DISCIPLINARY STRUGGLES IN EDUCATION

Edited by
Anja Heikkinen
Jenni Pätäri
Gabriele Molzberger

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Preface

Anja Heikkinen, Jenni Pätäri & Gabriele Molzberger

This publication is based on presentations in the conference Disciplinary Struggles in the History of Education, in University of Tampere, 7th–9th of June 2017 (https://equjust.wordpress.com/hifi2017/). The conference was organized by the Equality and Planetary Justice in Adult, Vocational and Higher Education-research group, the Finnish Research network on History and Philosophy of Education, Vocational Education and Culture-research network, Freedom and Responsibility of Popular Adult Education-programme, Finnish Society for Research on Adult Education and ESREA research network Active and Democratic Citizenship. Based on the interests and profiles of the authors, the emphasis of discussion in this book is in adult, vocational and higher education. Many important topics, which were discussed in the conference, such as educational responses to the refugee "crisis", convergence between adult, vocational and higher education, contribution of critical theory and pedagogy for tackling current struggles, could not be included into this publication.

We are grateful for the support to the June 2017 conference from the University of Tampere Foundation, the Finnish Education Research Association, and the Finnish Society for Research on Education of Adults and the Faculty of Education in the University of Tampere.

The publication would not have been possible without the constructive collaboration between the authors and the editorial group, thanks to all. We also appreciate Tampere University Press for accepting the manuscript to be published, and the feedback from their anonymous reviewers in helping us to finalize it. We especially thank Antti Karhulahti for his support in communication with authors and in harmonizing the texts for the final version.

The editorial group 20.5.2019, Tampere and Wuppertal

Anja, Jenni and Gabriele

Introduction
The many meanings of disciplinary struggles in education

Anja Heikkinen, Jenni Pätäri & Gabriele Molzberger

Background

In the call for papers for the Tampere conference, authors were invited to discuss disciplinary struggles in education through following questions:

Are educational practices necessarily also disciplinary despite their overt commitment to empowerment and emancipation, and how have the conceptions about discipline transformed historically and in different contexts? While justification of educational practices is increasingly based on authorized knowledge about education, how has the ownership and power of educational knowledge transformed historically and in different contexts?

Is education a genuine academic subject (science) with its distinctive categories, concepts and theories or just application of conceptual and theoretical tools from other disciplines? How have struggles on educational knowledge contributed to the diversification of educational discipline into sub-fields or even new disciplines? Consequently, how have struggles on conceptions of education and educational knowledge influenced diversification of educational professionals and institutions? Has the human-centered fixation of educational science to certain disciplines – such as psychology, sociology, philosophy, economy – also contributed to environmental, economic and social crisis, which endanger the continuity of human life itself?

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Our approach to the topic of this book builds on the conceptualization of discipline and struggles in education from three intermingled perspectives: of educational practice, of disciplinarization of educational knowledge, of institutionalization and professionalization of education. The use of the word education in English language shows well its reference both to activities and practices and to their conceptualization, theories and research. Most other languages, however, emphasize the progress from pedagogy – which refers both to practice and ideas guiding the practice – into educational science, which is separate from educational practice and politics. Discipline is a core concept in education in different ways. From a Foucauldian perspective, discipline can be understood as methods (techniques) of subtle coercion and control of (bodily) operations and behaviour of humans, subsuming them to rules and regulations, which reflect and construct hegemonic social order and power relations. Discipline as "the use of hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination" (Foucault, 1995, p. 170) can well be identified both in educational practice and knowledge production. While discipline in Foucauldian sense is not equal with moralizing power or training, it nevertheless is typically morally justified. (Foucault, 1995, pp. 217–218.) Alternatively, autonomy as a core concept in education – both as practice and theory – suggests another interpretation of discipline. Following Kantian thinking, the progress to individual and collective autonomy entails the development of self-discipline, guided by universal moral principles. Additionally, the status of autonomous educational science – in relation to practice and to other sciences –, can be considered as an outcome of individually and collectively self-discplined intellectual exercise. (Kant, 1870; Weber, 1991.)

Discipline is unquestionably present in all educational everyday practice, sedimented in pedagogical knowledge. Teachers need to maintain discipline in the classrooms, adults need to discipline themselves to learn new languages, and pedagogues impose discipline to individuals and social groups in direct and indirect ways. When ever in modern, meritocratic societies an educational problem is discussed, the voices and votes for more discipline can be certain of approval. In Europe, before the establishment of educational science, discipline in pedagogical practices and knowledge was highly influenced by theological and philosophical ideas. Philosophers, such as Locke, Rousseau and Kant, paved

the way for the shaping of humans through education towards enlightened life and individual and societal perfection. Since then educational practice has been labelled by struggles between liberation and constriction of humans and societies. In the context of this book, educational practices are questioned and major differences in the contexts and meanings of discipline in different times, regions and areas of social reality are sought.

While knowledge production in educational sciences increasingly shape educational practices and form the objects of which they speak, its contribution to discipline in education is crucial. Educational practices put people under surveillance instead of merely liberating and empowering them and aim at changing behaviour and attitudes so that the people fit into the mainstream society, excluding the unfit at the same time. They entangle with transnational, national and departmental politics and controlling efforts to distinguish themselves from other (educational) disciplines. As branches of knowledge, educational disciplines have an inherent connection to control and to submission to rules in educational practice. Following Susan Narotzky (2007), the emergence of educational disciplines with their distinctive concepts can be interpreted as political programmes, conditioning knowledge production socially and materially. Educational disciplines have intellectual, social and institutional structures. They have a recognized name, a community of researchers and academic institutions (e.g. university departments, academic journals, research associations), shared concepts and traditions, systems for training experts as well as producing knowledge and communicating findings. Educational disciplines provide a framework for transfer of educational knowledge, they shape education and structure professional lives through training, certification, rewarding and hiring. They differ in how they are structured, how they communicate and how they establish identities, coherence and boundaries with other (educational) disciplines. (Post, 2009; Osborne, 2015; Sugimoto & Weingart, 2014; Stichweh, 1994.) The emergence of educational disciplines at European Universities is commonly attributed to the institutionalization of education as part of the formation of modern societies during the 19th century. However, their autonomous status has always been controversial, because of their eclectic use of concepts, theories and methodologies from other disciplines. (E.g. Harney et al., 1997; Rinne et al., 2000.) During the 20th century educational discipline has differentiated into

subdisciplines and subsections. The struggles on what counts as education and educational knowledge are crucial for the ongoing diversification of education into sub-fields or even new disciplines.

The formation of institutions and professions of education are fundamentally dependent on the struggles on their recognition and justification through academic knowledge production and reproduction. Thus, the diversification of professionals can imply that conceptions about education fundamentally differ and even contradict each other. What kinds of conceptions of discipline are connected to the emergence of pedagogical institutions and professions? If professions are still relevant (Beaton, 2010), the concept of discipline relates to mandatory responsibility and authorized licence to act as an educator. The antidote and remedy against individual failure and social grievances is commonly attributed to pedagogical professionals and educators. If the concept of education is dominated by the transnational economist policy discourse, does this imply that educational institutions and professionals primarily must respond to externally posed request to produce talented workforce for the globally competitive industries? While the dominant transnational New Public Management-policies exclusively focus on research and practices, which promote economic efficiency and competitiveness, the institutions and professionals are disciplined to search for legitimation for their disciplining practices and pedagogical interventions. Efficiency as the moral maxim promise salvation from the dialectical thinking and ambivalences of educational processes (Biesta, 2007; Bellmann, 2012).

The institutionalization of education through the 20th century can be read as a history of struggles about disciplinarization. After the World War II, emancipatory movements were criticizing institutionalization about the over-regulation of pedagogical practice. The ideal of learning as a personal, unhindered and unrestricted participation in meaningful environments was promoted by critical pedagogues, such as Ivan Illich (1972) or Paulo Freire (1973). The institutionalization of education was conceived both as a means of 'colonization of the life-world', and as a claim for equality of opportunity, vital for social integration (Habermas, 1981, 1998). However, the analysis of Bourdieu and Passeron (1974) on the relative autonomy of the education system, revealed at the latest the disguised manipulative character of educational institutions, which resist any self-reflective transformation of the habitus of the students.

In the 21st century, the shift to governance in education show no decrease in disciplinary impacts of education either in pedagogical practice, in science or in institutional and professional settings. Around the world, universities may be the most striking exemples for the disciplinary character of societal institutions and their loss of autonomy. While anti-academist discourse has for long accompanied the success story of the expansion of universities (Engelmeier & Felsch, 2017), it also enforces tendencies to de-institutionalize higher education. These contradictions and ambivalences by speaking about und doing research on discipline are to be investigated.

The categorization of the disciplinary struggles in education into practices, science and institutions and professions, can all be problematized from the perspective of cultural evolution, and its current phase, contributing to a geographical era of the Anthropocene. When the different meanings of education are placed in the wider context of societal and environmental change, the power-critical framework of Foucault's genealogy might provide new horizons. (Foucault 1980a, b, 1995.) The major shifts in the 'planetary order', such as climate change and destruction of the biosphere, challenge the human- and society-centred foundation of all areas of educational practice and science. It can be questioned, whether the human-centered fixation of education to certain disciplines – such as psychology, sociology, philosophy, and economics – has also contributed to the current environmental, economic and social crisis, which endangers the continuity of human life itself. The revisioning of education from a planetary perspective, which embeds humans and human realities in the wider existential framework of human and nonhuman entities, might lead into sublation of the dualistic meanings of discipline in education. Instead of turning to brain sciences and digital technology as solutions to the human-created crises, cross-disciplinary questioning of the human-centred heritage of education might promote sublation of the previous dichotomies and oppositions of discipline and autonomy.

The chapters

The book is divided into three sections. The disciplinary character of education is discussed in the chapters of the first section of the book. The chapters in the

second section exemplify the justification of educational knowledge in processes of mutual transmission between theory and practice. The contributions of the third section problematize the aims and functions of educational practice and theory, which are critical for understanding the implications of disciplinary struggles in education for the future. Although the chapters focus on certain historical periods, forms and contexts of education, they provide insights, which are useful and relevant for a wider discussion in the eclectic and diverse theories and practices of education.

The first section Discipline in Education discusses education as a disciplinary activity and practice, targeting expectations to and applying findings from educational theories and research. It begins with a chapter by Leena Koski, who provides a critique of the history of (popular) adult education in Finland in the context of programmes of nation-building. She considers adult education as a disciplinary constituent in adapting "common people" to the changing capitalist economy, utilizing moral regulation based on Lutheran religion. According to the author, moral regulation has been shaped to control social groups to adjust into the transforming ethos of capitalist economy. The next chapter by Ivan Zamotkin poses questions to the reader about alternatives to the selection function of modern educational systems in meritocratic societies. He discusses typical definitions of discipline in education, characterized by submission to authorities. He asks about the possibility of anarchist concept of discipline, which would enable education as a transformative activity. The chapter of Henry-Yuan Wang analyses the shift in the self-definition of universities as educational institutions, using as an example the branding strategies of Finnish universities since the reform of 2010. Through a changing imaginary, the university is steered from a collaborative, locally responsible and societally transformative community towards a competitive, high standard and business-economic player in the global higher education markets.

In the section Justification of Educational Knowledge, discipline is considered as a mediator in struggles about powerful knowledge, extending also to development of institutions and professions. The first chapter by Anja Heikkinen, Jenni Pätäri and Sini Teräsahde analyses the history of disciplinarisation of adult and vocational education in Finland, in relation to general education. They question the conventional interpretations about the emergence of disciplines and show how justification of knowledge concerning adult and vocational education

happens through negotiations and struggles among networks of academic, political and economic actors. In the next chapter, Lais Oliveira Leite discusses the methodological justification of educational knowledge in the context of educational practices in Brazil. She provides a Foucauldian critique about the separation of researcher and the object of study in educational research, arguing that it hides the power relations between them and their knowledge production. In their chapter, Markus Weil and Balthasar Eugster analyze the struggle and discipline in the discourses of de-structuring of continuing and higher education. They ask, whether the blurring of boundaries between academic research and education and professional practices might offer options for thinking out of the box for both. The chapter of Tarna Kannisto problematises the popular generalizing notions of 'multicultural' in educational theory and practice. Rather implicitly she asks whether culture is always a disciplining concept, based on the hegemony of certain cultural groups. She suggests that individualist conceptions of culture, building on liberal political philosophy would provide more sound approach for culturally diverse educational encounters. In the last chapter of this section, Maija Hirvonen and Raija Pirttimaa show, based on a case study of experienced special education teachers, how the changing competence requirements implied by vocational education reforms have challenged their professional expertise and identity. Besides challenging the disciplinary basis of their professionalism, they seem to undermine the meaning of the experiential expertise of teachers themselves.

The third section problematises the previous disciplinary struggles in relation to Meanings and Functions of Education. Education as a science has developed in close connection to, if not founded on the basis of certain other disciplines. It can be asked, how these connections relate to the ethical, practical and theoretical potential of education to address the most vital challenges of its era. In the first chapter, Kari Väyrynen considers dialectical philosophy and ecological knowledge vital in developing appropriate foundations for the practice and theory of education, instead of such fashionable candidates as neuro-scientific, business-economic and digital technological theories and methodologies. Liberation from their disciplining techniques would require an alternative concept of discipline, as responsibility to reconciliation between the freedoms of "spirit" and "nature". The core of education should be historical understanding of human history and its

interaction with the natural environment. In the next chapter, Burkhard Vollmers with his colleagues discusses the history and potential of phenomenological psychology in developing vocational education for sustainability. They emphasise the need for concrete didactic solutions, which recognize the experiential, experimental, emotional and ethical aspects of occupational growth. The final chapter by Lorenz Lassnigg and Stefan Vogtenhüber critizes the use of universalizing welfare regime- or varieties of capitalism- approaches in comparative research on education. Building on a concrete study on differences in financing adult education, they show the importance of contextual analysis of the power-mechanisms in participation and financing, for comprehension of the underlying factors of the observed differences. The chapter cautions against the hegemony of economist approaches also when studying economic aspects of education cross countries and cultures.

Concluding remarks

Education and discipline have a variety of meanings in and between linguistic and educational traditions and fields, of which this book focuses especially on adult, higher and vocational education. The uses of educational concepts and the meanings attributed to them vary with time, place and actors and the concepts consist of various temporal and semantic layers according to their various historical trajectories, contestation between related concepts and connection with socio-economic, institutional, ideological, theoretical and ecological change.

The conceptual, practical and ideological changes in education carry their history with them. Despite educational goals like democracy, social equality and emancipation, modern societies have not progressed towards these goals in linear but struggling with emerging constraints. For instance, in the pursuit of national integrity or high national culture through education, minorities tend to get excluded from the project of the nation-state (see Kananen, 2014). Following Reinhart Koselleck (2011, 16), we believe that historical or historicizing clarifications including understanding the contingency of historical change can lead to political clarity and transformation.

Despite the wicked problems that go beyond the departmentalized and sectionalist organization of disciplines, it continues to govern academic education. Besides educational research and expertise, it reflects to policies and the ways in which states organize their political-economic, social and educational systems: like the academic disciplines, the nation-states are organized around ideas of territories and national boundaries, while markets, production and consumption are disconnected from the nature's capacity to recover. If policy-makers' major interest in the interdisciplinarity and the reconfiguration of academic disciplines and their autonomy relates primarily to academic capitalism and a paradigm of "innovations through ranking", it rather creates more hierarchies than broader, more comprehensive and complex understanding of reality. Decisions based on measurements rather than conceptualisations and understanding arrive at conflicting results on the nature of educational disciplines (cf. Sugimoto & Weingart, 2014) as well as on a human being.

While education is traditionally rooted in deep dualisms like nature-society (see Haila, 2000; Rudy & White, 2014), it is high time to overcome the binary opposition between the humankind and nature, and to address the power structures and imbalances among global economic order, countries, communities and nature. (Moore, 2017.) Planetary crises dissolve the constrained order of knowledge and require a holistic worldview in education instead of the dichotomies and divisions of modernity. However, the challenging of institutionalized education does not have to mean the end of educational disciplines. It rather requires to critically resolve the ways in which knowledge is produced, disseminated and taught, to practice socially and environmentally just education and research to contest the dominant human-centric structures, global behaviours and academic capitalism where economic growth parallels with development. The strive to overcome the binary relationships and make way for the diversity in thought, worldviews and values entangles with fostering the future of the distinctive educational disciplines and restoring their sense of autonomy. The search for more inclusive and collective ways of thinking can draw from their history and connection with local and indigenous knowledge. The local and contextualized histories of education might provide holistic examples of education, embedded in the local, relate them to community and moral values, and show the connection between culture, livelihood and environment. (See Heikkinen, 2017.)

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SECTION 1
DISCIPLINE IN EDUCATION

Control justified
Discipline as moral regulation in adult education

Leena Koski

Abstract

This article focuses on the historical changes in Finnish popular adult education. The focus is on how both the differing ideas and the practices of moral regulation have been targeted at social groups and genders. The article concentrates on two historical periods: the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and the beginning of the 21st century, and in those periods on the moral regulation of the peasantry and the middle class. The argument is that the disciplinary practices of fostering citizenship in adult education, with their historical emergence and variations, have consistently been attached to an economic ethos disguised as the balanced moral discourses of individual growth and social progress and prosperity.

Keywords: history of popular adult education, moral regulation, class, gender

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Introduction

Popular adult education is a product consisting of ideals written in the self-consciousness of the Western Enlightenment. Popular adult education is based on ideals aiming to mitigate superstition, ignorance and uncivilised manners seen as characteristic of previous eras. The economic, material, political, cultural and spiritual changes associated with the modernisation process created a demand for more civilised, knowledgeable people than ever before in history, giving rise to social movements to educate the people to cope with and advance in society.

The ideological starting points of popular education are most often described as humanistic, with connotations of equality and democracy. However, from the beginning of the educational movement during the 19th century, the practices and aims of civilising nations did not uphold these ideals. The aim was to educate people differently based on their social position and gender. My research question asks how social groups and genders were and still are endowed with differing moral and disciplinary ideals within popular adult education. To understand the differentiating processes and their implications for differing moralities, I focus on the education of the adult population in Finland at two historical moments and two social positions and ask how moral regulation has been constructed and, equally, transformed over time.

The first historical moment is the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries; the second is the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. These historic moments were marked by profound social, political, economic and technological changes in educational systems, labour markets and forms of social interaction. The first moment saw the dawn of modernisation, laying the legal, political and practical foundations for capitalism as a new regulative political and social system. The second moment witnessed the re-organisation of capitalism into neoliberalism and the global economy, marked by both transnational and nationalist movements and crises of democracy and modern institutional structures. My focus is on popular adult education, but it can be claimed that there are similar connotations of moral regulation within vocational education (e.g. Koski, 2009).

During these periods of change, some social classes were more crucial to the desired outcomes than others. During the first period, the critical group was the peasantry, and during the second, it was the middle class. These classes had similar

positions in society, representing for their times the social class whose economic welfare and lifestyle were crucial questions for both the economy and political stability.

Theoretical background

Philipp Jackson (1968) pointed out that education is always a question of moral control. Indeed, education itself is a moral project. Its core consists of a constant search for answers to the questions of what is right and wrong, good and evil, desired and undesired – and how and why individuals should be educated. The answers offered convey different ideas of physical and material life, inner being, proper forms of social relations and the nature of transcendence (see, e.g., Durkheim, 1979). Simultaneously, education is a means for the reproduction of social differences, power relations and individual empowerment. Education is always disciplinary in the moral sense.

Alan Hunt (1999) argued that moral regulation is a 'practice of governing in order to focus attention on social action that attempts to influence the conduct of human agents'. Thus defined, moral regulation seems to accord with the very definition of education: attempting to influence the conduct of human minds and activities. Furthermore, moral regulation and education are both inherently forms of power manifested discursively, physically and materially. However, as a means of power, morality is a category without normative presuppositions, as Hunt noted: 'In moral regulation, "the moral" dimension is not an intrinsic characteristic of the regulatory target since there are no necessarily moral issues' (Hunt, 1999, p. 4).

In this sense, moral regulation is subtle and fluid and can be imposed on almost any dimension in human life: from taking or not taking a daily shower to economic competition and the fate of human beings in the hereafter. The forms of moral regulation have changed throughout history and almost overnight during social conflicts and crises. In education, morality is manifested in collections of aims and objectives, lists of norms and values and descriptions of ideal humans in an imagined ideal society and the pedagogical means of achieving these ideals.

In education, the most profound forms of moral regulation are embedded in the changing ideas of the inner being of the human and the relationship of that inner being to the social. Despite historical and contextual changes, definitions of the inner being are consistently connected to questions of becoming a subject, an agent or one's true self, according to the definition in different contexts (Koski, 2014). These definitions are not merely philosophical (or religious) but are related to economic and political processes: the constitution of individuals and their inner beings is shaped by the social conditions at any given moment in history. The quest for the self has, as Michel Foucault (1983) pointed out, become obligatory for the modern individual, and this obligation is attached to the normalising practices of power. Thus, in educational contexts, defining the constitution of the inner being, the actions in the search for it and its connections to the social is a vital means of regulatory and disciplinary power.

Moral regulation is a naturalising means of political and economic power. The ways in which morals are constituted and justified at any given moment reveal the social divisions within education. Moral regulation occurs through everyday practices, promoting physical, material and spiritual ideals held to be self-evidently true and desirable. In education, regulation works by articulating norms and deficiencies and introducing educational programmes to correct them. In changing social conditions, the definitions of deficiencies vary, along with the social groups and individuals defined as needing correctional activities. In the history of adult education, moral regulation, as well as other activities, has varied according to which social group is defined as the most important target for enhancing economic and social wellbeing. Historically, moral regulation within adult education has not treated 'adults' or the 'people' as one entity; from the very beginning, moral regulation has been imposed differently on different classes, genders and groups.

Educational practices are aimed at individual humans and collectives simultaneously. Questions about the social, political and economic conditions constituting the preconditions of ideal individuals and their social relations, therefore, form a key to understanding the practices of moral regulation and disciplinary adult education.

Moral regulation at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries

Moral regulation and control in the birth of popular adult education in Finland[1] at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries were inseparable from the rise of capitalism, which generated new forms of social and economic relations. The educational project aimed at the adult population, in both the founders' writings and the activities taken, was intended to lay the practical and spiritual foundations for capitalist relations in economics.

Most importantly from the perspective of adult education, monetary economics started to change the social positions and wealth of the Finnish peasantry. The peasantry had representatives in the corporative Parliament and owned substantial proportions of the Finnish forests. With the birth of the forest industry, the value of forests skyrocketed, and selling timber introduced novel forms of monetary economics into the peasants' lives. At the same time, agricultural production faced profound changes as the development of farm machinery reduced the need for farmhands. A whole way of life was changing, transforming social relationships, the idea of human beings and their rights, duties and possibilities in society (e.g. Jutikkala, 1958). During this critical period, educationists believed that peasants had become imprisoned in their old, traditional habits and beliefs while the traditional preconditions of that culture were inevitably deteriorating. (Alapuro, 1998). Furthermore, the inner being of peasants also seemed to be somehow wrong, hidden to themselves or lost altogether, causing moral degradation and thus endangering the progress foreseen (Koski & Filander, 2013). The conclusion of the Finnish intelligentsia was that the peasantry was in urgent need of awakening spiritually, economically, materially and practically (Alapuro, 1998). This logic can clearly be seen in the writings of J.V. Snellman, the most famous Finnish Hegelian national philosopher and later head of the Bank of Finland:

> Civilisation and welfare require each other. Education multiplies the human['s] needs and, by giving him better insight, also teaches him to fulfil them better,

[1] The Finnish term referring to popular adult education translates as 'the work for the edification of the people'.

> to increase his welfare. Prosperity, thus again, offers capital to industry and spare time for higher civilisation or the soul. (Snellman, 1929, p. 182)

This was the presupposed causality: education leads to welfare, welfare to industrialisation, and these together to the civilisation of the soul. Or, vice versa, as Niilo Liakka stated, adding religious Lutheran ideals (see Koski, 2001) to the process:

> The course of progress will be: *inwards*, to personal improvement, independence, unique conviction; *upwards*, away from selfishness, self-interest, to succumb to forces and purposes, which are greater than yourself, to recognise the fatherly power of God, which makes the weak strong. Only thereafter, *forward* to valuable and fruitful activities for one's own good, and to progress the common good. (Liakka, 1909, p. 116)

However, these idealised causal chains could not be found among the peasantry. Instead, quite to the contrary, the peasantry seemed to have adopted the idea of growing their wealth without understanding its social and spiritual implications. For example, Yrjö Koskinen (1868, pp. 87–88) described how monetary economics were breaking a traditional, modest, pious way of life and thus degrading the peasantry's morality:

> As matters have been so far, one must really pity the narrow field of civilisation where the wealthy peasants in our country are restricted. It is quite natural that when the means are sufficient, they will, with a greater fancy, satisfy their desires. … The men have been showing off with their handsome traps and vehicles, exquisite, prepared weddings and feasts, perhaps even bought champagne from the cities. … Women, for one, have sought their joy in handsome clothes, silk, velvet, and golden jewelry. (Koskinen, 1868, pp. 87–88)

Following Pierre Bourdieu's (1983) ideas, the peasantry had gained economic capital and was in the process of acquiring forms of cultural capital hitherto distinctive to the upper middle class (or the gentry), such as champagne, silk,

velvet and gold. These desires did not accord with the ideal of the educational edification process. The idea that the peasantry's economic prosperity would lead to the worship of material goods, and consequently, selfishness and greed completely contradicted moral ideals. The inner being had higher purposes than ostentation: living to benefit the nation and to exalt God's praise was seen as important, as well as practical knowledge and skills. Concentrating solely on economic wellbeing was seen as a danger to the new political order. Texts stressed that the aim of education was to refine the spirit for higher purposes than pure pageantry. Such refinement was an especially urgent task as national romantic philosophies constructed the peasantry as a symbol of the nation-to-come: it was pictured as noble, humble before the face of God, resilient, tenacious and proud of their work – the embodiment of the 'Spirit of the Land' (Koski, 2006, 2011).

The civilisation project initiated was comprehensive. It promoted the ideology of the nation in the service of sublime and edifying purposes, producing individuals who had awoken from the darkness of ignorance, 'showing off' and old-fashioned habits. The final aim linked the educational process to the familiar, traditional religious discourse of the salvation of the souls:

> The human heart will be best edified by rooting out everything that is low, selfish and unclean, and instead, everything that is noble, sublime, ideal and heavenly. The spirit of the people's institution is good if all the activities are inspired by the warm, burning love for the heavenly and mundane Fatherland and if all the questions are judged in light of the eternal truth. (*Yearbook of the Folk Institute of East Karelia*, 1907)

All these dimensions were introduced into practice by several educational institutions and organisations founded around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries: Martta associations for peasant women (see Ollila, 1993), folk institutions for young boys and girls and Pellervo associations for farmers. These institutions wove together the practical, aesthetic and moral into two main purposes: the salvation of souls and financial management (Koski, 2011).

The salvation of souls was an aim for both genders, but in many other ways, educational practices were gendered. Men were taught financial management, mechanised agriculture, woodwork and basic mathematics and biology. Their

education concerned founding co-operatives, dairies, sawmills and such. Women's education, in contrast, was focused on housekeeping and proper habits, learning to do fine embroidery, plant flower gardens for the aesthetic refinement of the soul, grow new vegetables, cook nutritious food for healthy bodies and keep the home clean and tidy. It was believed that the tidiness of the home led to purity of heart and honest, kind, patient, vigorous women with strong character.

From the perspective of moral regulation, the inner being and the external world were intertwined in the causal logics of the definition of progress. A tidy home, well-kept machinery and land, exact book-keeping and meticulously made ornaments, clothes and food led to and were signs of inner refinement of the human being. In these processes, the economic and social relations of capitalism were tied to both traditional and novel religious and spiritual orders: the Lutheran religion, highlighting the idea that everyday chores are acts of service to God, and nationalism or national romanticism, sanctifying the Fatherland as a gift from God (see Koski, 1998, 1999). All these ideals intermingled as justifications and practices of moral regulation and resulted in the construction of disciplinary power.

Moral regulation and control thus surrounded individuals from every direction as a productive form of power (Foucault, 1983), persuading them to change their whole lives. The causal logics (see Koski & Filander, 2013) were indisputable: from proper management of finances and housekeeping followed refinement of the soul and vice versa. Simultaneously, all these deeds constituted acts praising God and advancing the common good of the Fatherland. However, the idea of the hidden inside of the human being was profoundly religious, given the notion that God only knows the truth of one's soul and that humans will become their true selves only in the hereafter. Consequently, the inner being was, to a degree, sheltered from social and economic constraints. In Basil Bernstein's (1990, pp. 82–83) words, the pedagogical control was external, focused on teaching to act according to the rules. The practical and the spiritual were two sides of the coin, yet at that historic moment, they were balanced to prioritise the practical to enhance the

construction of the capitalist economy. The 'spiritual' as such was then still left to the teaching of the Lutheran Church.

Turn of the 20th and 21st centuries

The decades after the Second World War was a time of profound political, economic and cultural changes in Finland, including democratisation, urbanisation, secularisation, expansion of educational organisations and gradual transformation of the ideals of moral regulation. The redefinition of moral ideals took place soon after the end of the war. The emphasis was laid on a new basis, attached to traditional foundations:

> Popular adult education and democracy are parallel phenomena. They create opportunities for each other; they need and support each other. ... It is self-evident that we adopt democracy as the basis for popular adult education because only this will guarantee the unity of our nation, guarantee its high quality, guarantee its future. (Wuorenrinne, 1945, pp. 51–54)

The authoritarian, class-based social and moral orders, along with nationalist educational ideals, had become restraints on the foreseen progress even though the ideals of the nation and its high quality still persisted. The middle class was emerging as the social strata holding key positions related to political and economic stability and progress. Middle-class women gradually replaced working-class men as the major group utilising all sectors of adult education (Koski, 2005b), which also changed the curricula in popular adult education. In the 1960s, the view of adult educationists was that the educational modernisation project, as well as the project of the edification of the people, had been completed successfully. The 'people' had learned to read and write, eat properly, utilise washing machines and vacuum cleaners and tidy their homes, surroundings and themselves. The overall educational level had risen due to reforms in compulsory education, vocational training and universities.

However, at the turn of the 20th century, the education of the adult population was at a new turning point as neoliberal economics and digital technologies

changed the structures of both the labour market and the educational market. Former educational forms and ideals of disciplinary moral regulation had to be re-interpreted amid changing social conditions. As early as the 1970s, the concepts of 'continuing education' and 'lifelong education' were introduced to adult education, primarily by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), as answers to the demands of the re-structuring labour market and rapidly changing qualifications. By the turn of the 20th century, the concept of lifelong education had become the prevailing discourse setting the ideals and practices of adult learning. On the social level, the ideals were attached to democracy and equality and, on the individual level, to personal growth. These ideals became the foundation for the social and moral justification and disciplinary regulation of adult education. The ideals were written in most important texts, such as the Law on Finnish Popular Education:

> [The purpose of] the principles of lifelong learning [is] to arrange education that supports cohesion, equality and active citizenship in society. The aim of popular adult education is to promote diversity of individual growth, wellbeing, democracy, pluralism, sustainable development, multiculturalism and internationality. In popular adult education, the principles of self-directed learning, communal orientation and increasing belonging to society are emphasised. (Law on Popular Education, 2009)

The democratic values connected to the 'diversity of individual growth' and the 'principles of self-directed learning', defined as self-reflectivity, self-realisation, self-esteem and self-directivity as references to the inner being, have a twofold justification. First, they accord with the economics of late capitalism, for instance, in the Federation of Business Life in Finland's educational policy documents in the early 2000s (see EK:n linjaukset, 2015). A declaration by the European Parliament directly connects the awakening of the inner being to economic principles:

> The aim of lifelong education is for example to increase creativity, competitiveness, employability, and entrepreneurial ethos.

Second, the ethos of individual growth in the law is aimed at empowering individual students as citizens by using traditional humanistic values. The educational emphasis on the self includes the idea that the self, the me, the inner being is somehow hidden, lost or imprisoned and thus in need of being unveiled, found or liberated (Koski, 2005a, 2014). In both adult educational institutes and commercial institutes offering learning opportunities for adults, courses on finding or freeing the inner being multiplied over the previous decade. These courses are based on multiple self-techniques, as can be seen in the following examples, one a curricular description of a course offered in many institutes of popular adult education in Finland and the other a parallel curriculum offered by a commercial institute:

> Start to live instead of just surviving. … This course is aimed at awakening creativity, the use of feelings and intellect in order to become what we already are. Based on their own experiences, students will work to free both their feelings and psychic energy. As a tool for the study of the self is the Gestalt method, in which it is essential to learn to recognise what I want and need just now and to act in order to accomplish these goals.
>
> In our coaching method, the approach is based on solving problems in an appreciative manner. Every human being will be met as their own person who has the potential to create their own success story – the seed for success must only be dug up from within.

From the perspective of moral regulation, connecting democracy and the search for the self is a continuation of the traditional (religious) ideas of observing one's conscience in order to lead a sinless life and make the right decisions (see Hunt, 1999). In popular and commercial adult education, the self is predominantly defined as hidden, lost, imprisoned or in state of becoming. The vocabulary consists of symbols such as a seed that, once found and watered, will both empower and liberate the desired qualities from within: creativity, innovativeness, competitiveness, success, spirituality or some other social invention for the labour market at a given moment. Ozga and Lingard (2007, p. 70) summarised the ideals attached to lifelong learning and success in the competitive labour market:

the individual must be creative, productive, sociable, flexible, stress tolerant, cooperative, emotionally controlled and committed to hard work.

Beverly Skeggs (1997) noted that the focus on the self is a female middle-class project. In her analysis, self-projects are a means of distinguishing oneself from the lower classes in a project highlighting the value of spirit over matter. With the expansion of interest in focusing on the self, new trades and businesses of life coaching have emerged. Mäkinen (2012, pp. 110–113) labelled them 'individualised feminism', emphasising individual empowerment for individual success while neglecting structural injustices. Thus, each individual should, and can when properly coached, achieve any social position. It seems that highlighting the self as a symbol of the inner being, perhaps unintentionally, serves as a disciplinary discourse aimed at educated middle-class women.

Conclusions

With the birth of both capitalism and popular adult education in the 19th century, the connection of the inner being to the economic market was transmitted through the idea of the progress of the nation. For the peasants, this idea was justified by Lutheran spirituality aimed at refining the human being, the immediate surroundings and, ultimately, the Fatherland. In the neoliberal formation of capitalism, the inner being is directly connected to the economic market. Other justifying discourses connected to transcendental, spiritual and social aims are weak and scattered. At the same time, the disciplinary and regulative practices considering the inner being have been strengthened as individuals have been persuaded to find the hidden self and transform it as their resource. The task is narrated as normative but stripped of institutional or transcendent connections; the individual encounters moral regulation without protective structures, as if naked. Individualised morality, along with 'self-ethic' as Heelas (1996) noted, is aimed at 'exorcising those voices of authority which have become internalized as the ego. ... The individual serves as his or her own source of guidance' (Heelas, 1996, p. 23). However, the 'voice of the authority' and its use as a 'source of guidance' must be taught and learned; only then does the inner being of the individual, the self, serve as a precondition of social progress. Following Basil Bernstein's (1990,

p. 67) analysis of pedagogic control, external control has become internal and implicit with formerly open hierarchies masking their communication, blurring the boundaries of the inner being and the social demands.

