form of descriptive statistics, e.g. percentages and cross-tabulations. These early efforts were linked to the recession of the 1970's and the difficulties graduates faced when trying to secure their place in the world of work. Special interest was placed in examining the situation of social sciences graduates as most of the earliest researchers on this topic were also social scientists (e.g. Seligson 1981; Laine 1987; Nurmi & Ahola 1994). This has contributed to the fact that even today most of the Finnish theoretical discussion comes from sociological theories and not from theories advanced by economists, as in some other countries. The number of surveys expanded in 1990's as academic career services were established in universities.

The establishment of the non-university sector of higher education, polytechnics and the economic recession in the early 1990's, linked to the break-up of the Eastern bloc, drove a need for evaluation research about employment of graduates, especially regarding newly launched institutions. In the context of a dual higher education system, the focus was in particular how the graduates from polytechnics were employed, compared with university graduates. The studies funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture's (MOE) were centralised in the Finnish Institute for Educational Research (FIER), University of Jyväskylä (e.g. Korhonen, Mäkinen & Valkonen 1999, 2000, 2001; Virolainen & Valkonen 2002; Vuorinen & Valkonen 2007) and in the Research Unit for the Sociology of Education (RUSE), University of Turku (e.g. Parikka 1994; Honkanen & Ahola 2003).

Besides the national and often institution-based inquiries there has been interest also in international comparative research since the 1990's onward. RUSE researchers were among the first to carry out comparative research on graduate employment (e.g. Kivinen, Ahola & Kankaanpää 1995). This came via EU-funded projects like CHEERS and later in the REFLEX-project (The Flexible Professional in the Knowledge Society).

On the national level, a new phase of information collection from the graduate labour market in Finland started, when the Confederation of Unions for Academic Professionals in Finland (AKAVA) implemented in 2000–2002 a research and development project, which aimed to develop a valid feedback system for monitoring the working life placement of university graduates (Suutari 2003). By using the experiences from the project, the Aarresaari network (Academic Career Services representing almost all the Finnish universities) has developed the questionnaire further – till present day – for these purposes.

The Aarresaari network surveys use a five-year timeframe. This is thought to produce more detailed information about career development, as graduates have had the chance to begin to establish their careers. In 2004 the very first career follow-up questionnaires were sent to the graduates of five different universities (Joensuu, Kuopio, Oulu, Tampere and Turku). The results of this survey were the first time reported by Puhakka and Tuominen (2006).

In 2008, 16 universities out of 20 took part in this survey. The four Finnish art's academies (e.g. Sibelius Academy and the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts) did not participate. In 2008 the total number of 6701 persons answered the survey, with a response rate of 56 %. This was considered good, compared with many other international surveys (e.g. Schomburg & Teichler 2006). The biggest contribution of the Aarresaari network survey is that it has been gathering nationwide information. The Aarresaari-network data is stored in the Finnish Social Science Data Archive (FSD), where it is available for research and teaching purposes. This should help researchers to study the phenomena as there is little reason to collect yet another dataset.

Four types of graduate employment research in Finland

Finnish employment or employability research can be roughly categorised into four types. The difference between these is rooted in the purpose of the research. It is important to mention that these four dif-

ferent types of research may utilise the same databases, but for different purposes.

The first type of research is done or funded by trade unions or other stakeholder institutions (e.g. Vuorinen 1975; Suutari 2003; Tyni 2005; Puhakka & Rautopuro 2008; Koivumäki 2009). This kind of research is clearly policy driven. It is done mainly to explore the current employment situation, normally within specific occupations or with concerning specific fields of education. From the methodological point of view this kind of research utilizes mainly quantitative approaches. A good example of this first type concerns trade unions, as stakeholders are trying to influence education policy. During recent decades, trade unions have realised the need and importance of reliably collected information and adequate conclusions based on that information. The ideologically-driven claim would be that unions have noticed that strategically-used statistics are the cornerstone of a democratic state (Eurostat 2008, 179). One of the main policy arguments is that the over-supply of new graduates in the fields of education impacting certain unions should be avoided by the Ministry of Education and Culture, which funds university education in Finland. The published reports from these studies are referred to as 'grey-literature', specifically, interest-driven, not peer-reviewed, lacking theoretical discussion and dissemination to the wider scientific community. These reports are mainly published by the funders. Often the data collected can be put to use also in scientific research, but this has seldom been done.

The second type of research is conducted or funded by higher education institutions (e.g. Mäläskä 1988; Rantala 1989; Vanttinen 1999; Tuominen, Rautopuro & Puhakka 2008a; Erlund, Kraufvelin & Kuusakoski 2008). Almost all Finnish universities have carried out follow-up surveys of their graduates. These surveys are clearly practise-oriented. Those carrying out this sort of research mainly utilise simplistic interpretative frameworks in surveys. Normally, employed graduates are asserted as *de facto* evidence of high quality education. This "magic-bullet" model (Harvey 2001) does not take into account other factors, in addition to higher education graduation that contribute to the graduate employment.

The data collected in these sorts of studies may have been used in the curricula design, but the way in which different institutions utilise these

results varies substantially. Some universities publish the results and use them as a part of their quality assurance systems, while others do not publish the results. If published, these results usually lack theoretical discussion, as well as the dissemination with the wider scientific community. The data collection and analysis may be done with scientific precision, but since its purpose is not explanatory, there is normally no perceived need or time for more advanced interpretation or analysis. From methodological point of view universities mainly rely on quantitative approaches. This type of research is the predominant mode of employment research in Finland at this time.

A third line of inquiry is driven by the government or official bodies either funding the research or producing it with researchers employed by these organizations (e.g. Haapakorpi 1989; Poropudas 1992, 2004). This is clearly policy-driven research. When government or official bodies fund employability research, there are policy issues and agendas in play. A perceived 'need' is the driving force for this type of research. 'Reliable' information is perceived to be needed in order to purportedly make education policy, regional policy and employment policy more effective or justify a particular course of action. The planning of education needs empirical evidence from the relationship between education and work, the basic questions often focus on societal needs, regarding particular professions. This research is used, for example, when the Ministry of Education and Culture weighs the allocation of study places between different fields of education. These reports are grey-literature, as defined above. The data is acquired mainly from surveys or government collected statistics.

The fourth pillar is curiosity-driven research originating from the scientific community. This research aims to generate knowledge regarding the scientific understanding of employment and employability phenomena (e.g. Kivinen, Nurmi & Salminiitty 2000; Lindberg 2005; Sainio 2008; Stenström, Laine & Valkonen 2005; Vuorinen & Valkonen 2007; Rautopuro, Tuominen & Puhakka 2008 and 2011; Puhakka et al. 2010; Virolainen, Vuorinen, Stenström & Valkonen 2008; Vuorinen-Lampila & Stenström in press). Results are published in scientific peer-reviewed journals or monographs. This kind of research is geographically scat-

tered. There are few hotspots like RUSE and FIER (Mentioned above). In addition, there are individual researchers in various universities that are interested in employment research.

The institutions and the researchers

At a superficial level there exists reliable information on the employment situation of university graduates one year after their graduation. Statistics Finland, a governmental agency, classifies the employment situation of all graduates by using the information gathered the very last day of the year following their graduation. This information used to be found in the KOTA and AMKOTA online databases maintained by Ministry of Education and Culture. These databases should be available in a new portal in 2012, after a renewal that is currently taking its place. However, the classification in these public databases, specifically, 'having a job', provides only minimal information. It does not help to understand how the graduate labour market works, or how the transition from higher education to work happens. Placement in working life from the higher education institutions has also been monitored by trade unions and employer organisations, institutions of higher education and Statistics Finland. This monitoring has been focusing mainly on quantitative aspects (e.g. unemployment rate).

At FIER, studies on graduate employment are mainly carried out at national level. The latest projects utilize official national statistics by Statistics Finland. Modes of inquiry rooted in psychology and education are represented in studies of graduates' skills, competences, expertise and learning (e.g. Tynjälä, Slotte, Nieminen, Lonka & Olkinuora 2004, 2006; Stenström, Laine & Valkonen 2005; Stenström 2006). As a multi-disciplinary research institute, the researchers at FIER use a wide range of theoretical backgrounds in the research of graduate employment instead of one particular theoretical orientation. They have investigated professionals in terms of the information society, in particular those working in symbolic-analytical job tasks, profiling skills needed in different study fields.

The research approach of RUSE is the sociology of education, with its strong and established theoretical basis, which emphasizes the tension between reproduction and transformation, stratification and social equity. In general, sociology is one of the most frequent sources of theory in higher education employment research (Teichler 1999). The researchers at The University of Turku participate in international research projects that investigate employment phenomena using large-scale comparative surveys. Their researchers have been productive and by using these comparative surveys they have managed to produce at least four dissertations (Kokko 2003; Kanervo 2006; Lindberg 2008; Honkanen 2010). Typical for these dissertations is the fact that they occur in collaboration within the international scientific community.

It is clearly identifiable that the research done in FIER and in RUSE is mainly motivated by curiosity-driven academic research interests. Researchers publish most of their results in scientific journals, although they are also presenting basic information about the comparative results in Finnish for more or less administrative purposes (e.g. Kivinen, Nurmi & Kanervo 2002.) Researchers have aimed to contribute to the development of theories relevant to employment and influence the current state of affairs in Finnish higher education policy.

The field of employability research is still quite new in Finland. This means that besides academic researchers there are researchers who are interested in the phenomena, but who are working within the field only part-time in different institutions. Employability research is for these researchers just one of the interest points of their research career. The weakness of these sorts of research projects is the fact that they are not funded per se, rather researchers carry them out on a voluntary basis, as a subproject of other work and/or their personal research interests. The strength of this research rests on merits linked to disinterested, curiosity-driven research, in pursuit of new knowledge, as opposed to research driven by clear vested interests. The authors note some researchers that have moved from practically-oriented analysis to theoretically driven research, beginning their career with 'grey-literature', later using the same data for robust, scientific studies.

Observations

Emphasis on quantitative studies

The favoured paradigm in employability research in Finland is positivist, relying on a natural science model where knowledge is perceived as being value-free, external to the knower and perceived as “reliable” (Johnston 2003). The positivist paradigm has meant heavy reliance on surveys and other quantitative studies that focus on official statistics and census-data. Quantitative data has proved useful in building macro pictures of phenomena linked to employability, as well as identifying trends. Large-scale surveys offer ‘snapshots’ of what is happening in the Finnish labour market. They offer information based on the responses of large numbers of individuals who are representative of the population from which they are taken. The response rates in these Finnish large-scale surveys have been reasonably good, in methodological terms.

Many survey studies, especially those carried out by universities for practical or quality assurance purposes, rely on producing basic descriptive statistics, with limited use of contextual and interpretative framing. The problem inherent in these sorts of efforts is their emphasize on breadth, at the expense of conceptual depth. Problems arise when subject groupings are aggregated in order to achieve adequate cell sizes and to make larger analysis feasible. This may inadvertently conceal significant differences within aggregated groups. It is not difficult to find conceptually ungrounded questionnaire items in these types of surveys, For example, when respondents are asked to classify the nature of their work, in the Aarresaari-questionnaire (cited above), the extent to which analytically meaningful comparisons of doctors, insurance clerks and social workers can be made is not clear.

These researchers also use more sophisticated analysis methods, for example, multivariate methods like regression analysis and principal component analysis, as the (questionably aggregated) data sets make this possible. However, it is fair to ask if these statistical analyses are being used to test hypothesis, rather than generate them (with the help of computer assisted analysis tools.)

Because many Finnish employability researchers over-rely on quantitative data, there is a clear deficit in conceptually understanding the phenomena. The Ministry of Education and Culture (MOE) wants information on the employment situation of graduates. Universities also want this kind of information both for their own purposes and because of MOE requirements. And since the MOE strongly steers universities, based on these numbers, in the form of funding allocation schemes, it should come as no shock that methodological path dependency emerges. The Finnish Student Union is also interested in comparisons between universities and – as the other actors mentioned – perceive that quantitative data suits their purposes. It is safe to say that Finnish public policy, as a whole, is relying on ‘numbers’. Qualitative researchers or teams using combined methods have not carved a firm foothold in the rhetoric of Finnish employment and employability policy discussions.

Interest-driven and scientific research orientation

Much of the research examined in this chapter appears to be interest-driven. Trade unions try to maintain or raise the positional status of their members and present their findings in a way designed to influence policy makers, in order that their views are accepted and adopted, with corresponding changes in educational policy. Interest-driven research is often so called grey literature, which lacks discussion with other researchers. This kind of research is often rooted in either manpower-based analysis (e.g. Vuorinen 1974; Tyni 2005) or various forms of human capital theories (e.g. Sainio 2007, 2009b). To summarize the trade unions point of view: The solution to problems with the transition to the labour market or private returns (earnings) can both be solved by reducing the numbers of graduates (within their focal policy scope).

Theoretical frameworks that have been utilized in Finnish employability studies include the job competition model (Aro 2003), screening-frameworks (Helo & Uusitalo 1995), education-to-work transition (Lindberg 2008). There have been very few employment studies done in Finland that have tried to introduce new theories or raise new insights.

Conceptually speaking, state-of-the-art conceptual debate and theory generation on employability does exist, but mainly outside, not inside, Finland.

Newer scientifically-orientated studies on employment research mirrors efforts visible in international literature. At the moment, there is ongoing discussion about 'skills and skills gaps' (e.g. Puhakka 2011). Regional mobility (e.g. Tuominen 2011) and the changing world of work (e.g. Sainio 2011). Studies of the economics of education are, however, quite scarce in Finland. There are a few researchers who have studied 'over-education' and its financial consequences (e.g. Rautopuro 2011), but this topic is not as popular as in some other countries.

The discussion about 'skills gap'

The discussion about skills- or, rather, a 'skills gap' has been ongoing in Finnish employment research in recent times. The rationale is quite straightforward; surveys ask what kinds of skills are needed in graduates' jobs and how – or if – education has improved these skills. If a skill is perceived as needed – more than it has been improved within university education – this is interpreted as a skills gap between labour market needs and university education (e.g. Ollikainen & Lindholm 2009). However, time frame issues pose fatal problems to the generation of robust interpretations. When graduates have been in labour market for five years and acquired extra schooling (paid mostly by their employer), it is difficult to distinguish with precision what originates from university education versus professional training. These debates, generally, are in need of more rigorous level of analyses.

Time frames in employability studies

A strong point of Finnish employability research has been the utilization of different time frames than, for example, UK versions of 'first destination' surveys, currently known as Destination of Leavers from Higher

Education Institutions, which collects data six months after graduation (Higher Education Statistics Agency, HESA). By using the time frame of five years and by including work histories in the questionnaires, the Aarresaari network has collected information about graduates' employment experiences using five-year time periods. For academic researchers, this time frame has proved useful. Five years after graduation a transition phase is over, for many graduates and they have begun to secure their place in the world of work. The five-year approach has helped researchers understand the different trajectories graduates have. It also enables us to analyse what kind of skills and knowledge are needed in the world of work. On the other hand, a five-year period is far too long if the higher education institutions are hoping to make adjustments to curricula based on graduate experiences. This type of need might better be fulfilled by questionnaires that explore the situation a year after graduation.

Regional point of view

Since the 1960's, expansion of Finnish university education was based, in part, on regional policy. Because of this, the regional mobility of graduates have been analysed quite frequently (e.g. Turkulainen 1985; Ritsilä & Haapanen 2003; Virolainen & Valkonen 2002; Saarivirta & Consoli 2007; Kurikka 2008; Puhakka, Rautopuro & Tuominen 2009; Tuominen 2011). A constant finding in net-migration studies is that particular university regions are losing graduates year after year and are suffering from brain drain. This conventional way of thinking, however, does not take into account the residence history of graduates, before their studies. Thinking of or analysing graduates as being the resources of the region where the university is located is problematic, if not erroneous.

Challenges for graduate employability research in Finland

Most of the latest employment research has a strong empirical base, but due to its practically oriented nature, the purpose and aims of the

research often lacks theoretical grounding. This is especially true in reports or 'grey-area publications', where either the trade unions or higher education institutions present interest-driven findings. It is surprising also that many of the writers do not cross-refer to one another, even if it can clearly be seen that they have read other's work.

Graduates have been eager to participate in the research. However, there is anecdotal evidence that fatigue linked to answering questionnaires may become an issue in the future. The reason for this is that during the same year graduates may receive from three to five different surveys that basically ask the same thing: 'How they are doing in the world of work'. Universities are collecting data for their own purposes, as are trade unions, selected university departments or projects and on top of that some individual researchers, collecting data for a thesis or a dissertation are sending their questionnaires as well.

One striking feature in Finnish employment research has been the fact that only seldom have employers been asked what they want from new graduates. This seems peculiar, especially when one considers how powerful employer organisations have been in shaping Finnish education policy. Notably exceptions to this include Vuorinen (1975), Lindström (1981) and Alamäki (1992).

Conclusions

From the 1970's, an ongoing discussion in Finland has centred on whether university education should be aimed directly at particular professions, or whether it is more important to try to equip students with skills and knowledge which will help them to be employable, in general (e.g. Vuorinen 1974; Nevanto 1987; Haapakorpi 1989; Puhakka 2011). The findings consistently indicate that graduates with education not aimed at particular professions, have found it more difficult to secure their place in the world of work. Especially social sciences, humanities and to a lesser degree also natural sciences are mentioned as problematic fields depending on the studies. However, it is important to notice that employment problems are relative. When compared to people with lesser

amounts of education, higher education, in and of itself, is still good security against inappropriate employment and/or unemployment.

Survey results basically confirm this picture. There are minor variations in percentages, but the big picture remains basically unaltered. There have been only a few new insights in the research field. Lindberg's (2005) notion of non-traditional students is one of those. Finnish employment research clearly needs new theoretical insights, as well as new methodological approaches. Qualitative follow-ups or surveys within combined methods designs may very well shine a new light on different graduate trajectories.

The accumulated database in Finland is quite strong. Because the Aarresaari-network has deposited its data in the FSD it is possible for researchers to use this for analytically driven secondary analyses of this data. There is no need to collect new datasets, since most of the information in Aarresaari-networks surveys is still underutilized.

One may ask whether university-based surveys can contribute to scientific research, or are those only done for practical or quality assurance purposes. At the moment university-based surveys are utilised mainly for latter reasons. However, this data could also be used in a way that it could contribute to an increasing understanding of employment phenomena. However at this moment there are only few researchers who are interested in this and for them these types of studies are only looked upon as side-projects. The most important contribution to scientific community comes from research projects that are funded by the Academy of Finland or the EC. Only these researchers have enough time to concentrate on scientific study of employment phenomena directed at the state-of-the-art knowledge and linked policy implications. Funding from the Ministry of Education and Culture has proved to be inadequate, as the short time frames do not allow conceptually grounded studies on which robust policy analysis can be based. Because of this, only vague ideas can be discussed in reports which are irrelevant to peer-reviewed scientific discussion. Much of the collected data is left underutilised.

In the European context, the implications of this chapter illuminate several important issues for the research communities both inside and outside Finland. When analyzing the transition from Higher Education

to the world of work, researchers should carefully think about the time-frame they are utilizing in their design. As working life in several countries has become less secure, short timeframes will not necessarily reveal the nature of employment issues. There are many cross-sectional studies that are retrospective in nature, but what is missing and needed are both well organised follow-up-studies and qualitative studies. These approaches could bring a fresh perspective on phenomena related to employment, as well as enhancing our understanding of transitions to the world of work. The Finnish experience shows that using overly simplistic notions of employment (i.e. whether a graduate is either employed or unemployed) should not be the only measurement used in quality assurance schemes. By using these kinds of oversimplifications measurements to rank HEIs, it might lead to limited, if not entirely erroneous conclusions about the quality of higher education.

Appendix 1. *The classification of Finnish employability research. * marks scientific studies*

- 1) Large-scale statistical analysis with the help of surveys within Finnish context (e.g. Turkulainen 1985*; Suutari 2003; Hämäläinen 2003; Korhonen & Sainio 2006; Saarivirta & Consoli 2007; Kurikka 2008*; Sainio 2008; Tuominen; Puhakka & Rautopuro 2009*; Puhakka et al 2009*; Minkkinen 2009; Puhakka 2011*; Rautopuro 2011*; Sainio 2011*; Tuominen 2011*)
- 2) Statistical analysis with the help of surveys concentrating in individual universities (e.g. Mäläskä 1988; Rantala 1989; Alamäki & Mäläskä 1991; Karjalainen 1994; Vänttinen 1999; Haarala 2000; Puhakka & Tuominen 2002; Korhonen 2004; Puhakka & Tuominen 2005; Puhakka, Rautopuro & Tuominen 2006; Manninen & Luukannel 2006; Haapakorpi, Manninen & Paasto 2007; Sainio & Siitonen 2007; Siitonen 2007; Haapakorpi & Paasto 2008; Erlund et al. 2008; Tuominen et al. 2008a; Tuominen, Rautopuro & Puhakka 2008b*; Ollikainen & Lindholm 2009; Tuominen, Rautopuro & Puhakka 2011*; Puhakka, Rautopuro & Tuominen 2008*; Puhakka et al. 2010*)

- 3) Large-scale statistical analysis of graduate experiences with the international comparative aspect, in the shape of surveys (e.g. Manninen & Hobrough 2000*; Kokko 2003*; Honkanen & Ahola 2003*; Kanervo 2006*; Lindberg 2008*; Kivinen & Nurmi 2009*; Honkanen 2010*; Saarikallio, Hellsten & Juutilainen 2008*)
- 4) Economic analysis of graduate employment which focus on overeducation and returns of education type of research (Helo & Uusitalo 1995*; Aro 2003*; Kivinen et al. 2007*)
- 5) Surveys concentrating to certain fields of education. These can be limited to one or more universities (e.g. Vuorinen 1975; Seligson 1981; Ahola 1986; Laine 1987; Nevanto 1987; Isaksson & Sjöblom 2001; Tyni 2005; Sainio 2007; Vuorinen & Valkonen 2007; Rautopuro et al. 2008*; Sainio 2009a; Sainio 2009b; Vuorinen-Lampila & Stenström in press*)
- 6) Employers' perspectives of their needs and accounts of their recruitment practices (Vuorinen 1976; Lindström 1981; Alamäki 1992)

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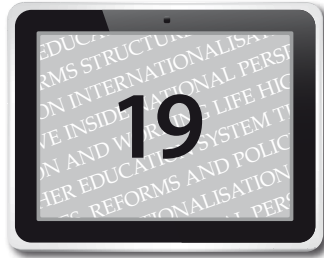
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The three phases of the research and development activities in the Finnish universities of applied sciences

Introduction

During the past couple of decades, the Finnish higher education has been systematically developed on the basis of the Dual Model. Next to the traditional university education, a new path of professional higher education has emerged. A regionally comprehensive network of universities of applied sciences has been established in Finland. In this chapter, we analyze the different phases of research and development activities in the Finnish universities of applied sciences, as well as examine the discourses pertinent to the topic and how these have evolved.

The course of development in the Finnish universities of applied sciences

The development of the Finnish universities of applied sciences (UAS) can be divided into three different phases. The first phase covers the experimental period of professional higher education from 1992 towards the gradual regularization of the UAS system during 1996–2000. Universities of applied sciences were created on the basis of vocational institutes. Their aim to acquire the status of an institute of higher education was pursued by means of developing the curricula and crafting novel pedagogic practices. A discourse on the relationship between education in general and both vocational and academic higher education was characteristic to the first phase (e.g. Herranen 2003, 168–172).

During the second phase of development in the beginning of the 2000s, strengthening the status of UASs was placed in the foreground. The main focus was on expanding the institute's core functions, and content development pertinent to them. The UAS Act (Act 2003) defined the mission of the institutions including the carrying out of applied research and development, and the supporting of regional development. Accrediting professional master's degrees was a significant step for the new institutions towards becoming legitimate universities (Kekäle et al. 2004; Pratt et al. 2004), and the transfer to the ECTS (European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System) signified joining the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) (ARENE 2006). Table 1 summarizes the three phases.