The quest for democracy remains, however, a social justification in adult education. Participation in activities offered by communal institutes of adult education is understood to increase democratic practices. Democracy then seems to equal participation in adult education. The most popular courses in adult education, though, focus on various handicrafts, physical exercise, foreign languages, information technology, painting and other practical skills. Even though courses are offered to the entire adult population, participation is clearly both gendered and class-based, dominated by educated, middle-class women.

Moral regulation aimed at population control has been multiplied, extended and at least partly disengaged from traditional institutional organisations of adult education and found its agents in commercial businesses and therapeutic practices. The deficiencies perceived in the lives of individuals and the demands and ways of improving them have also multiplied. Moral regulation no longer aims to go onwards and upwards through spirituality and the common good; instead, it aims to compete and survive in the precarious labour market and life.

In all these changes, adult educationists have reformulated their definitions to justify the moral regulation of the prevailing social and economic structures. The disciplinary practices of fostering citizenship in adult education, with their historical emergence and variations, have consistently been attached to an economic ethos, disguised as the balanced moral discourses of individual growth and social progress and prosperity.

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'How to cultivate freedom through coercion'
Defining discipline in anarchist education

Ivan Zamotkin

Abstract

At the beginning of the chapter a case of anarchist education is examined with the aim of justifying the relevance of anarchism to contemporary educational debates concerning the notion of discipline and the task of reclaiming it as both an educational and political concept. Then, in the light of the problem of pedagogical paradox, two opposite views of discipline in education, those of Durkheim and Foucault, are presented. Based on Foucault's critique, the connection between two meanings of the word 'discipline' referred to in education is explored. In conclusion, it is demonstrated how rethinking both discipline in education and education as discipline from the anarchist perspective can inform educational research.

Keywords: discipline, anarchist education, pedagogical paradox, Durkheim, Foucault.

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Introduction

Among the many contexts in which the word 'discipline' can be used (for example, discipline in the military or labour discipline), the most widespread context refers to the field of education, especially school education. The very usage of this term has become commonplace both in educational theory and in various pedagogical systems as well as in the everyday speech of many educators, for whom maintaining discipline in a classroom is one of the most urgent tasks. In both cases, this concept is often given opposing evaluations ranging from criticism of discipline as a normalising practice to attempts to rehabilitate it, related to the proposals of the new, 'positive' connotations of the term. The recent works of the contemporary scholar James MacAllister, devoted to a detailed analysis of the concept of discipline at its present stage, provide an argument against the currently dominant use of this concept in the context of 'behaviour management' as conflicting with the freedom and agency of students. According to him, discipline needs to be reclaimed as an educational concept (see MacAllister, 2014).

Considering the notion of discipline from the anarchist perspective at first glance may seem a controversial task as it is believed that anarchism fundamentally denies any notion of discipline as well as notions of authority, coercion and power. This is especially significant when referring to anarchism as an educational theory, as anarchist education is often naïvely defined as giving children the opportunity to do whatever they want, so any form of discipline is considered an attempt on their freedom. A closer examination of the rich and often undeservedly forgotten history of anarchist education, together with a more detailed analysis of the political theory of anarchism, will allow, firstly, to demonstrate that this is simply not true, and secondly, to address the more fundamental, titular question: how does one cultivate freedom through coercion? In a similar formulation this question was first identified by I. Kant; later in the literature it was called the pedagogical paradox. Kant himself believed that discipline is a negative but nonetheless necessary element of education, which allows a person through this process to make the transition from immaturity to maturity and to become free in the sense in which Kant understood freedom (see Kant, 2007). It is worth noting here that Kant's solution to this paradox (like any other one) takes us beyond the bounds of the traditional, mere pedagogical set of questions as it represents the

connection between education and freedom as a political term. In other words, one finds it hard to answer questions such as when a child becomes independent and ready for adult life when appealing only to the understanding of the child's development provided by pedagogy and psychology. This question has a clear social and political dimension, which requires a different attitude in consideration of this problem. In this sense, the task of examining discipline in education could be seen as reclaiming it not only as an educational but also as a political concept.

The other side of this issue that is relevant to education is the ambiguity of the concept of discipline, which was noted in Foucault's critical works and expressed in his concept of 'power-knowledge' (see Foucault, 1991). Disciplinary mechanisms can be found not only in how the process of education works but also in what constitutes its content. Moreover, education itself could be seen as a distinct discipline uniting various research approaches and practices. Referring to anarchism as an alternative perspective from which to look at education opens up opportunities not only to consider some specific elements of education (for example, discipline) but also to rethink the entire disciplinary field. A confirming example here can be the work of the contemporary scholar Judith Suissa, who solves this problem for the discipline of the philosophy of education (see Suissa, 2014).

At the beginning of the chapter, a case of anarchist education is examined with the aim of justifying the relevance of anarchism to contemporary educational debates concerning the notion of discipline and the possible task outlined above. Then in the light of the problem of the pedagogical paradox, two opposite views of discipline in education (by Durkheim and by Foucault) are presented. Based on Foucault's critique, it is proposed how two meanings of the word 'discipline' referred to in education are connected. In conclusion it is shown how rethinking both discipline in education and education as a discipline from the anarchist perspective can inform educational research.

'Fragments' of an anarchist pedagogy

'The anarchist approach has been more influential in education than in most other fields of life', writes the well-known anarchist thinker C. Ward in his

2004 book *Anarchism: A Very Short Introduction* (p. 61). He offers to reclaim the undeservedly forgotten history of the anarchist movement in education, uniting those who oppose compulsory state education. Ward emphasises that it is necessary to draw a line between this movement and the movement for progressive education, but he offers a very narrow understanding of the difference between them: 'around the issue of compulsory or voluntary attendance at lesson' (Ward, 2004, p. 59). Ward thus follows the same false path that many anarchists have taken when they have been drawn into the 'trap' of the misconception of education presented as 'anarchist'. It could be seen in the conflation of 'anarchist' and 'libertarian' positions on education, where the latter is strongly associated with the ideas of 'free' education, such as a *laissez-faire* attitude to children's upbringings. To confirm this, it might be added that among those works whom Ward sees as examples of anarchist education are both F. Ferrer's 'Modern School' and A. Neill's 'Summerhill'. In this section, we will show what is a fundamental difference between them as what distinguishes the anarchist perspective on education from both proposals of state education and projects that are other alternatives to state schooling. Our main thesis is that in anarchist education there is a special understanding of discipline that distinguishes it from other non-authoritarian pedagogies. However, to understand what is special about this understanding, firstly we should briefly clarify the main ideas behind anarchist pedagogy.

Although some anarchist ideas about unlimited freedom in a free society without authority could be found throughout human history (for instance, Kropotkin believed that such ideas could be traced all the way back to ancient philosophy, both Western and Eastern (Kropotkin, 1910), political anarchism as a distinct theory and ideology emerged in particular historical circumstances. It is believed that under the influence of the French Revolution, anarchism appeared firstly as an ideological trend and later as a political movement, becoming a sort of reaction to its achievements and failures. Thus, anarchism occupied a special niche in the ideological struggle of two, also produced by the Revolution, theories – liberalism and state socialism – criticising both positions. The main contradiction that anarchism was intended to solve was the contradiction between freedom and equality (as the basic values of the above ideologies, respectively). For anarchists, there has been no choice between them; as M.A. Bakunin puts it; 'liberty without

socialism is privilege, injustice; and that socialism without liberty is slavery and brutality' (Bakunin in Dolgoff, 1973). It is believed that in the history of anarchist thought, one can notice a certain spread among the authors in the spectrum of 'personality-society', manifested in either the principle of individual freedom or the principle of equality within the community; on this basis anarchists are usually divided into individualists and socialists. Nevertheless, this division is very conditional, and between these authors there is not so much difference as they themselves present it: 'the anarchist socialist is also an individualist and the individualist anarchist may well be a partisan of the social approach who fears to declare himself' (Guérin, 1970). The combination of equality and freedom has become not just a slogan for generations of anarchists around the world but the key idea of anarchism, its important distinctive feature that creates a unique perspective for addressing many issues, including those in education. Being 'the only modern social doctrine that unequivocally rejects the concept of the state' (Reichert, 1969, p. 139), anarchism has always deliberately approached its criticism of authority, rejecting a priori constructed proposals for social change. That said, it should be emphasised that nowadays, when the system of public education especially needs protection against proposals for its privatisation and other neoliberal reforms, anarchist criticism must be very careful while remaining uncompromising. From a philosophical point of view, it is necessary to articulate what understanding of authority will correspond to anarchist ideas of freedom and equality.

One of the first attempts to systematically apply anarchist ideas to education belongs to Francisco Ferrer, a Spanish anarchist and prominent figure of libertarian pedagogy. His interest in anarchism and education began in France, where he met the theorists of libertarian communism Jean Grave and Élisée Reclus and libertarian educator Paul Robin. From the mid-1890s, under their influence, Ferrer had become an anarchist, imbued with the ideas of the concept of revolutionary syndicalism. According to this concept, organisations created in the process of the struggle for the interests of the people (self-governing trade unions, cooperatives, etc.) could be seen as some kind of hotbeds of the future free socialist community. Ferrer believed that the education of the younger generation should also occur in the same way so that they will be able to carry out a social revolution and create a free and just society. Ferrer was convinced that the school should

not be subordinate to the state and the church and that coercion that hinders the free development of the child's personality should cease to be the main method of education. Ferrer managed to put his ideas into practice; on his return to Spain, on October 8, 1901, he founded the Modern School in Barcelona (*La escuela moderna*). The aims of the Modern School Ferrer considered to 'stimulate, develop, and direct the natural ability of each pupil, so that he or she will not only become a useful member of society, with his individual value fully developed, but will contribute, as a necessary consequence, to the uplifting of the whole community' (Ferrer, 1913). In the content of education, there was a rejection of teaching dogmas in favour of studying the natural sciences, which he called 'rational education'. By the end of the first year, 30 children were attending school, and by 1907 their number had risen to 126. Very quickly, Ferrer had followers all over Spain, and then all over the world; he promoted the ideas of rational education and helped new schools with educational literature and teacher training. At the beginning the Spanish authorities did not interfere with the emergence of such schools because they themselves could not cope with the illiteracy of the population, but then with the increasing influence of the Modern School and Ferrer's efforts to promote rational education, the government saw significant dangers in it. According to the fabricated case, Ferrer was removed from teaching, he was forced to go abroad, but he did not stop promoting his ideas. To do so, in April 1908 together with other people in the movement he founded the International League for the Rational Education of Children in Paris, which included teachers from a dozen countries, prominent cultural and scientific figures. The attacks on Ferrer did not stop there; he was again falsely accused and illegally brought to trial, which eventually resulted his vicious murder; despite the international campaign launched in his defence, on October 13, 1909 he was sentenced to death and executed. Ferrer's death caused an unprecedented protest around the world and only strengthened the anarchists' interest in education; many other libertarian pedagogy projects inspired by the Modern School began to appear after that.

The programme of rational education proposed by Ferrer fits into the overall picture of the projects of progressive and libertarian education inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment, and for its time it was very radical. In Ferrer's school, the principle of equality was manifested not only in the fact that learning was mixed but also in the pedagogical approaches chosen at school:

> Having admitted and practised the co-education of boys and girls, of rich and poor – having that is to say started from the principle of solidarity and inequality – we are not prepared to create a new inequality. Hence in the Modern School there will be no rewards and no punishments; there will be no examinations to puff up some children with the flattering title of excellent, to give others the vulgar title of 'good', and make others unhappy with a consciousness of incapacity and failure. (Ferrer, 1913)

At the same time, according to Ferrer, pedagogical technology as such was not rejected; rather he noted the excessive role that it was assigned in traditional school education, turning it into a set of rituals and useless conventions, the purpose of which is to control students. Regarding the content of education, Ferrer consistently implemented the conception of 'integral education' that has been central for anarchism and was firstly formulated by Kropotkin in his work *Fields, Factories and Workshops*: 'to the division of society into brain workers and manual workers we oppose the combination of both kinds of activities; and instead of "technical education", which means the maintenance of the present division between brain work and manual work, we advocate the *education integrale*, or complete education, which means the disappearance of that pernicious distinction' (Kropotkin, 1913). According to Kropotkin the specialisation of labour must be preceded by general education, which combines both the study of sciences and the teaching of crafts (such kinds of education were at the Modern School). M.A. Bakunin went further on this issue; he believed that the division between brain and manual work itself is artificial, thus formulating the principle of integral education in a very broad way, stating 'everyone must work, and everyone must receive education':

> The science of the sage will become more fruitful, more useful and more expansive when the sage is no longer a stranger to manual labour, and the labours of the workmen, when he is educated, will be more intelligent and thus more productive than those of an ignorant workman. From which it follows that, for work's sake as much as for the sake of science, there must no longer be this division into workers and scholars and henceforth there must be only men. (Bakunin, 1869)

For Bakunin, fixing science and science education with a certain social group is one of the main reasons for the exploitation of the 'uneducated majority', so he strongly rejected liberal projects of state education as he claimed that the people did not need such science and such education. Moreover, Bakunin believed that it was very cynical to talk about the purpose of science in the education of the people, ignoring the social unfairness and inequality that exists in society, which in many respects was maintained by this science. Ferrer thought that it is very important to draw the attention of his students to it when they were on a factory tour. For example, some boys and girls did not want to go into one of the workshops because of the heat and smell of toxic materials, which gave Ferrer the opportunity to discuss with them the history of the workers' factories, how they learned this craft as children, how they also did not like the heat and unpleasant smell, but that they had no other life options, and how science and industry, having reached such heights together, can coexist with such glaring facts of social unfairness. Both for Kropotkin and Bakunin this component of political education imbued with the ideal of a society based on mutual help and solidarity was significant in the process of integral education.

As mentioned earlier, the history of libertarian pedagogy is marked by many other extremely interesting educational projects; however, not all of them should be attributed to anarchism. For J. Suissa, a clear counter-example here is the famous school created by A. Neill in 1921, 'Summerhill'. Based only on external features (lack of a strict timetable, informal learning, children's free behaviour), this school looked like Ferrer's and other anarchist schools, but for Suissa it is important to show what the fundamental differences are. According to Suissa, one of the fairly clear differences is how in the Summerhill school democratic decision-making procedures regarding all issues had been narrowly understood as being reduced to simple voting. Anarchist thinkers have rejected such an 'electoral' understanding of democracy and have had fair doubts about the validity of the majority principle as the basis of the political system. She notes that 'more significant, though, are the subtle differences that derive from the philosophical and ideological commitments behind each of these educational approaches'. She continues:

> Crucially, Neill conceived of freedom in an individual, psychological sense. His chief intellectual influences were those of the psychoanalytical tradition

> especially the work of Wilhelm Reich. So, although critical of existing society, he believed that the way forward to a better world lay in reform at the individual level a sort of mass therapy by which we would gradually achieve a society of self-aware, uninhibited, emotionally stable individuals. In contrast, the notion of freedom behind the anarchist position is one that carries "concrete political connotations". (Suissa, 2001)

This individualistic and psychological understanding of freedom, which is based on Rousseau's claim about originally good human nature, should not be assigned to anarchism. On the contrary, a human being in anarchism is presented as a creature with a dual nature, in which not only altruistic but also egoistic characteristics are inherent. In this regard, neither Kropotkin nor even Bakunin were naïve, as they are often presented; anarchism implies that human nature is contextual. Outside the context of society, in addition to other individuals, the question of human nature, according to Bakunin, does not make any sense at all – in this regard, he criticises the theory of the social contract and the natural state of men: 'primitive men enjoying absolute liberty only in isolation are antisocial by nature and when forced to associate they destroy each other's freedom' (Bakunin in Dolgoff, 1973, p. 128). Contrary to this, Bakunin sees it the following way: after concluding the contract, unfree man, who is in the slavery of his animal state, becomes a slave of the state, thus, denial of the state and animality for people is possible only in the gradual self-awareness in society, and not outside it, with other people. This remark makes clear why Kropotkin saw education as one of the main means for achieving the necessary moral level for establishing and maintaining anarchist ideal in human society (see Kropotkin, 1970).

It seems that education might become a space in which the ability to share anarchist values arises among people even before the establishment of anarchy, thus becoming the prerequisites for an anarchist revolution. This view was also in the programme of integral education implemented in the 'Modern School': Ferrer saw his school as a microcosm of the future anarchist society. Education in the Modern School was far from the political neutrality that Neill talked about: 'politics, life, religion is a matter for personal choice to be made later on in life as the child grows up' (Neill, 1962, p. 354). Children, according to Neill, being originally good by nature, should themselves determine their own values in their individual development. Moral relativism in relation to education here comes

into clear contradiction with Neill's aforementioned understanding of freedom. We see no such contradiction in Ferrer's school: 'rational education, among other things, preserves in humans the ability to love, to think, to strive for ideals and hope' (Ferrer, 1913), portraying an education imbued with this hope for a society of truly free and equal people without violence, hierarchies or any privilege.

Pedagogical paradox and the role of discipline in education

Immanuel Kant was one of the strongest advocates for the necessity of discipline in education. His views on education were based on the assumption that there is a fundamental difference between immature and mature human beings, related, according to Kant, with the idea of autonomy as the possibility of using of one's reason. It is education that provides this transition from immaturity to maturity, and, according to Kant, the first step of this process requires discipline. He saw discipline as a negative but obligatory part of education which prevents a man from being turned away from humanity by his animal impulses, his appointed end. Kant's position represents some fundamental pedagogical ideas which have become predominant in modern educational thought and which have exercised a great influence on modern educational practice. But this set of ideas is not unproblematic, and even in Kant's own work on education we can find what is known in the literature as 'pedagogical paradox'. Kant describes it this way:

> One of the biggest problems of education is how one can unite submission under lawful constraint with the capacity to use one's freedom. For constraint is necessary. How do I cultivate freedom under constraint? I shall accustom my pupil to tolerate a constraint of his freedom, and I shall at the same time lead him to make good use of his freedom. Without this everything is a mere mechanism, and the pupil who is released from education does not know how to use his freedom. He must feel early the inevitable resistance of society, in order to get to know the difficulty of supporting himself, of being deprived and of acquiring – in a word: of being independent. (Kant, 2007, p. 447)

This paradox arises due to the fact that the relationship between the student and the teacher ceases to be only pedagogical and becomes political since

the acquisition of freedom by the student leads to the political problem of emancipation. If emancipation is understood as something that is done for someone through a certain external intervention, then it turns out to be based on a fundamental difference between the one who emancipates and the one who should be emancipated. Due to this logic of emancipation, pedagogy is based on a fundamental distinction between the 'educated' and 'uneducated' states of mind based on the power of the emancipator, which puts those who will be liberated in the originally unfree position.

One of the ways to look at this problem is to rethink the idea of disciplinary practices and to try to provide a positive notion of the term discipline. For instance, this was the task for Emile Durkheim in his influential works on education, especially in *Moral Education*, where he considers discipline as an essential element of morality. For Durkheim it is particularly important to analyse the notion of discipline in education not from an individualistic, psychological level but from a sociological one, i.e. to put it in the social context where social norms constitute and help to maintain a certain social order. He claims that

> since moral requirements are not merely another name for personal habits, since they determine conduct imperatively from courses outside ourselves, in order to fulfil one's obligations and to act morally one must have some appreciation of the authority *sui generis* that informs morality ... We have seen, furthermore, that if this sense of authority constitutes a part of that force with which all rules of conduct, whatever they may be, impose themselves upon us, then authority has an extremely significant function; for here it acts independently. No other feeling or consideration is involved in the moral act. (Durkheim, 1961, p. 34)

In this sense the discipline is necessary for both school and society because through it we become part of the particular social order, and, hence, it always requires some changes in personal attitude and behaviour that somehow make one 'disciplined'. The principle of authority has its own limits. For instance, Durkheim strongly opposed the idea of physical punishments in schools. However, he also rejected the notion that education had the task of changing society. Instead, Durkheim saw education as part of the process of socialisation in which discipline is the way to unite the child with the larger society. The functionalist view of education

and discipline given by Durkheim seems to be quite reasonable for describing how social mechanisms work, but it still leaves unanswered the question of how it is possible for students to become autonomous at the end of education, where discipline takes on such a crucial role. Durkheim himself argued that the result of education, or, in his words, moral discipline, should not be mere socialisation, such as engaging students into the moral values and rules of a community, but also the achievement of students' autonomy and self-determination within society. In many ways his position reproduced the disciplinary struggles formulated by Kant in his pedagogical paradox.

A very different perspective on this topic can be found in the works of Michel Foucault. His critique in *Discipline and Punish* helps to reveal the disadvantages of the disciplinary mechanisms not only in educational institutions but within the whole society. Foucault in his book described the birth of prison in order to demonstrate how disciplinary power works:

> How could the prison not be immediately accepted when, by locking up, retraining and rendering docile, it merely reproduces, with a little more emphasis, the mechanisms that are to be found in the social body. The prison is like a rather disciplined barracks, a strict school, a dark workshop, but not qualitatively different. (Foucault, 1991, p. 223)

The technique of the disciplinary power does not include just limits and prohibitions but rather serves to produce some kind of relations that somehow 'make' individuals, regarding these both as objects and as instruments of evaluation based on the idea of the effectiveness. The main instruments of the discipline, according to Foucault, are hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and the procedure of the examination. It should be emphasised that these tools have a common task: to eliminate deviations and to correct behaviour. For instance, in schools we see that it is the teacher's task to hold disciplinary power over students through examination and punishment. Foucault puts it this way:

> The art of punishing in the regime of disciplinary power is aimed neither at expiation, nor even precisely at repression. The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions

> compares, differentiates, hierarchize, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it normalizes. (Foucault, 1991, p. 183)

So, in Foucault's critique we see the very negative notion of discipline: it 'normalizes' students; it turns them into conformists; it attempts to control all regimes of space and time. Even the school buildings, according to Foucault, as a tool of 'correct training', express disciplinary power. The problem with this view lies in the fact that it does not offer any positive programme of how it is possible (if possible) to organise the system of education avoiding disciplinary mechanisms. The situation is further aggravated by Foucault's understanding of power which implies that disciplinary power does not have any single and stable source (such as the teacher in school); rather, it seems to be spread through the whole society, and that is why it is hard (or even impossible) to resist this power. Nevertheless, Foucault's critique has some additional insights that are extremely helpful for understanding how disciplinary power works. He pays attention to the polysemy of the word 'discipline', which before had remained unaddressed. In fact, the word 'discipline' as an instrument of social control and as a branch of knowledge seems to be the best way to illustrate his concept of 'power-knowledge'. Given the fact that the content of education in many ways is determined by the sociocultural conditions and can be transformed under their changes, this definition is closely connected with the first: looking at knowledge as a social construct gives reason to consider it an essential part of disciplinary mechanisms in education. Contemporary scholar Thomas Popkewitz gave a very persuasive explanation of this problem, which he called the 'alchemy' of pedagogy as a process that turns scientific and social disciplines into modes of ordering and regulating people:

> School subjects require transportation and translation tools that bring disciplinary fields concerned with knowledge production into the social and cultural spaces of schooling. Children are not physicists or historians, so something needs to be done with the disciplines so children can work with the ideas, narratives, and approaches to understanding. Like the 16th and 17th century alchemists and occult practitioners who sought to turn base metals into pure gold, the school subjects magically translate disciplinary fields through the languages of classroom management and theories of learning and communication. (Popkewitz, 2014, p. 10)

In other words, school subjects are never simply mathematics, science, literature and so on but rather elements of those disciplines placed at the service of certain larger functions of schooling. This idea in fact has much in common with what Foucault concluded in his work: disciplinary mechanisms in order to 'normalize' students produce the Norm and establish its power, which, in turn, appears through the disciplines.

> The Normal is established as a principle of coercion in teaching with the introduction of a standardized education and the establishment of the ecoles normales (teachers' training colleges). (Foucault, 1991, p. 184)

Later in the text, Foucault describes how the discipline in both meanings (as a technique of power and as a set of knowledge) organises not only the school's system but education itself. In fact, education can be regarded as a subject of certain distinct disciplines (such as the philosophy of education, history of education, sociology of education, etc.) or even as an interdisciplinary area of studies which is usually named 'educational studies'. Mostly, it is applied in the sphere of teacher education and in educational research. Foucault wrote about the establishment of pedagogy as an example of the connection between discipline as power and as knowledge:

> The school became the place of elaboration for pedagogy. And just as the procedure of the hospital examination made possible the epistemological 'thaw' of medicine, the age of the 'examining' school marked the beginnings of a pedagogy that functions as a science. (Foucault, 1991, p. 187)

The formation of pedagogy as a science was closely connected with the establishment of compulsory schooling as an institution of industrial society, designed within the framework of a national capitalist state to serve its purposes. The most obvious example of this process was the emergence of the Prussian school, which became a model of the public education system for many countries (for example, for the USA). Inspired by the ideas of state education as 'saving the nation', Prussian pedagogues developed a 'model for schooling, built around centrally controlled curriculums, constant fragmentation of days into changing classes at the sound

of a bell, obedience and teacher-directed classroom groupings. At the heart of the system though was the primacy of the State, and that children both belonged to and were the responsibility of the State' (Hern, 2003). In addition to general philosophical and specifically cultural circumstances, many historians have noted a number of, say, objective reasons for the emergence of a state school. It is in the interpretation of these reasons, their 'objectivity', that the essence of the question lies. In this case, J. Suissa emphasises the importance of separating questions about the causes of the phenomenon from questions about the reasons for it: 'while it may be true that the spread of industrialisation and the mass migration of people towards urban centres created a need to provide trained workers for the economy and thus placed a causal role in the establishment of universal state schooling one can still ask questions about where the state's need for a skilled workforce constitutes a good argument for supporting state education' (Suissa, 2010, p. 100).

Conclusion: Towards the 'good' notion of discipline from an anarchist perspective

To claim that anarchism offers some 'good' notion of the discipline is quite a strong thesis to advocate in this chapter as it requires further investigation. However, in this section we will try to present what makes one believe in the possibility of such statement, given some of the points of the discussions mentioned above. It is believed to be very challenging to see education without discipline as even the position of a researcher in education requires some kind of commitment to the discipline. It is not always realised how educational research reflects and reproduces the disciplinary mechanisms embodied in education. The mainstream philosophy of education often fails in its attempts to criticise neoliberal discourse in education as it shares with it some basic assumptions. To reduce the disciplinary mechanisms in education, it is necessary to transform the perspective from which we see education.

Based on anarchist values education could be regarded not only as a part of social control in a given society but also as a place where it is possible to undermine the very foundations of society through the movements of local communities. Allowing educational spaces to become sites for prefigurative practice, according

to Suissa, is an alternative way to study education, which, in turn, requires a new notion of the discipline. As John Dewey put it:

> Even the theoretical anarchist, whose philosophy commits him to the idea that state or government control is an evil, believes that with abolition of the political state other forms of social control would operate. (Dewey, 1938, p. 32)

As was demonstrated above, anarchist pedagogy does not reject the idea of a direct intervention in the moral and intellectual development of a child, and therefore the idea of discipline as such. At the same time, the concept of discipline in anarchist education cannot be defined precisely for three reasons. Firstly, as anarchism is strongly opposed to any forms of dogmatism or predefined pictures of society, education is considered there as a space where alternative relationships take shape in a special way. Both Kropotkin and Bakunin highly appreciate human freedom and therefore renounce the right to 'break human nature for the sake of a moral ideal', realising that under capitalism the altruistic aspirations of people are suppressed by the social environment itself, therefore some intermediate stages are assumed. For instance, in the Ferrer school, despite the fact that its anarchist curriculum explicitly expressed such values as anti-capitalism and anti-statism, the process of education itself did not follow a plan prepared in advance or some kind of a blueprint but was a form of experimentation. According to the anarchists, this form of constant experimentation is transferred from the school to the whole future anarchist society, becoming the way to both form and maintain it.

Secondly, anarchist education recognises the danger of authority and power relations, but they are not rejected outright. The same idea was developed by Foucault (for which he could be considered an anarchist). The line between an acceptable and an unacceptable form of discipline is not easy to draw because it is recognised that people are free and unpredictable in their actions. Nevertheless, at least two features of 'good' discipline for anarchism can be noted: disciplinary mechanisms must be explicit so that participants are aware of the power relations they give rise to, and discipline should not be understood as a preparatory step for a mature free state of a person but must assume equality from the very beginning. According to MacAllister, for discipline to be considered an educational concept, it is necessary to claim that 'discipline is not something that happens to pupils

but something that pupils do' (MacAllister, 2014, p. 443). In anarchist education, the political meaning of the concept is also added to this definition, which is expressed in the anarchist solution of the pedagogical paradox: one can only truly emancipate oneself.

Thirdly, as was shown above, the normalising effect of discipline is manifested not only in actions but also in knowledge, which actually produces the norm. In the case of education, we are talking about the disciplines that create the content of education and those that determine education itself. Criticism of state schooling and propositions of alternative models of education often remain within the framework of a scheme in which education as such is equated to what happens in a state-controlled school. This may be called the 'axiomatics' of educational research, which can also be found in the philosophy of education. The development of its disciplinary field at the present stage (a shift towards a socio-political perspective) and the external danger associated with the negative effects of the domination of neoliberal policies in education are the reasons why doing philosophy of education from anarchist perspective could be considered a promising research strategy. As Suissa puts it in the preface of her book: 'ideas matter, and at a time when we are surrounded by pronouncements about "the death of ideology" and politicians talking about "what works", they matter more, not less, than ever' (Suissa, 2006, p. vii). Traditional political ideologies dating back to the Enlightenment (primarily, liberalism and socialism) almost lose their ability to analyse social reality and therefore barely offer adequate ways for social change. This contributes to the general depoliticisation of society, a special case of which is the 'depoliticization of educational debates', which has been recognised in the philosophy of education for a long time (see Carr & Hartnett, 1996).

The title of the second section of this chapter refers to the work *Fragments of the Anarchist Anthropology* by the famous anthropologist D. Graeber. In this book, he uses the resources of his discipline to justify the possibility of 'another world' without state and capitalism. For anthropology and other social sciences to be more susceptible to alternative models of social order, according to Graeber, it is necessary to reconceptualise the basic concepts and assumptions of these sciences (see Graeber, 2004). It seems that the project of an anarchist philosophy of education serves the same purpose, being engaged in the search for a pedagogy of alternative spaces and relationships. Moreover, education itself, understood in

the anarchist way, can provide 'answers' to the question of how this 'other world' might be arranged. In this chapter, an attempt to expand the 'dictionary' of the anarchist philosophy of education was made by incorporating the notion of discipline inspired by anarchist values and ideals.

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Struggles for identity
A Finnish university's identity transition in its own policies after reform

Henry Yuan Wang

Abstract

As a case of disciplinary struggle of discipline, this study introduces a Finnish university's struggles over its own identity of what it is as an institution of higher knowledge during a transition period. Although higher education as a discipline itself is not discussed in this article, higher education institutes, at the heart of higher education, shoulder the responsibility of disciplining disciplines. The struggle of a modern university in quest of finding its own voice brings our attention to the historical changes and our contemplation of the deeper meaning of this transition and its possible impact.

Keywords: institutional identity, marketisation of higher education, higher education reform, policy analysis, critical discourse analysis

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Introduction

This study investigates a Finnish university's struggles over its own identity around the crucial period of Finnish higher education reform. Under the transition brought by the reform, Finnish universities are forced to think about a crucial question: who are we, and where do we go from here? The University of Eastern Finland (UEF) is chosen as a case study, and its own strategy policy during 2000–2015 is examined through critical discourse analysis (CDA). The results show how the identity transition is reflected in the policy discourse and how the policies are justifying the transition and further assisting the fulfilment of the transition. The identity struggle itself also reflects the emerging disciplinary struggle of the mission of higher education: should higher education still stick to its old purpose of conferring knowledge, empowerment and emancipation, or should it also adapt to the timely expectation of the society to improve the country's economy?

More recently, European universities, like their counterparts all over the world, have been going through a transition over recent decades (Enders & De Boer, 2009; Huber, 2016). Under such transition, European universities are experiencing an identity crisis through a status of confusion and institutional changes (Enders & De Boer, 2009). Besides this common European context, Finnish universities are also under a transition in their own special context, with immediate influence from the Finnish higher education reform. Previous literature is mostly focused on the transition at the macro level (Ek et al., 2013), thus, there is a need for this study to investigate the transition at the micro level, from the perspective of one institution's changes. This research cut into a specific perspective to investigate one Finnish higher education institute's transformation with the comparison of its own past during the time scale of 2000–2015. To investigate the transition, Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework is adopted to examine the policy discourse transition in terms of how the social transition is reflected in the policy and how the policy will continue to facilitate the transformation in Finnish higher education.

The context – Where are we going after the reform?

The immediate context of the transformation is the Finnish higher education reform started by the new University Act (558/2009) in June 2009. The reform brings a massive and multiple-level transition to Finnish higher education, from a restructuring of the whole system, the funding model and the strategy direction to internationalisation, etc. Public funding is radically reduced, but unprecedented autonomy is granted to universities by endowing universities to use the identity change of becoming independent legal personalities to collect external funding (University Act, 2009) and generate revenue from commercial means. Due to the stress over the need for resources to survive, many universities have to change their strategies and prepare themselves to compete in the global market. Such transition is reflected in the policies discussed later.

Under the reform, three groups of universities merged into three bigger universities during 2007–2010 (European Commission, 2016). The University of Eastern Finland (UEF) is chosen as the case study because UEF went through both the merger and the overall reform, which provides a representative case. The new branding renamed the two merged universities (the University of Joensuu and the University of Kuopio) as the University of Eastern Finland (UEF). However, this study considers UEF as a whole for the matter of clarity.

Under this transition, UEF published a series of strategy policies about how to take the university into a new era of development, trying to make UEF stronger and more competitive. These policy documents are used as the data to inspect the transition.

The discursive construct of identity

The theoretical ground of this study's research on the identity transition of a university through discourse lies in the postmodernist view of institutional identity as a discursive construct and identity as the totality of the narratives of who we think we are (e.g. Humphreys & Brown, 2002). Identity is a complex concept, and the identity of a university, as a collective identity, is multi-vocal from multiple voices inside the organisation (Boje, 2001; Mayr, 2015). Thus, to

maintain the clarity of the study, this paper investigates only one important aspect constituting the collective identity – how the university portrays itself in its own policy discourse.

The postmodern theoretical ground of studying an institution's identity through its discourse is how the connection of discourse and intuitions is conceptualised – the 'linguistic turn', with emphasis on the role of language use in social constitution, essentially views discourse as constitutive of institutions (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Mumby & Mease, 2011; Mayr, 2015). Mumby and Clair (1997) explain this point as follows:

> Organizations exist only in so far as their members create them through discourse. This is not to claim that organizations are 'nothing but' discourse, but rather that discourse is the principle means by which organization members create a coherent social reality that frames their sense of who they are. (1997, p. 181)

That is to say, discourse plays a constituting role in shaping the institution's identity. Institutional identity is a socially constructed meaning by its own institutional members who share the idea of what it is, and it is not fixed but rather a dynamic construction (van der Walt 2007, p. 183). This study's investigation of the particular crafted changes imposed upon the university's identity exposes the deeper meaning of the direction the policymakers are leading the university towards and what kind of social reality they are trying to construct.

Research question and policy documents as data

The objective of the study is to make sense of the recent University of Eastern Finland (UEF) transition in policies and to analyse the identity changes of a Finnish university. The transition can be seen from the comparison of the identity presented in the university policies before and after the reform. It reveals the development and evolution of a Finnish higher education institute. The research question is: how is the identity transition of UEF reflected and justified in its policy discourse after the higher education reform?

Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework is adopted to examine the policy discourse transition. Fairclough's account of discourse analysis is three-dimensional, consisting of textual analysis, discursive analysis and social analysis. Within the CDA framework, a set of specific university strategic policy documents during 2000–2015 are the data for this study, as shown in the following table.

Table 1. The documents (coded as the year they were published)

Policy document	Code name by publish year
To a new millennium: The strategy of the University of Joensuu for the years 2000–2006	Document 2000
Strategy for the internationalisation of the University of Joensuu for the years 2007–2015	Document 2007
A university of the future – Strategy of the University of Eastern Finland (2010)	Document 2010
Internationalisation policy of the University of Eastern Finland 2012–2015	Document 2012
Interdisciplinary solutions – Strategy of the University of Eastern Finland for 2015–2020	Document 2014a
(Auxiliary document) Implementation programme for the strategy for 2015–2020	Document 2014b

The new policies after the reform (Documents 2010, 2012, 2014a and 2014b) form the data that present the new strategic priorities of UEF, which also provide the resource for the fragmented narratives of UEF's identity. In addition, the transition is seen through comparison to the old policies (Documents 2000 and 2007). I treat the new policies as a whole for the evidence after the reform, whereas the old policies as a whole provide the resources before the reform. The study only chose English documents as the data – the discourse in English is a medium that reflects how the university constructs its identity on a global scale. The university provides the English documents publicly to the global audience.

Findings

The analysis distils the distinctive discursive practices that help to shape the new reality, which provides the ground for the identity transformation. The new identity construction is justified and fulfilled by three predominant discursive practices: 1. justified by different layers of re-contextualisation; 2. legitimised by dominant ante-narratives; 3. intermediated by discursive practice normalisation.

Re-contextualisation

Re-contextualisation is a process in which one discourse or its meaning transfers into another context. Linell (1998) simply put it as 'the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context ... to another' (p. 154).

One prominent analysis finding is that the new University of Eastern Finland (UEF) strategy policies justify themselves by noticeably re-contextualising elements from European Union (EU) policies and Finnish national policies. This forms the top-down level consistency (EU level–Finnish national level–UEF institutional level) in policy direction, which I denote as EU–FI–UEF consistency in this study.

The most remarkable transferred discourses include establishing an increasingly concrete quality assurance system, the transit to a 'student-centred university', the same justification to exit the economic crisis, the encouragement to export following the European Commission's country-specific recommendations, etc., which all indicate that UEF's current development is in line with EU's planning direction.

For example, the discourse of marketising higher education, with the same presumption of treating higher education as a product/service that can be exported, is transferred from EU policies and Finnish policies, as shown below:

Table 2. Example of how education export discourse is re-contextualised from EU to UEF

From the EU level: Europe 2020: A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth	Unleash Europe's innovative capabilities, improving educational outcomes and the quality and outputs of education institutions, and exploiting the economic and societal benefits of a digital society. Europe 2020 Strategy (2010, p. 12)
From the Finnish national level: Finnish education export strategy	Educational know-how will be a Finnish export cluster in the future. Educational know-how will be an increasingly important part of industrial and service products and in this way, it will bolster other export sectors. Education export strategy (2010, p. 7)
From the UEF institutional level: Interdisciplinary solutions – Strategy of the University of Eastern Finland for 2015–2020	We promote the transfer of the university's research findings to support knowledge-based growth … Document 2014a, p. 6 We are known as a partner …, and as a producer of research data and education … Document 2014a, p. 3

As the analysis of other core discourses shows, the EU crisis rhetoric is transferred into the Finnish higher education context, and the same justification to escape the economy crisis, to be 'competitive' and 'succeed', is adopted to justify the transition of the Finnish university. It suggests that the Finnish university's priority is aligned to the economic priorities of the EU and the state in a synchronised way. The compliance to EU policies' economic initiative to take a share of global market and occupy a competitive position therein has spread to Finnish higher education.

Dominant competition ante-narratives

The ante-narrative, namely 'before narrative', is a concept defined by Boje (2001) to study those fragmented pieces of narratives in an organisational context because,

in organisational settings, narratives are often articulated only in fragments. Ante-narratives, simply put, are pieces of discourses before they become a complete story.

The reoccurring rhetoric patterns that formulate the constituent ante-narratives of the new identity after the reform are the 'global competition' ante-narratives. The competition-focused storytelling constantly serves as the background to justify the transition.

The new policies set out the tension for competition at the very beginning. For instance, Document 2012 sets up the backdrop that 'Europe is failing' before any story is being told:

> ... according to analyses by the European Commission in 2005 and 2006, only a few European universities are recognised as global leaders. Indeed, European higher education institutions are failing to attract enough students, researchers and investments from outside the EU. Currently, the United States is the leader in attracting the best students, while China and India are also emerging as rivals to European higher education institutions. (Document 2012, p. 3)

At the very beginning, the discourse states 'the fact' that European universities are 'failing', which gives a sense of imperativeness – it is an unavoidable obligation to deal with the 'failure'. The competition ante-narratives also harbour the presupposition that it is the European higher education institutes' primary duty to compete in the global market, such as Document 2012, with some specific major competitors given, e.g. 'the United States, China and India' (p. 3). The discourse 'only a few European universities are recognized as global leaders' (p. 3) implies that European universities not only must compete in the global market but also should dominate the market.

Higher education institutions used to be expected to cradle the civic development and intellectual competence of the society, but now 'a high level of expertise and international networking' is expected (Document 2010, p. 4). They have to 'meet the demands of operational efficiency' (Document 2010, p. 4), they are expected 'to succeed' (Document 2010, p. 4), to 'attract the best students' (Document 2012, p. 3) and to 'attract researchers and investments' (Document 2014a, p. 3, p. 4, p. 6) and to be 'global leaders' (Document 2012, p. 3).

The university henceforward is also expected to increase the attractiveness of the country and serve to help the country to 'become one of the world's leading education-based economies' (Document 2012, p. 4) and 'increase the export' (Document 2012, p. 4), e.g. Document 2012:

> The attractiveness of Finland as a business, work and living environment must be increased ... The strategy ... strives towards Finland becoming one of the world's leading education-based economies, which relies on the high quality of its education system, as well as towards significantly increasing the proportion of education and knowledge exports in relation to overall exports by 2015. (Document 2012, pp. 3–4)

'Competition' is accelerated on an unprecedented level in the new UEF policies compared to those before the reform. Competition as the motif of the new documents is set as the background to justify the policy direction – to justify the transition of the university's identity.

Discursive practice normalisation

There are prominent discursive features in the new policies that bring out a striking contrast to the old documents before the reforms. These discursive practices facilitate the transition for the social changes with fine subtlety. Without comparison, they are almost undetectable because they appear very natural. Just as Fairclough (2007) suggests, it is through this naturalising and normalising of certain discourses and their backgrounded ideologies that the engineering of a certain legitimacy is achieved.

The most pervasive discursive practice change is that the new policy discourses largely incorporate commercial- and business-style discourses, resulting in hybrid quasi-advertising and quasi-corporate discourses.

A new discourse feature from the new documents with the integrated business and advertising style can be found from the individual word-choice level, to the discursive-style level, to the overall visual-layout level.

From the choice of vocabulary, there is a notable increase in self-promotional words such as 'efficient' and 'top-level', which clearly indicate the significance of the university; see the table below.

Table 3. Promotional words from the top 30 most frequently reoccurring words list

Before reforms			**After reforms**					
Document 2000			*Document 2010*			*Document 2014a*		
Word	Count	Density	Word	Count	Density	Word	Count	Density
high	5	0.16%	international	35	0.98%	international	23	1.26%
better	5	0.16%	high	15	0.42%	strong	10	0.55%
			strong	8	0.22%	efficient	7	0.38%
			significant	8	0.22%	active	6	0.33%
			competitive	8	0.22%	top-level	6	0.33%
			attractive	6	0.17%	global	6	0.33%
			versatile	5	0.14%	scientific	6	0.33%
						tomorrows	5	0.27%
						high	4	0.22%
						achievement	3	0.16%
						modern	3	0.16%
						strengthened	3	0.16%
						actively	3	0.16%
						efficiency	3	0.16%

Another example from the quasi-advertising choice of words is the pervasive use of 'we', for example:

- We are an international, multidisciplinary and student-centred university whose high standard of research and appealing academic offering build the competence base of the future.
- We make use of the expertise of the entire academic community in our activities.
- We are an internationally attractive university, which seeks to find interdisciplinary solutions to global challenges.
- We are home to Finland's best academic learning environments and most efficient study processes. (Document 2014a, p. 3)

The following Table 4 shows the frequency of the use of 'we' in the strategy documents.

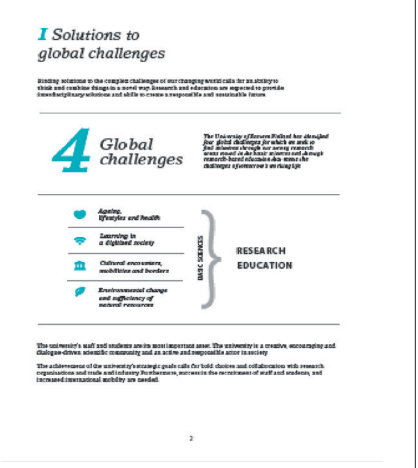
Table 4. Use of 'we' in strategy documents

Before reforms			**After reforms**		
Document 2000			*Document 2014a*		
Word	Count	Density	Word	Count	Density
we	6	0.18%	we	30	1.57%

As shown in the above table, the pervasive use of 'we' is one of the many discursive features contributing to a discourse style shift after the reforms. The pronoun 'we' is used as a personalisation of the institution and is used 30 times in the latest strategy paper, Document 2014a. This personalisation style of addressing readers directly is commonly used in advertising practice, which is an example of the hybrid quasi-advertising genre (Fairclough, 1993). Using 'we' as a reference to self resembles a style of conversation, as if the text is directly talking to the audience. This kind of conversationalising policy discourse is regarded by Fairclough (1994) as a type of commodification of public discourse, which is also an indicator of the marketisation of higher education (Fairclough, 1993, 1994).

Increased visual content is also another feature. Visual content, as non-verbal messages, in CDA is also considered a part of discourse (Fairclough, 1992). A comparison of the data shows that from 2000 to 2015 the documents become increasingly more concise. Especially the new documents after the reform display a clearer emphasis on the major features of UEF. In addition, these major features can be considered as the selling points of UEF from the perspective of branding and marketing. The style and layout of the new documents, especially Document 2014a, is more than that of just an ordinary policy document. The format is getting closer to a commercial brochure that provides more promotional information and visual content. For instance, the following table compares the same content but in obviously different forms:

Table 5. Visual contents

Before reforms	After reforms
	
Document 2010	*Document 2014a*

In this table, the left (Document 2010, p. 8) and right (Document 2014a, p. 2) columns show pages that express the same discourse on UEF's emphasised research areas. Clearly, Document 2014a is more concise, with an artistic design making it easier and attractive to read and highlighting certain important information.

Not just the content but also the style has drastically changed compared to the old documents; the following table shows an example of the difference:

Table 6. The first page of the documents

Before reforms	After reforms	
		
Document 2007	*Document 2012*	*Document 2014a*

The above table shows that there are increasing visual contents added to the documents after the reform. Most notably, Document 2014a has a brochure version with large-scale/full-page images used, which resembles a modern magazine.

The latest documents as public policy exhibit remarkably promotional property, which shows the blurred boundaries between a public service discourse and an advertising discourse.

The hybrid discourses also indicate the shift of the functionalities and the objectives of Finnish higher education discourses. The additional consideration of the promotional function of discourse practice comes from the change of the university's identity marked by implementing the new Universities Act.

The quasi-corporate discourses can be found among the newly emerged discourses of indicators, measures, accountability and measurability (which do not exist in the documents before the reform.)

From Document 2012 onwards the policies include a new section of 'measures'. For instance, Document 2012 clarifies 'measures' at the end of every chapter:

MEASURES

- The university's researchers are active in applying for research funding from international sources.
- The university's researchers participate in the planning and follow-up committees of international research programmes.
- The university organises efficient support services for research.
- The university supports researchers engaging in international research cooperation at the most advanced level.

Figure 1. Measures for indicators

Accountability and indicator discourses are new discourses after the reform that only appear in Document 2014b; see the figure below for an example:

Measure	Responsibility	Resources	Timetable
The principles of UEF's innovation policy (incl. technology transfer) are confirmed	Academic Rector University Services	Basic funding	Year 2015
Encouraging participation and influencing in national and international committees and forums	Rectors, Deans	Basic funding	Annually
Preparing a development plan to enhance alumni activities with a special emphasis on international alumni	University Services	Basic funding	Year 2015
Continuing the creation of the UEF brand	Development Services	Basic funding	Year 2015
Monitoring - Number of technology transfers and spin off companies - Credits completed in Open University - Number of alumni			

Figure 2. Accountability discourse of the secession of 'social impact' (Document 2014b, p. 5)

Indicator	Monitoring of the strategy	Funding model	Indicator defined by the ministry	Performance agreement
Success in international rankings	x			
Publication forum classification (weighted number, categories 2 and 3 / teaching and research staff)	x	x		x
International peer-reviewed publications		x		
Other scientific publications		x		
Scientific publications / teaching and research staff			x	
Competitive research funding / overall funding	x		x	
International competitive research funding		x		
Other competitive research funding		x		
Number of doctoral degrees	x	x		
Doctoral degrees / research career stage IV, staff-years			x	
Share of teaching and research staff of all staff (excl. Teacher Training Schools, University Pharmacy				x

Figure 3. Discourse of indicators (Document 2014b, p. 7)

The increased clarity for measurability, from an abstract description to a more concrete illustration of the goals, tries to concretise the traditionally indefinite goals of education (e.g. social impact), transferring to something that can be measured and can be monitored and evaluated by quantity. I call this transition in this text the 'quantifiability turn', where the shift to a results-based orientation, with all the discursive practices (e.g. 'ranking', 'measurement', 'accountability') that try to break down the intangible higher education quality and development into tangible and measurable units.

Quantifiability turn corresponds to the marketisation rituals, with the new University Act changing universities to independent legal entities, enabling them to operate like corporates. So, the quasi-corporate discourses are in line with the identity change of Finnish universities. The increasing quasi-corporate management rhetoric in the new polices also indicates a changed ideology of university operation underneath.

In the broader social context, on a worldwide scale, these results correspond to Fairclough's studies about the marketisation process, that the colonisation of advertising and corporate discourses over higher education discourse is just one aspect of the marketisation of higher education. These changes in higher education are just one part of marketisation and commodification in the public sector in a more general sense (Fairclough, 1993).

Conclusion

The realisation and legitimisation of the transition is fulfilled at different levels, and they are interconnected and complement each other. Together they construct a consistent and compelling storytelling of a new imaginary construct of the university – a competitive, high-standard, world-class, top-ranked, attractive international university, with an emphasis on transferring knowledge to smart economic growth. It contrasts the old identity of a collaborative university with local and regional development as the priority, committed to promoting tolerance and equality in society.

The discursive change in the university policies creates a convincing representation of the institution, which is only loyally serving the ideology change of the policies. With the social constitutive power of the discourse practice, the policies are devised to construct certain aspects of reality – as if the policy is saying, this is the new reality of the university.

The identity struggle and transition reflected in the policy changes are largely steered by economic rationales and neoliberal ideologies, which are justifying the transition. The policy is furthering the implementation of this transformation.

The results show substantial evidence of the marketisation of the higher education discourse, which indicates the marketisation process of the education system and its influence on the development of the Finnish universities after the reform.

This case study documents a detailed account of a university's recent development and its struggles within the broader frame of 'Europe under transition'. It contributes to the wider empirical research on higher education marketisation and its impact on social changes.

Part of the goal of the study is to shed light on the ways in which systems of power can affect higher education via the meanings they construct and represent in the policy texts and processes. The power is constructed by the policy, and one examination result is that some power has transferred to the university through the autonomous authority granted by the 2009 University Act. However, this aspect is beyond the scope of this research and will not be further discussed here. The analysis of the discursive transition of university discourse also indicates the changing governance of higher education in Finland. The relationship changes

between the state and the university are reflected in the discourses of operational anatomy, university responsibility and funding. Part of my research project addresses these issues, and the results will be presented in later papers.

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SECTION 2
JUSTIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Disciplinary struggles in and between adult, vocational and general education in the Academy

Lessons from Finland

Anja Heikkinen, Jenni Pätäri & Sini Teräsahde

Abstract

The chapter discusses the concept of discipline in relation to struggles over knowledge production and power. It uses as an example the pathways of studies on adult and vocational education between the academy, politics and practice, especially beside the study of general education, which much earlier gained an institutionalised and recognised position in the academy and in educational knowledge production. Applying a genealogical and actor network-theoretical approach, the chapter argues that the disciplinarisation or scientification of educational knowledge is not primarily an issue of conceptual and theoretical progress. Rather it indicates relations and power struggles between actors in the academy, politics, economy and practice.

Keywords: Disciplinarisation; adult, vocational and general education; genealogical and actor network-theoretical approach.

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Introduction

The dominating interpretation among Finnish adult educators emphasises the formation of adult education as a field of study that followed a logical progress from practice to the conceptualisation of practice to theory and metatheory (Durkheim, 1956; Lehtonen, 1979; Alanen, 1977; Tuomisto, 1985, 2005, forthcoming; Finger, 2001). We argue that the academisation and scientification of neither adult education nor vocational education follow the conventional story. Instead, understanding the process demands a critical sociohistorical analysis, a study of the dynamics between different fields (of educational science) and questioning the antagonistic division between practice, research and politics as well as edification and economic development in education.

Based on our studies, we argue that, at least in Finland, the sciences of (general) education, adult education and vocational education had diverse roots before becoming educational sub-disciplines in the faculties of education, established in the 1970s. While the differentiation in general education may be attributed to increasing specialisation and professionalization, the making of the fields of adult and vocational education was due to their close connections to political and economic change. Their disciplinarisation happened quite separately from that of general education. While it is possible to map differences in their underlying theoretical and conceptual frameworks, we argue that the actual solutions have rather been outcomes of intertwined power struggles in politics, economy, academy and practice. Although increasingly taking place in transnational settings, such struggles are still worth noticing when considering the disciplinary status of adult and vocational education in different contexts.

Instead of providing a comprehensive overview of the histories of the adult education and vocational education disciplines in Finland,[1] we focus on the early years and vital turning points of their disciplinarisation to highlight the entanglement of their transformation with social, political and economic

[1] Although we are aware of the controversial notions of 'science' and 'discipline', in this article we focus on their function as tools in struggles about hegemony in knowledge creation. We are also aware about the many other demarcations in/between adult and vocational education, such as youth education/work, social pedagogy, management and HRD studies, work science etc., but assume that our approach could be widened to them as well.

programmes. In the next section we briefly discuss the main theoretical and methodological starting points of our approach. The following three sections provide examples of the concrete implementation of those programmes in analysing the disciplinarisation of adult and vocational education. In the final section we introduce preliminary conclusions and discuss the potential of our approach for future research. Figures visualise the actors initiating the disciplinarisation of adult and vocational education and the shifting positions of the disciplines in the changing actor networks.[2] A list of abbreviations of the main actors can be found at the end of the chapter.

Theoretical and methodological starting points

Among the starting points of our research is the assumption that research fields, with their distinctive conceptualisation, emerge as part of political programmes (Latour, 1993; Narotzky, 2007). Therefore, we consider that historicising and contextualising – genealogical, actor-based, relational – analysis is required to make sense of the societal, political and economic functions of adult and vocational education disciplines. Our attempt is motivated by concerns about understanding and influencing the present, where adult and vocational education are confronted by current challenges of the globalisation of the economy, the supranationalisation of politics and ecological, economic and social crises. This, we believe, requires a critical revision of their basic concepts (Pätäri et al., 2016). The crafting of our 'reflexive historical materialist' (Narotzky, 2007) approach has been influenced by Michel Foucault's genealogy and Bruno Latour's actor-network theory (ANT), which both consider the emergence and transformation of events as contingent processes. Instead of telling the story from the standpoint of ideas, 'founding fathers', progress or regress, we aim to show it as a complex of relations between events and actions.

[2] To remind about the struggle between adult, vocational and general education, we use colors for tentative part in the struggle: yellow for general, blue for vocational and green for adult education.

The genealogical approach implies that disciplinarisation is understood as a struggle over knowledge production among different actors and institutions, embedded in transformation and power relations of society, politics and economy. Instead of debating about the truth of disciplinarisation or the scientific quality of general, adult or vocational education, we ask how certain bodies of knowledge became constituted and started to condition themselves and their targets. Following Foucault, we turn Kant's question of what in the apparently contingent is actually necessary to the question *what in the apparently necessary seems contingent* (Foucault, 1971, 1980; Dean, 1994; Gutting, 2013.)

The standard narratives tend to take the contemporary professionalised and scientific practice as a starting point and to view the past as a teleological process towards the present, which determines the selection of objects in interpretations. As historians such as Michael Welton (1994, 2010) state about historical studies on adult education, their challenge is the problematisation and theorisation of their objects. In genealogical analysis, we ask what was theorised and conceptualised in the production of scientific knowledge about adult and vocational education, and what was left out. Accordingly, the responsibility of historical research towards the future is to affirm the present as a progressive movement (Dean, 1994, pp. 23–29). Our interest is specially to search for struggles which are marginalised or silenced in the disciplinary narratives even though they may be most vital for the transformation of educational sciences (Foucault, 1980, p. 81). The standard story's institutional point of view and its segregation of practice from theory can be problematised by broadening its empirical approach and use of primary sources. This can be done by confronting previous research with examples of ignored sites and actors of knowledge production.

Bruno Latour's ANT provides a 'travel guide' for our study about disciplinarisation through the relations of actors and the formation of collectives (Latour, 2005; Lehtonen, 2015). ANT traces the history of enrolments of actors into assemblages, their appearances and disappearances, and the spokespersons of assemblages. Instead of debating with prevailing discourses about disciplinarisation, we follow actors in the midst of the tortuous history of disciplinarisation (Latour, 2005, p. 103). Using ANT concepts, we ask whether the disciplinarisation of adult and vocational education has been an attempt to

turn to a 'black box' – hiding what happens inside from outsiders – in order to be recognised as independent units that have autonomy to decide who is eligible to act in their name and what concepts are used to describe their action. In Latour's flat ontology in which all human and non-human actors follow the same metaphysical principles, black boxes can mean facts that are taken for granted, groups that are established and well-organised or machines (Latour, 1987; Harman, 2009). Accordingly, the constitution of disciplines can be seen as a simultaneous process of fact construction and group formation, where concepts, theories, methodologies and paradigms are negotiated. Through opening black boxes, we can study how facts are constructed and what is taken for granted in disciplinary transformation and how groups of people negotiate over the place of a discipline inside academic faculties and departments. We ask who were negotiating and which actors and facts were enrolled into the discipline. Following Latour, we ask how strong the disciplinary black boxes are, by which kind of people they were accompanied and what kinds of connections they had to other collective actors in other disciplines, in educational practice, in policymaking or in working life. (Latour, 1987; Callon et al., 1981.)

As stated by Olli Pyyhtinen and Sakari Tamminen (2011), Foucault's and Latour's approaches can be considered complementary since they both emphasise intentionality as distributed over relational field of networks that change and move, associate and differentiate, though Foucault refers to these assemblages as dispositifs and Latour as actor-networks. We also build on their notion about compensating Foucault's search for assemblages preceding current ones by Latour's travel guide to study the concrete folding of actors in their present. (Pyyhtinen & Tamminen, pp. 136–143.)

In the midst of economic and societal movements: The self-conception of emerging adult and vocational education 'disciplines' (1920s–1940s)

The standard story locates the start of educational science in Finland to 1852, when the first professorship was established in the University of Helsinki, qualifying teachers for gymnasia. Folk school teachers were trained in a separate seminar from 1863, in close collaboration with the School Board (KH) in the ministry of education. Initiatives on including folk edification in educational science were put forth in 1920, but the predecessor of the discipline of adult education, the study of folk edification, started in the Civic College (School of Social Sciences) in 1928 as part of social sciences. A chair followed in 1946, and the faculty of social science was established in 1949. Vocational education, alternatively, was promoted in sector ministries and departments as a component in the promotion of national industries. The following simplified figure (Figure 1) shows how influential actors were positioned soon after Finnish independence (1917) and the Civil War (1918),

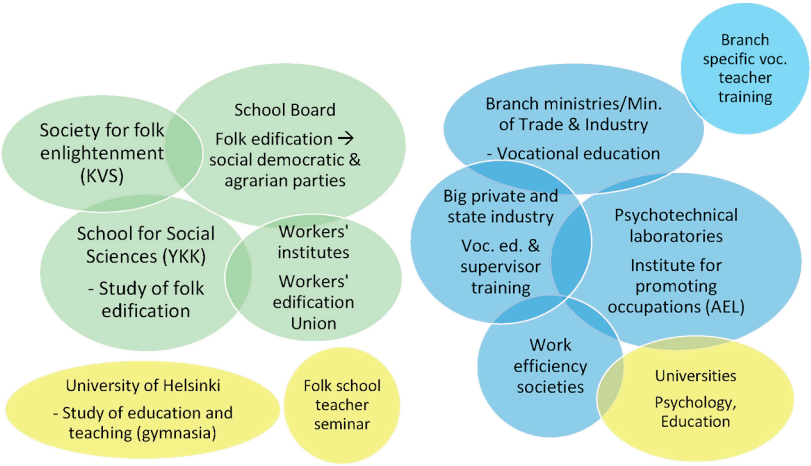

Figure 1. Engines in the disciplinarisation of adult and vocational education in the 1920s.

when many political, economic and educational programmes, planned earlier, could be implemented, but political and societal tensions remained extreme. It demonstrates how separate the networks of knowledge production in folk edification and vocational education were from each other and from general education and teacher training. These will be discussed in more detail in the next two sub-chapters.

Disciplinary struggles in the 'study of folk edification'

According to the standard story, the first stage of the disciplinarisation of adult education science (*aikuiskasvatustiede*) is the systematisation of the practice, which had emerged in social movements, folk enlightenment and edification work since the 1850s. The first phase is claimed to be accomplished by the beginning of the 'study of folk edification' (*kansansivistysoppi*) in 1928 in the Civic College, as the start of 'practical theory' and the professionalisation of the practice of folk edification. The College was established after the Civil War as a new form of folk and higher education. Its focus was on civic education and the education of civil servants with no matriculation examination required for admission. The story goes hand-in-hand with T. I. Wuorenrinne's (1941) canonised and historically reproduced interpretation of the development of the practice of folk edification that stresses the shifts of the core concepts from education (1500s–1850s) to enlightenment (1850s–1917), arriving at edification (after 1917) (see Tuomisto, 1991; Aaltonen et al., 1991). As the concepts 'mature', so does the breakthrough of scientific adult education in the period of edification. The story seems to reflect enlightenment's idea of progress and knowledge as the backer in the pursuit of social and academic betterment.

To understand the disciplinary and disciplining nature of adult education, it is vital to analyse how the disciplinarisation materialises in the data largely neglected in the previous research, especially in the first academic theses (master's theses from 1933, PhD theses from 1955) or in the first journals ('Folk Enlightenment', *Kansanvalistus*, est. 1916). The restricted data of the standard story subjugate the students and the numerous practitioners, especially women, who contributed to

the discussion on conceptions and ideas of folk edification, and excludes them from the disciplinary community (Pätäri, forthcoming). At the same time, these restricted data remain silent about the personal unions and struggles over the hegemony that prevailed between the representatives of the study of folk edification, the state administration and national organisations of folk edification. The legitimate producers of disciplinary knowledge, the disciplinary agents of power, represented the hegemonic relations between the academic actors, practice and politics of folk edification, where the knowledge was contested, trialled and legitimised and in turn the positions and relations of the influential spokespersons established. Close connections with media and publishing were also important in projecting their conception of the folk onto the public. In a small country, a tight nexus of higher education, practice and politics has been characteristic of folk edification and the programmatic nature of its disciplinarisation.

The standard story seems not interested in how the practice of folk edification contributed to the discipline and disciplinarisation even though it is named as the starting point of academic adult education. While the initiatives to start the study of folk edification in universities failed and the planned links to folk school teacher seminars never took off, the first academic degree in folk edification was specifically for teachers in 1928. Instead of analysing the material history – thesis research with its close relation to practice or study requirements – the standard story rather applies international explanations and advocates ideals about how the discipline should be constructed to be justified as an academic discipline. In line with the bypassing of practice, the key concepts of 'folk' (*kansa*) and 'edification' (*sivistys*) are treated as lower stages of 'citizen' (*kansalainen*) and 'adult education' (*aikuiskasvatus*) (see Lehtonen, 1979; Kalli, 1979; Alanen, 1977; Aaltonen, 1981; Tuomisto, 1985, forthcoming; Suoranta et al., 2012).

The standard story's statements about the role of folk movements seem ambivalent, and they hardly inform about the competing unifying principles and social and political interests of the time or makes explicit the social democratic ethos of the story. The rural edification movement, with its Youth Societies (*nuorisoseurat*) and folk high schools (*kansanopistot*), was the pioneer of the Finnish folk enlightenment and edification work. The dominant ideas of the independent peasantry crystallised in Christianity, communality and 'earth-mindedness',

where the land was considered as the foundation for economic, political and ethical independence and progress. However, the study of folk edification emerged with the urban, industrial social-democratic workers' movement, steered by the social liberals and Young Fennomans. Their political agenda included socialist internationalism and democratic cooperatism, and their aim was to build bridges between different social groups, especially in urban and industrial surroundings. In their idea, the aspiration of workers' edification work should be that all classes have full democratic rights in the society. Independence and the Civil War formed a turning point, in which the workers' movement started to identify with employees in urban areas and in the large manufacturing industry. After the war, the social democratic-reformist fraction took over the control of the movement from the communist-revolutionaries. The workers' institutes became central in pedagogical innovation and theoretical discussion and thus in the disciplinarisation of folk edification. The workers' edificators started to advocate for a scientific and rational approach and worldview that the Civic College and study of folk edification were suited to actualise well. (Heikkinen, 2016.)

Among the influential discipliners and gate keepers of the knowledge production of social democratic folk edification were Zachris Castrén and T.I. Wuorenrinne. With other influential organisers of the new discipline and re-conceptualisers of edification work and folk, they emphasised the recognition of urban workers. The network included Väinö Voionmaa, the Chancellor of the Civic College, the leader of temperance movement and the Folk Enlightenment Society (KVS) as well as the developer of the Workers' Edification Association (TSL, *Työväen sivistysliitto*, est. 1919). Castrén is the acclaimed and canonised social reformist authority of folk edification. He was the first teacher of the study of folk edification (1929–1938), the leader of the youth association movement, the first principal of the Helsinki Workers' Institute (1913–1938), the first president of the Union of Workers' Institutes (1919–1938) and an active member of the liberal Young Finns and the Progressive Party as well as an active newspaperman.

In Castrén's 1920s agenda for study of folk edification, systematic knowledge and understanding were required by all citizens to participate in democratic life, which required the contestation of thoughts with the burning issues of the day. His ambition was to promote the integration of the society and the practice of folk

edification, which was specialising and losing its connection to society. This kind of edification would result in the edification of society and the state. (Castrén, 1924, pp. 221–223.) The focus of Castrén's thought shifted in the late 1920s in a way that later became hegemonic for decades in folk edification. Instead of the contestation of thoughts, he started to emphasise the neutrality of teaching in edification work. Scientific attitude and worldview should be the guiding principles of the practice and study of folk edification, related to ideas of ideological neutrality and national unification, though political differences between interests and worldviews could not be resolved. He considered edification as harmonious personal development, individual responsibility and education for its own sake and started to emphasise the autonomy of edification against instrumentalisation for the purposes of the state. (Castrén, 1929.)

Wuorenrinne was the successor of Castrén in the Union, Helsinki Workers' Institute and Civic College (School of Social Sciences since 1930). He also worked as a principal of several workers' institutes and the Workers' Academy folk high school (*Työväen akatemia*) and developed the journal of the Finnish Workers' Institute (*Suomen Työväenopisto*, est. 1923). He was a central authority in the theoretical debate on Finnish folk edification work between the late 1920s and 1940s. Appealing to Castrén, Wuorenrinne preferred the concept of edification over enlightenment. He claimed that the rural or peasants' movement was restricted to the delivery of knowledge and continued the religious and confessional education of the temperance and cooperative movements. Proper folk edification should be serious and attain scientific methods and independent judgment, whether in the folk high schools, in the workers' institutes or in the workers' edification associations. (Heikkinen, 2016.)

As the social democratic workers' edification movement started to dominate the study of folk edification, the arguments from the rural or peasants' edification movement were marginalised. The self-critical voices about leaving the lowest strata of the people, the 'non-Finnish' Swedish-speaking Finns and Russians, and the misled socialists out of the representation of folk remained weak. Niilo Liakka, Voionmaa's brother-in-law and successor in the KVS society, is recognised as a spokesperson for the rural edification movement but is excluded from the standard story of academic adult education. He was active in the folk high school

movement, in youth, temperance and cooperative movements and the farmers' association. Furthermore, he was an active contributor to and long-term editor-in-chief of the KVS-journal 'Folk Enlightenment' (*Kansanvalistus*), which discussed the tasks, role and relation of edification work to the state and political parties. Liakka emphasised a high level of edification as a condition for democracy and the need of classes to participate in the maintenance of national culture. In line with Castrén, he advocated folk edification's role in maintaining interest in political and social life but also in expressing political criticism in a moderate and rational manner. However, he argued that the knowledge-centeredness of the workers' edification was not enough and that becoming an edified person required the original development of an autonomous worldview, which integrates all knowledge ingredients into internal life. (Heikkinen 2016; Männikkö, 2001, pp. 65–71.) For Liakka, folk edification was an intermediary between the state and society: together with Voionmaa and Castrén he developed folk edification into a formal institutional framework, which fed back into the study of folk edification.

The criticism towards the story of the 'maturing and scientification' of folk edification, suggested by Kari Kantasalmi (Kantasalmi et al., 1997), argues that the process was a continuation of the hegemonic Fennoman enlightenment project. However, this interpretation subjugates the social democratic trajectories of the discipline, which the first academic theses from the 1930s–1940s – Hosia 1933, Virtanen 1938, Malkki 1941, Okkeri 1941 and Aukimaa 1945 – reflect, despite their strong enlightenment ethos. The turbulence of the divided society peaked in the1930s' radical nationalist and anti-communist movement. Against this background and the hegemony of the social democratic workers' edification movement, the theses understandably focus on issues of national cultural unity and enlightenment rather than independent and self-organised edification work. Folk edification is described as essential in building the new republic and its moral integrity. For example, the political nature of the workers' movement is emphasised, but the practice of folk edification work is characterised as neutral and objective. The theses envision the folk in need of edification and by folk refer to certain sections of the population – peasants, small farmers and radicalised workers – at least implicitly expressing disappointment with folk because of the Civil War and the societal turbulence. The folk should acquire the right kind of

knowledge and attitudes, even 'loyalty towards the system in power' (Okkeri, 1941, p. 6), thus the society would find its right direction and the folk be guided out of their barbarism. The concept of edified folk as neutral and 'qualityless' is in line with the idea of 'objective and rational folk edification', paradoxically showing the programmatic nature of knowledge production in the theses. (Pätäri, forthcoming.)