During the third phase at the end of the first decade of the 2000s, structural development and quality assurance have emerged as the principal developmental goals in the universities of applied sciences. The objective of structural development is the creation of larger units of higher education through various cooperation agreements and fusions. Public discourse has emphasized innovation activities, which has also become a core concept in the discourse on universities of applied sciences.

Table 1. *The phases of professional higher education in Finland*

| Creation of the universities of applied sciences system 1992–2000 | Expansion of activities and content development 2000–2005 | Structural development 2005– |
|---|---|--|
| Setting up the UAS Bachelor's Degree programs 1992– Regularizing of the UAS system 1996–2000 | Research and development activities as the basic mission of the UASs 2003 Research and development activities as the basic mission of the UASs 2003 Joining the Bologna Process through the ECTS-credit transfer system | Structural development, from 2007– in particular Auditing the quality assurance systems 2005– Highlighting innovation activities |

Foundations of professional higher education in Finland

The Finnish universities of applied sciences strive to distinguish themselves from academic higher education. This becomes apparent particularly in the emphasis on working life-oriented competence and innovation activities, which are at least partly based on a new kind of concept of knowledge. Moreover, these three concepts (knowledge, competence, and innovation) facilitate analysing the progress in research and development activities in the UASs.

Knowledge. The professional point of departure of universities of applied sciences has been marked by a re-evaluation of the concept of knowledge. To some extent, the aim has been to adopt the traditional academic concept of knowledge. In turn, however, a new kind of practical concept of knowledge has attracted much interest. This discourse becomes apparent in the different phases of research and development activities. The question is of whether the main emphasis is laid on development only, or should a research-oriented approach be equally included. Support for this discourse has been found, for instance, in the conception of Gibbons et al. (1994), according to which a so-called Mode 2 knowledge has emerged alongside of the academic Mode 1 knowledge (Nowotny et al. 2001). New knowledge transpires where people live and operate. The validity of such knowledge is assessed according to its feasibility.

Hence, the conception of knowledge has become more inclusive and comprehensive. According to Asheim et al. (2006), there are different forms of knowledge: analytic, synthetic and symbolic. Analytic knowledge emphasizes the importance of scientific research which is based on the dominance of codified knowledge. This type of knowledge is often generated in collaboration between researchers and other specialist. Synthetic knowledge underscores the importance of applied research which also utilizes tacit knowledge and may have various interacting contributors, such as researchers, consultants, consumers and citizens. Symbolic knowledge calls attention to the crucial role of challenging existing conventions. Symbolic knowledge often surfaces as an outcome of interaction within the professional community, but it also emerges from other sources, such as youth and street culture.

The academic community hence no longer has the monopoly in producing knowledge. The knowledge construction has undergone a paradigm shift, of which John Ziman (2000) uses the term 'post academic science'. The new means of knowledge production have provided an opportunity to produce practical knowledge in professional higher education.

Competence. For universities of applied sciences, competence has always been a fundamental concept. In the beginning, the term 'professional and reflective expertise' was used instead. Along with the Bologna process and expressly the framework for European degrees (European Commission 2008) the concept of competence was adopted in the discourse on universities of applied sciences. At that time, the development of competence based curricula began in earnest (cf. ARENE 2006; Kallioinen 2007). At that point, the assessment of learning outcomes became established as the point of departure of the curricula. The points of departure in the Finnish higher professional education include a multifaceted concept of competence. On the one hand, it can be defined on the basis of an individual's qualities; on the other hand, it can be based on the competence requirements of the relevant job description (Ellström 1998, 41–44; cf. Delamere-Le Deist & Winterton 2005). Along with knowledge and meta competences, education in the Finnish UASs highlights social skills and concrete functional competences. The general aim of the education is to produce competence that meets the requirements in working life; especially competence called for in the future.

Innovation. During the first decade of the 2000s, also innovation has been embodied as one of the key functions of higher professional education. However, the concept of innovation is rather obscure, and the paradigms that direct the Finnish innovation activities have fluctuated. In his analysis of innovation environments, Kautonen (2008, 69–73) differentiates two types of learning models: those accentuating learning based on science and research, and the models that lay emphasis on learning through experience and client processes.

A decisive point in innovation activities is their division into planning-oriented and process-oriented development (Alasoini 2006, 39). In planning-oriented development, the aim is to demarcate and define the different phases of the process, as accurately as possible, in order to obtain a predictable and easily controllable activity.

By contrast, process-oriented development gives priority to openness, variable phasing and digression. The process-oriented outlook accepts the reshaping of the activities and the activity environment. Hence, development is viewed as a social process (Krogh et al. 2000) that characteristically contains reflective activities (Carr & Kemmis 1986; Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995).

The question of what paradigm or development concept directs the activities in universities of applied sciences is a challenging one. On the one hand, the ongoing discourse advocates in earnest the significance of centralizing competence and pursuing top expertise; on the other hand, the meaning and substance of learning together, as well as other issues, such as encouraging students to participate in development activities, are strongly asserted.

The research objective

Finnish higher education policy has adopted the concept of research and development [R&D] activities. The same concept is used in the context of applied research, as well as in regard with development activities. Generally, the concept is used as such, and no distinction is made whether the issue concerns research or development. The one and the same concept is

used in discussions on either research done by lecturers, practical development activities, or students' theses.

R&D activities can be discussed on many levels and through a variety of meanings. The concept has been approached from the viewpoints of pedagogics, working life development, and different result indicators. The question of how R&D activities are organized is also linked to the discussion; in other words, whether R&D activities are closely connected to the educational process or should be viewed as a separate issue. (E.g. Marttila et al. 2005, 30–39.)

In this chapter, the question is how R&D activities have been discussed during the different phases of developing the universities of applied sciences in Finland. Along with descriptions of the shifts in the discourse we ask: who is represented as the subject of the R&D activities? What does the activity consist of, and whose subject is in question? At the end, we also return to the concept of knowledge in R&D activities, as well as to the viewpoint of innovation activities and student competence.

Our research data consists of official and semi-official documents as well as published contemporary discussions. Firstly, the core part of the data consists of the annual reports and publications of the Rectors' Conference of Finnish Universities of Applied Sciences [ARENE], publications of the Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council (FINHEEC), and the development plans, memorandums, and reports of the Finnish Ministry of Education [OPM]¹. Secondly, we have analyzed the ongoing contemporary discussion in UASs through various electronic publications, and utilized studies that examine the circumstances of R&D activities during different eras. We have also gone through, largely as case studies, the strategies and directions of individual UASs and their fields of studies. We have analyzed the data from the point of departure of content-oriented analysis by studying each phase separately. We cannot introduce our analysis systematically here; instead, we focus on describing the general guidelines and analysing the key changes of R&D activities in our findings.

¹ From 1st May 2010 Ministry of Education and Culture

The first steps towards research and development activities

The first phase in the reform of Finnish UASs dates back to the period of 1992–2000. However, from the perspective of R&D activities, the phase was not at all coherent. In regard to the higher education policy, the period was divided into the experimental phase in 1992–1995 and the regularization phase (1996–2000) which followed the 1995 UAS Act (Act 1995).

Education was the point of departure in the reform of universities of applied sciences. At first, R&D activities were brought up only in discussions concerning the educational mission. R&D activities were seen as belonging to the framework of the students' learning process in general, and writing their theses in particular (e.g. Hakulinen 1996; Vesa 1996, 151). The core point was teaching an exploratory and improvement-oriented working method. At that time a lively discussion was going on about the theses produced at the UASs and the university Pro Gradu theses, and their forms and differences in relation to each other (e.g. Hakala 1996; Stenvall 1999).

Emphasizing the importance of teachers was characteristic to the first phase. Teachers' teams held a central position in developing the education due to the fact that the curricula were not regulated by the administration. An important aim was to raise the teacher qualifications by further education; they were supported not only in completing a Master's Degree, but also encouraged to continue their academic studies at higher degree levels. The discourse during the initial phase also included a debate on creating a R&D oriented category of teachers alongside the traditional teacher educators (Kinnunen et al. 1994). The category of principal lecturer was officially defined in the 1995 Universities of Applied Sciences Act.

A statement on the possibility to implement R&D work was also included in the 1995 Act, but the task was not considered as obligatory: *Within the bounds of its educational mission prescribed by law, universities of applied sciences may carry out research and development that serves the education in universities of applied sciences and supports the world of work.* (Act 1995).

R&D activities were directed towards development work together with applied research activities. At the end of the millennium, the Ministry of Education began to call attention to reinforcing R&D activities (e.g. OPM 1999), which denoted the initiation of strategies, among other things. The universities of applied sciences perceived the strategy texts to indicate that R&D activities principally consisted of theses written by students and teachers, as well as of other applied research (e.g. Vuolio 1998).

R&D activities in the first phase discourse were actor-oriented. The meaning of R&D activities as organizational activity was not yet structured, though the first strategies had already been composed. Teachers and students acted as the subjects of development, and the activities were based on learning together. Discussions on R&D activities were particularly focused on the students' theses, and on the research connected with the teachers' postgraduate degrees.

The regularization of research and development activities

The universities of applied sciences faced new challenges when the process of their regularization was completed in 2000. This was the time to move on to the second phase of development. The key question now was the expansion of the core tasks of the UASs, and the related content development.

The discourse on expanding the core tasks revolved around whether or not R&D work was a core function of universities of applied sciences. R&D work gradually came to be considered a core task of the institution. Although a broader conception of the mission of the UASs received support, the change was by no means instantaneous. In the 2002 publication of the Rectors' Conference of Finnish Universities of Applied Sciences titled *On Your Own Path* the central position of the educational task of the UASs was underlined. In the book rector Pentti Maljojoki (2002, 239) emphasized the identity work and stated: *To develop and maintain universities of applied sciences' high-level teaching, studying, and learning environments must be chosen to be the fundamental core of identity work.*

The core task expansion discourse focused on regional networking as well (e.g. Tulkki & Lyytikäinen 2001). Regional development became the central theme also in the reports of The Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council (FINHEEC). However, the concept of R&D activities had not yet become properly systematized. In appraisals of universities of applied sciences, the conception of R&D activities was associated with theses and practical training in the customary manner (e.g. Huttula 2001, 7). In the appraisal of the regional effectiveness of higher education institutions, research, as usual, was discussed as a function of higher education institutions rather than integrated R&D activities (e.g. Kinnunen 2001, 12–13).

The diversification of the core functions could be observed when the discourse on R&D activities extended beyond individual researches and theses. For instance Kinnunen (2002, 245) categorized R&D activities to the development work students did for their theses, research by teachers, and R&D work done by the staff in different projects. In several contexts the service function, i.e. various client-oriented work and service performances, was equated with research and development (e.g. Tulkki & Lyytikäinen 2001, 30; Saurio & Heikkinen 2004, 14).

The second phase of the development of the UASs culminated in the 2003 Act. In the Act, R&D activities were approached as the core task of universities of applied sciences: *Working on research, artistic and cultural premises, universities of applied sciences shall provide higher education for professional expert jobs based on the requirements of working life and its development; support the professional growth of individuals; and carry out applied research and development that serves education, supports the world of work and regional development, and takes the industrial structure of the region into account.* (Act 2003.)

The new definition was linked to a substantial structural development. Universities of applied sciences drafted R&D strategies, identified focal points and specified research programs. The Ministry of Education required binding the strategies with regional development and other such development programs: *Universities of applied sciences are to interconnect R&D strategies with provincial programs, specific programs consistent with regional development goals such as centers of excellence; as well as with the regional and structural policy programs of the European Union and other cen-*

tral strategic objectives for the region (OPM 2004, 73). The definition called attention to the division of labor between traditional universities and universities of applied sciences. R&D activities of universities of applied sciences were steered primarily to support regional, local and individual company specific development programs.

R&D activities expanded rapidly. Funding for R&D activities was used as the central indicator; in 2000–2005 the costs of research activities in universities of applied sciences more than tripled (ARENE 2008, 53). Although project activities were emphasized, the actual objectives were directed at regional development work and strategic partnership rather than individual projects (e.g. Saurio & Heikkinen 2004, 66; Suvinen et al. 2006). Managers and coordinators of R&D activities were hired in universities of applied sciences. Their job descriptions contained the administrative planning of the entire organization. Moreover, they became central subjects of activities next to the principal lecturers responsible for professional field-specific development.

Decentralization and centralization of activities evoked debates. Some universities of applied sciences founded separate R&D units (e.g. Seinäjoki UAS), whereas some underscored the importance of solid integration of teaching and R&D activities. In the Laurea University of Applied Sciences a new 'learning by development' model was devised, in which the different functions of universities of applied sciences were integrated (Laurea 2004).

Also the Ministry of Education underlined the solid integration of teaching and R&D activities in preference to separate units of R&D activities: In regard to carrying out the core functions of the UASs it is essential that, instead of establishing separate research units detached from other activities and teaching in the educational institution, universities of applied sciences organize their R&D work in such a way that it interacts with teaching, working life, and regional development continuously and as closely as possible (OPM 2004, 74). The central dilemma becomes apparent in the strategic policy lines of the Ministry of Education. On the one hand, the objective is to carry out substantial projects that support regional development; on the other hand, it is intended to tightly integrate R&D activities with teaching.

The beginning of the 2000s was also the time of intense content development. This required taking a close look at many questions of principle. Particularly the relationship between research and development demanded resolution. Päivi Karttunen and Jouko Tuomi (2003) attempted to reinforce the foundation of R&D activities by combining research-based knowledge and practical knowledge. Moreover, even epistemological grounds were sought for a proper definition of the R&D activities of the UASs. There was an endeavour to get detached from the tradition of academic research by talking about two different kinds of knowledge referring, for instance, to Gibbons et al. (1994): the scientific mode 1 knowledge and the mode 2 knowledge that emerges from practice (e.g. Rissanen 2005).

In regard to R&D activities, the situation in the beginning of the millennium was twofold. On the one hand, emphasis was placed on the reinforcement of the legitimate status of R&D activities through composing strategies, among other things. This created space for the administrative officials. Research managers and coordinators became central subjects of defining R&D activities. On the other hand, extensive questions of principle about the nature of R&D activities remained unsolved. The construction process of R&D activities progressed quite openly, without any specifically defined objectives. The forms of R&D activities were rather diverse indeed. Students' theses and broader strategic lines; academic research conducted by teachers, and very practical development were all discussed in the same contexts. The principal lecturers appeared central education field-specific subjects together with other actors.

Towards established research, development, and innovation activities

In the third phase, the status of the UASs as higher education institutions is fully established. The Bologna process has meant the development of master level degrees, and precise definitions of the standards of the competence produced through the education. These processes have required an in-depth analysis of the competence needs of the working life, as well

as insightful outlook on content. From the standpoint of R&D activities, the third phase has focused attention on structural development, which originates, for instance, in the Lisbon Strategy, and the subsequent promotion of European and national competitiveness accordant with the Lisbon agenda (OPM 2007a, 10). Efforts have been made to find a place for R&D activities as part of national and international network of institutions of higher education (e.g. OPM 2010, 21).

In addition to structural development, the Bologna process has stressed the importance of quality assessment in higher educational institutions. In 2005, the Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council initiated the audits of the quality assurance systems of the UASs (KKA 2007). The evaluation of R&D activities has begun as well, along with the higher education evaluation (e.g. Harmaakorpi, Myllykangas & Rauhala 2010; Löytönen, Schwab-Matkovic, Spaapen & Varmola 2010). This has reinforced the shift of attention from the contents of R&D activities towards the formal activities of the systems. Administrative officials who monitor the processes and their indicators have enhanced their own position as central subjects.

New points of emphasis are perceivable also in the definitions of R&D activities. In the education and development plan 2007–2012 of the Finnish Ministry of Education (OPM 2007b), the concept of R&D activities has been replaced with the concept of research, development, and innovation (R&D&I) activities. Common competencies of UAS degrees, as updated by ARENE, contain a corresponding conceptual change: the term ‘development competence’ is replaced with ‘innovation competence’ (ARENE 2010).

In innovation activities, international operations have been moved up next to regional development (e.g. OPM 2010, 22). The 2008 action and economic plan of the Finnish Ministry of Education, for instance, defines the following goal for R&D&I activities: *The objective is an internationally high-level, competent and good-quality network of higher education institutions that provides research-based teaching aimed at expert and development work, and where high-level research and development work is done for promoting regional development and meeting the needs of the working life in the region* (OPM 2008).

The emphasis in innovation work is placed on demand-, user-, and need-orientation (OPM 2010, 21–22): *Universities of applied sciences reinforce their need-oriented/demand- and user-oriented R&D&I activities, as well as improve its quality and effectiveness. In particular, the R&D&I activities related to small and medium sized businesses and the public sector activities, as well as the development of service innovations are increased. The participation of universities of applied sciences in the Centres of Excellence program and activities of strategic top competence clusters is intensified.* Emphasizing the user-orientation is one of the most central third-phase discourses on the content of research and development activities. User-orientation is linked with the strong international trend and permeates all fields of education.

At the moment, the reinforcement of innovation systems and commercializing innovations, development of a research funding system, promotion of entrepreneurship, and internationalization are the central themes of R&D&I activities. Although research and development activities are established as part of the basic mission of the UASs, the primary position of the educational process complicates practical R&D&I work. Cooperative partners know the UASs mainly as educational institutions. The semester-oriented work schedule planning of teachers is badly suited for quick-paced project activities (Lyytinen, Marttila & Kautonen 2008, 46–49).

In the third-phase discourse the position of R&D&I activities is established and its objectives well defined. The most central subjects are administrative managers and coordinators of R&D&I activities. Strategies, processes and object indicators are at the core of the ongoing discourses. Official and semi-official development talk has been dominated by the rational and planning-oriented paradigm. Discourses have shifted from actor-oriented talk that emphasizes expertise to system-oriented development where the central actors also include universities of applied sciences as institutions.

On the other hand, the transformation has not been altogether congruent. Content discussion on R&D&I activities in the UASs has remained diversified and varied. Conceptual and content development has taken place particularly in network projects funded by the Ministry of Education (e.g. Jaroma 2008), as well as in the open-access electronic journals

committed to the principles of open access for academic research. The different participants of discussion have called attention to such issues as the international nature of research and development activities (Heino 2008), the 'Living Lab' model (Salo et al. 2008), the centrality of evaluation competence in R&D activities (Kivipelto 2009), and user- and actor-centred development (Toikko & Rantanen 2009).

Paradigm shifts

The R&D activities in Finnish universities of applied sciences can be analysed chronologically through three phases. The principal subjects during the first phase were the students and individual teachers doing research. All in all, activities were small scale and uncoordinated. However, at the same time the early years were an intensive period of learning together for both the students and the teachers. In the 1990's discourse concerning R&D activities in the UASs, the traditional academic concept of knowledge that punctuates scientific research and more current tendencies occurred side by side.

During the second phase, R&D activities expanded and diversified, and the strategic significance of teachers and students decreased. The strategic direction of R&D activities and regional development work, as well as project activities and their organization were emphasized. Regional innovation systems emerged in the center of R&D activities. Numerous issues concerning the activity content require the skills and knowledge of top experts. Moreover, the relationship between knowledge and development inspired a vigorous principled discussion. Project workers and principal lecturers, administrative research coordinators and managers, and the increasingly involved managements of the UASs became the focus of activities.

During the current third phase, the position of R&D activities has been fully established. The discourses largely focus on international innovation activities and individual projects, as well as extending and improving structures and various quality systems. Simultaneously, the significance of principal lecturers as subjects of the activities has decreased. Although

students' participation in project activities is emphasized, it has been insignificant on the level of directing the actual R&D activities. The subjectivity of R&D activities has been constructed through administrative positions but also the organizations themselves have become certain kinds of (ambiguous) subjects of R&D activities. Content discourse and epistemological reasoning by experts has diverged onto strategically less significant forums, such as electronic journals and internal project communication.

In the third phase, the competence discourse intensified. Many UASs turned their focus to competence-based curricula along with both the transfer to the ECTS system, and to the ARENE ECTS Project (ARENE 2006) that gave a boost to the move. Keeping with this trend has been further reinforced when accompanying the framework of the European (European Commission 2008) and national (OPM 2009) degrees. The competence-based emphasis has also marked a firmer integration as part of the EHEA.

The three phases of R&D activities contain two paradigm shifts. The first shift dates back to the period when the experimental phase ended and the new UAS Act (Act 1995) came into force. Hyrkkänen (2007) has described the first shift as a cyclic process where traditional written research theses progress towards conducting more diverse research including, for instance, various kinds of development-oriented projects. The process advances from disputing the thesis concept and practices to disputing the R&D strategies, and yet further to establishing new R&D concepts. The key is to find a new, integrated model by bringing together research orientation and development orientation. As the new paradigm, integrating research and development superseded the erstwhile thesis paradigm adhered to the educational mission.

It is slightly trickier to pinpoint the second paradigm shift. The structures of the R&D activities in the UASs became gradually established after the coming to force of the new legislation in 2005 (Act 2005). In practice, this meant identifying the strategies and focal points of R&D activities, which, on its part, redirected the development towards project activities. Those indeed came to be the centre of focus that was measured and assessed. The direction of change has become further reinforced (e.g.

OPM 2007a) in the course of research, development, and innovation activities. Along with the new paradigm, R&D activities have narrowed down to systematically organized and managed project activities.

Conclusions

The different phases of R&D activities in the universities of applied sciences culminate in multiple legislative changes and administrative decisions. The most significant steps were the regularisation of the UASs by the end of the year 2000, defining both R&D activities and regional development work as their statutory functions (Act 2003), as well as accrediting the professional second cycle degrees (Act 2005). During recent years, also the structural development and quality control audits required by the Ministry of Education have had decisive effects. In the context of these processes, there has been an ongoing discourse on both the position and function of R&D activities in the Universities of Applied Sciences. Conceptually, various stands have been taken on the concept of knowledge, competence, and innovation activities.

Finnish universities of applied sciences have emphasized their own specific relationship to knowledge, competence, and innovation. To conclude the article, we will examine how these concepts appear from the viewpoint of research and development activities. (See table 2.)

Knowledge. The fact that the concepts of knowledge involved in academic and professional higher education settings differ from each other has been self-evident already from the beginning of professionally oriented higher education. Moreover, when the question of what R&D activities in universities of applied sciences actually means emerged at the beginning of the 2000s, the analysis of the concept of knowledge took a strategically central position. After this, the universities of applied sciences adopted a very pragmatic approach to the concept of knowledge. In practice, R&D activities are reduced to applying for project funding, carrying out individual projects, networking, and strategic progression, whereas, for instance, theoretical analysis and production of research

Table 2. *Knowledge, innovation and competence in the R&D discourse*

| | Phase 1 The first steps towards R&D activities 1999–2000 | Phase 2 The regularization of R&D activities 2000–2005 | Phase 3 Towards established R&D&I activities 2005– |
|--|---|--|--|
| R&D discourse central themes | Students' theses Teachers' further education Initiation of strategy processes | R&D as official task of the UASs Regional development work Strategy work Rapid expansion of R&D activities Relationship between education and R&D activities Content-related development Top expertise | Structural development Quality control Innovation activities Internationality Project activities Established structures Content-related discussion in electronic journals and projects |
| Knowledge, innovation activities and competence | Epistemological reflection on separateness of research and development | Phase of animated content-related and epistemological discussion Emphasis on regional innovation systems | Pragmatic project activities Towards international innovation activities Establishing competence- orientation |

publications have been left in a marginal position. It appears that for universities of applied sciences, specifying a new concept of knowledge (e.g. Nowotny et al. 2001) has sufficed, but they have shown little interest in actual knowledge production. In spite of its salience, their concept of knowledge has remained rather limited in substance.