The disciplinarisation of folk edification seems inseparable from the moral regulation of the people and the new forms of capitalism generating new social and economic relations (see Koski in this book). It indicates the transformation from agrarian to rationalised wage work, where the practices of being a human, citizen and worker were changing rapidly (Kettunen, 2015). The rapid change was reflected in the internal struggle of the workers' movement, which influenced the study and practice of folk edification. The inner struggle in the workers' movement focused on the organisation of labour market associations. The edificational and political activities were split between the social democratic, communist and agrarian parties.

A closer look at the early years of the study of folk edification shows the societal, political and economic connections of the social democratic standard story in the history of academic adult education (see Heikkinen, 2017). The social democratic consensus ethos of knowledge production and the new discipline under making – the study of folk edification – enforced rather than challenged the prevalent societal order. It was one demarcation in the practice of folk edification and its aspirations to foster democracy apolitically. While the scientific attitude as the guiding principle connected with the idea of neutrality and national unification, the elite of the workers' edification movement was applying it repeatedly in identifying less educated folk or differences between urban and agrarian workers. 'The guards of enlightenment' seemed only secondly to be guards of the interests of the common populace. The structural reorganisation contributed to the institutionalisation of the division between academic folk edification (adult education) and vocational (adult) education. The scientification of folk edification started to strip down its institutional connections related to specific forms of life, including occupational life (Heikkinen, 2004). The scientific ethos especially challenged the traditional ethos of the agrarian folk edification, which was embedded in holistic forms of

livelihood and social life, combining families, households and communities (Heikkinen 2004; see Koski in this book). Paradoxically, the disciplinarisation of vocational (adult) education proceeded more holistically but was increasingly dominated by the power struggles between the national industries.

Studies on the efficiency and control of work[3]

The scientification[4] of vocational education is seemingly separate from the development of general and adult education, being directly embedded in the contemporary economic and political controversies and dominated by the big-export, especially wood-processing, industry. While the diverse conceptions and practices of vocational education emerged as part of different industrial and occupational fields, there was no joint concept or system for educating vocational educators nor joint theories on vocational education. The conceptions and practices transformed through networks and personal alliances between industrial actors, educational institutions and state administration. Initiatives to start academic studies on vocational education, not to mention as part of general education, were not relevant before the 1940s. (Heikkinen, 2004, 2012; Heikkinen et al., 1999.)

However, it can be claimed that the disciplinarisation of vocational education was after all linked to general and adult education. On one hand, the concept of rural edification, which included occupation and industry, was marginalised by the social-liberalist workers' edification, which became hegemonic in the study of folk edification (Heikkinen, 2011, 2017). This implied a rejection of issues related to industrial relations, which posed a political threat in the aftermath of the Civil War: in the eyes of the winners, both the urban proletariat and the newly established small farmers remained unreliable (Kettunen, 2013). During the 1910s–20s, Jalmari Kekkonen, the inspector of vocational education in the Board of Industry, and Hannes Gebhard, professor of agriculture, national economy and

[3] In order to reduce the reference list, most of the sources accessible in previous researches, have been left out.

[4] In the context of vocational education, disciplinarization can also be described as scientification, since compared to folk edification/adult education, it didn't have explicit space in the academy, and even afterwards, never gained similar disciplinary independence.

statistics and the Fennoman leader of the cooperative Pellervo-society, put forth initiatives about integrating vocational education and cooperative folk edification. Both hoped to edify the collective spirit of the craft and rural industries, but their agendas remained marginal in the disciplinarisation of both adult and vocational education[5] (Heikkinen, 2014a).

On the other hand, general education provided space for the emergence of applied psychology (*sielutiede* – 'soul science'), which turned out to be vital in the scientification of vocational education.[6] The export industry held a hegemonic position both in the building of national industries and in protecting the economic independence of the country. With representatives of strategic public sectors – such as the railways and the military – their leaders keenly followed the rationalisation strategies and methods of management and performance in advanced industrial countries. Their interests matched with the ambitions of researchers, who were eagerly looking for opportunities to promote applied psychology in the academy, society and industry. The principles of scientific management and psychotechnique were adopted to the recruitment and development of staff, to the education of supervisors and managers and to technical education. (Heikkinen, 2012, 2013.)

Jalmari Kekkonen put forth the first initiative to establish an institute for continuing vocational education, which would promote occupation-based knowledge creation and the education of supervisors and vocational teachers. Although it wasn't put into practice, an Institute for the Advancement of Occupations (AEL) was started in 1922, sponsored by the Board of Industry, the Employers Union and the Union for Rural Industries. Another proponent of disciplinarisation was Bernhard Wuolle, the director of the State Railways, a teacher and principal of the Technical University and an active municipal policymaker. While he failed to start a scientific institute for work research in the University, he founded a psychotechnical laboratory at the State Railways in 1922, staffed by junior researchers of experimental psychology from the Universities of Turku, Helsinki and Åbo Akademi. It served as an example for the laboratories of

[5] Nevertheless, by developing studies for advisors and teachers in university, Gebhard was quite influential for education in rural industries and cooperative movement.

[6] In fact, academic psychology was established because of its usefulness for occupational guidance and job placements. (Eteläpelto 1979.)

the Finnish army, the Aviation Institute and the State Institute for Occupational Health as well as for recruitment to vocational Factory Schools[7]. (Michelsen, 2000; Kirjonen, 2008.) Together with the AEL, they supported productivity through rationalisation, scientific management and work efficiency, which set the pace for the scientification of vocational education in the future. The alternative by educationalist Väinö Niininen, who worked in the psychotechnical laboratory and taught in the AEL and at employers' and trade unions' management courses, remained marginal. Beside psychology, he emphasised educational aspects in vocational and staff training and suggested that occupation should be part of a humane, sensitive and fair economic, political and ethical life. (Heikkinen, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015.)

It was decisive for the disciplinarisation of Finnish vocational education that teacher and supervisor education was initiated jointly by state departments and industries instead of occupational organisations and trade unions, which for political reasons did not even have negotiation rights before the Winter War in 1940. The AEL, the University of Technology and technical institutes educated most teachers and supervisors for the technical sector, which was starting to dominate the development of vocational education (Heikkinen, 2004, 2012). Meanwhile, the discipline of general education became increasingly independent from philosophy and psychology. It expanded to the University of Turku and to the Pedagogical University of Jyväskylä, which was an upgraded folk school teacher seminar and a forerunner in didactic and special needs research.

In search of disciplinary homes (1950s–1960s)

After the Second World War, where Finland with its ally Germany were defeated, industry, industrial relations and national planning were reorganising. Socialist parties and associations were accepted, trade unions were recognised as labour market partners and the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union was established. The settlement

[7] Established by big export industry, but subsidised by and following the guidelines of the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

of refugees from Karelia, war payments and reconstruction dominated economy and politics.

The growing demand for subject teachers for gymnasia (academic secondary) and the increase of empirical educational research, which proved useful in the emerging national planning, encouraged the expansion of general education and teacher training to all parts of the country. Although teacher seminars remained separate, calls for comprehensive school reform and the academisation of folk school teacher training became louder (Pennanen, 1997; Ahonen, 2011). The disciplinarisation of adult and vocational education started to take new routes. The School of Social Sciences was establishing itself as an academic university and transformed into the University of Tampere, supplying civil servants and professionals especially to public sector and civil society organisations. The Department of Vocational Education (AKO) in the ministry of trade and industry took a leading role in the integration of national industries through the integration of different sectors of vocational education.

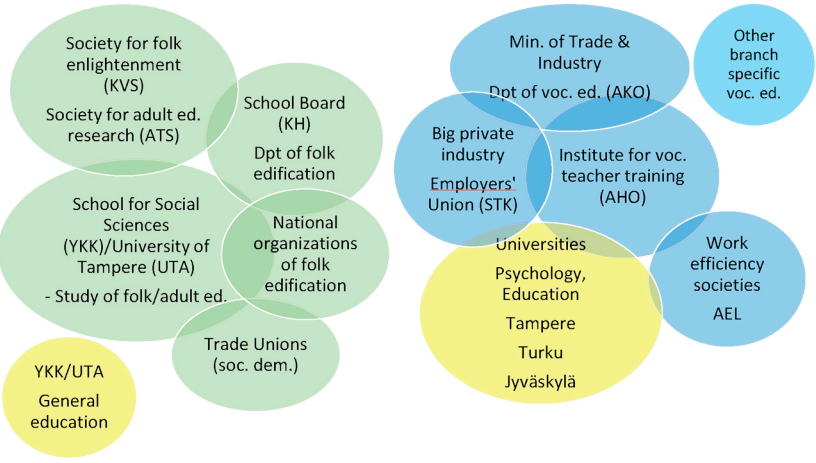

Figure 2. Transition period from post-WWII to welfare state reforms 1950s–60s.

Although the disciplinarisation of adult, vocational and general education continued in distinctive actor networks, these became increasingly institutionalised, as indicated in the following Figure 2.

According to the standard story, the third stage of the disciplinarisation of adult education – the theorisation of educational practice – took place by the end of the 1960s. It is also argued that the expansion of vocational adult education effected to the concept change from the study of folk edification to adult education science (*aikuiskasvatustiede*) in 1966. However, during the 1950s and 1960s, the academic interest in and research on practice was marginal, although the study of folk edification was still considered to belong to the social sciences. The change was steered by the theoretical orientation of Urpo Harva, the first professor of the study of folk edification (since 1946). He held a central position in the heart of folk edification, including the KVS, central organs of workers' institutes, folk high schools, study centres, inspectors in the School Board (KH) and the Society for the Study of Folk Edification (est. 1940). However, with a background and interest in philosophy and pedagogy, influenced by the Anglo-Saxon concept of liberal education, he remained distant to their tradition. Alternatively, workers' edification expanded and gained an official status after World War II, especially through social democrat trade-unions and municipal Workers' and People's institutes, whose leaders – such as Wuorenrinne – were defending the distinctiveness of folk edification. As they anticipated, conceptual change would also lead to changes in policy and practice and threaten its independence and status. Although the concurrent scientification of the study of general education presumably encouraged Harva to move from concepts of folk and edification to adults and education, no connections were built with education science, which was established in the 1960s in the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Tampere (Aaltonen et al., 1991; Rasila, 1973).

When looking at the developments in vocational education, it cannot be claimed that there were interests to extend to, and by no means to occupy, the study of folk edification. The rare offerings from Aarno Niini (director of the AKO – Department of Vocational Education) and Oiva Kyöstiö (first doctoral thesis on the history of vocational education) about 'occupational edification' as parallel to 'general edification' were silenced. On the contrary, inspectors in

the AKO began to develop a model institute for fostering vocational teacher education and research. (Heikkinen, 2012.) Together with the leaders of big industry and the AEL, it established the Institute of Vocational Teacher Training in Hämeenlinna (AHO) in 1958. The institute focused on the technical sectors, which were most strategic in improving work efficiency in the big export industry, while the rest of the vocational teacher training units remained annexed to other industrial branches. Teachers were inspectors and trainers from the Institute for the Advancement of Occupations (AEL), from factory schools and from the psychotechnical laboratory of Finnish Railways but also a few professors of education gave lecturers in pedagogy and didactics. (Heikkinen, 2012, 2013.)

The establishment of the AHO compensated for the frustration of Aarno Niini because the AKO had not achieved the status of a leading agency in controlling the national workforce, despite its central role during World War II and the reconstruction period. In the AHO, conceptions of vocational education were based on psychotechnique and experimental psychology, with elements from humanistic education and management training in the armed forces. Besides the AKO, AEL and AHO, the Institute for Leadership (est. 1946) was part of the collaborating network, which directed the disciplinarisation of vocational education, especially through its first director, previous army officer Antero Rautavaara. In his influential presentations and publications, he propagated vocational education as the liberator of the will to work among the human machinery – workers, employees – of production by developing their positive dispositions and by integrating their interests and values into the work community. It cannot be claimed that the proponents of vocational education were developing concepts or theories based on vocational education practice. Rather they created recipes for activity, which would merge the roles of industrial supervisor and vocational teacher and support effective and encouraging management of the company. (Heikkinen, 2012.)

During the 1950s–60s, there was a shift towards adaptation to the export industry-dominated Finland in both adult and vocational education. Adult education in the academy was promoting the self-understanding of the social democrat workers' movement in representing the principles of democracy and the wellbeing of the populace. This implied, however, accepting the position of

'labour market partner', where the other partner, the employers in the big export industry, allied with their collaborators in administration. They authorised the main providers of vocational education, also for adults.

Into the lap of educational science (1970s–)

During the 1960s–1970s, the projects of Agrarian and Small Farmers' Finland collapsed. Despite efforts in regional politics and sub-contracted small enterprises, backed by bilateral trade agreements with the Soviet Union, the collapse of small farming was followed by a massive migration to Sweden and south-western sub-urbanising areas in Finland. The political victory of the Social Democrats, combined with the breakthrough of the radical youth, student and cultural movements, paved the way for the Finnish version of a 'Nordic welfare state', providing equality of access and opportunity to health and social care and education, implemented quickly during the turn of the 1970s (Heikkinen et al., 2011).

In 1974, the faculties of education were established in seven universities, when primary school teacher training was academised. The departments of teacher training and general education represented the majority in the new faculties of education. Despite resistance, the Department of Adult Education at the University of Tampere (UTA) was moved from the Faculty of Social Sciences to the Faculty of Education. The positions of the key actors in the struggle over positions of adult, vocational and general education at UTA are shown in Figure 3.

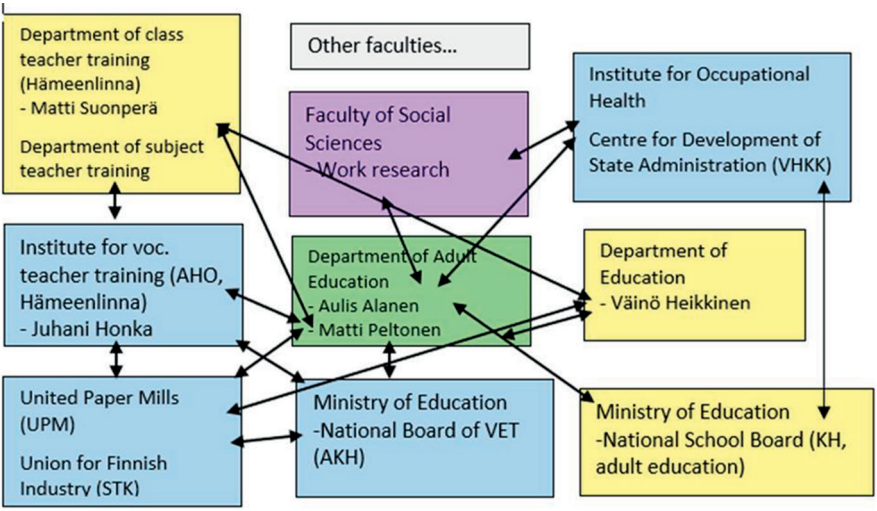

Figure 3. Struggle over adult and vocational education in the 1970s–80s.

According to the standard story, researchers started to study the scientific nature and theories of adult education in its mature, metascientific stage of the 1970s. One of the main spokespersons was Aulis Alanen, lecturer and professor of the only Finnish Department of Adult Education at the University of Tampere (1973–1991). Alanen had a background in workers' movements and trade unions and committed his career to promoting workers' associational and institutional (trade-union folk high schools) edification. He started to construct the grand narrative of adult education/folk edification, building on the definitions and interpretations of Castrén and Wuorenrinne. While accepting the inclusion of adult education in educational sciences, he strictly demarcated it from schoolish and externally directed education. (Alanen, 1977; Tuomisto, 2014.)

However, in practice, he and other staff in the department were deeply involved in policymaking. Alanen was a friend and collaborator of key figures in workers' movements, such as Veli Lehtonen (director of educational affairs in the central organ of Finnish trade unions, SAK), and in adult education administration (KH), such as Kosti Huuhka (the author of the first doctoral thesis on adult education,

1955) (Tuomisto, 2014). In the committee for adult education/training, together they were spokespersons of future reforms, setting the criteria for what could and should be defined as adult education and be entitled to state support.[8] Although Alanen and his colleagues also participated widely in established forums of folk edification – the KVS, the Society for Research in Adult Education (ATS, until 1971 the Society for Study of Folk Edification), etc. – theoretical and empirical research in adult education remained narrow and advocative, though this was understandable because of scarce resources. The metascientific phase was actually characterised by the battle over the identity of adult education as a science, where 'international' explanatory models were popular, both among the defenders of the tradition and the critical opponents from the Marxist student movement (Kalli, 1979; Lehtonen, 1979).

In the technocratic education politics, adult education was considered as a part of the education system, and vocational education could no longer be ignored. Especially the University of Tampere and the Centre for Development of State Administration (Valtionhallinnon kehittämiskeskus, VHKK) were following the trends in Nordic and Central-European research on work and occupations, the democratisation of work and the imperatives from internationalisation and computerisation regarding the competences, social organisation and management of workers and work processes. Many studies and initiatives were put forth to establish research on work-related adult education (Tuomisto, 1982, 1986). The establishment of sectoral research institutes in ministries liquidated plans about developing a multidisciplinary research-centre on work-life, where adult education and comparative research could play a crucial role. At the same time cognitive psychology became fashionable in the education of social and health care professionals. Instead of adult education, however, the psychology-led initiatives were first channelled to the social sciences (Work-life Research in Tampere) and to work-psychology (University of Technology in Helsinki, the VHKK and the State Institute for Occupational Health) (Heikkinen, 2012).

[8] Other key figures of the committee came from the Finnish Employers' Union (STK), thus the committee was one arena for settling the 'division of labour' between social democrat-led adult education and conservative vocational education/adult training, discussed a bit later in this section.

The principal of the AHO, Seppo Oinonen, set the goal to establish a research centre there for vocational education during the 1960s. Also, a committee led by professor Väinö Heikkinen (UTA), who was collaborating in staff training with the United Paper Mills (UPM), suggested in 1971 that vocational teacher education should be moved into university, following the plans about the academisation of primary school teacher education. During the 1970s vocational orientation started in general and adult education at UTA: the initiators had a common background in conducting attitude surveys with teacher trainees, in teaching and staff training in the factory schools of big industry and in the Foundation for Free Education.[9] In the era of left radicalism in universities, both the leaders of the big industry and the National Board of Vocational Education (AKH) were sceptical towards the new faculties of education. Adult education and work research were also rejected, while their collaborators in state administration might have interpreted vocational education as welfare-service and a tool for democratising work-life.[10] (Heikkinen 2012; 2007.)

One may question why the first professorship in vocational education started in the Department of Primary School Teacher Training (HOKL) at UTA in Hämeenlinna in the 1980s instead of in the departments of adult education or (general) education. The Institute of Vocational Teacher Training in Hämeenlinna (AHO) and the UPM made up the knot where the threads were pulled together – the STK and its co-operators in AKH in the departments of adult education and (general) education at UTA. The crucial spokesperson was Matti Peltonen, the professor of adult education during 1978–84, who worked in the vocational and staff training of UPM and in AHO as well as in AKH and in STK, where he moved in 1982 as the chair of its Council for Educational Affairs. Both Peltonen and the future professor of vocational education Pekka Ruohotie had completed their doctorates in the Department of (general) Education under

[9] The Foundation for Free Education acted during 1973–1991, resisting leftist education policy, for example by intervening in recruitment of staffs in faculties of education, especially in teacher education. (E.g. Suutarinen 2008.)

[10] In University of Jyväskylä an assistant professorship in vocational didactics was established in 1975 in Department of Teacher Education, with expectation to collaborate with the Institute for Vocational Teacher Training in Jyväskylä (AJO) and the national Institute for Educational Research.

the supervision of professor Väinö Heikkinen. He supported the establishment of the professorship in HOKL, where his colleague, Matti Suonperä – already collaborating with AHO – was appointed as the director. The mutual relations between HOKL, AHO and AKH were stabilised by Juhani Honka, the principal of AHO, whose doctoral thesis about vocational teacher training was supervised by Peltonen, who moved to AKH in 1985, and after its closure to UPM as an HRD manager. Studies in vocational education were exceptional because of the close relations to industry and the administration of both students and contracted teachers. The discipline built exclusively on American career and organisational psychology, and the foci in teaching and research were occupational updating, encouraging leadership, career and learning motivation and organisational feedback systems. Early notions about adult education, lifelong growth, societal factors of industrial development and participation in education were soon forgotten. (Heikkinen, 2012.)

Although vocational teacher training was harmonised during the unifying reform of vocational education in the 1980s, it remained sector-specific until 1993, when it was substituted by general pedagogical studies. The transformation of AJO and AHO into polytechnics paved the way for the closure of sector-related units. The state subsidies for new polytechnics made initiatives about moving teacher training into universities superfluous. The ministry of education massively funded MA, licentiate and doctoral studies in order to qualify vocational teachers for polytechnics, which boosted the disciplinarisation of vocational education. Under the title Research Centre for Vocational Education (AkTKK), it became in 1993 part of the Department of Education (merging the departments of adult and youth education), starting MA and doctoral programmes in vocational education in cooperation with AHO, OPH[11] and the ministry of education, which administered polytechnics. While interest in vocational issues was growing in units of adult education elsewhere in Finland, the discipline of vocational education emphasised separation from adult education, with a focus on occupational socialisation and choice, i.e. lifelong occupational growth. Educational,

[11] As a finalization of the convergence of sector-specific vocational education, on the one hand, and of all forms and stages of education, on the other hand, National School Board (KH) and National Board of Vocational Education (AKH) were substituted by the National Board of Education ('teaching', OPH) in 1991.

psychological and sociological sciences were criticised for the exaggeration of 'institutional issues'. Student and worker motivation, skills and abilities remained central topics beside vocational teacher careers and polytechnics. Cooperation in national skills competitions (started by STK, AHO and AKH in the 1980s) and World Skills-Olympics with the International Vocational Education and Training Association, OPH and the ministry of education promoted AkTKK in specialising in excellence in work and in vocational studies. (Heikkinen, 2012.)

The disciplinarisation of vocational education was encouraged by the foundation of the Society for Research on Vocational Education (OTTU) in 1992 (the only foreign member of the American Association for Research on Vocational Education and Training). The ministry of education sponsored OTTU's journal and promoted collaboration between OPH, the ministry and AkTKK, vocational teacher training units and the network of polytechnic developers. (Heikkinen, 2007.)

From the 1990s, the landscape of educational research in Finland was changing remarkably due to the deepest economic recession in Europe, the collapse of the socialist regime and joining the European Union in 1995. While industrial relevance, the promotion of economic competitiveness, principles of lifelong learning and competence-based learning were adopted in all educational policies and reforms, researchers of adult and vocational education were no longer alone in defining their targets as human resources at the individual, organisational or national level (Heikkinen, 2007).

When programmes and positions of adult education expanded from the 1980s to other Finnish faculties of education, their primary focus was on HRD and work-based learning and an unquestionable identification with educational science. The personal networks between adult education researchers, national associations of folk edification and civil servants in OPH and the ministry of education were breaking, and soon adult education units and experts disappeared from the ministry. Alternatively, while the polytechnics reform was accomplished, and the market for upgrading teachers was fading, vocational education without distinctive theories seemed easy to absorb both into general and adult education. It became replaced by the pragmatic research, development and innovation in the

vocational teacher training units of polytechnics, supported by the ministry of education and the OPH.

Towards a reflexive materialist understanding of struggles in and between adult, vocational and general education

Contrary to popular abstractions of 'scientification of educational knowledge', we argue that in the disciplinarisation of adult, vocational and general education this happened in close connection to contemporary political, economic and ideological projects and with minor backing from the critical empirical scrutiny of educational realities. For instance, we reveal different trajectories of the study of folk edification, which the canonised narrative has relegated to the margins of the stage of the professionalisation of practice (1920s–1950s). As a case we used the tension between agrarian and workers' edification projects and how their conceptualisations of folk, edification and democracy differed as the knowledge base for the discipline.

Concerning the separateness of the adult and vocational education disciplines in the 1970s, we argue that in the Finnish context, it was at least partly due to losing the option of revisiting and transforming the study of folk edification by including a critical occupation- and worker-based approach. The establishment of faculties of educational sciences, dominated by teacher training, enforced linear interpretations of disciplinary histories. The study of vocational education identified with the managerial functions of the big export industry, with narrow concepts and theories, which hardly analysed or challenged the real, materialist history of vocational education. Rather it adopted the role as a handmaiden of vocational and polytechnics reforms. Alternatively, the initiatives from the radical, revolutionary youth and student movement to revise adult education remained abstract and shallow. While concentrating on short-term opportunism and naïve sabotage in university politics, they remained disconnected from the adult education realities and from the historical debates about folk edification and democracy.

The canonised narratives' neglect of the material history of the disciplines relates to the complaints about the scientific weakness of adult and vocational education. The flows of novel ideas and theories in the fabric of academic life makes ignoring their material history easy, specifically by subjugating the longue durée of thesis research, despite its major role (cf. Braudel, 2002). The canonised narrative has not acknowledged it as 'proper scientific knowledge production' (Heikkinen et al., 2015), thus taking away the rich and complex heritage, which could be used in future struggles, especially in times of the instrumentalisation of academic knowledge.

From the actor-network perspective, the disciplinary struggles in and between adult, vocational and general education can be considered as trials of strength in black-boxing their conceptual basis and disciplinary home in the universities. In this study, we attempted to open some boxes to see how they were constituted. Although black boxes were required for disciplinary independence, they, in fact, remained multidisciplinary – or rather eclectic – fields. The placements and turning points in the disciplinary landscape were influenced by enthusiast academic spokespersons in pedagogy, psychology, sociology, philosophy and management (cf. Jarvis, 2010) and by policymakers' and practitioners' pragmatic needs for evidence (Heikkinen et al., 2015).

Acknowledging the interpretational limits of the selected data, knowledge creation in the history of adult and vocational education seems to have been a constant translation of interests between diverse actor groups in the dispositif or actor-networks. The reason for their claimed disciplinary weakness may be due to their multidimensional practice and politics, which results in ongoing disciplinary struggles but also justifies eclecticism (cf. Latour, 2005, 1987). The disciplines of adult and vocational education might, therefore, instead of black boxes, be conceived as mediators or networks doing translations. Recognition of the relations with collective actors ('stakeholders') is unavoidable from the perspective of networked knowledge creation. Relational understanding does not need to threaten the disciplinary autonomy of adult, vocational and general education, yet it means grounding research and teaching more strongly in their empirical and material history. The realistic turn in adult and vocational adult education would imply recognition of the relationality of knowledge production

and its embeddedness in the tortuous material history of events (cf. Heikkinen, 2014b). Consequently, the justification of a discipline through grand narratives can be questioned by making visible the oppressed knowledge and the squeeze of historical events and power struggles.

By using some historical examples of disciplinary struggles in and between adult, vocational and general education in Finland, we have tried to show the potential of a genealogical and actor-network approach in unwrapping canonised and ideological narratives about their transformation. The spokespersons of the adult, vocational and general education disciplines have been policymakers and practitioners, which opposes the antagonistic division between the interests of practice, research and politics in education. While the justification of any disciplinary area in the contemporary economist universities with the trend of raising 'stakeholder' involvement requires spokespersons from different collective actors, this could be an asset in adult, vocational and general education.

Table 1. List of abbreviations

Abbreviation		*In Finnish*
AEL	Institute for the Advancement of Occupations	*Ammattienedistämislaitos*
AHO	Institute of Vocational Teacher Training in Hämeenlinna	*Ammattikoulujen Hämeenlinnan Opettajaopisto*
AJO	Institute of Vocational Teacher Training in Jyväskylä	*Ammattikoulujen Jyväskylän Opettajaopisto*
AKH	National Board of Vocational Education	*Ammattikasvatushallitus*
AKO	Department of Vocational Education in the ministry of trade and industry	*Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriön ammattikasvatusosasto*
AkTKK	Research Centre for Vocational Education	*Ammattikasvatuksen tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskus*
ATS	Society for Research in Adult Education (1940–1971 Society for the Study of Folk Edification)	*Aikuiskasvatuksen Tutkimusseura* (1940–1971 *Kansansivistysopillinen Yhdistys)*
HOKL	Department of Primary School Teacher Training of University of Tampere (UTA) in Hämeenlinna	*Tampereen yliopiston Hämeenlinnan opettajankoulutuslaitos*
JTO	Institute for Leadership	*Johtamistaidon Opisto*
KH	National School Board	*Kouluhallitus*
KVS	Folk Enlightenment Society	*Kansanvalistusseura*
OPH	National Board of Education	*Opetushallitus*
OTTU	Society for Research on Vocational Education	*Ammatillisen koulutuksen tutkimusseura*
STK	Finnish Employers' Union	*Suomen Työnantajain Keskusliitto*
TSL	Workers' Edification Association	*Työväen Sivistysliitto*
UPM	United Paper Mills	*Yhtyneet Paperitehtaat*
VHKK	Centre for the Development of State Administration	*Valtionhallinnon kehittämiskeskus*
YKK	School for the Social Sciences (1925–1930 Civil College; 1966–2018 UTA, University of Tampere; 2019- TUNI, Tampere University)	*Yhteiskunnallinen korkeakoulu* (1925–1930 *Kansalaiskorkeakoulu;* 1966– *Tampereen yliopisto)*

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(Re)thinking the disciplinary relationship between the researcher and object of study in educational practices in the Brazilian context

Lais Oliveira Leite

Abstract

This work investigates the disciplinary relationship between the researcher and object of study in educational practices in the Brazilian context. I apply Foucauldian analysis, intersectional paradigm, and politics of citation to understand historical and personal events in Brazil, as well as their epistemological background: the Brazilian positivism. I discuss how Brazilian positivism has been impacting political decisions and educational practices in Brazil, disciplining the type of relationship researchers have with their object of study. I finish this paper arguing that such positivistic relationship is not possible anymore due to political and educational transformations in our society.

Keywords: Brazilian positivism, Foulcauldian analysis, intersectional paradigm, politics of citation.

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Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the disciplinary relationship between the researcher and object of study in educational practices in the Brazilian context. I situate research and similar activities as educational practices, considering its inherent educational process for the researcher and its educational outcomes related to sharing results and progressing science. I begin my discussion with a brief description of events that marked my academic life in Brazil, which culminated in a 'last straw' that initiated a series of reflections and research. Then, I present the analytical tools of this investigation: Foucault's analysis, the intersectional paradigm and the politics of citation. I will apply them to understand historical and personal events in Brazil as well as their epistemological background – Brazilian positivism. I continue the discussion presenting how this perspective has been impacting political decisions and educational practices in Brazil, disciplining the type of relationship researchers have with their object of study. I finish this paper arguing that such positivistic relationship is no longer possible due to political and educational transformations in our society.

The reflection process that the philosophy of education brings for educational sciences is important because it opens questions about hidden premises of research and examines the values affecting academic practices (Ruitenberg, 2010; Tillapaugh & Nicolazzo, 2014). It claims from the educator-researcher to contemplate one's own process of reflexivity while inquiring and raising hypotheses. It requests investigations not only about social and historical backgrounds but also personal psychological, cognitive and emotional mechanisms that affect research. Vokey (2009) contributes to this discussion stating that there is no context-free epistemological perspective, 'Rather, we engage in philosophical inquiry equipped (and sometimes saddled) with assumptions and interests shaped by particulars of our personal biographies, social locations, political contexts, and more' (p. 340).

Based on these considerations, I developed this chapter inspired by the 'me-search' approach influenced by the scholar personal narrative (Jones, 2015). This approach gives voice to the author's experiences to test hypotheses and accomplish personal inquiry. Moreover, I integrated my-self, my academic background and the social milieu where I come from – North-eastern Brazil – one of the poorest and 'blackest' regions of the country (IBGE, 2007) – in the process of this

investigation. My final goal was to express the relationships between my writing process, the personal dimensions of this investigation and its outcomes (Coffey, 2001).

The 'last straw'

In 2016 the master's thesis defence of a colleague constituted for me the 'last straw' from a series of events during my academic life in Brazil. Her thesis was highly praised by her supervisor and opponents, but still there was a criticism about her involvement, as a researcher, with her field of research – what the specialists pointed to as a bias mistake. Her research approached how the human values of an educational programme in poor rural communities from North-eastern Brazil influenced the students' human values who engaged in this educational programme (Barbosa, 2016).

This kind of criticism that caught my attention can be referred to as what theorists recognise as positivism's ideal of what science should be: neutral, naturalist and empiricist. According to Trigg (2001), this philosophical approach accused personal emotions and values of making the researcher blind in the face of reality, damaging the rational scientific method. Following the author, positivism's influences on human sciences determined how researchers should deal with the object of study: they should investigate only facts and not involve emotions in the inquiry process because the latter are not logically deduced and were considered a threat that could hurt the legitimacy of human sciences.

What was so intriguing to me was the fact that the professors who brought up this kind of accusation against the involvement of the researcher with her object of study are well-known in that Brazilian University for being critical of positivism. By 'well-known' I mean that in lectures, meetings and publications, the teachers commonly accused positivism of an obsolete comprehension of science. These kinds of statements fit how Lacerda (2017) described the common reaction of Brazilian academic circles against positivism, marked by a strong negative criticism but without any further contextualised reflections and discussions.

However, positioning myself as a researcher, I investigated what was behind the contradiction between discourse-practices: on one side, positivism is considered

outdated and detrimental to human sciences; on the other side, a master's candidate's research is criticised from the powerful position of its evaluators because the researcher was emotionally involved with the field of study. I needed to delve into the history of such a powerful argument, that is, *the researcher cannot be involved with its object of study*. For that purpose, I equipped myself first (hopefully I didn't get too saddled) with my inquiry tools: Foucault's analysis, the intersectional paradigm and the politics of citation.

Analysing human sciences as a social phenomenon to understand the power struggles that constitute them

According to Trigg (2001), 'instead of trying to find out timeless, abstract principles, we look at the strategies that are actually adopted in different times and places' (p. 25). This practical principle of some trends in the philosophy of science developed many ways of studying the conditions, the devices and tools and the values and motives of scientists throughout centuries. Foucault is one philosopher who studied science as a social phenomenon, precisely, as a discursive and powerful practice. His studies about the *Archaeology of Knowledge* and *Genealogy of Power* helped me to understand my inquiry – without the pretension of exhausting it.

The methodology of *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, 2007a) tries to understand the conditions of possibility, i.e. the historical, political and social breaks of a social phenomenon, which in turn allow the production of different types of knowledge, discursive practices and effective power relationships. At the same time, the archaeological analysis proposes to find the regularity of speech, here understood as the necessary conditions for the appearance of a type of discourse-practice and, consequently, the exclusion of others.

Complementarily, the *Genealogy of Power* (Foucault, 1979, 2007b) presents a study in which individuals are not full owners of their own subjectivity. Foucault highlights that institutions, such as prisons, industries and schools, are constituted by power divisions and unbalances 'immanent' to capillary social relationships. Being part of social institutions and occupying a social position means that individuals exercise power by a set of devices that sometimes are beyond the

knowledge and control of the subject. This power exercise is not only negative in the meaning of oppression or denial, but rather positive, because it produces knowledge-power devices, as discursive operations, in an attempt to maintain its social permanence (Foucault, 1979, 2007b; Levine-Rasky, 2007).

According to Foucault, some of these institutional devices, named by him as discipline, engaged in studying the individual bodies from specific social groups, not only to repress, but also to produce their subjectivities. This means, according to Miller (as cited in Levine-Rasky, 2007), that power also cultivates subjectivity by producing knowledge about it. These discipline devices are carried out through various strategies with different goals, such as specifying and ensuring the position of individuals, and groups of individuals, in a well-structured hierarchy through data collection, observations, classifications, reports, exams or other qualifications of the subject. It allows, through its 'scientific reports', that the examined individuals have been characterised, which leads not only to a detailed description of them, but also to a production of their desires, fears, abilities, etc. – in sum, their subjectivities. The documented knowledge becomes an instrument of control over individuals who are subject to a power of registration, creating a positive economy of human behaviour (Taylor, as cited in Levine-Rasky, 2011). For example, it has already been well discussed in the sociology of education how schools can be analysed as a site of discipline and surveillance, where students are positioned as docile bodies, and discourses about their behaviours are created as knowledge-power devices (Levine-Rasky, 2007).

However, considering power as an action accomplished between subjects in asymmetric relationships, the analytics of power points out that it can be exercised from above and below, which means it circulates across micro social networks (Foucault, 1979, 2007b; Levine-Rasky, 2007). 'The problem is not who has power, but how power is practiced to effect political and social advantage. It's a question of position and of positioning' (Levine-Rasky, 2011, p. 245). Hence, Foucault's analytics of power led me directly to the next theoretical tool that also helped me to enrich my research: the paradigm of intersectionality.

This term was first used by Kimberlé Crenshaw to discuss the particularities of the feminist fights of black women, which were underrepresented by the common image of women being white and blacks being men during the 1980s (Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran & Vieten, 2006). Since then, the term has become popular, and its

premises were developed to analyse the interrelationships of gender, class, race and other social divisions in the dynamics of privilege and oppression (Davis, 1983).

Intersectionality brings the postmodern awareness that there is no 'pure position' such as oppressor and oppressed established through unbalanced power relationships, which is confluent with the previous analysis of Foucault (Levine-Rasky, 2007, 2011). It highlights that the interplay of power cannot be grasped with separate units of positions (Mitchell, 2014) but rather analysed through the consideration of specific social 'positionings' and identities, such as race, class, gender, age, sexual orientation, etc. Also, it seeks how these positions intermesh and are connected to belonging groups, which produce and exercise different power relationships within and with others (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Yuval-Davis et al., 2006). Yuval-Davis (2006) stresses that the intersectional approach does not 'add' separated social identities to produce an 'oppression sum' in order to avoid internally homogeneous social categories. 'Instead, the point is to analyse the differential ways in which different social divisions are concretely enmeshed and constructed by each other and how they relate to political and subjective constructions of identities' (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 205).

Moreover, the intersectionality paradigm contributes with epistemological discussions regarding educational practices, such as research, when it comes to the influences of the researcher's 'social positioning' (worldview, life experiences, family background, identity), his/her academic community and their procedures of data collection and analysis. For instance, Tillapaugh and Nicolazzo (2014) implemented the methodology of backward thinking to explore the relationship between identity, epistemology and research design, showing 'how power mediates not only how one approaches research and the research process but the extent to which one's research is viewed as valid, appropriate, and useful by others in one's respective field of study' (p. 117).

Considering these reflections and using the analytical tools described above, I explored the inquiry *what is the history of the discursive practice of 'trustable distance' between the researcher* (*agent/subject*) *and field of research* (*participant/object*) *in the Brazilian context?*

(Re)looking at who has been doing human sciences in the Western world

I would like to bring some historical background to understand how some discursive practices of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries were fundamental to ground what we call today human sciences and education in Brazil. For instance, this discursive heritage still affects the evaluation of educational research, considering it reliable (or not) depending on how much the researcher is involved with the study field (Tillapaugh & Nicolazzo, 2014).

Besides the previous brief explanation of what the premises of positivism are, and without any intentions of analysing this topic deeply in its recent developments, it is always important to stress the Vienna Circle as an historical mark. The group of philosophers who took part in it claimed what they termed 'scientific world-conception' and its goals to build a unified science, which should follow logical analysis based on empirical, neutral and objective material (Trigg, 2001). Back then, this group had the conditions of possibility (discursive and material power) to point out (if not impose) the guidelines of 'how to do science' and how scientists should relate with their object of study.

What caught my attention during my inquiry process is that in textbooks that I read in my academic formation, there is a broad discussion about what this group said (the discourse content). However, there is a lack of discussion in such course books about who the individuals were that composed the Vienna Circle. More importantly, why had those individuals such influence on the academic field, i.e. the power devices to activate such discourse-practices? In other words, what were the conditions of possibility of those agents to have the discursive appearance and to simultaneously exclude others?

According to Tillapaugh and Nicolazzo (2014), who a researcher is affects the study products because rarely an investigation is made in isolation but rather within a community of scholars that interact in formal (e.g. conferences) and informal (e.g. intellectual café meetings) venues and discuss their work through their own particularities and values. Hence, disciplinary struggles influence the visibility of research: 'power also affects how the research is perceived, the extent to which it is welcomed, by whom it is welcomed, and the access one may or may

not get to publish and/or present in certain venues (Tillapaugh & Nicolazzo, (2014, p. 117).

In parallel to the relationship between identity, epistemology and research design from Tillapaugh and Nicolazzo (2014), Mott and Cockayne (2017) discussed the prevalence of white researchers being cited in the West. Levine-Rasky (2011) is cautious when it comes to defining whiteness, considering historical, economic, cultural and political contexts that gave rise to its social power. Like other racial categories, whiteness is more than a classification of physical appearance; it is largely an invented construct blending history, culture, assumptions and attitudes. In the American case, from descendants of various European nations, emerges in the United States the consensus of a single white race that, in principle, elides religious, socio-economic and gender differences among individuals to create a hegemonically privileged race category (Babbs, as cited in Levine-Rasky, 2011).

Therefore, here, I do not intend to reduce researchers' differences (personal, historical, theoretical, social, etc.) or put all of them into a simplistic bag of 'white people'. If I would do so, I would ignore all the contributions of the intersectionality perspectives to understand the social identities and representativeness that cross people's lives and affect them in different social ways. Besides, simply reinforcing whiteness as a homogeneous 'somatic and "real" social category' and obscuring its internal differences secures its power (Levine-Rasky, 2011).

However, I do intend to highlight the 'white trace' that appears among the scientists and researchers who have traditionally produced research in the Western world. This trace can be the only similarity between them and their work, but even so this speaks loudly about who representatively founded and developed human sciences in the West – which in turn influenced educational practices in Brazil. They brought their values, views and perspectives and discursive devices to what should serve as the model of the scientific human research.

Therefore, the male white traces recognised in traditional research (Mott & Cockayne, 2017) represent who has been doing human sciences since at least two centuries ago and who is producing academic/educational discourses and power devices about what sciences should be. Moreover, as a knowledge-power device, it takes itself as the norm and tries to universalise itself, transforming all other cultures and social positions (women, blacks, homosexuals, the poor, the mentally

ill, children, etc.) in a marginal and peripheral existence that must be examined but kept at a distance from the centre (Foucault, 2007b; Yuval-Davis et al., 2006).

From the politics of citation perspective, Peake and Sheppard (2014) discussed how white male heteronormative citation can establish a narrow and homogenous narrative in a scientific field, excluding other possible works with different perspectives that come from other genders, ethnical groups and sexual orientation. Exactly these other voices would bring the difference and otherness needed to better understand the mechanisms of oppression and overcome them. Therefore, Mott and Cockaine (2017), inspired by Butler, Hooks and others, stated that citation should be understood as a performative practice, that is, as a technology of power that acts to reproduce 'a white heteromasculinist neoliberal academy' (Mott and Cockaine, 2017, p. 11). However, as power device, it can also be used by different actors according to their positionings and performances to break through the norm and bring forward alternative voices to produce sciences and educational practices.

In the next section, I will bring this discussion to the Brazilian context, describing how positivism influenced our modalities of making science and still influences educational practices.

Roots of positivism in Brazil and its disciplinary influence on educational practices today

Positivism had a significant influence on a (diversified) elite group of Brazilian males, emergent middle-class intellectuals, particularly made up of engineers, military circles, liberal professions and public officials. This group staged the Republicanism movement in Brazil at the end of the 19th century (Bhering & Maio, 2010). This movement culminated in the Proclamation of Republic process and affected many political decisions and educational reforms until the 1930s (Silva, 1999). As an illustration, the national flag of Brazil contains the inscription 'order and progress' derived from Comte's motto: 'love as principle, order as the basis, progress as the goal' (Merquior, 1982). Unfortunately, the 'love principle' was taken aside.

In that time, the positivists were divided into orthodox and heterodox groups. The former group followed the global work of Comte, including the religious precepts of the Positivist Church and Apostolate of Brazil (Lacerda, 2017; Silva, 1999). The latter was comprised mainly of technicians focused on applying methods based on observations and measurements of scientific, social, political and educational matters (Lacerda, 2017). In both representative groups, it is not surprising to find the prevalence of heteronormative cis-masculinist, not indigenous and not afro-descendant, members.

Although these circles had different premises, the global group of positivists accused the Monarchy and slavery system of delaying Brazilian progress, they criticised the 'Paraguay war', defended the separation of Church and State and supported progressive international relationships (Merquior, 1982; Lacerda, 2017). At the same time, positivism had a special appeal for Brazilian elites, 'who wanted progress without social mobilization, and therefore found in Comtism an apt rationalization of the concentration of power in the hands of a literate elite' (Merquior, 1982, p. 464). As one can see, positivism carried intricate nuances due to the complex social milieu in Brazil.

Moreover, Teixeiras Mendes, the main writer of the orthodox group, developed a 'social theory of Brazil', stating that each main ethnicity present in Brazil had a specific role for the country's development: the Portuguese group would be responsible for the intellectual and social development, while the African and indigenous tribes would contribute with the fetishist, affective and imaginary aspects of Brazilian society (Lacerda, 2017). These concepts seem quite absurd for our current state of discussion; therefore, the reader must consider them according to their temporal aspect. However, it is not too much to emphasise how these conceptions influenced the popular idea of the role and social positions of each of these groups in Brazilian society during the 20th century.

As an illustration of how positivism influenced the political decision making in Brazil during the first decades of the Brazilian Republic, I mention the creation and development process of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce (MAIC) in 1906. This ministry consisted of a privileged space for the development of a new category of public officials: specialised technicians that intended to apply positivistic principles, such as neutral scientific methods to solve social and

economic problems without the interference of personal and external influences (Bhering & Maio, 2010).

Such impact can also still be seen in different educational practices in Brazil nowadays. For instance, according to Pastana (2007), law teaching in many faculties follows a positivistic model of 'legal doctrines' that carries the perspective of law as a field of rational and infallible practices. Sometimes they are thought of as if they had no internal contradictions, ignoring historical comprehensions of the conditions of possibilities of how these theories developed. Such doctrines permeate law students, who start to believe that by strictly applying legal laws, without any critical inquiry, one can achieve social justice (Pastana, 2007). Related to this field, I cannot avoid raising a rhetorical problematisation: what social actors have the conditions of applying such legal norms, and upon whom do these norms fall in Brazil?

Bringing the discussion to higher education, Brazilian universities have strong European roots. It was only when the royal Portuguese family came to the colony at the beginning of the 19th century that we had our first higher education schools (Fávero, 2006). However, the character of the university was only structured in the middle of the 20th century – and still the access to them was restricted to the minority elite, mainly constituted by men, white and of European descent (Martins, 2002). Similar profile was already pointed out in the positivist elite of intellectuals described previously.

In contrast, subjects who belonged to axial categories such as women, enslaved black people and their descendants, indigenous groups, poor people, etc. had for the most part of Brazilian history strict (if not null) conditions to contribute with the discourses and practices of higher education institutions (for more details about the participation of minorities in Brazilian university life, see Leta, 2003; Tragtenberg et al., 2006; Santos & Queiroz, 2007; Bayma, 2012; Terra & David, 2016). This happened due to a lack of government policies towards them, such as affirmative actions. Hence, these axial categories were mostly considered the 'study object' rather than the 'study agent' in general scientific and educational practices in academia – which does not mean they did not have their own (marginalised) production of knowledge-power.

Finally, after decades of debates, the Brazilian Federal Supreme Court decided on the constitutionality of quotas to university on April 26, 2012. Law 12.711 /

2012 determined the provision of 50% of the places of federal higher education institutions for students coming from public education and with low family income. Also, it assigned the vacancies to the candidates self-denominated as blacks and brown and indigenous peoples (Bayma, 2012; Terra & David, 2016; Tragtenberg et al., 2006; Santos & Queiroz, 2007). For the first time in our society, starting from the second decade of the 21st century, we had a larger number of those minorities at the best universities of the country.

Nowadays, these social groups have interests in studying and educating themselves, their own cultures, habits, rituals and social institutions in the academy. Today, we do not have solely one kind of axial group studying others but a plurality of groups willing to study themselves. In this social context, it is necessary to confront the historical standard of the actors positioned as the ones who were doing human sciences until now and claimed neutrality and little involvement with their 'object of study'. Today, there is a new group of researchers who come from the social institutions and groups that used to be studied, but until now did not act as a research agent.

Final words

Currently, human sciences no longer deal with the classical and simplistic dichotomy of 'man studying man'. Beyond the hidden general set up of white heteronormative patriarchal cis-man studying the Other (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006) – which was a historical condition that allowed a 'safe distance' between the researcher and field of study – now there are more complex and specific settings. The previously unprivileged axial groups are studying themselves academically, realising a radical dichotomy of 'subject studying subject', because the same (or at least very similar) discursive and power devices are embedded in both sides.

These social groups bring to the academic field different (before marginalised) theories and values, semantics, vocabularies, etc. that can no longer be ignored nor underestimated. As an illustration, I mention how Cisneros (2018) vocalised indigenous mothering experiences integrated with scholarship and activism in academia by accomplishing an epistolary qualitative methodology. Another example is the report by Kahnawake researcher Audra Simpson about the refusal

of indigenous communities to discuss some topics with 'external' researchers to avoid misrepresentation or misunderstandings (Cisneros, 2018). Thence, by strengthening such research developments, these new empowering social groups have potential to create forms of relationships between the researcher and field of study that can minimise risks of oppressive mechanisms and articulate voices, perspectives and phenomena still underrepresented.

According to Trigg (2001) 'Once the argument is seen to be not about purifying science of the taint of "values" but about which values are essential to its purposes and which bias us away from them, any distinction between fact and value becomes irrelevant' (p. 121). However, what is still lacking in such introductory course books when it comes to discussing 'value-free' science is that values are immersed into gender, race, class and other social and power axes – which, if not assumed and exposed, can function as Disciplinary mechanisms of naturalised oppression (Smith, as cited in Mott & Cockaine, 2017).

This chapter discussed the historical background of positivism and how it has influenced educational practices in the Brazilian context – understood through Foucault's analytical tools, the intersectionality paradigm and the politics of citation. It helped me to realise how important the conditions of possibility and the historical disciplinary struggles between social actors are in the process of building scientific and educational power devices.

This investigation made me think of the relevance for educational scientists and practitioners to consider how their research influences policymakers, media and other social apparatuses since the discursive practices of the sciences have high status in Western societies and a strong impact on our daily lives (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006). Volke (2010) brings a fundamental contribution to this argument in the following passage:

> [...] there is no 'neutral ground' on which to stand, literally and metaphorically, in relation to ongoing histories of oppression and colonization. On this view, it is a mistake to do philosophy as if class, race, gender, sexual orientation [...] does not matter, and engaging responsibly with those representing alternative standpoints entails being mindful of the privileges we do and we do not enjoy by reason of our social location in contexts of domination. (pp. 38–39)

From a global to a local perspective, these reflections also helped me to understand the specific phenomenon of my colleague being criticised by her supervisor and opponents during her master's defence. She, the researcher, came from the research field she was studying: she had previously engaged in the educational programme she was investigating, and her partner also came from the poor rural communities targeted by the programme. Even though her research was carried out through both qualitative and quantitative data analysis, accomplishing triangulation strategies to guarantee the reliability of the results, the evaluators considered that her engagement with the study field could be regarded as a pro-manifesto for the educational programme.

I believed such discussion about the relationship between the researcher and object of study was already exhausted by philosophers of education and current methodological debates. However, comments coming from such a powerful position, such as evaluators assessing a master's candidate's work, unfortunately still happen in Brazilian universities – even contradicting other discursive practices in the same space. Therefore, this discussion must be carried forward, and those comments must be confronted, so that such opinions do not cause regression on educational practices after so many years of social disputes and political conquest of rights.

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Thinking outside the box
De-structuring continuing and higher education[1]

Markus Weil & Balthasar Eugster

Abstract

While universities are strongly embedded in a history of disciplinary structures, both institutionally (faculties, institutes or schools) and scientifically ("septem artes liberales", study programmes), Continuing Education and Training (CET) within higher education (HE) can break up this disciplinary view and open new perspectives between the academic and the professional world. In this article, we explore the structural, disciplinary and historical boundaries of HE and CET and how both can come to systematic, constructive relations. Subsequently, we adopt a more pedagogical perspective and focus on CET that is provided within the institutional structures of HE.

Keywords: higher education, continuing education, education system, pedagogy

[1] This chapter draws on some ideas developed in the German article: Eugster/Weil (2015): "Grenzfall Weiterbildung: Forschungsorientierung in der Entstrukturierung." In Peter Tremp (ed.), Forschungsorientierung und Berufsbezug im Studium. Hochschulen als Orte der Wissensgenerierung und der Vorstrukturierung von Berufstätigkeit. Bertelsmann Bielefeld, p. 63–82. The article is re-framed and revised regarding disciplinary struggles in the history of education.

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Introduction

Higher education (HE) is based on a history of disciplinary structures, both institutionally (e.g. with faculties, institutes or schools) and scientifically (e.g. 'septem artes liberales', study programmes) (de Ridder-Symoens, 2002, p. 85). In the context of Switzerland HE refers to formal learning, which leads to a qualification and to study programmes embedded in a disciplinary structure (see CRUS et al., 2011). In contrast, continuing education and training (CET) refers to non-formal and informal learning outside the formal education system but is nevertheless partly regulated, legally framed and systematically linked.

The rationales of CET can break up the disciplinary view on HE and open new perspectives on the relation to the academic and the professional worlds. CET irritates HE – institutionally by drawing on the professional world besides formal academic structures as well as scientifically by challenging generated knowledge and theories with professional practices. Under the institutional umbrella of HE, some non-formal CET programmes and courses are provided without being part of the formal study programmes. The topic of this article deals with a conceptual layout for the role of CET offered within HE in Switzerland. For the analysis we draw on concept and policy papers that are framing education. Referring to the Swiss context – with a focus on the German speaking part – cannot be more than an example highlighting a general problem in the institutional and systematic relations of CET and HE.

We use the term 'outside the box' in the sense of deconstructing a system approach towards HE to show the conceptual inconsistency within HE. 'Outside the box' means that the CET offered by universities belongs to the environment of the formal HE system and thereby forms its own self-referential system. The HE system and the system of CET in HE are connected in that they are each other's environment, but they persist as autonomous systems – both conceptually and in policy documents. We aim at an analytical and conceptual view by exploring the status and position of CET in HE in Switzerland and looking at possible consequences. Switzerland has found a way of adopting structures for CET from HE – still in a very vague sense regarding the contribution of CET to HE.

In the following sections, we start with the contextualisation of CET and HE in the Swiss education system. The progression rationale from a bachelor's (BA) to

a master's (MA) to a PhD degree has somehow been a role model for CET. Within HE we will focus on the field of universities, where some non-formal programmes and courses are provided as CET outside the initial study programmes and degrees. In other words, within the broad field of further education we will concentrate on the CET programmes offered by universities (including applied universities). We will address the overlapping areas of CET and HE by looking at the research orientation of universities.

As the core part, we draw on three propositions:

(1) CET at universities is per se thinking outside the box in several aspects;
(2) Research orientation is a claim of CET at universities;
(3) The professional world and research orientation are a chance for de-structuring institutional and disciplinary boundaries.

These propositions have the function of a pre-hypothesis in order to outline questions that are relevant for the research but even more for policy and structuring educational systems. Educational systems have been formed as societal conventions that have institutionalised (see also Diogo, Carvalho & Amaral, 2015, p. 114f.).

Finally, we look at curricular, content-related and didactic consequences as well as opportunities and threats related to the integration of CET into the HE system.

Contextualisation of CET and HE in Switzerland

CET and HE carry different functions, histories and institutional setups, which influence their relation to disciplines (see Wittpoth, 1997; Kuper & Kaufmann, 2009). From a system view CET at universities may be challenged from both sides: on one hand by the paradigms of HE – such as research orientation and relatedness to disciplines[2] – and on the other hand by the fact that CET in particular relates to the labour market and the professional world.

For HE in Switzerland we can distinguish different types of institutions:

[2] The roles of researchers are in an ongoing change, classified by Teichler (2000, 19f) referring also to disciplinary strctures as (1) disciplinary-department based, (2) continuous discipline-based, (3) institutional higher education research, (4) applied higher education based, (5)

- Universities, universities of teacher education (Pädagogische Hochschule) and universities of applied sciences (Fachhochschule) on the tertiary A (general) level.
- Professional education and training (PET) colleges as well as preparation for federal and advanced PET diploma examinations on the tertiary B (vocational) level (see also OECD, 2003, p. 43; CRUS et al., 2011; Swissuni, 2014).

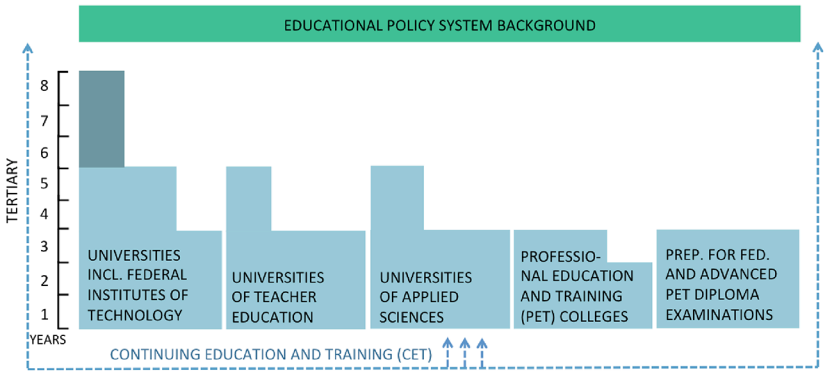

Figure 1. Tertiary level and CET within the Swiss education system (see Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft & EDK, 2016)

Only the tertiary A level (universities) is considered as HE (Hochschulen), while tertiary B (PET) is known as higher *vocational* education (höhere *Berufs*bildung). The strong role of tertiary B in Switzerland relates to the strong emphasis on vocational education on the previous levels of the Swiss education system. In the following consideration we will look only at the tertiary A level, when necessary distinguishing the three different types of universities in Switzerland.

In Figure 1 CET is located alongside the formal education system. Classified as non-formal and informal education, it has different relations and institutional

consultative and (6) reflective practitioner. Teichler also states that the increasing impact of demand-based research might be a risk for research in higher education.

positions than formal structures but has strong relations especially to the tertiary B level of the educational system. Traditionally in tertiary B work experience and informal learning could even be a precondition for some of the qualifications. This position is also formulated for statistical and monitoring data (BfS 2010) and in legislative considerations (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, 2002; 2014).

As stated above, we relate to the specific Swiss setting, where HE institutions are providers of CET programmes of advanced studies (Certificate/Diploma/Master of Advanced Studies [CAS/DAS/MAS] as well as courses [see also CRUS et al., 2011]).

- CAS requires a minimum of 10 ECTS-Credits;
- DAS requires a minimum of 30 ECTS-Credits;
- MAS (also MBA, EMBA, MPH, LLM)[3] requires a minimum of 60 ECTS-Credits.

CAS/DAS/MAS are not part of the initial study programmes (BA, MA, PhD) and therefore not of the HE system, neither are they compatible CET degrees in other countries or outside universities. CAS/DAS/MAS programmes were launched in Switzerland with the structural reforms, namely the Bologna Process, which has been introducing BA and MA degrees in the Swiss HE system. Using the structural dimension of BA–MA–PhD, the CET programmes also suggest a proceeding composition, although both degree systems are separated. An MAS degree (CET) is not a sufficient entry qualification for a PhD, and a BA degree (HE) does usually not count for a CAS (CET) and vice versa. Admission for CAS/DAS/MAS is based on a final degree from an HE institution plus work experience, thus there are exceptions in practice. Generally we can speak about two different systems with similar rationales for their formal/non-formal degree structures (Fischer, 2012).

The special position of these CET programmes, which are realised within universities but at the same time are not part of the HE system, allows a strong relation to research orientation (HE context) and professional orientation (CET context). So, CET within universities in some respects offers a chance to think outside the box, such as by actively relating scholarship and the professional world

[3] Master of Business Administration (MBA), Executive Master of Business Administration (EMBA), Master of Public Health (MPH), Legum Magister (LL.M.)

to HE as well as by deconstructing the institutional and disciplinary boundaries of universities. In this setting, the 'disciplinary struggles' of both CET and HE derive from different routes, which we can approach from a historising perspective. In terms of disciplinary reference points, in particular curricular, content-based and didactic consequences seem to be important for giving further education at universities a specific profile.

Research orientation in HE

In the Swiss context HE differentiates into four functions: teaching, research, further education and service – all of these in relation to the university itself (endo-perspective) and to the professional field and labour market (exo-perspective) (see also Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, 2011). Regarding teaching and learning in HE, research has a special significance. Research makes the difference between universities and other educational institutions because universities are institutions of knowledge transfer and of the criticism and the revised construction of knowledge (Eugster & Tremp, 2018). The correct use of scientific research methods might be a necessary but not sufficient condition for the reflective function of research (see BAK, 1979, p. 14f.). In this sense research is more than an additive to teaching; it is the fundament of teaching and learning in HE (see Stichweh, 1994).

In contrast, CET is relatively free in terms of design and function, especially non-formal and informal learning do not follow a specified standard other than classification by learning activities (see also Molzberger, 2007), documentation of processes or recognised competences and very often a strong relation to the professional field or practices. When CET is realised within HE institutions, both the research function and the relation to the professional field are potentially distinctive to other forms of CET.

We focus on the question of how CET within the context of HE can be constituted. We are using the characteristics of HE institutions to define 'the box' (system immanent, endo-perspective) and the following three propositions show what this institutional setting might mean for CET when realised within this particular institutional context.

The propositions are informed by a triple-founded theoretical background. Firstly, there are findings of system theory that accentuate the importance of differentiating systems and their environments by identifying different functions (see e.g. Luhmann, 1995). Secondly, we refer to the history of universities as cultural institutions (see e.g. Stichweh, 1994; Baecker, 2010). In this perspective the relation between research and teaching respectively between research and research-founded vocational fields remains a challenge for theoretical reflection. Thirdly, the coexistence of HE BA, MA and PhD-programmes on one hand and CET within HE on the other leads to the question of whether we need specific didactics for CET that differ from the general didactics (see e.g. Weil, 2018):

(1) *CET at universities is per se thinking outside the box in several aspects*.
This first proposition relates to the positioning of CET in the education system in Switzerland. So, further education carries aspects that are outside the institutional approach of universities, but they also open up the institutional setting because of their relation to different functions and processes outside universities.

(2) *Research orientation is a claim of CET at universities*.
The second proposition addresses a normative level: it is to be discussed how research-oriented CET offered by universities should be realised. Research orientation allows claims by CET, such as regarding self-reflection of one's own action or the integration of science into offers of further education.

(3) *The professional world and research orientation are a chance for de-structuring institutional and disciplinary boundaries*.
The third proposition aims at designing CET by addressing the heterogeneity of participant groups, of expectations about relevance for practice, etc. The relations and transitions of science, the generation of knowledge and professional fields seem to challenge institutional and disciplinary borders.

In the following sections we will discuss these propositions conceptually in more detail.

Discussion of the propositions

HE functions are an integrated part of society and, at the same time, deliver an external view on the processes within society (research perspective). Therefore, it remains a permanent challenge for HE to play an active role in shaping society by insisting on an independent position of reflection and judgement about the reality. CET in universities reflects this field of tension and has to bring together conflicting claims in order to demonstrate that universities produce and spread knowledge that is authoritative and fruitful for society at the same time.

(1) CET at universities is per se thinking outside the box in several aspects.

As stated above, HE belongs to the tertiary A level of the Swiss education system. Universities follow certain conditions that might also be relevant for thinking about positioning CET.

Firstly, HE follows the logic of the scientific disciplines within specific fields of knowledge and methodological repertoires. The affiliation to a discipline and its scientific community is defined by a successful socialisation into the discipline, which is regulated by degrees and certifications.

Secondly, HE is placed 'higher' than the other levels of education. For the Swiss context, but also internationally (see UIS, 2012), this leads to a hierarchy of qualification levels of professional fields as professions relating to secondary education (such as nursing, administration, carpentry) with additional options on the tertiary B level and professions relating to HE degrees (such as architecture, medicine, law).

Thirdly, in Switzerland BA and MA degrees are exclusively provided by HE institutions. A PhD degree is solely reserved for universities and cannot be given by universities of applied sciences or universities of teacher education (see Figure 1). The tradition of 'habilitation'[4] as one of the tracks for becoming a professor is also absolutely linked to universities. We refer to this HE structure as 'the box',

[4] Historically the habilitation in the modern meaning was established in the context of the modern German university development during the 19th century. It marks the special role of teaching by awarding a postdoctoral teaching qualification and by this the habilitation stresses the unity of research and teaching as the outstanding characteristic of the modern university

which is rather a closed system and a precondition for academic careers exclusively within HE.

For CET at universities, it is not surprising that it follows the logic of academic levels. The rather strong hierarchy of degrees and institutions in Switzerland might be a reason for the 'invention' of the CAS–DAS–MAS-structure. CAS–DAS–MAS closely relate to the logic of BA–MA–PhD, while at the same time they mark a difference by using 'advanced studies'. 'Advanced', with its polyvalent meanings, also refers to 'more than higher education', and this positions in the professional field and the relation to practice as resources for CET.

In this sense, these CET degrees are outside the academic degree box. They are a bridge between the academic disciplinary order of knowledge and the practice of professional life. Two positions within the education system demonstrate why further education cannot be located definitely. Since the 1970s in the Swiss context, CET has been discussed as the 'fourth pillar' of the education system (quarternary education), relating to primary, secondary and tertiary education. The main reference document for this attempt to position further education is the Structural Plan for the German Education System, where further education is defined as a continuation or re-starting of organised learning after finishing a differently realised first phase of education (Deutscher Bildungsrat, 1972, p. 197). CET is positioned here as a continuation of initial degrees and as a part of the education system for the first time.

Alternatively, also during the 1970s, CET was strongly related to the concepts of lifelong learning (see Kraus, 2001). By this, CET was positioned as accompanying the education system on all levels and degrees. This second approach is currently leading the rationales, e.g. by the Federal Department of Statistics, and puts CET in the position of offering non-formal or informal education only (see BFS, 2010; Weil, 2011, p. 46). Alongside, CET is assigned to the general idea of lifelong learning and does not often result in generally recognised degrees and certificates (Egger, 2012; Kraus, 2001).

With this analysis, CET at universities is per se thinking outside the box because even when using a structural hierarchisation of degrees, it does not follow the functions of HE, nor is it necessarily linked to its structures. Of course, themes and staff can be similar in CET and HE, but regarding the participants, CET relates more to the experience in the professional field, and it cannot fulfil

the same function for research and knowledge as HE does. This brings the chance of reflecting on the HE structures and generated theories by structurally bringing in the aspects of the professional field.

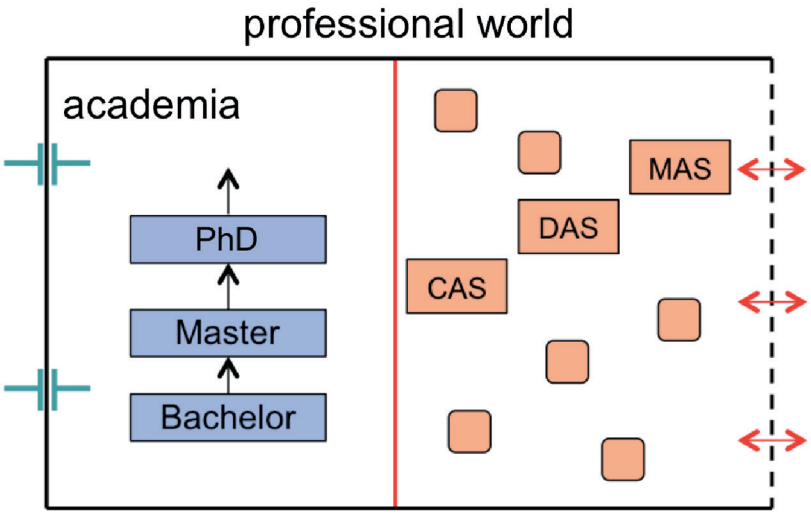

Figure 2. Positioning of further education within HE (Eugster & Weil, 2015)

(2) Research orientation is a claim of CET at universities.

Universities are research institutions; they are defined by research and teaching, plus, as mentioned above, further education and service. Without research no scientific knowledge could be taught and learned, neither in initial nor in further education settings or services. Without research, scientific knowledge would stagnate.

One main objective of HE teaching is to enable the students to do research by themselves and to contribute to the development of knowledge. Research is a broad concept and can also be located at different institutions outside a university, but it can only claim to validate the knowledge generated by referring to the scientific community. In this sense, science requires specific organisational forms

to assure scientific knowledge and to define the specific research methods that can be classified as such (see also Tremp, 2005).

In contrast, for CET at universities it is not the primary objective to produce research findings. CET might be targeted on a research-based discussion of themes that gain relevance for science-based occupational fields. In this sense, CET offered within an HE setting offers a viewpoint from outside the box of university research (see Figure 2). It can enable a discourse that takes place at the edge of organisational and disciplinary borders by bringing scientists (from inside the box) together with qualified professionals (form outside the box) in order to reflect the relevance of research results for applied fields of science. Furthermore, CET at universities can help to deepen the knowledge of scientists in specific fields outside their main domain. This can have effects on the proceedings within the system by irritations that are triggered by the discussions just outside the system.

CET at universities does not have the function to produce new knowledge, but, by being offered closely to HE, it takes research results, methods and processes into account. For the created learning environments in CET this means a critical reflection about applicability, validity and relevance of research results. It can offer a look at research from the border of the box – still close enough to understand its principles and already close enough to the professional world to bring in questions of practical relevance and application.

This position of CET brings in a reflective potential for HE by applying or questioning knowledge. Alternatively, the role of CET could easily be used for service only, without drawing on the reflective function for HE. A market logic of customer orientation and profit could overlap academic principles even stronger than in initial HE because, by being outside the box, CET is not necessarily committed to the scientific community or the academic standards. An additional critical point could be the imitation of formal aspects by CET programmes, which might diminish the opportunities of existing outside the box.

(3) The professional world and research orientation are a chance for de-structuring institutional and disciplinary boundaries

Offering CET brings a benefit to HE institutions because this adds a perspective of recurrent education to initial study programmes, which provides educational perspectives beyond the academic degrees (see also Schiefner, 2011). However, the logic of CET is atypical for HE. Rather than merging both fields or treating them separately, research and teaching need links between the rationale of HE and CET. Especially the transdisciplinary generation of knowledge within a non-hierarchical organisation, as stated by Gibbons (1994), shows a need for translation support, which is close to 'the box' but not part of it. CET in HE could fulfil that function. CET can use new and creative forms outside the initial HE degree structures. It is less influenced by the institutional settings of universities than initial study programmes, or at least it could use that position. Additionally, the relation to the labour market can be used steadily as further education has strong links to the professional field. The range of possible learning environments widens and does not necessarily have to follow strong institutional rules (see Figure 3).