Competence. Throughout the existence of professional higher education, the connection between research and development activities and students' learning has been emphasized. In the 1990s, R&D activities were predominantly connected to students' theses. Since the beginning of the 2000s, the focus has been on strategies, project activities, and innovation. The students' participation also in R&D activities has been considered central, as well as having dual significance from the perspec-

tive of the students' competences and knowledge. First, the students' R&D readiness and, above all, their innovation capacity (ARENE 2010) have been accentuated as key outcomes of learning. On the other hand, development projects taking place in authentic working life situations are considered vital learning environments (Raij 2007). In that respect, R&D activities have supported the emergence of new learning structures and practices, though on the national scale, the situation is apparently quite heterogeneous.

Innovation. Nearly throughout the entire first decade of the 2000s, the Finnish discourse has laid a strong emphasis on the significance of innovation activities. Finland strives to be the leading country in innovation by 2015 which demands broad structural overhauls and resource redirecting (Suomi... 2005, 17). The incorporation of the information society and the welfare society has been considered the point of departure of the 'Finnish Model' (e.g. Välttävä... 2004). The professional higher education system has adapted itself to the mainstream of social policy.

The R&D activities of the universities of applied sciences have been directed by different paradigms of innovation activities. In some places, special emphasis has been given to competence clusters and programmatic concentration on strong areas (in accordance with the Teknopolis Model). On the other hand, the R&D activities have been seen as a process of learning together where students, teachers, and the working life are learning simultaneously (cf. Finnish National Innovation Strategy 2008 7, 37). The learning together model was expressly accentuated during the first and second phases of R&D activities. Moreover, during the second phase, special weight was placed on participation in innovation networks. This has been further intensified during the third phase (e.g. OPM 2007b, 29). The recent development can be characterized by increasingly firm adherence to the paradigm of rational development. Effort has been made to direct activities according to the administrative logic. From the viewpoint of innovation activities, the situation is contradictory: although actor orientation of R&D activities is emphasized on the rhetorical level, attention is focused on directing them by relying heavily on administrative logic.

Overall, it seems that despite certain inconsistencies, the relationship between research and development activities in universities of applied

sciences and learning outcomes, as well as competence, has been fruitful. However, the reassessment of the concept of knowledge has not led to a new kind of knowledge production. This is partly explained by the rational paradigm of innovation activities, which gives their external direction and structures a core position. Universities of applied sciences (and the Finnish Ministry of Education) have shown little interest in the outcomes of R&D activities. This substantiates the claim that managerism has overtaken R&D activities in significance, and hence makes it a viable and compelling argument.

The system of the Finnish universities of applied sciences is living through a strong era of internationalization. Along with international assessments (Löytönen et al. 2010) and various consortia of institutions of higher education, also the policies drafted within the R&D&I activities are surfacing to be reassessed. Thereby the core questions are: Are pragmatic project activities adequate per se, or will research publications that fulfil scientific validity criteria be necessary as well? Should results and effectiveness surpass mere funding in both R&D&I activities and their measuring? Should R&D&I activities be organized from the premise of scientific proficiency as well, rather than only from the vantage point of the logics of managerism?

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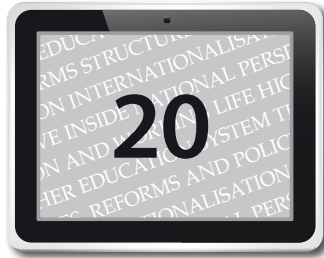
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Developing the work-based mission of the universities of applied sciences – Case: The Professional Master’s Degree

The expansion of Finnish higher education, including the non-university sector has been closely related to the build-up of the welfare state that began in the 1960s, running through the 1990s. These developments can be seen as part of the continuum of the welfare state agenda, although at time the first polytechnics were established, in the beginning of 1990s, Finland had just been hit by a severe and sudden economic recession linked to the collapse of the Eastern bloc. This context of this social crisis made new initiatives both politically and practically desirable. The ideas behind new higher education institutions had been developed as a solution to problems besetting vocational upper secondary education, and were implemented as a political response to the recession. (Välilmaa & Neuvonen-Rauhala 2008, 78–80.) In this chapter I study and discuss the recent progression of non-university higher education in Finland,

particularly focusing on the development of the non-university Master's degree, in the context of the social circumstances in which this development occurred. This chapter will firstly focus on how non-university HEIs have been developed after they received their permanent status as *universities of applied sciences* (UASes, formerly known as polytechnics, or *ammattikorkeakoulut* in Finnish) by the end of 2000. Secondly, their possible future, according to current discussion in Finnish higher education. The chapter is mainly based on research I have conducted on the development of professional Master's degree in UASes. The degree's origin was rooted in the 'polytechnic postgraduate degree pilot'. In this pilot there were features that combined many issues commonly discussed in the context of developing UASes.

Developments through pilot-logic continues in piloting Professional Master's Degree

Universities of applied sciences were established in the beginning of the 1990s, as pilot polytechnics, and after debates concerning whether they were needed and on what basis should they be established. The models of non-university higher education institutions (HEIs) for Finland have been taken from Europe, mostly from the Netherlands and Germany. (Lampinen 2002.) The model has been identified as a dual model, where *ammattikorkeakoulut* (polytechnics) are said to *be equal, but different* when referred to universities (Ahola 1996; Pratt et al. 2004). Polytechnics were established by merging and upgrading vocational institutions to HEIs as was the case in many other European countries (see Teichler 2008, 4). However, the development of non-university HEIs in Finland took place long after they were established elsewhere in Europe (OECD 2003). For example, British polytechnics were upgraded to universities – changing the model of higher education to a binary one. (Lampinen 2002; Pratt et al 2004; Teichler 2008.) Ever since universities of applied sciences were established in Finland, their development trends and needs have been vigorously discussed and studied, most often referring to international progression and to universities with frequent references to the possibility

of academic drift occurring in Finnish higher education for the sake of increasing status (see e.g. OECD 2003; Rinne 2002).

The introduction of master's degrees in UASes was piloted from 2002–2005. Following this pilot, Master's degrees in universities of applied sciences were introduced permanently. Nowadays, professional Master's degrees formally correspond to university Master's degree. Before the postgraduate degree pilot, heavy debate took place about whether master's degrees were really needed in UASes. The pilot was made possible and the dispute resolved, as the professional Master's degrees in UASes were defined as work-related / work-based. In the legislation establishing the new degree, "work-based", in practice, meant at least three-years of work experience after the bachelor's degree had taken place, and before the students became eligible for UAS master's degree studies. Also, the master's degree studies had to be organized so that it was possible to study while working. Finally, the master's thesis should be done as a development project, directly contributing to working life and one's career. (Neuvonen-Rauhala 2009.)

Although there are many similarities due to e.g. Bologna Process (see Saarinen 2007; Teichler 2008) in Finnish non-university higher education progressions compared to European trends, there are also key differences. The developments of Finnish UASes differ from several European non-university models of developments, mainly with respect to the pilot process. Implementation via small scale pilots is characteristic of policy-making in Finnish higher education, where experience and beliefs indicate that small-scale, carefully targeted pilots are more readily accepted by key stakeholders than 'top-down' policy edicts (Lampinen 2003, 62–63). Another important difference is that the dual system of higher education is seen as valuable, pragmatic and worthwhile maintaining. The dual higher education system can be characterized as a vital cornerstone of Finnish higher education policy. This can be seen in research results focused on the monitoring of professional Master's degrees (see Ojala & Ahola 2008; Galli & Ahola 2010). The idea of work-related professional Master's degree seems to be widely accepted among both the students and their employers, though the number of graduates is still low and the degree is not yet well-known. In parallel with the development of the

professional Master's degree, the role of research and development (R&D) activities in UASes has been extensively discussed. Master's degree education and R&D activities are valued activities in HELs.

The context of R&D developments

The Polytechnic Law and Act in 2003 opened more possibilities for developing R&D activities in Finnish UASes. Earlier, only R&D that directly supported teaching was practiced. Even after the expansion of this scope, UASes emphasize the close connections in their R&D strategies with educational activities, and that the character of R&D is adaptive and connected more to development activities in the workplace. (Välilmaa & Neuvonen-Rauhala 2010.) Because of this tradition, there is not a shared concept of R&D in UASes. Neither there is clear, nor holistic picture, what is done in UASes in the name of R&D activities.

The R&D actors in UASes usually have their background in universities through researcher education. (Raij & Jaroma 2009, 46–47.) Recently innovation activities have become connected to R&D activities (Raij & Jaroma 2009; Tulkki 2009). Through this connection UASes have been encouraged to offer students open and authentic learning environments (Tulkki 2009, 173). Tulkki (*ibid.* 174) also argues that there is a need to widen traditional research activities with interdisciplinary and working life and innovation research activities, especially in UASes.

With respect to the developments mentioned above, many UAS actors emphasize that UAS theses should be seen as natural examples of R&D and innovation activities, and R&D connections with industry should be based on thesis cooperation that fosters and strengthens links to communities in which UASes are located (Marttila et al. 2004, 60–65, 103–104). Because of the increasing importance of R&D activities in the UAS sector the number of R&D projects and full-time R&D project workers and researchers is increased since the 2003 Law was passed. (Välilmaa & Neuvonen-Rauhala 2010.) The purpose of R&D varies according to UAS mission and their educational profile, as well as their regional location (See Kohtamäki in this volume). Regional emphasis and profiles also

seems to be crucial. Also the organization of R&D activities differs from centralized models to professor or institution-centred models. (Koivula et al. 2009, 16.)

The widening spheres of activities in UASes bring them close to traditional universities similar missions. Because of this, it is easy to see that trends in HEI mergers could lead to mergers between UASes and universities. This development – if fully played out in Finland – could lead to the end of the non-university higher education sector, as Teichler (2008, 3) predicts, although he points out these types of predictions often turned out to be premature. At least, Rector of Laurea UAS Pentti Rauhala had anticipated mergers between UASes and universities in Finland in recent speeches. However, there has not yet been any merger between UASes and universities, although mergers inside both sectors have occurred. Those mergers are directly connected to the structural development policy of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (see www.minedu.fi; Välimaa & Neuvonen-Rauhala 2008).

The professional Master's degree was argued to fit the context of R&D, and at the same time to represent a natural outcome of R&D activities. The reciprocal dependence was heavily emphasized during the pilot period. However, this dependence was not reported in the form of concrete cases in the follow-up reports. In the next sections I will overview the development of the professional Master's degree process, if the case is the same as with R&D activities.

Actors in the development of Professional Master's Degree in UASes

A key initiator and actor in the process for developing professional Master's in UASes was the Rectors' Conference of Finnish Universities of Applied Sciences (ARENE). ARENE argued the need for professional Master's degrees in the UASes, citing rapidly changing working life projections, the quick internationalization of industry in Finland. Another argument was the need for profiling and division of labour between the UASes and the universities, in order to strengthen the dual model

of higher education in Finland. (ARENE 2000, 16.) The dual model of higher education continues to be a relevant educational policy choice of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Development Plan. Education and Research 2008–2013.)

Despite the opposition – especially of universities – the preparation for professional Master’s degrees in the UASes was run through the Ministry of Education and Culture. Changes and delays occurred because there was no common understanding of the basic foundations of the professional Master’s degree, even within the Ministry. Additionally, the advancement of the Bologna process complicated matters. The second cycle model (Master’s degree) resulting from the Bologna process was not comparable with the Finnish degree system at that time. (Salminen 2000, 2001.) Bachelor’s degrees vary from 210 credits to 240 credits.

The Ministry of Education and Culture also appointed a Coordination and Follow-up Group that oversaw the pilot of the new degree. The members of this Group represented the essential actors and stakeholders in this process. (Neuvonen-Rauhala 2009.) The Ministry oversaw the development process during the piloting. The period set for the pilot ended in March 2005. The Government recommended to (HE 14 / 2005) to the Parliament that the pilot model be made permanent and extended. In the Development Plan for Education and Research for 2003–2008 (2003, 45), the goal that the pilot should be made permanent, immediately after the end of the pilot period, was set in July 2005. In June 2005, the Parliament passed an amendment to the law on the UASes (352 / 2003; (L411 / 2005), in which professional Master’s degrees were confirmed as second cycle (upper) UAS degrees in Finnish, and in English Master’s programs. A debate over the specific titles of professional upper degrees continues, and is still without a solution that satisfies all involved stakeholders.

The actor network of the professional Master’s degree pilot consisted of those involved in steering, implementing and stakeholder interest groups. The Ministry of Education and Culture, the Coordination and Follow-up Group set up by the Ministry, and the laws applicable to the pilot were the focal steering actors. The law is considered a steering actor, since it was continuously referred to and is used in everyday operations as a tool. The most important implementing actors were the principal lec-

turers in the pilot degree programmes, students, and their contact persons in working life. In addition, there were stakeholder actors who aimed at influencing the pilot according to their interests either for or against it. Stakeholder actors stressed working life orientation as a central characteristic, which also distinguished the work-based professional Master's degree from science-based university degrees. The distinctive pair of concepts developed during this time was work-based or work-oriented, in the context of UASes, versus science-based or academic in the context of universities. Stakeholder actors can also be said to have influenced the pilot, as this process was responding to outside pressures and critical feedback. To elaborate this actor network analysis I applied an actor-network theory (Latour 2005) approach (Neuvonen-Rauhala 2009).

Characteristics of non-university education at the Master's level in UASes

In this section, I summarize some of the characteristics and starting points of the professional Master's degree developed during the pilot period (Neuvonen-Rauhala 2009). During the pilot, the rationales and goals of degree programs, argumentation and discussion related to the theme of "work-based" turned the attitude towards permanent professional Master's degrees in a positive direction. The practice of tripartite collaboration between students, employers of students, and teachers was extensively developed during the pilot. This collaboration is focused on the thesis period, as the thesis is usually completed as a development project based on concrete working life settings. This model is interesting, although not always fully exploited as the basis of developing work-based methodologies.

Actor groups applied the idea of 'work-based' a bit differently. To the implementing actors, a common denominator came in the form of tripartite cooperation, reinforcing the development project and tight connection to working life. The central goal for tripartite cooperation is that all three parties benefit from the cooperation. The pilot did not put much emphasis on the actual development of modes of cooperation.

Mainly, the possibility for cooperation was offered by inviting mentors from working life to seminars, with their employees as students. Developing tripartite cooperation in the context of the student's development project was one key point, where the Master's thesis could be developed with respect to working life and the R&D activities of UAS in question. In practice it is essential that the master's thesis, done as a working life development project, satisfy the needs of all three parties, simultaneously addressing the demands stemming from education and working life. Both the targeting and the intensity of cooperation were deemed crucial, and therefore the pilot outcomes stressed the importance of tripartite cooperation.

In addition to increased tripartite cooperation, attention needs to be given to the process of development project's implementation. In the instructions for Master's theses, the scientific foundation of the study field is emphasized. The UASes have, however, begun to stress mode 2-type research, based on practical approaches. Gibbons et al. (1994) have asserted that new knowledge is increasingly produced in the context of its application. Work-based education, which should ideally develop both the student and working life itself, would be well suited for piloting of work-based knowledge production and development. This means that the UASes should also do research on work-based development. In order to function, tripartite cooperation requires continuous interaction and the development of modes of cooperation.

According to the experiences from the Finnish UAS pilot, one guarantee of continuous development of vocational higher education is well-organized coordination and follow-up, which keeps the discussion on these degrees alive. It is difficult for one individual study programme to form and engender its own tripartite cooperation, if the nature of the Master's thesis shifts too far from the realm of education, towards being solely related to working life. From the point of view of working life, the development project could be specific, albeit simultaneously transferable elsewhere in working life. (e.g. Suutari 2005; Neuvonen-Rauhala 2007). In the follow-up publication of the coordination and follow-up group, the Master's thesis and its continuous development assume great challenges (e.g. Malava & Okkonen 2005), which have not always been

acknowledged after the new degrees were made permanent. Views of the specificity, research orientation and developmental implementations still have considerable scope for change.

To sum up, the central sets of issues captured in the pilot's working life orientation fall under 1) education policy arguments in general, and 2) descriptions of study programme practices in the professional Master's degree programmes. Educational policy argumentation uses work-basis to articulate need and development decisions. Descriptions of usage and practices make differences visible to other actors. Work-basis is a distinctive concept that steers implementation of education in the UAS. This development is strengthened and became more sophisticated during the professional Master's degree pilot. The education policy argumentation of work-relatedness includes the rationale for the pilot itself and these arguments stress maintaining and developing of the dual model, the necessity of developing research and development functions, and responsiveness to working life demands. In addition, working life orientation is stressed in the marketing of the programs (Ojala & Ahola 2008, 42–44).

Discussion and further needs of research

Work-relatedness is an innovative educational policy concept that is used to justify and characterize UAS education and its development as a higher education form. It is used in practical way in justifications and in descriptions. This way of reasoning was strengthened during the professional Master's degree pilot. The descriptive usage of the concept has obviously been useful and made the developments concrete, but analyzing the deeper meaning(s) of the concept is not used to the extent possible.

The idea of work-relatedness has usually meant practical matters, like emphasizing cooperation within working life, profiling and marketing arguments describing key features of these types of degrees (see also Ojala & Ahola 2008). But during the beginning of the pilot, these developments were characterized by remarkably little thought as to the nature of a genuinely work-based degree and the implications this had for instruction, counselling or thesis work. These kinds of discussions

started later and more often as a result of clarifying and defining start-ups of R&D or innovation activities in UASes. New research initiatives in the non-university sector could include empirical and conceptual research of inter-activities of UASes both nationally and internationally. Ideas could be taken e.g. from science studies, but transformed into non-university and work-basis environments. The idea of triple-helix approaches offer a potential point of departure and the recent articles of Leydesdorff (see e.g. Leydesdorff 2010) hint at complex systems of research, development and innovation (R&D&I) that can be analysed in a way that illuminates multi-dimensional networks of actors and new social dynamics.

There are very few examples of comparative or conceptual studies of non-university approaches of development methods, idea sources used in thesis development efforts or R&D&I activities. Even so, at least one attempt at comparative benchmarking has been done that describes activities in some Finnish, Dutch, Belgium and German non-university HEIs (see Koivula et al. 2009). However, this effort is a more descriptive approach than an analysis of similarities or differences, or the interpretation or explanation of guiding principles. The fact that specific settings and traditions vary considerably within and between countries concerning UAS sectors, in and of itself, sets up considerable scope for problematizing the lack of meaningful comparative generalizations that can be made at present time. (See e.g. Taylor et al. 2008; Kyvik & Lepori 2010 for the few available examples). There is a need to research UASes and their activities as such, not only with reference to universities, but in their own right and because of distinctiveness that survives in some places, but is more obscured in others. Particularly, it would be necessary to evaluate and contrast distinct approaches to higher education and the relative benefits for students and the labour market in times when public investments in higher education need to be prioritised. At least, according to Galli and Ahola (2010) professional Masters valued their practice-oriented degree that was clearly connected to their career and the opportunity to develop their skills and know-how in light of their considerable work experience. The professional Masters also appreciated the fit between their education and real-world problems in their rapidly changing workplaces.

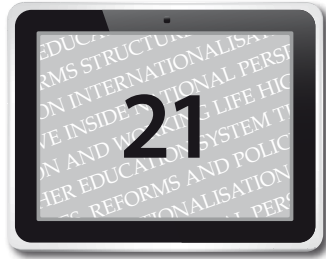
The magnitude of the economic crisis that impacted higher education across the globe, as this volume went to press, underlines the reality that the optimal 'mix' and configuration of approaches to higher education is far from obvious. Finland is no exception. The research and ideas outlined in this chapter spotlight one approach – of many – to higher education in countries like Finland. But in doing so, important features of higher education, sets of ideas about education, the labour market and key stakeholder needs were fundamentally reconsidering in a process which led to positive conclusions. The willingness to pilot and challenge assumptions about higher education is a healthy exercise. What remains to be done, as outlined above, is robust comparative research of the type that will assure us that our assumptions have genuinely been challenged.

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Establishing virtual learning places between higher education and working life through e-mentoring

Introduction

The ever changing knowledge-based society creates a demand for continuous professional development for adults about to enter the workforce and for those already in work. Competence has become a competitive edge for higher education (HE) and business. (Välilmaa, Tynjälä & Boulton-Lewis 2006; Tuomi-Gröhn & Engeström 2001.) This requires developing collaboration between HE and working life, and new types of solutions to implement professional development. Collaboration between HE and working life has become a focus of development in Finland and other parts of the world (Salonen 2010; Välilmaa et al. 2006). The Bologna process challenges institutions of higher education (HEI) to greater operational transparency and to identify, for example, quality and

up-to-date pedagogy as a development challenge (UEC 2007). Content and implementation methods of learning need to anticipate future professional skill requirements.

Close collaboration with the working life is expected especially from vocational higher education in order to ensure a qualified workforce for the labour market, and working life operational models could also undergo modernisation (Salonen 2010; MOE 2007). The National Knowledge Society Strategy (NKSS 2007–2015) emphasises collaborative development of staff training between HE and the corporate world. Measures which are mentioned include improving SME (small and medium size enterprises) staff skill levels and encouraging work communities to adopt new learning methods. Reforming HE in terms of working life-oriented learning will involve negotiation between academics and practitioners to benefit both practice and theory (Boulton-Lewis, Pillay & Wilss 2006). Rapid developments in information and communications technology also impact HE and working life collaboration as drivers of change. Educational solutions implemented in virtual learning environments, and through diverse technologies, can be seen as effective and meaningful means to support a working life-oriented learning culture that promotes growth of expertise independent of time and place (Bonk, Kim & Zeng 2006; Leppisaari, Hohenthal, Maunula & Lamberg 2010.)

Therefore, one central challenge to HE research is to ascertain how higher education and working life collaboration can be constructed in order to promote development of expertise in a knowledge based society (UEC 2007; Välimaa 2006; Tynjälä 2007). A focus of particular interest in this chapter is how these two needs, that is, the need for HE to develop more working life-oriented pedagogic practices and the need for working life to create new professional development models, can meet and enrich each other through a collaborative learning partnership. Our examination is directed at the vocational sector of Finnish higher education, the universities of applied sciences (UAS).

Developing working life collaboration in online education

The Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council's evaluation report (Leppisaari, Ihanainen, Nevgi, Taskila, Tuominen & Saari 2008) found that there is room for improvement in working life-oriented online education. Authentic learning and supportive pedagogic solutions and working life linkages have not yet been adequately established as good practices in UAS online education. According to recent studies (Davies, Weko, Kim & Thulstrup 2006; Zacheus 2009; Salonen 2010), working life representatives and teachers consider working life linkages in teaching and networking inadequate, and teachers' working life knowledge needs updating. Clearly, new affordances provided by information networks and tools have not yet been discovered in promoting working life linkages. Collaboration to meet future needs requires new innovative operational models that promote communal sharing of knowledge between UASs and working life practitioners and developmental research (cf. UEC 2007).

The melding of three tasks, education, research and development (R&D) and regional development (Ammattikorkeakoululaki 2003) inevitably alters teaching methods and the nature of teaching, which also impacts online pedagogic R&D in UASs. Methods which take into consideration practical views as well as theoretical perspectives and foundations are needed when conducting working life-oriented learning in UASs (Davies et al. 2006; Reeves, Herrington & Oliver 2005; Herrington, Reeves & Oliver 2010).

This chapter aims to identify new opportunities in UAS-working life collaboration through an examination of *e-mentoring* as a working life-oriented learning model. Virtual solutions and new educational technologies act as significant drivers of change in the search for new types of cooperative models that enhance skills in both UASs and working life, and in the creation of learning environments that promote continuous learning and meet changing professional development needs in the knowledge based society (NKSS 2007–2015; OPM 2009; UEC 2007).

Universities of applied sciences and working life interfaces

Working life-oriented pedagogy

Previous studies have identified clear information gaps in universities of applied sciences and working life collaboration. It is first necessary to critically examine relations between UASs and the working life from a pedagogic perspective. Is teaching at the UASs sufficiently working life-oriented, and are their teaching methods up-to-date?