Therefore, a de-structured CET offers new perspectives outside the box for HE. It enables new questions, which might not be possible within the institutional setting of initial study programmes. In addition, there is less pressure for innovative research results in CET, both for the programme and for the participants. The professional world becomes an explicit reference point for the reflection of science and academia rather than a translation from theory to practice (see Figure 3).

Participants from the professional world can use their position 'outside the box' to look at science and academia and ask questions that are not primarily research focused. They can be integrated into research in certain structural and pedagogical conditions. Therefore, research orientation means more than the rhetoric of 'research-based teaching and learning'. It also seems crucial that the reflection of the knowledge-construction, which is situated in the setting of HE by the means of practice, is the character of CET in HE. The participants of CET in HE enable a self-reflection about the knowledge-construction of the scientists, which is possible only within the specific discourse of CET in HE. The authority of this reflection belongs to the participants who irritate and challenge the logic of the science system. This irritation is caused by a displacement of

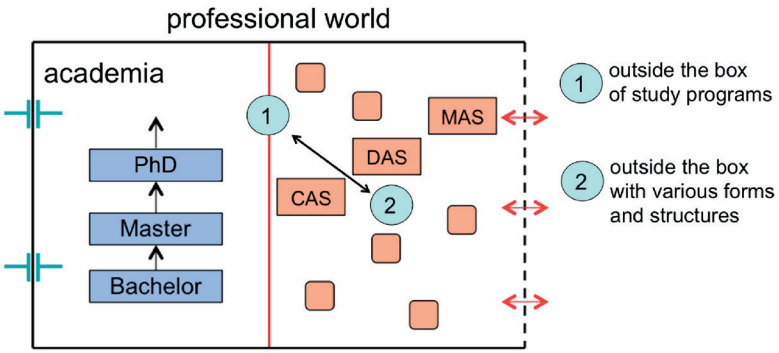

Figure 3. De-structuring potential of further education within higher education (Eugster & Weil, 2015)

the perspective on the discourse. The main point here is not to strengthen the usability of knowledge but to use the change of perspectives for an irritation of the discourse. Scientific findings can be discussed critically within CET settings, which consist of participants socialised in the scientific field. What is interesting from the perspective of science is the reformulation of knowledge. This is the great challenge for science: it succeeds in generating knowledge but makes hardly any attempt to put it into a different perspective other than the disciplinary logic, and therefore there might be a rather low transferability to different contexts.

The chance of CET within HE is to enable this transferability, but it also is a fragile balance as CET should not shift into the role of becoming increasingly more like initial HE programmes.

Consequences 'outside the box'

As a conclusion, we gather the findings from the three propositions regarding consequences for continuing higher education (CHE) and possible impacts that might relate back to the initial system of HE. We consider a circular understanding, in which CET is a resource for shaping the setting of research-based teaching in a disciplinary-ordered institution. Therefore the term CHE

signals the informal structure within the HE system. By focusing on genuine pedagogical consequences and less on economical or societal consequences, curricular, academic content-related and didactic areas arise as three main aspects for reflection (see Lindenstein Walshok, 2012).

Curricular consequences

CHE is not only about the reception of research results classified in disciplinary structures: as stated above, CHE has the potential to irritate research and bring in an 'outside the box' perspective beyond disciplinary and institutional structures. In this respect generating questions, testing applicability, overcoming disciplinary borders or enquiring into research can be an important function of CHE. It offers possibilities to practice reflections on research results. CHE operates with a potentially privileged connection to the professional world. At the same time this could lead to a functionalist approach towards HE, with risks of functionalising or threatening HE functions of academic freedom, objectivity or the validity of teaching and research.

If CHE can clearly take the role of changing perspective 'outside the box', we can also draw new questions for the initial study programmes because beside the genuine research there is often an important relation to the professional field. Regarding curriculum this could mean a clearer focus on the function of particular curricular elements, such as on practical studies, internships or site visits. They can gather learning and reflect on opportunities for the academic settings as learning sites. The curriculum as the set of relations between the different elements of learning units is more than the sum of these learning units. There is a need for reciprocal effects between practical studies and the teaching of the scientific basics in. Both the temporary exposure to academia and to the professional world can relate to each other in a constructive way due to clear positioning in the curricula of study programmes.

Content-related consequences

Research orientation as a characteristic of HE also transfers to CHE settings in terms of content-related issues. Although research results might be the content

of CHE, the function of generating knowledge is not on issue for these settings as they are only partly based within academia and the scientific community. Nevertheless, CHE can reflect on research content and the processes, or on how content has been generated, validated and distributed. The reflection on research processes and products related to the perspectives of the professional field can create possibilities to mirror academic research. CHE offers the research function of HE a way to gain a look at the blind spots of scientific self-reflection. For HE, CET in general and CHE in specific gives the possibility to reflect on generated content within or in relation to the complexity of meanings for the professional field.

From an iterative or recurrent perspective, further education settings could already be anticipated in the content (and its generation) in HE research and teaching. Additionally, feedback functions could lead to making use of the critical reflections for research as well as for teaching and learning settings. By the practice of CHE, a special and unique sort of discourse arises that irritates the internal logic of the box in a constructive manner. Even if generating knowledge (content) in HE is bound to disciplinary traditions and discourses, CHE can overcome these boundaries by also referring to the logic of the professional field.

Didactic consequences

These assumptions also lead to a didactic dimension by means of creating teaching and learning settings that have a relation to the professional world and enable reflecting on and challenging research. CHE can draw on both the professional world and the world of academia as reference points regarding teaching conceptions and practices. A didactic of CHE uses the 'outside the box' position as a possibility for critical reflection on research processes and knowledge and uses this as a possibility for testing the applicability of knowledge. As a didactical consequence, CHE settings need to provide the necessary background knowledge and create opportunities for contrasting and reflecting on knowledge and its applications. In order to reach such didactical goals, CHE has to pick the fluidity of scientific knowledge out as a central theme. Students in CHE programmes will be exposed to the inconsistencies of knowledge transfer and knowledge production. Only by

debating such questions can the involved lecturers bring the professional field into an intercommunication with science that is prolific for both sides.

The didactic of HE benefits from the developments in CHE as it opens a much more diverse range for teaching and learning settings. It can link to liberal, vocational and/or political further education and make use of concepts from informal and non-formal learning, e.g. the methods used for learning while working. This might give learning how to become an academic a new perspective by practicing research and using this as learning opportunities more systematically.

Concluding reflections

Overall, there is a potential in thinking outside the box for HE if CHE is not only used as a cash cow on the educational market. A clear positioning and quality claim for CHE could carefully draw together curricular, content-related and didactic aspects in order to critically reflect upon the content, methods and structure of HE. Nevertheless, opening the box could also bring with it the risk that the professional world also carries along unintended effects such as market orientation or utilitarianism. This might already be a reality of universities not only by the means of CHE. Academia could critically reflect on that relation and take this as a further research perspective. While the clear positioning of CET functions and the use of reference points different than those of HE, we could also question whether CHE is well positioned so close to HE or if it generally should be positioned independently outside the institutional umbrella of HE. In this regard, the three propositions allocate and substantiate the functions of CHE as preconditions for a critical and independent role for HE.

All in all, CHE might be a challenge for disciplinary boundaries by the defined relations to the professional world. Naming and defining 'the box' of HE (endo-perspective) can provide perspectives 'outside the box' (exo-perspective), but this dichotomy could also be challenged. Nevertheless, the disciplinary and historical boundaries of CET and HE can come to constructive relations when the primary approach is not merging all functions and blending the purposes and advantages of research and the professional world but rather using their advantages for shaping clearer perspectives and relations.

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Multiculturalism in education and political philosophy

Tarna Kannisto

Abstract

This paper considers conceptual mismatches between the theories of multicultural education and multicultural political philosophy. Will Kymlicka (2003) has argued that the levels of educational and political implementation might not be unequivocally compatible. From educational perspective, however, it is essential that the state's chosen multicultural policy model reflects the educational reality of schools. At the same time, it is crucial to consider what kind of multicultural ideals the school upholds and promotes. I suggest that philosopher Anne Phillips' (2007) notion of "multiculturalism without culture" could provide a conceptual way to overcome the discontinuities between education and politics.

Keywords: multiculturalism, diversity, state, school, education

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Introduction

All liberal, democratic societies are committed to implementing multicultural policies through their commitment to international human rights covenants and to multicultural ideals. These societies have a commitment to provide asylum for refugees, to offer fair conditions of integration for various cultural groups, to respect minority religions, to compensate for present disadvantages of various social groups, to remedy historical injustices committed towards various cultural groups and to prevent cultural bias, prejudice and racism. Even if the school had previously been one of the main instruments of assimilation in all the societies we now call democratic and liberal, nowadays education is often considered to be one of the most important tools to combat prejudice, racism and social inequality as well as a central tool to advance social integration and ascent. Furthermore, the formal, mandatory basic (school) education is often seen as one of the main arenas for children and young people to socialise with students from different cultural backgrounds and thus to learn social skills to manage their lives and thrive in socially and culturally diverse societies. At the same time, the school is also one of the central arenas of multicultural disputes. On a national policy level, decisions must be made on which subjects, topics and languages should be taught at schools, if religious subjects and symbols should be allowed within state-conducted basic education and how strong an influence parents should have on their children's education. At the practical level, schools must make decisions on how they respond to problems such as racism, gender-based prejudices and various social inequalities in every day school life. However, political philosophy has paid surprisingly little attention to children and their education, despite that fact that the issues of children's education have a wider societal and political background and that children's formal education is an integral institution in any society, a part of society's basic structure. Furthermore, as a branch of political philosophy, the theory of liberal multiculturalism has focused mainly on contemplating the just relations between the state and its (adult) citizens.

By contrast, educational theories have long been involved in questions concerning diversity and equality at schools. Pedagogies aimed at managing diversity and levelling down societal inequalities tied to individuals' cultural, social, economic, physical, personal, etc. differences have often been developed

under the name of 'multicultural education'. However, educational theories on social diversity and multiculturalism have developed without much connection to theories of multiculturalism in political philosophy. Rob Reich has noted that while multicultural educational theory and multicultural liberal philosophy discuss the same issues, these two branches of theory have developed curiously unaware of each other (Reich, 2002, p. 175). This lack of connection is potentially problematic for both theories. In consequence of this misconnection, and because these theories focus mainly on adults, political theories often lack a comprehensive picture of the educational reality of children and young people. Adult-focused political theories are not straightforwardly applicable to children and their education because children differ from adults in the sense that children are considered not yet fully rational and informed beings. Children are dependent on adults in many ways and are thus also vulnerable to adult decision making (Brighouse, 2002). Still, because the future success of any political community depends on the education of future generations, political theories should be able to give at least some guidance on why and how political ideals should be implemented in children's education (Levinson, 1999).

At the same time, educational practices should follow the *most justified* moral and political ideals. If there is no communication between political and educational theories, it might be impossible to trace political implications and consequences of educational practices. For instance, a fully individualistic educational approach to multiculturalism – an approach that focuses solely on improving individuals' skills and dispositions, such as language skills or interpersonal skills – conforms to neoliberal views on education. Neoliberal ideologies of education are uninterested in topics of social justice and emphasise the abilities of an individual to compete with others in education and the job market. Intercultural skill can be seen as individuals' assets in competition for jobs and positions, especially in times of the free movement of capital and the workforce. Neoliberal educators welcome enhancing individuals' capacities – as long as the underlying moral and political assumptions of the market-driven educational approach are left intact. Even the more social justice-oriented educational approaches can lead us astray, if their background assumptions are not questioned. For instance, a purely identity-based focus on cultural and social recognition might conceal those material inequalities which often go hand-in-hand with social and cultural marginalisation (Kymlicka,

2004, pp. xiv–xv, see also Benhabib, 2002, p. 68). Similarly, educational approaches based on unproblematised group identities can exaggerate or even create differences between sociocultural and religious groups from a young age. Pedagogical practices based on a naïve understanding of 'culture' can at worst lead to ethno-cultural stereotyping, treating individuals mainly as representatives of 'their' cultural or social group (Reich, 2002, pp. 132, 177–178, 181).

To avoid the unintentional promotion of unjustified political ideas, it is crucial that educational and political theories inform each other. Interaction between two branches of theory does not require unifying terms and perspectives, but the theories should be able to communicate. The most basic condition for theoretical interaction is that the different approaches understand each other's main terms and concepts. In this paper, I first proceed to question the notion of 'culture' in both educational and political theories. One central observation is that social diversity at schools seems to entail the recognition of a wider repertoire of groups than what is traditionally recognised by philosophers of liberal multiculturalism. Thus, political philosophy should take the educational context into account more so if its aim is to provide a sounder theory and more relevant suggestions for educational practice. Second, I study the terminological mismatches between educational theory and political philosophy in general. I conclude that some of the terminological disparities are due to differences in perspectives. However, I also claim that practical implementations of multicultural ideals would benefit from wider interaction between these two theory branches. Last, I suggest that both educational theory and political theory would benefit from a more agent-centred perspective on culture and consider Anne Phillips's conception of multiculturalism without 'culture' as one option for conceptually bridging educational and political theories of multiculturalism.

The many faces of multiculturalism and the value of 'culture'

To start with, it is important to separate between the descriptive and normative usage of the term 'multicultural'. As a description, 'multicultural' simply characterises any modern society which is diverse by nature. However, there are various *normative* responses to social and cultural diversity. States that implement

multicultural policies accept a couple of fundamental ideals: that a state is never composed of one nation only and that there is no need for assimilation or a requirement to hide one's ethno-cultural background (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 150). At the minimum, a normative, value-based response to social pluralism entails that no active measures are considered necessary to reduce social diversity and pluralism: the state does not necessarily need to encourage integration but does not need to compensate for any disadvantages caused by minority status, either. A way of executing this kind of minimal response to social diversity would include granting social and cultural groups 'the right to be left alone'. This means that, on the basis of respecting (adult) individuals' freedoms of conscience and association, those social or cultural groups that so wish to would be given the right to live without interference from other sociocultural groups or from the state (Kukathas, 1992, p. 122). However, individuals or groups would not be encouraged or supported to uphold their own culture or customs, either financially or otherwise. Concerning education, Chandran Kukathas suggests that many such groups, such as the Roma in Europe, should be allowed to educate their own children according to their own customs, without being obliged to send their children to schools or any other kind of state-conducted education (Kukathas, 1992, pp. 117, 126–127).

In contrast, according to 'maximal' normative responses to cultural diversity, active measures to maintain or encourage diversity are considered necessary. The range of the active measures employed vary: they can include granting state funding for religious or linguistic groups or even imposing restrictions on group members. For instance, a linguistic group could be compelled to educate their children in a minority language; such is partially the case of the French-speaking minority in Quebec, Canada. This maximal response is sometimes called 'strong multiculturalism', and it is often based on the normative idea of cultures as internally valuable *and* mutually exclusive. Curiously, many nationalistic political currents seem to be based on a similar 'multiculturalist' rationale on the ontology and value of culture – which, according to the nationalist perspective, could then be cherished and contained within the borders of a nation-state.

'Multicultural policy' refers to the common rules various cultural and social groups are to live by within a society. In practice, there are various multicultural policy models, many of which have been created according to purely pragmatic and not by any normative reasons. For instance, a model such as the 'German

model' was 'created' when foreign citizens were inducted into the country as a temporary workforce for purely economic reasons, whereas the 'British model' has its roots in the days of the British Commonwealth. In Germany, the predominantly Turkish foreign workforce was considered to be temporary, the state neither considered their social integration to be important nor offered many opportunities for integration. During the last few decades, this policy model has led to the creation of somewhat isolated migrant subcultures. In Britain, when conflicts occurred between various migrant groups during the 1980s, the chosen state-level solution was to establish and finance these groups' 'own' cultural events and centres. This policy response, which from the governmental perspective was administratively easy and inexpensive, has contributed further to the formation of separate cultural groups within the society (see Malik, 2006).

As liberal societies are based on the moral and legal respect of basic freedoms of expression, conscience and religion and upholding the freedom of speech, they maintain normative diversity at least in the minimal sense. At the same time, it is evident that not every model of multiculturalism encourages liberal values. Multiculturalism in the strongest sense can turn against some fundamental liberal principles if the preservation of cultural *groups* means compromising fundamental individual freedoms and rights. For instance, religious associations might be granted exemption from following state laws, such as in respecting the right to marry. In the same manner, multiculturalism in the weakest sense can leave the most vulnerable groups, such as non-native majority language speakers, refugees and children, without adequate support for integrating and succeeding in society. Therefore, liberal societies should situate themselves somewhere between the two extremes. Liberal democratic societies usually wish to preserve at least some common rules which apply to all individuals in society, even if some communities have been granted partial self-determination rights. The most important principles of liberal societies are individual freedom, equality and justice, which are expressed in the declarations and covenants of human rights embedded in national legislation. One of the more important principles of liberal multiculturalism therefore is respecting everyone's central human rights.

In liberal political philosophy, cultures are considered important because of their significance to *individuals*. Theories of liberal multiculturalism understand the value of culture as both instrumental and individualistic: a culture's value is

defined by its importance to its members. When a culture loses its significance to its members, it also loses its value (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 75; Margalit & Raz, 1995, p. 87). According to liberal multicultural theory, one's culture plays an instrumental part in the person's wellbeing and quality of life. Reflective freedom to live in accordance with our beliefs and values is considered to be a precondition for leading a good life in liberal theory (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 81). An individual's self-respect and feelings of dignity can be strongly tied to their cultural background and relations. Thus, if a person's culture is not generally respected in society, their feelings of self-respect and dignity can be threatened. Public vilification of a cultural group can cause its members to lose their self-confidence and to internalise the negative collective image. In contrast, a flourishing culture can offer its members meaningful relationships, goals and opportunities to identify with and even provide a sense of belonging which is not conditional on achievements or merit (Margalit & Raz, 1995, pp. 84–85, 87; Benhabib, 2002, p. 51).

Education is relevant to any multicultural political model because the development of an individual's reflective freedom to live by their own chosen values requires access to relevant information about cultural choices as well as actual opportunities to make those choices (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 86). However, a comparison between multicultural political theories and multicultural educational theories reveals that despite being of the same topic, these two branches of theory understand their central terms in a very different manner.

Conceptual mismatches I: 'Cultural' groups in education and political theory

Normatively, multicultural and intercultural educational approaches are based on the ideal of educational equality: '…the idea that all students – regardless of their gender and social class and their ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics – should have an equal opportunity to learn in school' (Banks, 2005, p. 3). Multicultural educational theory has been developed in response to the observed personal, socio-economic and cultural differences between pupils and to level out educational inequalities which correlate strongly with these differences. Multicultural educational approaches are concerned with ethnocentrism in education because certain ethno-cultural and social perspectives in education threaten to dominate, bypass or undermine minority perspectives. Culturally biased education can

severely hinder minority individuals' educational success by treating individuals according to stereotypical images – even when education is generally considered to be a central tool for overcoming social inequalities and providing opportunities for socio-economic prosperity. In addition to fighting straightforward racism, sexism and homophobia at school, pedagogical measures include diversifying the curriculum by including histories of minority groups and offering pupils options for learning and interacting with other children and youth with diverse (cultural) backgrounds (Banks, 2005, Introduction; Reich, 2002, pp. 131, 175–176).

Similarly, philosophers of liberal multiculturalism acknowledge that an individual's access to culture is not automatically guaranteed in any liberal society. Cultural dominance can be devastating especially for people with indigenous cultures who have not chosen to live as a minority and who possessed a rich culture of their own before the colonisation of their land. Thus, securing access to culture requires more than upholding individual freedom and liberty. In addition to freedom, active measures of cultural or communal recognition and accommodation are needed. These special protections can include opportunities to study in minority and majority languages, financial support of cultural events and granting certain groups partial self-determination or even the right to full self-governance. According to liberal multicultural theories, these active measures of cultural accommodation are required to guarantee an individual's access to his or her own culture. Furthermore, enough education on cultural issues and values is needed to provide information on cultural choices and to enhance students' reflective capabilities as well as to develop their virtues of tolerance and acceptance (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 86; 2010).

However, multicultural education and multicultural political theory perceive the most relevant 'cultural' groups very differently. Multicultural educational theories consider issues as varied as ethno-cultural groups, such as African-American, Latino, First Nations or indigenous groups, student poverty, gender, class, 'race' and sexual minorities as well as ethnicity, creed, disability and talent (see also e.g. Banks & Banks-McGee, 2005; Reich, 2002, p. 176; Banks 'Series Foreword' in Mayo, 2014). One of the basic tenets of multicultural education has been that everyone has a culture according their group and that cultural differences must be recognised in order to avoid cultural bias in education. This means that teachers must first be aware of their own cultural and social background and how

this background and one's often unarticulated attitudes and biases might influence one's way of teaching and treating pupils and choice of educational materials and topics (Banks, 2005, p. 4; 2014, p. viii).

In contrast to educational theory, liberal multiculturalism focuses almost exclusively on groups of ethnic and indigenous origin, language and religion. Pioneering philosopher of liberal multiculturalism Will Kymlicka recognises in his theory only cultures with an institutional basis. In Kymlicka's model, 'culture' is nearly identical to a nation or state. For instance, he describes the USA as one societal culture, which is dominated by the English-speaking culture (Kymlicka, 1995, pp. 77–78). These 'societal cultures' in Kymlicka's theory include national minorities and indigenous groups as well as immigrant groups (as originating from other societal cultures). In Kymlicka's model, these groups are granted different rights. In his model, indigenous groups are entitled to the most extensive self-determination rights, whereas national minorities, such as minority language groups, would only be granted less extensive rights to partial self-determination or rights to political representation. Immigrant groups would mainly be granted rights to fairer terms of integration (Kymlicka, 2010). Other groups, such as ones based on gender variation, class, sexuality or 'race', Kymlicka defines not as cultural groups but as *social movements* (Kymlicka, 1995, pp. 18, 76–77). Therefore, when applied to education, Kymlicka's theory clearly provides a different idea from what we typically consider to be multicultural education. Learning about the history of different nations or peoples or studying foreign languages would not usually be thought of as multicultural or intercultural education. Rather, learning about world history or learning a new language is usually considered to be an essential part of any liberal or general (basic) education.

Therefore, the first problem in comparing the perspectives of multicultural education on one hand and liberal multiculturalism in the other is that they are clearly talking about different sociocultural groups. It might be that in multicultural educational approaches, the term 'culture' is used too loosely. On what conceptual basis can we consider gender and sexual minorities, people with disabilities or the gifted as 'cultures'? If these groups are considered to be 'cultures' which require recognition and accommodation, what rights should gender minorities or the specially gifted be entitled to as cultural groups, for instance? Would all these various groups be accommodated on a similar moral or

political basis? (compare Song, 2009). Then again, as argued above, multicultural education based on a rigid conception of 'culture' clearly does not suffice as an educational practice when we talk about 'multicultural education'. Multicultural or intercultural education usually aims at developing virtues of tolerance and acceptance of wider social variety than mere 'cultural' diversity.

Conceptual mismatches II: Multiculturalism and interculturalism

One central debate in regard to multiculturalism concerns the terms employed in the discussion. The notion of 'multicultural' has been widely debated in both political philosophy and educational theory as the term itself seems to preserve the idea of cultural groups as separate wholes, which are internally homogenic and somewhat deterministic. The term 'multicultural' seems to imply that there are separate 'cultures' which can exist in a society, side by side in a 'multiple' form, without extensive mutual interaction and following their own legislative rules. Such models of 'mosaic' multiculturalism can be highly problematic especially from the viewpoint of gender equality. For instance, in the case of separate jurisdictions, it is easy to privilege some groups over others, especially the rights of the more powerful (usually older men) over the rights of the less powerful (women, young people and children) (Okin, 1999; Benhabib, 2002; Phillips, 2007, p. 19). Similarly, educational theorists have noted the potentially problematic connotations of the term. What, for instance, would it mean in practice to educate children by 'their own' culture within the same school or society? On the contrary, one of the main aims of school, and citizenship education specifically, is to learn to cope and navigate within socially diverse societies. Furthermore, it is impossible to designate children to one cultural group only. Due to these theoretical and practical problems, multicultural educational approaches tend to emphasise the flexibility and individual nature of one's culture (Erickson, 2005, pp. 32–33, 40–41, 44–45). To underscore the flexibility of cultures and cultural belonging, educational theorists usually prefer terms such as 'cross-' or 'intercultural' education instead of 'multicultural' education. However, there is cultural variation in the use of these terms. The term 'multicultural education' is more often used in Anglo-American contexts, whereas 'intercultural education' is more widely used in European contexts (Rodríquez-Izquierdo, 2018, pp. 612–

613). Solely changing the main terms does not avoid the conceptual difficulties if the terms' background assumptions are left unanalysed. Furthermore, conceptual mismatches can hinder interdisciplinary cooperation.

Despite the conceptual problems inherent in the term 'multicultural', political theorists still mainly use the term instead of 'intercultural'. The latter term is only sporadically used within the field of *political philosophy* (see the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, https://plato.stanford.edu/search/searcher.py?query=intercultural). For political philosophers, multiculturalism is first a normative policy model and not a theory about desirable personal attitudes and skills. Liberal multiculturalism takes a stance only on what would be the best normative and political principles of multicultural society. It does not insist on the citizens acquiring a disposition of cultural sensibility or any other intercultural skill (Kymlicka, 2010). In contrast, multicultural or intercultural education aims to influence the pupils' attitudes towards diversity by teaching to accept, navigate with and appreciate the different cultural groups, habits, life-styles, life-choices and personal outlooks, both locally and globally (see Reich, 2002, p. 130; Kymlicka, 2003). Despite the variation in the main concepts, the liberal versions of both multicultural political theory and multicultural educational theory usually share the central tenets of egalitarian liberalism. Both branches of theory believe that the society should aim to level inequalities tied to an individual's personal, social and cultural characteristics. As the school is the main institution responsible for educating the future citizens of society and (at its best) one of the main institutions for bringing about social integration, multicultural political theorists should be interested in education. For the same reasons, multicultural educational theorists should be interested in the political background assumptions and implications of the practices of multicultural education. However, mutual interaction might be difficult if the theories continue to use different terms and notions when addressing the same topics.

One way to solve the mismatch between the use of the terms 'multicultural' and 'intercultural' would simply be to allow them to address different levels of multicultural analysis. Will Kymlicka has suggested that the term 'multicultural' could be reserved for the national and political level only. According to him, the term 'intercultural' should rather be used to address topics at individual or psychological (or educational) levels. Thus, the term multicultural would only

point to the questions of how to ensure the just treatment of all cultural groups within a pluralistic state. In contrast, the notion of 'intercultural virtues' would rather describe the qualities and virtues required of a person who is living in a multicultural society. At the minimum, these virtues would include accepting liberal multiculturalism as well as accepting that certain skills are needed in order to live well within a culturally and socially diverse society. The educational process of an intercultural citizen would thus include enhancing the development of positive attitudes towards liberal multiculturalism as well as some essential skills to cope and thrive within diverse societies (Kymlicka, 2003, pp. 147, 154).

Understood as distinct levels of analysis, multiculturalism and interculturalism would, thus, simply provide different perspectives on cultural diversity. However, allowing this would require admitting that these perspectives necessarily stand in a complex and sometimes conflicting relation to each other. When one starts analysis from the individual level, one might end up with quite different practical and political suggestions than when starting analysis from the level of the state and proceeding towards the individual (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 148). For instance, upholding multicultural justice at the state level might require endorsing intercultural cooperation at the local level, such as in cities or municipalities. However, interculturally educated citizens might choose to favour global interculturalism instead of multiculturalism within the borders of a nation-state. Again, in a multicultural state, some groups may prefer to isolate themselves partially from the rest of the society, while in contrast, the implementation of intercultural ideals would demand interaction between individuals and diverse groups and cultures. At its worst, an ideal model of an intercultural citizen can encourage a tokenistic or superficial understanding of culture or emphasise an exaggerated view of cultural differences rather than mutual understanding. Kymlicka remains sceptical that these two perspectives, those of the intercultural citizen and of the multicultural state, could ever be fully compatible (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 166).

If Kymlicka is right – that interculturalism and multiculturalism represent two perspectives of social and cultural diversity – it also seems plausible that intercultural and multicultural education are not interchangeable terms. This is because their background assumptions and implications are different or even mutually exclusive. Would it then ever be possible to create a conceptual bridge

between political ideals and educational practice? If not, will the *political* justification of multicultural or intercultural educational aims ever be possible? In what follows, I claim that Kymlicka's view on the impossibility of bridging the two perspectives, intercultural education and multicultural politics, is too sceptical and that overcoming the mismatch requires a more flexible and individualistic stance on 'culture'.

Multicultural education without 'culture'?

Are there any ways to overcome these theoretical disparities between multicultural educational and political theories? In the second section I concluded that Kymlicka's theory of liberal multiculturalism seems too robust for giving guidance on education as it does not recognise groups that are relevant to education. Therefore, it would be difficult to provide educational suggestions based on his theory. However, a combination of perspectives on education and political theory would be important for several central reasons. On one hand, without conceptual clarity, educational theories might provide misleading practical suggestions. For instance, if educational methods were based on untenable concepts of race, class and ethnicity, multi- or intercultural approaches in education could therefore contribute to ethno-cultural stereotyping or strengthening racial prejudices (Reich, 2002, pp. 132, 177–178, 181). On the other hand, it would be crucial for educational professionals to understand what kind of normative political models (which versions of multiculturalism or interculturalism) they support by their educational practices. Furthermore, political theories must be informed and aligned with educational questions before they can provide concrete guidance for educational practices (Reich, 2002, p. 88). When political theories lack a stance on education, they also lack a comprehensive perspective on society, which includes education as a basic institution. At the same time, political theories lack an understanding of their own educational presuppositions (Reich, 2002, p. 6; Levinson, 1999, p. 5).

In contrast with political philosophy, educational theories aim to recognise a wide range of social and cultural groups at school. However, these groups are enormously diverse, and thus it is likely not possible to accommodate all these

groups on a similar moral basis (see Song, 2009). However, deliberations on the moral justification for accommodation would be important, especially in situations of scarce resources. If it is not possible to accommodate every possible group, on what moral basis should we choose the ones to be accommodated? There are also ontological questions concerning the qualifications for group membership. Some groups accommodated in theories of multicultural education are defined by referring to certain physical features or mental abilities, whereas qualifications for membership of other groups rely on more 'objective' criteria, such as individuals' mother-tongue or country of origin. Furthermore, the notion of 'culture' is almost exclusively understood in connection with those who tend to 'stand out', i.e. minorities of various kinds, despite the tendency to produce culture generally being a profoundly human feature. In this sense the majority should be no less affected by 'culture' than minorities (Phillips, 2009, pp. 2, 5–6, 57).

However, the tendency of identifying 'culture' with minorities only, together with the deterministic viewpoint on culture, creates situations in which members of minority cultures are frequently characterised solely as representatives of 'their' culture. This tendency, while highly patronising, can also be truly harmful when it is used to undermine individual capability for agency and responsibility and can easily lead to two undesirable results. First, and at the gravest level, the idea of minority members being culturally determined has in some cases led to the acquittal of offenders of serious crimes such as physical abuse or even murder (Okin, 1999). Second, and more commonly, especially girls and young women are often in public discourses depicted as acting from weakness of will or 'false consciousness' when their choices seemingly do not meet the rationale of the majority (Phillips, 2009, p. 38). When minority membership is falsely considered to influence one's rational capacities, it prevents us from appreciating all those decisions which many individuals are compelled to make in between the pressures of minority and majority cultures (Phillips, 2009, pp. 26, 46–47). In practice, the idea that minority girls and young women only possess partial rational capacity has sometimes led to restrictions being issued on minority practices, such as certain dress codes in public spheres. However, these 'blanket restrictions' do not differentiate between those different motivations individuals might have in connection to minority practices. Rather, while it should be acknowledged that the individual's background culture as well as their physical appearance, sex,

gender, socio-economic status, etc. do *shape* perspectives and choices, it must also be granted that those personal features do not *determine* one's viewpoints, abilities or life prospects (Phillips, 2007, p. 127).

Instead of depicting cultures as deterministic wholes, it should be acknowledged that individuals, even members of the same cultural group, give different meanings to 'their' culture. For instance, while some members of a culture might consider their way of living as a *good* way amongst many others, some might consider a particular way of living as simply the *best one*. Most of us probably do not actively think about our culturally influenced habits or customs until we are somehow compelled to think about them – for instance when encountering habits which differ from our own. For some, religion is more important than culture, and in some people's lives, politics rather than culture plays a significant part (Phillips, 2007, p. 52). Phillips stresses that we should be able to understand cultural pressures without assuming that culture dictates. A better understanding of choices made by individuals would entail bearing in mind the different perspectives and values concerning culture: 'In many cases, the issue will be how to differentiate choice from coercion. This has to be approached differently once we drop the misguided understandings of culture' (Phillips, 2009, p. 38).

Phillips suggests that instead of pinpointing certain criteria for group membership, the notion of 'culture' should be understood as being analogous to the concepts of 'gender' or 'class'. This means that even we abandoned essentialist, objectivistic or deterministic definitions of culture, we would not need to abandon the notion altogether. Rather, Phillips calls for a more agent-centred and individualistic understanding of culture. An individualistic stance on culture would better appreciate the rationale behind one's choices and would not depict people as culturally determined. This individualistic perspective would appreciate the individual variety in one's 'culture' as well as conceptually allow social and cultural identities to overlap.

Educationally, what would it mean to embrace Phillips's notion of multiculturalism without 'culture'? First, it would question the usefulness of any 'blanket' restrictions on cultural habits within educational spheres or any other solutions to multicultural disputes which rely more on stereotypical images of minority groups than on adequate deliberations. Second, emphasising the idea of multiculturalism without culture would question those educational approaches

aimed at recognising groups rather than individuals. Rather than considering the needs of specific groups, educational approaches should be developed to better meet the needs of the individuals. Cultural features would still be considered to be important, not as group characteristics but rather as individual qualities. However, the dissolution of 'culture' might not solve the tension between intercultural educational approaches and multicultural policies. Because of its individualistic stance, multiculturalism without 'culture' would be more compatible with intercultural educational approaches. However, the potential tensions between individualistic intercultural education and group-based multicultural policies are not necessarily undesirable. Rather, providing they are morally and politically justified, intercultural and multicultural educational approaches might also help to challenge untenable multicultural policy models.

Conclusions

When one compares theories on multicultural education and multicultural political philosophy, it soon becomes evident that these two theoretical branches understand social diversity and 'multiculturalism' very differently. In this paper, I observed two main mismatches between theories of liberal multicultural philosophy and multicultural education. First, it seems that liberal multicultural political theory presents a more restricted definition of cultural groups than the theory of multicultural education. At the same time, political theory does not seem to recognise the actual diversity in schools. This diversity includes a significantly wider variety of social groups than what is theorised in political theories. Second, multicultural educational theory and multicultural political theory seem to employ different sets of terminology when addressing the same social and cultural phenomena. For instance, while liberal multiculturalists prefer to address diverse societies as 'multicultural', educational theorist prefer the term 'intercultural'. I claim that these disparities in the central conceptions and terms can lead to problematic misapprehensions if the political concept of multiculturalism is straightforwardly applied to public educational contexts or if the practices of multicultural education are not placed under critical political scrutiny. Both theories would benefit from more substantial mutual interaction.