Despite working life orientation being a primary asset of UAS education, several studies (Zacheus 2009; Salmela & Luukkonen 2009; Salonen 2010) highlight problem areas such as underdeveloped UAS and working life relations and teachers' weak working life knowledge and connections. *Working life centeredness* of education should be considered a reciprocal transfer of skills and knowledge (Salonen 2010), in which teachers as boundary-crossers and network builders have a central role (Tuomi-Gröhn & Engeström 2001). Students, however, clearly regard practical orientation or professionalism of studies to be stronger in UASs than universities (Virolainen & Valkonen 2002; Ammattikorkeakoulutuksen työelämälähtöisyyden kehittäminen 2009).

Criticism has also been directed at attempts to solve UAS and working life collaboration, these having been considered more structural than pedagogic. Insufficient attention has been paid to pedagogic solutions which develop working life relations and improve student employability (Konkola 2003, cf. Guile & Young 2003). Learning environments and teaching methods are one evaluation focus of working life-oriented learning (Salonen 2010). It is evident that development of *working life-oriented online pedagogy* is a key development challenge in UAS education. New working life-oriented pedagogic models and learning practices and experiments in virtual learning environments are needed (Leppisaari et al. 2010).

Models of learning and the acquisition of expertise have a key role in developing collaboration between UAS and working life (Tynjälä 2007) and in the creation of working life-oriented learning models. In the devel-

opment of working life-oriented pedagogy, integrative pedagogy (Tynjälä 2007) and an authentic learning framework (Herrington & Oliver 2000) offer potential elements. Integrative pedagogy emphasises combining conceptual and experiential knowledge, theory and practice, as one of the most important pedagogic methods for developing expertise. A third component solidly attached to professional expertise is self regulation, to which reflectivity is integrally linked; the critical and conscious examination and evaluation of one's actions (Tynjälä 2007; Tynjälä, Välimaa & Sarja 2003; Bereiter & Scardamalia 1993). Tynjälä (2007) suggests that mediating tools are required to pragmatise theory and conceptualise practical experience, to outsource tacit knowledge and for problem solving. These mediating tools include, for instance, various learning tasks and reflective discussions, mentoring and coaching which all guide the learning process (Tynjälä 2007). Different technologies, for example, web-based applications and e-communication tools and learning platforms, support the use of mediating tools. With the help of mediating tools and supportive technologies, it is possible to guide the learner into a theoretical and practical development of professional expertise, and to reflective self-examination of one's actions. Authentic online education refers to teaching and studying which works with authentic, real life-related questions and tasks (Herrington et al. 2010) in which genuine professional situations are applied in order to develop work practices consistent with developing expertise.

Working life-oriented educational content

High quality UAS education *content* meets the changing professional needs of working life. Skills required by working life is the area of development where HE and working life perspectives continuously meet. Studies (Salonen 2010; Zacheus 2009; Ammattikorkeakoulutuksen työelämälähtöisyyden kehittäminen 2009) have shown that *different languages are spoken in the current UAS-working life collaboration content*. HE content should more flexibly respond to the changing needs of employers, individuals and the labour market, with a shift from transmission of

disciplinary knowledge to improved performance in the workplace. Collaboration should aim to seek integrations of theory and practice beneficial to both parties. (Ammattikorkeakoulutuksen työelämälähtöisyyden kehittäminen 2009; cf. Boulton-Lewis et al. 2006.)

A second challenge arises from the different operational cultures of UAS and working life. Working life relations in UASs are not dealt with in ways that are mutually satisfactory to both parties (Korhonen 2000; Leppisaari et al. 2010; Salonen 2010). Different expectations and schedules exist. The rhythm of events is much faster in working life than in the world of HE (Välimaa 2006; UEC 2007). This challenges participants to reflect on how bridges can be built between these operational cultures in order to create virtual meeting and learning places.

A third challenge related to collaboration content is the apparent inability of enterprises to benefit from UAS-working life collaboration, if collaboration remains superficial. Collaborative content needs to be genuinely beneficial to both parties (Korhonen 2000; Konkola 2003; UEC 2007). Currently, working life does not, to all intents and purposes, participate in planning UAS educational content (Ammattikorkeakoulujen työelämälähtöisyyden kehittäminen 2009; Leppisaari et al. 2008; Salonen 2010).

Mentoring is raised in many situations as an example of a working life-oriented content producing operational model that benefits both HE and working life. According to the Green Paper on European entrepreneurship (2003) alternative learning tools such as mentoring, in which entrepreneurs learn from each other, deserve special attention. The Bonn Declaration (UEC 2007) emphasises entrepreneurial mentoring as an operational model in which HE can provide support for enterprises and working life. Research into the joint development of forms and/or content, as well as wider collaboration in the development of content and operational models that benefit both parties, can be linked to this (UEC 2007). The challenge is to create meeting and learning places for UASs and working life. These learning places should be designed in cooperation with all stakeholder groups, not only at the instigation of HE (OPM 2009; Reeves et al. 2005).

Need for new meeting and learning places between universities of applied sciences and working life

Being too busy and finding mutually convenient times are significant issues in UAS-working life collaboration regarding the development of education. In addition to a lack of time, studies have also pinpointed issues such as difficulties in commitment and establishing and maintaining continuous contact (Korhonen 2000; Konkola 2003; Salonen 2010). Collaboration should also aim at cost efficiency in its actual implementation and through the synergies created through implementations (UEC 2007). With the development of a knowledge based society, crossing organisational boundaries in the creation of collaborative contacts is easier. But where are the common platforms where operational cultures can be brought closer together, expert exchanges made, and familiarity with the practices of others acquired (UEC 2007; Salonen 2010)? There is in fact a need to reflect on what solutions virtual operational models can bring to these issues (Leppisaari et al. 2010).

Learning environments are increasingly open and borderless. This challenges educational organisations to link external specialists to learning communities through new technologies. Methods required in HE-working life collaboration are innovative, flexible, and respond rapidly to skill development needs, methods in which work and learning can be combined, use of time limited, and virtual operational methods utilised (Bonk et al. 2006; UEC 2007). According to Salonen (2010), interaction between UAS and working life needs new kinds of collective forums which function as a community's memory and facilitate explication of tacit knowledge.

According to Nonaka and Konno (1998) virtual space can function as a shared learning space which offers an opportunity for new combinations of knowledge and communication between all parties. A shared virtual space is formed, for example, through joint action online tools, such as learning platforms and social media. An educational organisation's ability to employ technology to construct and sustain diverse cooperation will be a decisive factor for success in the future (Salmela & Luukkonen 2009). The challenge is to create virtual learning spaces and meeting

places with pedagogic and technological coherence. This requires dialogue in which pedagogy and technology are equally matched. Working life-oriented pedagogy can also learn from, for example, practices in new social media contexts. A timely question is what barriers between UAS and working life can be crossed with the help of virtual learning places, and how can they promote learning partnerships?

The affordances of information networks and virtual educational solutions have not yet been discovered in the promotion of UAS working life linkages. For this reason, the creation and modelling of virtual meeting and learning places for UAS and working life are the foci of interest in this study. e-Mentoring, as one working life-oriented online pedagogic operational model, can open up new possibilities in border crossing, flexibly implemented development and sharing of expertise that benefits both UAS and working life.

e-Mentoring creating virtual meeting and learning places in working life collaboration

In this chapter we offer insights for creating a virtual learning and meeting place between universities of applied sciences and working life through a compiled survey of research in this subject area. The objective is to describe e-mentoring as a phenomenon and operational method in UAS and working life collaboration, and produce knowledge for the development of new e-mentoring based virtual collaborative models. Our focus of interest is to identify the key factors of a working life-oriented e-mentoring practice for constructing virtual collaboration between UASs and working life.

Our survey includes both international e-mentoring studies and research conducted at AVERKO, the Central Ostrobothnia UAS e-learning centre. This thematic examination endeavours to increase understanding of the examined phenomenon as a new type of UAS-working life collaboration. We examine pivotal factors in constructing a viable virtual meeting and learning place between UAS and working life through e-mentoring. How can e-mentoring overcome the above mentioned bar-

riers to UAS and working life collaboration and strengthen sharing of expert knowledge through information networks? Conclusions are drawn using working life-oriented e-mentoring as a virtual learning and meeting place between UASs and working life.

Working life-oriented e-mentoring as an innovative pedagogic practice

A 'pedagogic knowledge gap' has been identified in HE and working life collaboration (Konkola 2003). We first examine how e-mentoring as a pedagogic solution meets the needs of working life-oriented, integrative and authentic online pedagogy as outlined in the introduction.

Mentoring is a means to develop and share expertise. Its methods have diversified with developments in expert thinking and the knowledge based society. In this context e-mentoring is understood as a process of developing and sharing expertise primarily through interaction in virtual environments (Leppisaari et al. 2006). Multiple models can be employed in e-mentoring, including one-to-one mentoring, peer mentoring, group mentoring, and a mentoring community (Bierema & Merriam 2002; Hunt 2005).

Online Mentor is one model which aims to improve links between UAS and working life. In the Online Mentor operational model (www.averko.fi/verkkomentor) working life experts work as online mentors on e-courses providing an authentic working life perspective to teaching. The UAS teacher is responsible for course content and overall supervision of the learning process. The online mentor represents practical professionalism and working life experience, and introduces expert thinking and practices, for example, in theme discussions, mentor forums, and in feedback on working life-oriented learning tasks. Expertise is developed through cooperation between students, teachers and working life experts. (Helenius & Leppisaari 2004; Leppisaari & Helenius 2005; Leppisaari et al. 2006.) The operational model strengthens authentic learning through the use of working life experts as online mentors for student groups in online learning environments. Mentors facilitate linkage of real work-

ing life problem situations and experiences to teaching, promoting the utilisation of experiential knowledge in learning. The knowledge of individuals at different stages of expertise is integrated through the Web, crossing boundaries between HE and working life (Leppisaari et al. 2006; Kleimola & Leppisaari 2006).

The eMGE, e-Mentoring promoting Growth Entrepreneurship, operational model aims to create an e-mentoring model and space through collaboration between UAS research, development and innovation work (R&D&I), entrepreneurial organisations, and experienced and novice entrepreneurs. In this model entrepreneurial experience is shared and a theme e.g. *high-growth entrepreneurship* is the focus of reflection and learning. One-to-one mentoring discussions between mentors (experienced entrepreneurs) and mentees (entrepreneurs in the initial phase of their career) are implemented in a virtual workspace and discussion questions are arranged under sub-themes. e-Mentoring meets entrepreneurs' needs to test and mirror their thoughts and experiences against the theory and experiential knowledge of more experienced experts. (Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009; Leppisaari & Tenhunen 2009; OPM 2009; Tynjälä 2007.)

The online mentor and entrepreneurial mentoring (eMGE) models developed in AVERKO are examples of how pedagogy can clearly be a factor directing development of working life collaboration. Pedagogic solutions that utilise reciprocal skill development between teachers, students and working life representatives are pivotal in UAS and working life collaboration. At their best the mentoring operational models support interactive learning, between UASs and working life practitioners, in which both parties give and receive and can together reflect as co-learners (Helenius & Leppisaari 2004; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009; Bierema & Hill 2005). e-Mentoring promotes explication of experiential and tacit knowledge and skills as a central dimension of expert knowledge (Hezlett & Gibson 2005; Eraut 2000). In subjectspecific group e-mentoring students can access the practical knowledge and skills of outside experts in working life. Mentoring can be a reflective learning process for mentors also (Ensher & Murphy 2007). Learners and teachers with their questions can assist a mentor to articulate tacit knowledge and gain new insights into her/his work while concurrently mirroring issues against the latest

theoretical knowledge delivered on the course (Leppisaari & Helenius 2005)

e-Mentoring mediated learning partnerships enable integration of theory and practice in skill development (cf. Tynjälä 2007). In the online mentor model the teacher and the learning materials provide the theoretical basis, and the mentor offers the practical perspective to the process (Helenius & Leppisaari 2005; Kleimola & Leppisaari 2006). In entrepreneurial mentoring the UAS produced theory-based discussion tasks (e.g. growth entrepreneurship), and supplementary materials on the internet mentor forums, create a timely theory base for pragmatic discussions between experienced and novice entrepreneurs (Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009). Progress determined by the mentee's own questions ensures authenticity of the learning process (Stokes 2001).

Studies (Kleimola & Leppisaari 2006; Leppisaari et al. 2006) have indicated that pedagogic structuring is a critical factor in e-mentoring implementation. More problem-based and reflection supporting tasks are needed on courses with a mentor in the online mentor model (cf. Tynjälä 2007). The structure of learning tasks should force students to utilise a mentor's expertise in their solution. e-Mentoring models that support entrepreneurship should be developed towards a more peer mentoring and mentoring community direction. There appears to be a need for entrepreneurs, who often work alone, to utilise networking and peers in the development of their skills. This is consistent with the growing trends in knowledge based societies (Lankau & Scandura 2007; NKSS 2007–2015). Entrepreneurial mentoring models can bring together novice and experienced entrepreneurs or promote skill sharing and peer development among entrepreneurs at various stages of professional development.

e-Mentoring can be seen as one viable pedagogic solution and learning method in UAS-working life collaboration. The foundation of working life-oriented e-mentoring models is development and sharing of authentic expertise, and promotion of authentic learning that integrates theory and practice (Tynjälä 2007; Herrington et al. 2010). Through a collaborative development of e-mentoring models with working life, UASs can encourage work communities to employ new innovative staff

development and training means and methods (NKSS 2007–2015). The examined mentoring models also meet the new skill demands of working life which include an ability to create knowledge, explicate one's skills, and an ability to share these in social and virtual networks.

Mutually beneficial content

The content of e-mentoring activity implemented collaboratively between HE and working life should be relevant and beneficial to both parties (Konkola 2003; Boulton-Lewis et al. 2006). In the online mentor model courses, working life perspectives and authentic problems inherently form learning content that establishes a discussion interface between HE and working life. Students learn quality management by discussing timely issues and everyday experiences with a company's quality manager who works as an online mentor, or they investigate occupational safety situations with an occupational health and safety expert (Leppisaari et al. 2006; Kleimola & Leppisaari 2006). e-Mentoring that integrates theory and practice through reflection (Tynjälä 2007) is beneficial to students, teachers and working life mentors in their growth as experts. For students, mentoring raises issues essential to working life, to which solutions are sought together. Vuorinen and Valkonen (2005) found that UAS students often feel their teachers' knowledge lags behind current practice in the field.

Teachers accrue new knowledge on timely working life issues from mentors, receiving feedback and development ideas for modernising teaching to meet contemporary working life needs. Teachers who traditionally have worked alone gain a work partner in the working life expert, the teacher's theoretical knowledge and the mentor's pragmatic experience being complementary. (Leppisaari & Helenius 2005; Kleimola & Leppisaari 2006.) Through being a mentor, the working life representative learns new knowledge society based skills, updates his/her field-specific theoretical knowledge, extends his/her networks, and strengthens his/her self-esteem through an expert role (Helenius & Leppisaari 2005; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009).

A timely question for UAS education and workplace staff training is how individualised, contextual, and need-specific content can be created for rapidly emerging learning needs. It is evident that challenges set by rapid changes in working life are more effectively met through e-mentoring than traditional education methods. (Hezlett & Gibson 2005.) Working life representatives can also work as mentors in updating courses in their own field, flexibly in virtual environments (Leppisaari et al. 2010). This enables e-mentoring mediated working life participation in teaching design, contributing contemporary working life perspectives (Leppisaari et al. 2010; Leppisaari et al. 2008).

The different language and operational cultures of UAS and working life have been identified as problematic in collaboration (Salonen 2010; Zacheus 2009). Finding a common language for teachers and working life mentors is promoted by their subject specific knowledge (e.g. business skills) and the work experience of UAS teachers (Leppisaari et al. 2006). Studies have, however, identified a need for updating the latter (Salonen 2010; Zacheus 2009). It is necessary to ascertain in more detail if meeting in virtual learning environments facilitates more innovative border crossing between traditional operational cultures, and narrows the gap between different operational methods.

The starting point for collaborative construction of e-mentoring models to support staff skill development is ascertaining mentoring needs through, for example, surveys (Leppisaari & Tenhunen 2008, 2009). McManus and Russell (2007) have shown that an individual's ability to identify skill gaps is a key factor in an optimal use of mentoring support in the growth towards expertise. It is essential that e-mentoring meets identified development needs (Kasprisin & Single 2005; Rickard 2008; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009). In entrepreneurial surveys, entrepreneurs have indicated business growth, marketing and networking as the areas in which they require the most development and mentoring support (Leppisaari & Tenhunen 2008; 2009). By engaging in discussion with an experienced entrepreneur, novice entrepreneurs can deepen understanding of, for example, growth entrepreneurship and gain insights into expanding their own company. The entrepreneurial mentoring process can be deepened by employing cases, that is, entrepreneurial narratives as tools for

transmitting tacit knowledge or for constructing a collective product (e.g. strategy, updated business plan) (Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009).

Studies (Leppisaari & Tenhunen 2008; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009; Lankau & Scandura 2007) have shown that e-mentoring best supports a skill development process that includes clear learning and development objectives, and which endeavours to develop and share expertise for the development of a specific, restricted theme or sub-section. The online mentor model assists UASs to develop working life-oriented online education and, correspondingly, the working life benefits through the performance development of mentors. Entrepreneurial mentoring is based on a development venture, implemented with working life, in which the collective development of learning content (e.g. growth entrepreneurship) benefits both parties. Through development ventures implemented with entrepreneurs, UASs gain ideas on how entrepreneurs can more strongly be linked to planning and implementation of teaching in the future (Leppisaari et al. 2010).

Virtual meeting and learning place

Information and communications technology offers efficient tools for experts to meet each other, and a channel for networking and sharing between different parties (Bonk et al. 2006; Salmela & Luukkonen 2009). e-Mentoring is one solution to how the culture of learning in concrete can be brought closer to expert cultures with the help of information and communication technology. The pedagogic basis for this virtual meeting is the sharing of expertise; experiences and tacit knowledge can be collected and disseminated through a virtual mentoring space (Ensher & Murphy 2007). e-Mentoring adds technological development affordances to the support of professional expert growth which, in the light of the research literature, can largely be crystallised by the words flexibility, availability, and advantage. Geography, finding a mutually convenient time and costs do not therefore become decisive factors in the formation of mentoring relations (Hunt 2005).

A virtual meeting and learning place in mentoring is created when

mentoring activity is supported by web-based technologies, tools and applications that enable synchronous and/or asynchronous interaction. Many electronic communication channels can be employed in e-mentoring, e.g. email, learning platforms, blogs, wikis, real time software installed in one's own computer, such as Internet telephone, video conference (Ensher & Murphy 2007; Rickard 2008), and various social media community tools (Leppisaari et al. 2010).

New information and communications technology offers mentoring possibilities between parties that otherwise would not reach each other (Bierema & Hill 2005). Asynchronous communication in e-mentoring offers greater freedom of participation to busy working life practitioners; schedules and work situations do not form insurmountable barriers (Stokes 2001; Helenius & Leppisaari 2004; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009). Text-based guidance and discourse on the web is considered rather demanding, and a slow means of communication (Helenius & Leppisaari 2004; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009). While non-synchronous textbased communication leaves more time for reflection (Hunt 2005), in the future audio and video connections should be employed in mentoring, and issues handled also through speech (Leppisaari & Tenhunen 2008, 2009; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009). However, implementations that utilise synchronous interaction correspondingly reduce the flexibility of e-mentoring, which is valued in working life communities (Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009; Stokes 2001). The choice of technology and the applicability and functioning of tools are critical factors in e-mentoring's landfall and development (Homitz & Berge 2008; Bierema & Hill 2005). It is essential to consider, case-by-case, what are pedagogically meaningful and technically viable tools and solutions in e-mentoring implementations.

All in all, the central advantage of e-mentoring is its ability to cross multiple boundaries, those relating to time and place and traditional forms of activity (Bierema & Merriam 2002). Pilot experiences have indicated that at its best, genuine and confidential "encounters" are created on the web (Helenius & Leppisaari 2004; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009). Studies indicate (Leppisaari et al. 2006; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009) that e-mentoring is considered an interesting method of learning and a

future operational method (cf. Kram & Ragins 2007). Some mentors initially felt that learning the new operational method took time away from actual content, but practice of the new work method was also considered to be empowering (Leppisaari et al. 2006; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009).

New kinds of virtual meeting places, for example e-mentoring, create flexibility in the implementation of HE and working life collaboration and meeting of experts. While they may overcome barriers formed by time factors, they do not solve time management issues related to commitment. Establishing and maintaining interactive relationships are critical factors in various e-mentoring processes (Rickard 2008; Ensher & Murphy 2007; Tenhunen & Leppisaari 2009). If sufficient inroad is not made in reciprocal interaction, the threat is that HE and working life activities on the web remain at parallel levels. A critical question requiring investigation is: are traditional collaboration models transferred to the internet in working life-UAS virtual collaboration models? Do schools provide too defined a role for working life representatives or is there engagement in a real learning partnership (Kleimola & Leppisaari 2006; Leppisaari et al. 2010)?

Conclusions

Innovative pedagogic experiments open up avenues to develop new operational models in UAS-working life collaboration. In this chapter we have examined the central factors in UAS and working life collaboration that employs e-mentoring. These have emerged as a working life pedagogic starting point, mutually beneficial content and creation of a pedagogically meaningful and technically viable meeting and learning place. Employing multiple mentoring models and communication tools creates virtual meeting places for practitioners engaged in developing targeted skill areas. There, at their best, students, teachers and working life representatives can meet in their development towards expertise.

Applied research and development pilots help to identify development areas that genuinely benefit both parties. This is also how e-mentoring appears on the basis of our research. The development of learning

methods for interaction between working life and education strengthens working life education of UAS and correspondingly promotes the uptake of new learning models in working life staff skill development.

e-Mentoring should be developed as a pedagogic method to more accurately respond to the core of UAS-working life collaboration, the needs of continuous development and sharing of expertise. It is essential that various mentoring models, theme content and communication modes are case-specifically combined in pedagogically and technically meaningful ways. Content emerges from mutually beneficial and timely skill development needs. A virtual meeting and learning place and related tools for different e-mentoring implementations can be developed in the R&D&I activity of the UASs. This would enable the crossing of traditional boundaries and construction of collaborative relationships that inherently combine resources afforded by HE and working life experts and enrich skill development. Joint development can result in the creation of a collaborative culture that utilises a new kind of mentoring and virtual elements, in which working life and UASs work together to support development as experts and bring added value to each other.

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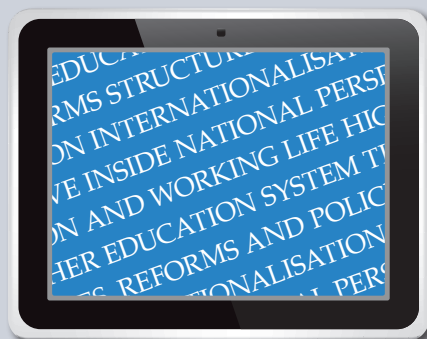
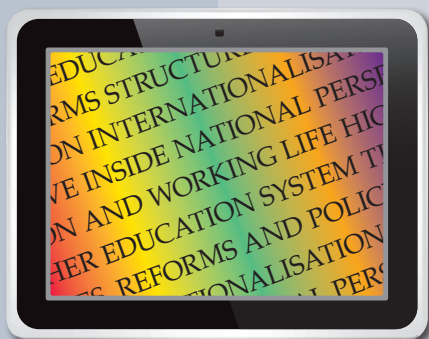
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IN FINLAND, RESEARCH ON higher education is spread out amongst various disciplines and locations, blending national traditions and addressing international trends. Since the beginning of 2000, the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers in Finland (CHERIF) has made an effort to present a current understanding and platform of communication about phenomenon linked to Finnish higher education.

From the *outside looking in*, Finland's education appears a success story. But what about the *inside, looking around*? What does a closer look reveal about Finnish higher education?

In the CHERIF yearbook, higher education specialists *inside* Finland focus on its' lesser reported *higher education landscape*. In terms of well known global phenomena and research traditions, the authors shed light on the inner workings of the most researched issues and trends in contemporary Finnish higher education research.