If the aim of school education is to remedy or overcome societal inequalities, both educational and political theory would benefit from at least some kind of theoretical continuum between the theories. Otherwise, educational and political theories seem to operate in a quite different kind of multicultural society and arrive at dissimilar remedies for social injustices. To overcome these disparities, I suggest that both educational and political theories employ a more agent-centred conception of culture. I propose that Anne Phillips's theory of 'multiculturalism without culture' might assist in conceptually bridging political and educational theories. Phillips's theory emphasises the fact that different individuals accord a different kind of moral weight to 'their' culture. Individuals also employ varying strategies when navigating between the pressures of majority and minority culture. A more nuanced and agent-centred conception of culture appreciates these individual choices and aims to understand the rationale behind them. Embracing this more individualistic notion of culture in liberal multicultural theory would help to include more diversity in the theorising of multicultural society. Moreover, wider interaction between liberal multicultural philosophy and educational theory would help in selecting the most morally justified educational and policy responses to social and cultural diversity.

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Changing vocational special needs education
– From teacher to developer

Maija Hirvonen & Raija Pirttimaa

Abstract

Biographies can be used to examine changes in teaching and analyse how teachers experience education policies. This study focused on 11 vocational special needs education teachers (vocational SNE teachers) who wrote work-related memoirs. Six of them were also interviewed. Qualitative content analysis was used to determine how experienced SNE teachers describe the changes and challenges in vocational education and training since the 1970s. The findings suggested that the work of vocational SNE teachers has changed from segregated student-focused remedial instruction to planning and administrative work with indirect impact. Similarly, a change in competences is evident. The discipline "Special Education" showed very minor role in the interviews. However, the emancipatory ethos, advocation for those who are in disadvantaged positions, was strong.

Keywords: teacher biographies, special needs education, vocational education

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Introduction

This article analyses memoirs written by individuals with a long career in vocational special needs education and interviews with them. The article contemplates how changes in vocational education impacted their work over the decades, how they responded to or participated in these changes and what opportunities to influence things they encountered. Experienced changes in vocational education are also reflected with the development of special needs education as an academic discipline.

Teachers' memoirs and studies based on them are useful in the field of education. At the most concrete level, they can be utilised as learning materials in teacher education; but the potential uses are extensive, starting from the development of curricula to the interaction between teacher and student, say Siivonen, Snellman and Iso-Pahkala-Bouret (2013) when summing up the focus areas in biographical research. For the present day, teachers' memoirs may reveal facts that could help plan teacher education or support teachers' career development. Memoirs bring up the critical phases in a career and professional development which require development or change from the perspective of an individual or society, for example. The meanings attached by teachers to their work reveal their theoretical and/or ethical thinking and their professional awareness (Syrjälä, 2001). Teachers' work experiences also shed light on how development efforts and changes in norms and guidance came about in different times and what they set in motion.

This study examines the notions of special needs teachers ('veterans') with a long career in vocational education regarding their work and its goals, contents and models. The goal is to determine how they describe the new competence challenges posed to their work by the structural changes in vocational education that have taken place over the decades and how they faced these changes.

Research questions:

1. What are the notions of special needs teachers regarding their choice of career?
2. What types of changes to their work do vocational special needs teachers describe?
3. How did vocational special needs teachers act when faced with changes?

Background

The trajectory of the work of vocational special needs education (SNE) teachers follows the structural and pedagogical changes in vocational education. At the beginning of vocational education at the end of the 1890s, there were no qualified VET teachers or SNE teachers. Craftsmen and masters worked in institutions for persons with disabilities and passed their skills to 'educable' persons. It was not before the Second World War that formal VET education and special vocational colleges were established. In the wake of economic growth, the doors were opened for students with special educational needs in general vocational education in accordance with the educational reform in 1970s. The special support model of that time was the 'special class model', where vocational SNE teachers worked autonomously but separately from general classes. Their role in the college was clear: expertise in specialised questions. In the 1990s, again, new legislation and changes in structure and policy generated new models for support in vocational education. The general trend towards individualisation in VET education was implemented in special needs education, too. In the effort to develop inclusive education, the vocational SNE teacher's role was broadened to the consultation and guidance of colleagues in special needs educational issues. Vocational SNE teachers have a close connection to working life in supporting students with SNE in their transition phases. Also, the widening range of diversity challenges vocational teachers to multi-professional work and to networking, for example, with social authorities. The diversity of work roles seems to be a fact.

There is a clear line in vocational special needs education starting from segregated settings for different SNE-target groups in distinctly organised vocational colleges towards structurally multilevel educational environments. A clear expansion in the concept of the special support model is evident within the expanded goals of vocational education (Hirvonen, 2006).

The work and career development of teaching personnel are linked to the social situation of the time, which affects education and its goals (see, for example, Säntti, 2007). This link is particularly clear for vocational teachers, who work at the interface between working life and education. Especially complex is the work of vocational SNE teachers, who bear a triple role: representing the original vocational field, the pedagogical expertise of that particular field and additionally

special needs education professionalism (Hirvonen, 2006). It can be asked if the work of vocational SNE teachers is more interlinked with Special Needs Education as a discipline or with the changes in the working life and in society. The learning environments in educational stages are different.

Developmental Work Research -framework

Teaching is continuously changing work that lives with the times. According to the Teacher Education Development Programme (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016, pp. 10–11), new education reforms are constantly required. However, many of the reforms end up as superficial phenomena with a weak impact. Clear strategic policies and goals are required in order to implement a permanent change as well as change the ways in which educational institutions operate. The phenomena must be examined comprehensively.

One perspective for research into work performed at educational institutions is provided by the Developmental Work Research -framework (Engeström, 2016), according to which merely depicting the present situation is not enough to understand the work as a whole. The framework can be used to analyse the inner dynamics of the work and the historical change in the interaction between the individual and the organisation. The operational system is usually analysed from the perspective of a particular *operator* or group of operators. This study examines the views of experienced professional special needs teachers regarding their work and its changes. The *subject* of the work refers to the various phenomena and operating models in which the change occurs, such as the forms of implementation of vocational special needs education. The *outcome* refers to the impacts of the change on the work that is studied – in this case, what is expected of special needs teachers and what their work comprises. The *tools* of the operational system are work models, operational guidelines and tools (such as the conceptual models and theories on which the employee bases their actions) or external operational guidelines. In this study, special needs teachers describe different models for implementing special needs education and the pedagogical means that they have used during their career. Also integral to the functioning of operational systems (namely vocational institutions in the context of this study) are the *rules* that

regulate them, i.e. written or unwritten rules, guidelines and norms that have been produced to regulate work activities. In this study, rules refer to the responsibility, independence and freedom of action that special needs teachers describe in their work as well as the regulations and guidelines applied to special needs education. *Community* refers to the context in which the work is performed.

Developmental Work Research involves describing the phases (cycles) in the work's development and the development challenges, i.e. *conflicts*, that arose within these phases (Engeström, 2016, pp. 44–48). The key thing from an employee's perspective is the interpretation of changes and phenomena and the meanings assigned to them. Work history and career phases can also be examined as a cyclical development (Heikkilä & Seppänen, 2014). Need leads to a search for changes, which in turn creates hesitation and the need to make a choice between the old and the new. After this, the new orientation starts to develop, motivation arises towards the new duties, methods, etc. and the new is established. In the cycle of development described by Heikkilä and Seppänen (2014), the employee appears to be an active participant. The work of teachers is also shaped by external pressures, such as normative reforms and the economic framework. In this study, special needs teachers describe their work in the different phases of their long careers, but, above all, the descriptions illustrate how special needs teachers faced the changes and the new competence requirements introduced by the changes to special needs education.

Materials and methods

The research materials were obtained by asking experienced vocational SNE teachers to provide written compositions related to their own career. This request was sent by e-mail to 17 chosen special needs teachers, of whom 11 gave their consent. The research materials were obtained by means of purposeful sampling from key people who possessed extensive knowledge of or experience in the subject or who had been in a position to influence the subject of this study (see Patton, 2014, p. 268). The request for written compositions also included an invitation for those willing to attend an interview. Six of the SNE teachers expressed their willingness to also participate in an interview.

All those who participated had worked in vocational education for no less than 40 years, and most of them as vocational special needs teachers for 20–40 years. At the time of the collection of data, seven of them were already retired, while four were set to retire within a few months of the interview. The participants' ages ranged from 58 to 63.

The topic assigned for the written compositions was 'The phases of my career as a vocational special needs teacher'. The instructions for the composition also proposed themes that the teachers could proceed along with: How and why did you become a vocational special needs teacher? What were the greatest changes during your career? How did these change factors impact you and your work at different times? How did you respond to them? How did they feel? Adversities in your career? Highlights in your career? Which factors have motivated you in your work during your career? The topics of the thematic interview were 1) changes in the work and its regulation during the interviewee's career and 2) changes in the job description, in the subject of the work and in the cooperation.

A total of 11 people provided written compositions, the lengths of which ranged from 662 to 4,632 words. The combined length of the compositions was 49 pages. Six of the teachers who submitted a composition were also interviewed. The combined duration of the interviews was approximately seven hours in total (55 minutes – 1½ hours/interview). The audio recordings were transcribed, producing a total of 95 pages in text materials (font size 12, single spacing). The total number of pages of written text analysed was 144.

All text materials, including both the interview transcriptions and written compositions, were treated as a single dataset. To process the data, the content of the text was first grouped into themes in accordance with Engeström's (2016) model. Data-driven content analysis was used with each theme (Eskola & Suoranta, 2003, p. 19).

Career choice

The special needs teachers already had or soon developed a strong ethos towards 'differences' and assisting those who are 'different' students when they first began their careers in special needs education. Some of the veteran SNE teachers had

personal experiences of being different or had encountered them in their family, while others could provide good examples from their own training experiences. For some, encouragement from supervisors contributed to the progression of their career path towards special needs education.

> *I'd gotten to know some vocational teachers and felt that they were all so, you know, incredibly multitalented and experts, so I didn't immediately think it was really for me. But then there was the type of job where you could work with people who were different*. (N 4)

At the start of their career, the special needs teachers had great autonomy in their work and a great deal of authority to decide on things related to their own work. However, they had to start their work from scratch and create the models themselves. Although the subject of work was teaching an individual segregated group of students, the model for special needs education was created simultaneously. The subject of the work (teaching students) was based on the special needs teacher's own personal experiences of a good teacher who uses a variety of methods, a teacher's ability to inspire interest or their own experience of being different. They did not pursue special needs teacher education until later.

> *It was the 80s... we had nothing* [...] *no room, no curriculum, nothing. Back then, on the first day of school, I was confused* ...[...] *and was put in the basement of the neighbouring comprehensive school. Then I actually went and asked the principal* [...] *about the curriculum, and he told me that it didn't matter what game I wanted to play. I was all confused because I hadn't come there to play games... I'd got it* (curriculum) *from them* (teacher acquaintances), [...], *and took it to the principal, deputy principal, and then I actually said that if this is not adopted by Monday morning, then I'll no longer teach at this school, and I left*. (Week later) *he* (principal) *told me that if it* (curriculum) *is so important to me, I should do as I saw fit. And I guess that's where my lucky job started, and I didn't really ask about things much afterwards*. (N 6)

The level of independence at work was considerable at the beginning of the SNE teachers' careers. However, the work was not appreciated – this appreciation had to be earned. '*The flame of special needs education*' was the driving force. The

appreciation for the work was not only impacted by evidence of good teaching but also by efforts to influence things. The work can be characterised by a 'pioneer spirit', i.e. a strong internal motivation/ethos that was unhindered by work-related disturbance factors since the model was still being created. Independence increased wellbeing: the teachers felt their work to be meaningful and its subject, the outcome (work for the benefit of the students), served as the guideline.

> *I pretty quickly got this strong desire to step out of line, as they say, and within certain limits of course*, [...] *I've always said that you can take small side steps from following the law as long as it is not illegal*. (N 5)

The relationship with the student is the cornerstone in all teaching, and the teacher is constantly making decisions and performing emotional labour in connection to this relationship (Anttila & Väänänen, 2015). Helping students motivated the young teachers and was usually also a reason for entering and remaining in the field.

Emotions were also brought up in connection with the interviewees' experiences of their relationships with students in recent years. The change in the job description could make the relationship more distant. At the system level, however, the attitude towards students seemed to have changed:

> *I feel that the student has been raised higher* (in terms of appreciation?). *It's a big change that the student is now equal... They weren't treated badly before, but there was this attitude. Now they are more here with us and on the same line*. (N 1)

Over time, students' families became increasingly involved in the schoolwork. In assessing this, the teachers conveyed their feelings of affection, showing that the student and their position were important to the teachers.

> *Nowadays, when it* (cooperation with families) *is 'mandatory', we increasingly encounter situations in which the parents are not in the least interested in their own child's life, which is sad*. (N 5)

Both the written compositions and interviews strongly reflected the changed relationship with the student. The teachers also described the students' heterogeneity, which is related to the fact that selection is no longer as intensive. Student intake is greater than before. Alternatively, this poses the question of whether more students now more easily end up in special needs education.

In summary, it can be stated that the competences at the beginning of the establishment of the vocational special support model were based on 'trial', not research-based, but on the personal experiences of diversity of vocational SNE teachers.

Changes during the careers and responding to them

Over the decades, once special needs education became established at vocational institutions, the teachers' position also changed. This caused challenges for the development of the forms of work as teachers were forced to work in a different environment than at the start of their career. However, rather than stop and wait for instructions from external parties, special needs teachers retained their own work ethos and set out to renew their own job description. Still it seems evident that Special Needs Education as a discipline was not highlighted to affect the work of SNE teachers.

Teachers quickly took on the responsibility for influencing things both within and outside the educational institution. This later laid the foundation for the 'teacher in charge of special needs education' (ERVA) system. The ethos of special needs education was visible as courage and as putting oneself on the line, with the subject of the work expanding from students to the institutional level. Obedience towards the teacher's own educational institution's management was not characteristic of the veteran special needs teachers, who instead looked higher for channels to influence things.

> *For me it was definitely the fact that it was also my style to want to tell people about special needs education, and I always wanted to contact the school board. I was always asking whether the board was aware of this and that, so I always got to go and speak to the board because the principal said that they don't know*

> *anything about this but you do and they trust you* [...] *we got the information to spread, we were able to speak at parents' evenings, and the resistance from parents kept decreasing all the time because we had so many of these positive experiences.* (N 6)

The autonomous work approach had worked in small educational institutions in which the teachers worked alone with a small group of students who needed support, but the change in special needs education's service structure and the increase in diversity in the 1980s caused the focus area in special needs education to change. Teachers had to find their own adapted job description in growing educational communities that were becoming more diverse. A great deal of effort was needed in order to retain special needs teachers' power of decision making and autonomy, such as by influencing politicians/members of a joint municipal authority's board. Despite this, these operators never lost their ethos. Instead, they retained and even strengthened it. The change agency of the veteran special needs teachers was visible in the fact that they started to develop a new service model for special needs education.

> *The need for this type of networking is growing exponentially, legislation has started to regulate things – I'll just be frank – damn closely, making people afraid, and ordinary teachers don't understand things like those related to confidentiality and work, and there are separate officials who regulate these things now. Now legislation has changed, and we have nested and overlapping laws.* (N 2)

The job description of veteran special needs teachers became differentiated during the period starting in 1990s: some proceeded to build an institution-level job description, while others emphasised teaching. The subject of the work changed: the students were no longer the direct subject as they had been in the early years of the work; instead the focus had shifted from students, on students and work targeted at students, to influencing students via paperwork. Sometimes the connection between increased paperwork and promoting student matters could not be found, which in turn led to a decrease in the feeling of autonomy. This was visible in those who worked at special education institutions in particular. This contradiction was evident as a loss of the connection between record-keeping and students. Educational institutions argued for the large amount of record-keeping

based on transparency, uniform quality and the customers' rights. 'Paperwork' also served as a control tool within the organisation, for example by monitoring the realisation of the quality system. Accountability also makes employees and the organisation responsible for ensuring that the resources and funds are utilised in the right manner (see Mänttäri-van de Kuip, 2013).

> *Well it was probably that we had... Back then (in 1970s–1980s), we had time to work with students, a lot of it. And now it has, now it has fragmented, is fragmented. If we start from back then... in those days, we had a lot of time to train because we were using a two-year curriculum* [...] *Now it has gone over the top, the record-keeping and the need... That, I'd even claim that it's irrelevant for the actual work and with regard to the student learning a vocation... I bet at hospitals, health centres they also do this insane amount of record-keeping, recording information about patients. That's what we're doing now...* (N 4)

The teachers felt that the educational institutions' efforts to enhance operations, for example through larger units, cost-saving measures, increased student group sizes or decreased amount of contact teaching, were beyond their reach. The special needs teachers felt conflicted about their decreased autonomy and the fact that their work was being drawn further away from the students.

> *I think that I wouldn't be able to look at my co-workers and subordinates with bright eyes anymore. That because of that, I couldn't stand being there anymore.* (N 1)

> *You can't bloody force yourself to do it, it's like... It's the type of work where you need to feel joy doing it... And that's why you also need some freedom, you need to be bold on some level and take charge of the teaching and you shouldn't... You shouldn't ask about things or read that curriculum so closely.* (N 4)

Working under changing circumstances

Administration was made more complex by structural and curricular changes at vocational institutions starting in late 1990s. At the same time, the special needs teachers felt that administration had drawn further away, becoming invisible,

which created more distance. The prior sense of community and communal support dissolved. The special needs teachers' descriptions of their careers in the final years (meaning the 2000s) focus on the growing difficulty of influencing things. Some of the special needs teachers described their work as being part of a macro-organisation and responding to its requirements.

> *It's mostly my own understanding that things can't be influenced (today). Not even our own educational institution* [...] *we're controlled from above and have no say in how... And let's just say that if you criticise things, they're quick to threaten you with inspections, and you can get in trouble if you haven't done exactly as all those legal paragraphs say. But the fact that you feel like you have no opportunity to influence it*. (N 4)

In the early special needs education model, special needs teachers were able to directly influence things. Things were handled quickly, without intermediaries. Towards the end of their careers, they found that the organisational structure of administration has a slowing effect on special needs education, which typically requires agility and quick decisions.

> *It was mostly that in the final years* (meaning in the 2000s) *our organisation changed again and* (units) *merged into a larger educational institution. Heads of departments then became the main leaders at the institution*. [...] *the unit's internal operations were decentralised and fell apart*. [...] *Then the next change was implemented, and they became units again. And only one head of department was left. In other words, everything was combined back into the same work*. (N 3)

What perhaps separates veterans from others is that once 'change agency' was established, this role remained despite all of the aforementioned conflicts in the operational system and their impacts on the subject and content of the work. Despite the administration growing more distant, the teachers continued to develop their own role towards planning and coordination. Challenges in special needs education in changing operating environments were met by changing the subject of special needs education: from a special needs teacher's individual work into broader efforts to influence things at the joint municipal authority's level.

> *Supervisors who were responsible for the continuity of education and also for finances, they saw that changes had to be made, and this opened up the opportunity to be, in a certain way, for special needs education… not its supervisor, no, I was never actually a supervisor, but I was, for that group, should I say, the 'head', like they used to call foremen in forestry work…* (N 5)

In the second developmental phase of vocational education, during big structural changes, the competences of vocational SNE teachers had to be remodelled according to the size of the learning environments. The interviewees described how they developed an organisational-level work model for special support. The direct, quick and easy contact with students was replaced by indirect contact, influencing students' studies with organisational actions.

Discussion: Starting out from nothing

The careers of the veteran special needs teachers took place during an interesting period that included significant structural changes in vocational education. The committee work in the 1970s and 1980s, the upper secondary education reform (474/1978) and amended legislation (487/1987) initially steered slightly developmentally delayed students towards general vocational institutions directly from special schools. National steering focused on work-oriented special groups, which could be found at 10 different general vocational institutions by the end of the 1970s. By the 1990s, special needs education had been established at all educational institutions and was strengthened with special funding. Individuality, personal and flexible learning paths and a record-keeping obligation (IEP) were introduced in this decade (1990s) (Hirvonen, 2006). During the 1970s and 1980s the traditional approach – 'Diagnose-Intervention-Assessment' – was important in Special Needs Education as a discipline, but it seemed not to fit in vocational education's different environments and activities (Hirvonen, Ladonlahti, & Pirttimaa, 2009, pp. 161–162).

All the components in the operational system have changed. Special needs education was launched at general vocational institutions in the form of clear, separate, small groups intended for a certain target group over the course of two decades, but the operational environment was completely different by the end

of the 1990s. We have shifted from structurally clear and administratively clear educational institutions to large organisations in which special needs education has expanded from teaching to community-level development and the building of a special needs education system. Changes in the degree structure and national steering, reorganisation of the operator structure and paradigm shifts in special needs education placed the veteran special needs teachers in a new situation. In the early years of special needs education, degrees were clear and narrow. The structure of working life enabled the use of assisting labour, which helped those who studied in a special needs class find their place in working life. The structure of vocational education has changed as a result of economic trends, which in turn has also changed the structure of degrees. In the 1990s, a trend began towards more varied educational professions, which also led to a need to change the structure of special needs education. The preparation of individual learning paths began in special needs education, which required more system-level planning than before (Hirvonen, 2006). The re-organising of vocational education occurred from the beginning of 2000s, increasing the administrative duties of teachers.

The veteran special needs teachers started their careers in a structurally clear period. At first, the target group comprised slightly developmentally delayed students who were trained in small groups with a work-oriented approach. Despite the 'simplicity' of the structure, the challenges were great. Special needs groups were established through national steering, but the veteran special needs teachers were in charge of the rest. They had to start from scratch. They had to write their own curriculum and even argue for its importance to the students in special needs education at some educational institutions. The work consisted of organising concrete working conditions, work plans and tools, but the greatest area of work was attitude education. The veteran special needs teachers performed ground-breaking work in creating the first implementation structure for special needs education and a more positive atmosphere with their example.

The solution to the two challenges in the work, namely attitude education and building the structure of special needs education, was found in 'ethos': the work was found to be meaningful from an ethical and legal perspective. Ethos was based on either the veteran special needs teacher's own experiences, observations made in their immediate circle or a general ethical understanding. As there was initially no support available for this difficult situation, the veteran special needs

teachers developed a strong autonomous approach to work: rather than wait for approval, they took action. This autonomy contributed to their feeling of being in control of their work and its effectiveness. Their work motivation was strong and characterised by the spirit of 'fighting for the weak'.

How do you change your own work as educational structures change? The interviews show how the big structural changes in vocational education changed learning environments and in that way created 'conflicts' and a need for developing new work models of vocational SNE teachers' work.

We should consider how the veteran special needs teachers coped with the many changes in their career, how their change agency came to be and how they maintained their pioneer spirit. At the start of their career, their strong ethos guided their work and helped them cope. It was based on either personal experiences or ones gained on their teaching path, and it strengthened their ability to create special needs education models from scratch. Autonomy and the power to make decisions encouraged them forwards. It is equally worth asking how they retained their change agency during major educational shifts. What guided them to try and change the operating method? What encouraged the veteran special needs teachers to continue in their jobs and be happy to do so? According to Mäkitalo (2005), 'subject-based well-being' refers to the connection between an individual's personal experience of the significance and meaningfulness of the work and the shared subject of the work and results that can be achieved with regard to this subject. It is a question of succeeding in an area of the individual's work that is important to them. Even if there is a great deal of work, it is not stressful if the worker has strong feelings of personal success.

Table 1. Changes in the veteran special needs teachers' (in VET) work related with the different educational development periods and Special Needs Education as a discipline

Competence areas of VET teachers interviews	Period	Special Needs Education as a discipline
Trial-based Ethicality, pioneer-spirit to fight for the disadvantaged groups of students	1970s–1980s Major legislative reform; SNE students were accepted as a form of separate groups	Term 'special education' was launched in 70's at the University of Jyväskylä. Special education was on developing phase following and supporting the development of (basic) school practices.
Developing work of SNE teachers, based mostly on the regulations of VET administration and recognised needs of the students	1990s Major structural changes, decreased centralised normative steering; SNE formally established	Special needs education was broader than earlier but concentrated strongly on the research and development in basic education and early education.
Organisational-level developing work of SNE teachers forced by wide structural changes	2000s Re-organisation of VET; from small schools to extended open environments, increased administrative work in SNE	Special Needs Education is still developing its own theory base, and it is estimated to also have a practical identity. The focus has broadened but still lies in practice and on basic education.

The veteran special needs teachers retained their work ethos throughout the decades. The pioneer spirit established at the start of their career held them afloat through their career. Their ethos was strengthened by their autonomy and great power to make decisions, particularly at the start of their career. However, the development of their work was based on 'trial'. Special needs education at that time was not recognised as a discipline, yet. Over the course of decades, their independent position as vocational SNE teachers decreased, and they felt their power slip away, taken away from the people working at the grass-roots level. At the same time, their direct contact with students decreased – it transformed into indirect influence. As the clarity and structural simplicity of the work and teachers' direct influencing ability decreased, the veteran special needs teachers

felt frustrated but still sought a new approach to work. Rather than reminisce about 'the good old times', they developed the special needs education service system to correspond to the new structure. However, Special Needs Education as a discipline did not affect the development of the work because it was focusing mainly on basic education. As a whole, vocational education was not interlinked with research at that time. The development was based on practice and on the administrative regulations of VET colleges.

According to Mäkitalo (2005), changing circumstances at work often lead to a search for the 'guilty party', i.e. structural changes in the work community are individualised. In contrast, if people are able to link the changes to a broader context or rise above their own work, so to speak, they are able to adapt their own work and create new operating models. Although the veteran special needs teachers lost the job description of an independent teacher of a special needs class and with it their autonomous position, they responded to the change by utilising all their skills. The veteran special needs teachers were able to change their work from individual-level work with students to a more extensive, institution-level job description that involved planning and coordination. They understood that the changes in special support were a necessary consequence of the structural change in vocational education. It can be stated that the big structural changes 'forced' the veteran SNE teachers to remodel their work, but special needs education was not affecting the construction of work models. The development was not set in motion by academic- or research-based demands. The initiatives came from the administrative actions of the VET colleges, and they were implemented at the grassroots-level by active teachers. Special Needs Education as a discipline remained weak besides the teachers work. Additionally, special needs education was focusing on the development of special support models fitting only for basic education. However, different learning environments require varied models.

Today, the changes taking place in the education sector are a matter-of-course. Teachers and other personnel are required to have the ability to adapt to changes and the impacts of these changes on their own work. Staff are required to have the ability to act under changing circumstances – not only by adapting but also by developing new types of work methods and models. 'Subject-based well-being' (Mäkitalo, 2005) is simultaneously put to the test. If the staff feel that the changes

are out of their reach, they may be at risk of becoming frustrated and losing some of their work motivation.

Changes in education impact the work of special needs teachers. One example of this is the strengthening of the position of general subjects in vocational education. This challenge has been met by hiring 'part-time special needs teachers', whose position is still taking shape (Pirttimaa & Hirvonen, 2014). The work of special needs teachers has been and continues to be subject to a variety of expectations, particularly with regard to the teaching and guiding of 'difficult' students. Instead of individual-level questions, a solution could be found in consultation, guidance provided by teacher colleagues, and structural work (Hirvonen, 2015).

Studying the changes in work and the related factors may provide a clearer understanding of one's own work (Engeström, 2016). The work is examined more comprehensively as a part of social changes. Memoirs are well-suited for the examination of the experiences of changes in teachers' work (Syrjälä, 2001). At best, they reveal facts that benefit both teacher education instructors and thereby future teachers. Study of changes could also be utilised in teachers' continuing education, for which 'veteran teachers', seniors, provide a rarely utilised resource. The hard yet rewarding work of teachers requires not only knowledge and skill but also the ability to develop one's own skills and autonomously position one's own work in the chain of changes.

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SECTION 3
MEANINGS AND FUNCTIONS OF EDUCATION

Ecological wisdom as a challenge for the philosophy of education

Kari Väyrynen

Abstract

Environmental questions call for a radical revision and re-evaluation of our ways of thinking, valuing and acting. Ecological wisdom as a holistic view to these questions is therefore an increasingly important challenge for education and its basic philosophical presuppositions. My article asks, what are the options of pedagogy in this situation? To my mind, classical theories of Bildung, of the cultivation and formation of man, have an important theoretical potentiality for environmentally wise education. I take as an example G.W.F. Hegel's theory of Bildung as an antagonistic, dialectical process. Dialectical environmental wisdom sees humans both identical to and different from nature. We must control nature to a certain degree, but all the time learn from its feedback. Possible harmony with nature would therefore develop in an open, dialogical and dialectical learning process.

Keywords: environmental education, dialectical pedagogy, Bildung, ecological wisdom, G.W.F. Hegel

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Introduction

Environmental problems are not always small, technically or institutionally solvable practical questions. First, they are serious, 'wicked' problems: often extremely complex issues with contingent factors and therefore difficult to control both technically and socially. Secondly, they are theoretically and philosophically deep problems, which puts many paradigmatic assumptions of our traditional scientific and philosophical thinking and basic cultural ideals and values into question. Environmental questions therefore call for a radical revision and re-evaluation of our ways of thinking, valuing and acting.

In this situation, what are the implications for general pedagogy? Pedagogy must always reflect the probable future challenges our children will face and try to develop such practices, mentalities and value standpoints that could anticipate future challenges and their possible solutions. In our time, environmental questions must therefore have a more important role in forming pedagogical practices than they currently have. There are many uncertain factors involved, so we must keep different options open in order to manage our relationship with the environment. In this case, pedagogy does not have one solid fundament to build on and must therefore take many possibilities into account. A dialogical approach and cross-disciplinary questioning must therefore be an integral part of environmental education.

An environmentally conscious philosophy of education is an extremely important field in this new situation. It can inform practical pedagogy with the new problems about environmental thinking. New environmental consciousness is still developing, and there is no philosophical, value-theoretical and ethical or scientific-technological and political consensus about the seriousness of and solutions for the situation. Alternatively, it is necessary to strive for a rational consensus. The danger of relativism is serious because it supports environmental denialism: in philosophy, we must also take critical realistic alternatives seriously and seek for a metaphysical and ontological fundament for environmental ethics and politics which could guarantee the wellbeing of both man and nature. The subjective constructivism and narrativism of the late 20th century are not fruitful theoretical options here. They only support anthropocentric, narrow culturalist

thinking and do not help to bridge the traditional methodological dualism between the humanities and the natural sciences.

What are the options for traditional pedagogy in this situation? To my mind, classical theories of *Bildung*, of the cultivation and formation[1] of man, have an important theoretical potentiality for our search for a theoretical basis to environmentally wise education. *Bildung* referred originally – until Kant – to the natural growth of organisms. Alternatively, its cultural aspect, the *Bildung* of culture, has *cultura* in its Latin origins, which also has a meaning related to the cultivation of the natural environment.[2] Of course, this aspect can be interpreted in an anthropocentric way only. But especially in German Romanticism the pantheistic conception of nature saw human culture in a positive interaction with nature, and especially with wild nature, through which we can learn about higher spiritual and aesthetic values. For example, the sublimity of nature (Kant) can deepen not only our aesthetical views of nature but also affect our basic ethical and philosophical views concerning nature. The young Kant formulated a view of man who basically cannot control mighty nature and is explicitly denied the physicotheological view of man and nature, which was still typical during the early Enlightenment. (Väyrynen, 2006, pp. 225–228; 2008).

In my mind, the concept of *Bildung* found its most interesting formulation in G.W.F. Hegel's thinking. He stressed the antagonistic character of *Bildung*. Human development is not a process of harmonic growth but has necessary moments of reification and alienation.[3] These moments are not negative aspects of external power but rather positive challenges for the learning process (Väyrynen, 2012). This fits very well with our relationship with the environment: we are both identical to and different from nature. We must control it to a certain degree but all the time learn from its feedback. We must seek harmony with it, but this is possible only in a dialectical relationship with reified/alienated moments of

1 Because there is no generally accepted direct translation in English, I use the German term.

2 And, in principle today, conditions for a sustainable man-nature relationship.

3 Reification means our necessary connections to thing-like (lat. *re* = thing) connections. This is necessary for the human condition: already the use of language and tools is reification. Alienation refers to such outer conditions (ideologies, politics, institutions), that prevent humans from fully realizing their human potentialities. Alienation is not so necessary as reifications: it can – at least in principle – being avoided in as much that human freedom and autonomy is increasing in a better functioning society.

the process. Our identity with nature is dialectical: partly harmonious, partly disharmonious.

An equally important aspect of the Hegelian concept of *Bildung* is the political. Education is bound to basic institutional structures of society. Family, civil society and state have their own educational goals. Hegel stresses the independence of education against inherited family traditions (such as different religions), which tend to be too conservative and traditionalistic. Alternatively, education must be independent of the short-term economic interests of a capitalistic economy in civil society. Educational institutions are therefore rather parts of the state insofar as the latter represents a reasonable general will of society towards a better future, towards 'freedom of all' as the ultimate goal of history, as Hegel understands it (Väyrynen, 2016). Whilst bearing our topic in mind, I would add that this means of course only positive freedom, through which we must become both socially and environmentally responsible citizens. Promoting the general interest, which is the fundament of pedagogy, today includes our interests in a good environment – and not only for us but also in itself. (*An und für sich*, as Hegel would say: that means in an environmental context that we should learn to promote our own interests [*für uns*] in such a way that it does not harm the interests of nature [*an sich*], that is, the interests of all living species in a good life of their own.)

Traditions of wisdom: Limits and possibilities

Environmental philosophy has challenged many anthropocentric traces of traditional philosophy, especially in metaphysics and ethics. But the original ideal of philosophical knowledge as wisdom (Gr. *sophia*) has also been positively accepted as a background interest and synthesising activity in environmental philosophy and environmental knowledge in general. For example, the Norwegian founder of deep ecology, Arne Naess (1912–2009), spoke as early as in 1973 about *ecosophy* (Naess, 1973/1976). Another example is the Finnish philosopher Georg Henrik von Wright (1916–2003), who saw in the ancient idea of the avoidance of *hybris* a wise environmental principle in the 1980s (Väyrynen, 2017). The roots of Western thinking were actually not so anthropocentric, as many historians of environmental thinking have asserted. Even for Plato, whose dualism has been

almost unanimously been criticised as an anthropocentric position, the idea of cosmic harmony was normative for human action, which should not step outside its proper limits (Väyrynen, 2006).

Not only classical Greek philosophy but also original Chinese wisdom, which was expressed in the early *yin/yang* cosmology and ethics,[4] tried to harmonise our relationship with nature. Especially in Taoism, *yin* and *yang* should be in a harmonic relationship (*he*), and this harmony was also considered a normative principle for man's actions. Harmony (*he*) refers to the bringing of all different elements into proper proportion. If, for example, 'there is *yang* without *yin*, there will be no life and peace will vanish' (Wang, 2016, pp. 3–5). Wise human action, such as successful charioteering, is therefore based in adaptivity to the natural environment and forces, functional efficiency in coping with environmental disturbances and the reorganisation of inherited behaviour patterns to fit existing environmental situations. *Yin/yang* is a configuration of forces, 'the rhythm of human life, earth's changes, and heaven's powers', leading to *Dao*, to wise knowledge, or how to use power (Wang, 2016, p. 11). At this fundamental level, the traditions of the West and East share common ground.

For environmental research, von Wright's basic distinctions concerning traditional scientific rationality and environmentally sensitive wisdom are important. In his essays from the 1950s he saw the ancient concept of wisdom (*sophia*), and especially practical wisdom (*fronesis*), as the main focus of his philosophical thinking. Later on, it was important to von Wright to distinguish between scientific-technological rationality and traditional wisdom, or the *rational* and the *reasonable*. In his article *Images of science and forms of rationality* (1985), he writes that

> rationality, when contrasted with reasonableness, has to do primarily with formal correctness of reasoning, efficiency of means to an end, the confirmation and testing of beliefs. It is goal-oriented … Judgments of reasonableness, again, are value-oriented. They are concerned with the right way of living, with what is thought good or bad for man. The reasonable is, of course, also rational – but the 'merely rational' is not always reasonable.

[4] *Yin* is a cosmic, active masculine principle of heaven, *yang* a passive feminine principle of the life-producing earth. In Confucianism, the masculine principle is dominant, in Thaoism, the feminine (Väyrynen, 2006, 49–65).

The search for the reasonable was especially typical of the ancient Greeks. They were searching for the right natural order, 'a *eunomia*, i.e. lawful and just order'. To understand the world order was 'to attain wisdom rather than knowledge; it was, as has been said, to attune one's life to its "natural" conditions' (von Wright, 1993, pp. 172–174).

For von Wright, the environmental implications of this distinction are already clear in his article (1985). He stresses the importance of human-ecological research. He sympathises with a new holistic worldview, which would represent 'a new form of scientific rationality'. According to him, this would 'encourage a shift in the view of the man-nature relationship from an idea of domination to one of co-evolution'. This could help 'the adaptation of industrial society to the biological conditions of its survival' (von Wright, 1993, p. 187). Later on, he developed these ideas further in many books and articles before his death in 2003.[5]

All scientific research is based on human interests and values, such as Jürgen Habermas has shown in his famous theory of knowledge interests (Habermas, 1968). In environmental research, the core values and interests are often explicitly recognised in order to protect nature (for example, biodiversity, ecosystem health). The environmental sciences actually follow the 'emancipatory interest' of Habermas, which he saw as a leading interest in radical social sciences (Marx, Freud). The traditional concept of wisdom in Greek and Chinese philosophy was basically a knowledge of fundamental cosmic values and how they directed human knowledge and actions. It is now again time to make explicit in the philosophy of science the core values leading scientific enterprise. Environmental sciences should therefore consult environmental philosophy in order to make their ontological and value-theoretical standpoint clear. Environmental sciences still often lean simply on traditional anthropocentric values, and this is very problematic, not only for science but also for environmental ethics and politics.

For the philosophy of education, von Wright's distinction between the rational and the reasonable is very important. Pure rationality in education can lead to the social-technological conception of education as a pure means for economic and administrative goals, nowadays especially for international economic competition. Education is not seen as important *per se* for full human

[5] I have analysed von Wright as an environmental thinker more broadly in Väyrynen (2017).

development relatively independent from practical economic and real political goals. An extreme consequence of this social-technological rationality would be a kind of *a la carte* education (as Lyotard, 1984 has expressed it), supporting the contingent needs of the economy. In this view, humans are only flexible material for economic purposes without any intrinsic value.

A wise education, on the contrary, would be critical of immediate economic or political trends because they can lead to negative developments, such as the emergence of the Nazi regime in the 1930s, or support the currently deepening environmental crisis. A wise education should have a long enough historical perspective to recognise dangerous political trends. This has been stressed both in conservative and radical political thinking (in Burke and Marx, to give a classical example): a longer historical perspective can show how complex a set of entities a wise politics – and as a part of it, education – must take into account. Utopian alternatives – such as escaping from environmental problems to other planets – are always too simple and have therefore many unforeseen side effects. Also simple pedagogical solutions, such as the hype of information technology, share the same problem. Children, as part of the changing society and environment, are an extremely complex phenomenon: how do we keep the rich possibilities of their bio-psychological and intellectual-emotional development on solid ground through the antithetic pressures of the coming decades? A wise pedagogy does not necessarily have any better answers to these future challenges, but it attempts at least to recognise the central problems involved in this without overly simple or utopian answers.

Dialectical thinking: Basic structures

The Hegelian theory of education and *Bildung* is based on his dialectics. Like all processes of reality, education and *Bildung* are antagonistic. They must find a balance between antagonistic tendencies relevant to education, such as individuality–collectivity, autonomy–heteronomy, egoism–altruism, formal–material, etc. In addition, our relationship with nature is antithetic in the sense of dialectical thinking: we try to understand and control an entity that is radically different from our immediate human world. Alternatively, we are 'cultural

animals' – animals as a part of nature. We can experience nature directly through our body, emotions and living experiences (*elämys, Erlebnis*), and through concepts and categories, which express natural properties, structures and processes. We also have important valuative connections to nature. We are both identical to and different from it.

Dialectical logic has developed a system of categories that express complex and dynamic interconnections between our thinking and ontological realities. Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik* (Science of Logic) in particular exemplifies the extremely complex structures involved. It is very difficult to comprehend as a whole.[6] However, luckily the organising principle is quite simple and fundamental to all critical thinking and its problems. This famous structure is the Hegelian *triad*, or *thesis–antithesis–synthesis*. It is useful to briefly describe its fundamental idea.

The first step, *thesis*, leans on our immediate thinking: some concept as such is the dominant perspective on reality. This can be a position in our ordinary thinking, a *common sense* view of something, as a scientific, paradigmatic position in some field of research. This position is typical for every reductionistic position in science. However, in connection to the objective world, this thesis turns out to be problematic; it leaves residues (see Lefebvre, 2016, pp. 11–12, 299–303, passim.), which cannot be properly explained by the original thesis. We must therefore try to formulate an *antithesis*, which could better explain these residues. Through this, we must take a different or even a contradictory perspective. This is often logically implicit in the original *thesis*: for example, the simple idea that something 'is', is originally connected to its contradictory thought that something 'is not'.[7] It is important to note that not all antitheses develop in this formal way. The material aspects of reality often also demand a dialectical analysis. For example, concrete social antagonisms must be expressed in thinking through contradictory concepts. Master–slave dialectics, which is analysed in Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), is the most famous example. For our topic, the

[6] It is therefore understandable that the recently extensive analytical metaphysics and ontology has not taken the challenge of this work seriously. Theoretically, this new trend of analytical philosophy has returned to pre-Kantian metaphysics.

[7] Plato explained the birth of dialectics in this way. See my article concerning the interconnections between Plato's and Hegel's dialectics, Väyrynen 2017(a). In Hegel's *Science of logic*, the famous first triad (being – nothingness – becoming) analyses these elementary concepts more deeply.

great, basic antagonism of spirit–nature (*Geist – Natur*) is especially important. This antagonism is fundamental to Hegel's whole philosophical system, expressed in his *Encyclopaedias of Philosophical Sciences* (1817).

The relation of *thesis* and *antithesis* is typical for all critical thinking: it is therefore pedagogically important. However, there is also a danger of relativism and scepticism, or 'negative dialectics', to use Hegel's expression. The third aspect of the dialectical triad, *synthesis*, should lead to a higher, positive result in this respect – 'positive dialectics', or speculation. But what is synthesis? This may be the most difficult aspect to comprehend in Hegel's dialectics. I briefly present here my own view of this crucial concept.

First, *synthesis* is not a formal combination of *thesis* and *antithesis*; it is not simply a more general concept in which thesis and antithesis are included as parts. It rather opens up a wider ontological perspective for antithetic concepts. For example 'becoming' (*Werden*) is an ontological perspective through which 'being' (something is; *Sein*) and non-being (something is not; *Nichts*) can be understood as more limited positions to the reality as a whole, as relative aspects of a higher truth explicated in 'becoming'. 'Becoming' as a synthesis makes it possible to understand on one hand the limits and on the other hand the relative merits of 'being' and 'not-being'. This is the idea of 'sublating' (*Aufhebung*) the contradictory concepts: through this 'sublating' act, they partly remain relevant aspects or moments in the higher concept.[8] Becoming, for its part, needs something that 'is' and becomes something else – not-being. The parts of the triad are necessarily connected.

In terms of ontology, one could say that Hegel's *triads* express central modal structures of a stratified reality. In the modal theory of Hegel, a central modal concept is actual reality (*Wirklichkeit*). Its essence is activity, *Wirken*, and it is therefore understandable that Hegel criticises formal possibilities and contrafactual thinking about emptiness. According to him, it is more important to stress strata-specific real possibilities in modal thinking. For pedagogy, this means that, instead of utopic solutions, we must think about what the central historical possibilities to act in the near future are. This does not support deterministic talk

[8] We could generally say, that through the process of *Aufhebung* the perspectives opened up by thesis and antithesis remain as relevant parts in a more holistic concept expressed by synthesis. On the level of synthesis, we know better their limits and relative truths. They no longer produce 'residues' as reductionistic concepts do (as Lefebvre 2016 – see above – noted).

common in everyday politics, visions of some 'only one alternative'. By adopting a long historical perspective, as Hegel always did, we can formulate surprising alternatives based on long historical experience. For example, a sustainable way of living is possible without consuming as much as we do. Historical experience can inform us that it is a real possibility to live with much less consumption than we are used to do. Dialectical forms of thinking, in this case for example Hegel's dialectics of master–slave, can open up such perspectives: our position as masters of nature is not based on sustainable productivity, as in principle the position of the slave should be in Hegel's example.

As you can see, I represent a realistic metaphysical interpretation of the dialectical categories. According to this interpretation, Hegel's *Science of Logic* is a system of ontological categories which express his stratified ontological position. This kind of interpretation of Hegel's dialectics is to my mind fundamental to our topic: how to understand environmental wisdom as a thinking of real possibilities and to develop a pedagogical theory which would best suit its demands. But has Hegel anything to offer for environmental wisdom? Is his philosophy of spirit not too idealistic and anthropocentric for this purpose? The crucial question is, what kind of dialectical relationship is there between spirit and nature? In what sense are nature and spirit 'sublated' in a higher totality? Moreover, could this dialectical totality be a serious candidate for ecological wisdom? Finally, what does this mean to the Hegelian concept of *Bildung*: how does the dialectics of spirit and nature contribute to environmentally wise pedagogy? *Bildung* is a concept that reflects human history: how should we connect it to historicity in nature? Should environmental education be based on this comprehensive consciousness of human historicity as a part of natural history, especially its slow processes?

Towards a concrete identity with nature?

Hegel clearly criticises the romantic view of man's relationship with nature, in which the immediate identity and harmony with nature is idealised. In his *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion), he analyses the romantic pantheism as a form of 'natural religion' (*Naturreligion*). He writes:

> The unity of man with nature is a favourite and pleasant-sounding expression … But his true nature is freedom, free spirituality … and as thus fixed this unity is no longer a natural, immediate unity. Plants are in this condition of unbroken unity. The spiritual, on the contrary … has to work its way through its infinite dualism or division, and to win the state of accomplished reconciliation (*Versöhnung*) by wrestling for it; it is not an original reconciliation.[9]

This view of immediate identity historically has many forms: Hegel mentions, for example, the idea of innocent children and aboriginal people, the doctrine of the *signatura rerum* in the philosophy of the Middle Ages and the instinctive actions of animals (Väyrynen, 2010, p. 360). The concept of immediate identity is still today a popular position in environmental thinking. Modern man could try to overcome his alienation from nature through the restoration of this original identity, for example in adopting the ecologically wise conceptions, values and practices of aboriginal people or oriental wisdom. This kind of ecological primitivism also supposes an original ecological wisdom of these people, but this supposition lacks any empirical evidence.[10]

Hegel considers this romantic view problematic in two respects: it is (a) first empirically not true: aboriginal people are seldom innocent, and children are often egoistic and bad. (b) Secondly, the more important point is that this innocence is not a real position of man. His ethical life (*Sittlichkeit*) is higher than the innocence of children. It is based on his self-conscious will. Man must work on his moral education and *Bildung* through alienation from nature, sketch his essence freely and take as an autonomous subject the moral responsibility. According to Hegel, nature is not morally good; it is on the contrary a brutal struggle for survival. Human history, insofar as it is 'natural history' (*Naturgeschichte des Menschen*), is as amoral as the natural struggle for survival. Ethical life can be established only through hard work for the moral good. Nature as such gives no clear directions for this moral work (Väyrynen, 2010, pp. 361–362). Also, our own individual goodwill (*Moralität*) is, according to Hegel, not enough: we must develop such institutional practices (*Sittlichkeit*) that make a concrete realisation of our ethical goals possible (Väyrynen, 2016). This is extremely important in environmental

[9] I have partly used the English translation of his lectures. Hegel, 1974, p. 279.

[10] On the critics of environmental primitivism see Korteniemi, 2009.

ethics because many of our individual choices, for example as 'green consumers', only help to maintain ecologically harmful industries.

Is the idea of identity totally wrong? Is there in Hegel no continuity from nature to the ethical life and spirituality of man? This question is addressed at the end of his *Philosophy of Nature*. As we saw, nature as such is amoral or even bad and cannot therefore give any ethical guidelines. We would even destroy nature if we acted 'according to nature' in this respect. Despite this, there is one aspect in which man and nature are in continuum with each other and which also has moral significance. This aspect of nature is its creative force, or in the language of German Idealism, the 'inner teleology' of nature.[11] For Hegel, this makes a higher, dialectical identity with nature possible.

Reconciliation with nature is a dialectical process like the general process of Bildung: it has both harmonic and hostile phases/aspects because as tool-using animals we must control and use nature in the work process. However, we cannot control it totally – in the last analysis, nature is always stronger than man. Hegel therefore criticises the position of 'outer teleology' (or 'limited teleology') and its ways of interacting with nature.

In *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (The Critique of Judgement), Kant made a distinction between outer and inner teleology (*äussere vs. innere Zweckmässigkeit*). His famous example concerning the difference was natural beauty and its imitation through human art. Authentic natural beauty, for example birdsong, expresses the inner teleology of nature; it is a free act of the bird itself. It expresses the authentic value of nature, which we observe as beauty (Kant, 1966). In German Romanticism and German Idealism, this view was adopted from the pantheism of Spinoza, whose idea of creative nature (*natura naturans*) was also important for Hegel. For him, inner teleology expresses the real essence of life and also affects positive human freedom because, as living creatures, we must ultimately learn to reconcile with our own nature as well as 'outer' nature.

Hegel describes 'outer' or 'limited' teleology as a goal-oriented exploitation of nature which does not respect its inner goals and its own intrinsic values. Outer

[11] I have analysed the history of this idea from Eastern and early Greek philosophy until Romanticism in my history of environmental philosophy (Väyrynen, 2006) and I summarised the central thesis in contrast to the recent constructivist approach of environmental research in an article (Väyrynen, 2017a).

teleology has an empirical (*sinnliches*) relationship with nature, in which nature is objectified – it is only lifeless material for our immediate needs. Hegel writes: 'Our practical relationship with nature is dominated through our egoistic needs; our needs strive to use nature for our benefit, to polish, to break up; shortly, to destroy it'.[12] We break nature into useful parts and are not concerned what nature is as a whole. Only singular products of nature and their singular aspects are important to us. Hegel dooms this kind of practice with the words of Sophocles: 'Nothing is more monstrous than man ... unexperienced. He does not reach his goals'.[13]

This immediate practical relationship with nature is not the deepest possibility to interact with nature. As Hegel stressed, it is empirical, shallow and responds only to our egoistic, immediate needs. We actually act at this level like lower animals. What would be a higher, properly human alternative? As cultivated humans, we are not bound to this immediate practical action, which actually represents only the 'first nature', a level at which we act as other animals in an evolutionary struggle for survival. As cultural beings, in the moral, aesthetical and intellectual realm of 'second nature', we are not bound to this struggle.

According to Hegel, we must ask what nature 'in general' (*Allgemeinheit*) is. Our practical dominance over nature always remains shallow; it cannot reach 'nature as such', its generality.[14] This deeper view of the essence of nature can be reached at the level of dialectical reason, in the position of the 'concept' (*Begriff*). At this level, nature is not an empirical, shallow object of practical exploitation but a living, active and autonomous entity. At this level, it is continuous with human autonomy and freedom. Hegel writes 'the real teleological view – and this is the highest – is based on the understanding that nature is free in its original livingness'.[15]

What does this mean for our practical relationship with nature? This question is analysed at the end of *Philosophy of Nature*, in which the reconciliation

[12] 'Das praktische Verhalten zur Natur ist durch die Begierde, welche selbstsüchtig ist, überhaupt bestimmt; das Bedürfnis geht darauf, die Natur zu unserem Nutzen zu verwenden, sie abzureiben, aufzureiben, kurz, sie zu vernichten.' Werke, 9, 13.

[13] 'Nichts ist ungeheurer als der Mensch ... Unbewandert. Zu nichts kommt er.' Werke, 9, 13

[14] Werke, 9, 14.

[15] 'die wahre teleologische Betrachtung – und diese ist die höchste – besteht also darin, die Natur als frei in ihrer eigentümlichen Lebendigkeit zu betrachten.' Werke, 9, 14.

(*Versöhnung*) of the spirit and nature is briefly described. Nature is not alien to the spirit; it is rather its necessary moment. The inner teleology of nature represents in nature the moment of spirit, its seed, which develops through different forms of activity and creativity in nature. At the elementary level, the freedom of the spirit is based on this process. The real freedom of the spirit is therefore not an absolute negation of nature in its absolute 'otherness' but rather a reconciliation with it. This reconciliation, and the 'true freedom' of the spirit, is therefore a learning process in which the spirit 'abandons its special way of thinking and understanding'. Through this, nature becomes 'a mirror of ourselves … a free reflex of the spirit'.[16] I would summarise that the inner teleology of nature is a parallel characteristic of our real freedom. Our positive freedom presupposes the full development of this freedom in nature. This connection makes it possible to valuate and respect living nature in its autonomous development, for example through the protection of biodiversity.

As we saw above, outer teleology, its egoistic actions and negative freedom in dominating nature is clearly doomed by Hegel. Hegel is not an ethical relativist, although he stresses our complex and partly antagonistic relationship with nature. We must dominate some aspects of it, insofar as it is necessary for survival, but as cultural beings, we must strive for this respectfully, in a learning and reconciling attitude and action towards nature. Nature is an essential resource of our own *Bildung* on all levels – including also its highest, such as artistic and philosophical forms.

A wise, reason-based action must preserve the forms of inner teleology in nature, not only for the sake of nature itself but also for the sake of humanity as part of nature: as a valuable resource of our own health, wellbeing, social identities and artistic, technological and scientific inspiration. *Ars imitatur naturam* – this is not only true concerning artistic creativity but also culture as a whole. Nature is a cultural resource – this is a direct application of Hegel's view of the reconciliation of nature and spirit. Nature is not only a material resource, as in outer teleology. Biodiversity and other ecological values should be respected due to cultural reasons. Even in the field of technology, nature is providing new inspiration for innovations all the time, such as scientists attempting to research how to imitate

16 (der Geist) 'seine besondere Denk- und Anschauungsweise abtut.' Die Natur wird ein 'Spiegel unserer selbst … ein freier Reflex des Geistes.' Werke, 9, 538–539.

the strength of a spider's web. In this respect, the discussion about the priority of biocentrism or anthropocentrism is a trail with a dead end – the more important problem is the reconciliation of nature and culture, as 'weak' anthropocentrism and biocentrism are trying to establish.

Bildung and historical consciousness – A wise starting point for environmental education?

Natural processes are slow. That is one 'radically other' aspect in nature that is particularly difficult to understand today. Also in environmental thinking, the transformation from traditional conservationism to a more relativistic environmentalism is leading to a historical standpoint: there is not even a relatively stable nature that we should protect and everything is affected by human intervention. At the same time, we do not question the opposite trend of current history, which seems to favour rapid changes and the readiness to accept everything new. Global economic competition also favours short-term innovations in science, technology and economic production.

On an ideological level, higher goals of human wellbeing and environmental sustainability are almost universally accepted. However, this is illusionary: the immanent goal is to increase economic surplus and guarantee steady economic growth. Striving for a 'greener' economy and politics do not succeed because the fundamental goal is still economic growth. Cosmetic changes such as electronic cars work only as a moral alibi for continuing business as usual.

Human and environmental wellbeing are interpreted accordingly in dynamic and anti-essential terms. Interpreted as such, especially in postmodern constructivism, they cannot form any coherent standpoint for critical opposition. Alternatively, we cannot return to the linear philosophy of a history of 'great narratives'. However, this does not mean that human and environmental history have no relative stability. We know some simple and decisive things concerning human and environmental wellbeing. We cannot stand a climate which is very polluted or has longer periods over +50 °C. The atmosphere must have a certain percentage of oxygen so that we can survive. We must have enough fruitful soil

and clean drinking water to nourish the entire human population. Such basic ramifications are historically very stable. In addition, as we now know, they are vulnerable and scarce resources already in many parts of the Earth. Environmental history teaches us this simple lesson; it is a kind of metanarrative[17] of human history that cannot be eliminated.

For environmental education and Bildung it is also important to stress that it is not only the past – as environmental history shows – that is the problem here but also the possible future. The future is not a totally open field of possibilities, but in many ways, it is determined by the past and present. That is especially accentuated today because the effects of our actions reach not only in space but also in time far longer than before: every piece of plastic that we throw in ocean can have serious effects on ecosystems after hundreds of years. As Hans Jonas has shown, our technological society challenges traditional ethics in this respect: 'the sheer magnitude and often also the irreversibility of the long-term effects of our actions make the questions of responsibility central for ethics in corresponding horizons of time and space' (Jonas, 1984, pp. 8–9). It is increasingly difficult to foresee the effects of our actions in time and space as well in social and ecological contexts: we need therefore to take the 'precautionary principle' as a starting point for new ethics.

What does this mean for environmental education? First, it stresses the meaning of a long historical perspective, including environmental history, social and economic history and the history of ideas. The pedagogical tradition of *Bildung* has this long-term perspective: the whole process of human cultivation and its dialectical structure is a background condition for all historically conscious education. It is sad that not even professional historians do not always understand this. Most historians are increasingly concentrating on current history because it is easy to research: for example, Antiquity and the Middle Ages are not such popular topics because they demand extensive language skills. On the other hand,

[17] With my term 'metanarrative' I slightly ironise narrativistic talk here – avoiding the extinction of human species has not yet been any narrative, but can become in future a great narrative of our time ... if we do success to stay alive.

environmental history is still a marginal area in traditional historiography – and it is also difficult because of its methodological and cross-disciplinary problems.[18]

Environmental history has also been a peripheral topic in environmental education. Environmental education stresses the meaning of empirical knowledge, especially living experiences in nature (Matthies, 2004). However, the *longue duree* of natural processes and our interactions with them are difficult to grasp in the immediate experience: they rather demand combined theoretical and historical knowledge about climate change, demographical processes and ecological dynamics – and very often about their complex interactions. A historical perspective should become part of teaching in the natural sciences – the old field of natural history has indeed been revived in environmental sciences, from geology to ecology. Natural history and environmental history[19] actually cooperate today because the co-evolution of human society/culture and nature/environment is presently fundamental for human ontology and an environmentally aware philosophical anthropology. This many-sided, stratified, deeply historical view is pedagogically fundamental in changing the current hectic, short-term visions that are so popular in neoliberal economics and politics.

The key issue is that historical consciousness opens up a deeper understanding of our current situation. We must learn to see how our present time is structured through overlapping histories: we still partly behave like hunter-gatherers; we use the products of agriculture extensively, and we use land extensively through that. We still act in the way Christianity has taught us: we think we are higher than animals and nature, with a basic right to control and use them as we see fit, and that we should 'propagate and fill the earth'. These deep structures of our

[18] I have conducted with the Finnish environmental historian Esa Ruuskanen a basic mapping of the short history of this discipline from the 1970s until the present day, and I have also analysed some of its theoretical problems as a multidisciplinary field of research (Ruuskanen & Väyrynen 2017).

[19] The currently fashionable concept of the Anthropocene is too general for this purpose: as a geological period, it is not historically sensitive enough. In environmental history, periodisation must be based on multiple factors, from ideological (Christianity, liberalism, etc.) and economic transitions (birth of agriculture, industrialisation, use of fossil fuels, etc.) to climate periods (Medieval Warm Period, etc.) and ecological transformations (periods of mass extinction, extensive erosion and desertification, etc.). Just one way of periodicalising history (like the concept of the Anthropocene does) is not sufficient, because of many overlapping changes at different levels of reality.

present-day lives can only be effectively criticised after having gained an extensive understanding of human history and its interaction with the natural environment.

Leaning on this ontological fundament, we should re-evaluate the traditional idea of slow and many-sided human development (as Rousseau stressed) through the current perspective of co-evolution and formulate pedagogical practices which can, in this respect, produce sustainable results. Humans who take better care of their bio-psychological wealth tend to have sympathy for the wellbeing of other people and responsibility for the slow processes of nature. We must learn to listen to our bodily interaction with the environment, our emotions – especially moral ones, such as sympathy for other species (not only animals but also plants), and our aesthetical admiration of beautiful and sublime nature. Through historical consciousness, we can deepen these ontological fundaments to a concrete critique of our present-day limitations to realise these potentialities.

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How does phenomenological psychology contribute to current concepts of sustainability in Germany's vocational education system?

A brief historical outline and remarks on current problems

Burkhard Vollmers, Werner Kuhlmeier & Sören Schütt-Sayed

Abstract

Nowadays education for sustainable development is a key concept in Germany`s VET research programmes organized by the BIBB (Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training) and evaluated by authors of this contribution. The present article casts a glance at the history of this category in Germany´s scientific discussions. Roots of actual discourses can be found within cognitive and ecology psychology 100 years ago. Apart from the historic perspective the article makes suggestions how to create lessons fostering reflections on sustainability. These suggestions base upon didactical guidelines discussed in VET in Germany (by Werner Kuhlmeier) and upon concepts of cognitive psychologists on knowledge illusions (by Steven Sloman).

Keywords: sustainable development, didactical guidelines, knowledge illusion

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Introduction

Actual contributions in textbooks and journals in Germany focus on two strategies when it comes to creating optimal learning scenarios of sustainability in vocational education and training (VET). One group of contributions delivers general didactic guidelines (see Vollmer & Kuhlmeier, 2014). In these publications the guidelines are often presented as lists. These lists contain recommendations for teachers at school and for seniors at work. Teachers should orientate their teaching in accordance with these guidelines if they want to promote the sustainability-orientated thinking and acting of learners. Seniors should follow the guidelines in order to foster reflections on sustainability at the workplace among colleagues and apprentices.

A second group of articles refers more specifically to learners within the VET system. In these articles, competencies are described that enable skilled workers to act in professional surroundings according to general principles of sustainability (see, e.g., Casper et al., 2018). Different competencies, often presented in forms of systematic models, work together and create a set of sustainability-orientated skills. It is the assumption that in future, after systematic training on sustainability, persons equipped with these skills will work properly according to the general criteria of sustainability.

The concepts how to teach and to learn sustainability in VET mainly came from model programmes initiated and supervised by the German Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training, often referred to as the BIBB (German abbreviation). The first purpose of the text is to show the historical line from the starting point of environmental psychology and pedagogy at the beginning of the 20th century up to the basic ideas of the BIBB that worked as a conceptual frame for nearly all model programmes of sustainability in VET after the year 2000 (see overview of model projects in Vollmers & Kuhlmeier, 2017). A sketch of the BIBB's basic ideas is given after the historical-orientated section.

The historical-orientated part of the text deals with two sources of modern concepts of sustainability in educational sciences in Germany: phenomenological-orientated environmental psychology and environmental education. The phenomenological method within cognitive learning studies arose as a consequence of disciplinary struggles within the academic psychology

field in Germany. The origins of environmental psychology were ideas and phenomenological experiments at the beginning of the 20th century in Germany's academic psychology. An excerpt of Karl Bühler's experiments on learning will be presented as an example. Further concepts came from Kurt Lewin and Willy Hellpach. All these concepts emphasise the holistic intentional perception of personal surroundings within processes of consciousness. Moreover, these concepts demonstrated that the perception and the attraction of personal surroundings and of nature are influenced by personal preferences and moral values. These classic concepts anticipated ideas of modern environmental psychology. After 1970, this discipline emerged in Germany's academic world.

The second historical source is nature-orientated pedagogics. Under the influence of the general green movement, environmental education was established as specific academic field after 1970. Thus, ideas of nature-orientated pedagogics of the first decades of the 20th century experienced a renaissance.

The second objective of this text is to emphasise the relevance of phenomenological methods when research and learning on sustainability is the focus. So, the second part of this text deals on the question of how sustainability can be experienced and learned by the individual learner in VET. A reflection on classical methods and concepts, presented in the first part of this text, is helpful. But sustainability in VET goes beyond environmental psychology and pedagogy. To a large extent it cannot be experienced within the working surroundings of individuals. Limitations of personal experiences when ecological decisions are made will be discussed, with a focus on one example of misleading environmental protection by politics, the promotion of so-called biofuel in Germany. At the end, some proposals are made regarding how to handle the complexity of the topic of ecological sustainability within teaching and learning in Germany's VET system.

Historical overview: From phenomenological psychology to environmental education

Psychology and pedagogy are two big columns of educational sciences. The history of the two disciplines has been strongly intertwined over the last hundred years in Germany, both in the academic field at universities and in professional work. The following historical sketch is a strong simplification. The aim is to show that classic phenomenological ideas were integrated into modern environmental psychology and environmental pedagogy. Both sources can be easily integrated into education for sustainable development. The figure below depicts the argumentation line in this text. Boxes in grey, according to the direction of the arrows, will be in focus. The contents of the white boxes are addressed only in brief.

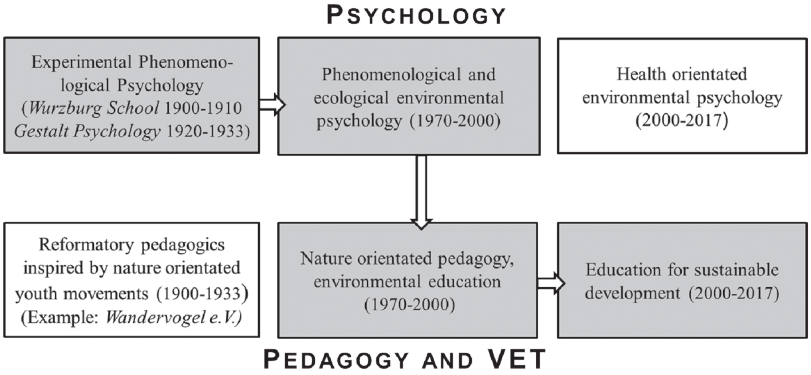

Figure 1. Advanced organiser of contents

Experimental phenomenological psychology of the Wurzburg School

The second half of the 19th century was the starting point of the triumph of the natural sciences, which offer a reductionist view on nature. In terms of technical progress, it was a very successful view. Phenomenology in philosophy and

psychology can be regarded as a countermovement to the methods and concepts of the natural sciences. Edmund Husserl based his phenomenological philosophy of consciousness on arguments against psychology as a natural science. In his book *Logische Untersuchungen* (Husserl, 1900/1901; Eng. Logical Investigations), he described the intentional experience of perception and thinking. Human thinking in everyday life does not follow formal rules of logic or quantitative rules of associations, even though many psychologists supported these two assumptions in their studies at that time. One prominent example was Hermann Ebbinghaus, founder of the empirical exploration of memory. He studied human memory using associations of meaningless syllables (Ebbinghaus, 1885/2011).

Ebbinghaus was one of the pioneers of cognitive psychology in Germany. At the threshold of the 20th century psychology formed as a new discipline of research and academic teaching. Increasingly more chairs of philosophy were converted into chairs of psychology. The newly appointed professors conducted experiments to study perception and thinking. They were cognitive psychologists, the first ones in the history of psychology. Different methods of research of philosophy and psychology pushed institutional struggles between the two disciplines. In 1912 two-thirds of university teachers of philosophy wrote a public note of protest against the gradual transformation of philosophy into psychology. This statement was published in all philosophical journals, and it was sent to all ministries of education and cultural affairs in Germany (Ash, 1984, p. 53). But this intervention did not stop the breakthrough of psychology as new academic discipline.

Controversial issues on the form of experiments in psychology helped to establish new directions of research. Since 1894 Oswald Külpe had been professor of philosophy in Wurzburg. He had studied in Leipzig before, where the famous Wilhelm Wundt had been supervisor of his dissertation. But gradually Külpe came to the conclusion that Wundt's experimental techniques in Leipzig were inappropriate for understanding human reasoning (Külpe, 1912). The experimental psychologists in Wurzburg were later referred to as being of the Wurzburg School of Psychology (Janke & Schneider, 1999). Indeed it was an interdisciplinary research group of philosophers, psychologists and physiologists. Nearly all of them were familiar with Edmund Husserl's writings. They implemented Husserl's concepts into experimental psychology. Karl Bühler's habilitation (Bühler, 1907) was the peak point of the Wurzburg School. After his immigration into the USA,

Bühler gained broad scientific recognition with his organon-model of language (Bühler, 1934). In Wurzburg, during the first decade of the 20th century, Bühler conducted experiments on learning with his academic colleagues as learners. His theory was influenced by Husserl and can be summed up as an intentional learning theory. It based on the vague and complex experiences of learners in daily life. In this case, daily life means the daily routines of philosophers and psychological researchers at work. This will be demonstrated by the following example of one of his experiments:

> Instructor (Karl Bühler): 'Do you understand the following passage?'
>
> "The idealism after Immanuel Kant has overcome completely the contradiction of the Ding an sich (Eng. object apart)"'.
>
> Student (Academic Colleague): 'Yes (after 14 seconds). At first reflections on philosophers that followed Kant. Then there was a reminiscence of my lecture of the Kritik der reinen Vernunft (Eng. critique of pure reason). Then Hegel's criticism of Kant's term of the Ding an sich (Eng. object apart) came to my mind'. (Vollmers, 2014, translation according to Bühler, 1907, p. 306)

In his habilitation, Karl Bühler conducted 600 similar tasks with academic persons being in the role of students. Tasks included philosophical aphorisms (mainly by Friedrich Nietzsche, Paul Heyse and Friedrich Rückert) and questions with regard to the history of German philosophy. Bühler's method was called systematic experimental introspection. However, introspection has a longer tradition in philosophy and in theology compared to psychology; all variants of introspection focused more or less on the conscious experiences of living persons. Different variants developed different techniques on how to get along with the problem to separate the unique individual experience from the underlying cultural codes and from retrospective rationalisations (Deterding, 2008). Oswald Külpe, head of the Wurzburg School during the first decade of the 20th century, claimed that the introduction of introspection at Wurzburg had led to a complete new form of cognitive psychology (Galliker, 2016, p. 119 f.).

What is the understanding of learning in such experiments? Six answers can be given to this question (according to Vollmers, 2014):

- Processes of learning happen within the unity of perception and thinking.
- Learning means to understand complex relations within the area of personal surroundings.
- Learning is the acquisition of something new. But the basis for this are personal knowledge and former individual experiences.
- Learning is an intentional process with focus on certain aspects of the environment.
- Learning is at the same time analytical and synthetic.
- Aspects of the environment are chosen according to the values of individuals. These aspects are mixed up in thinking processes in an idiosyncratic manner.

These six answers form the centre of the phenomenological learning theory following Edmund Husserl's philosophy. Therefore, these conclusions were shared by the majority of phenomenological philosophers and psychologists referring to Husserl later in the 20th century. Husserl emphasised intentionality. In his review on phenomenology psychology, Carl Friedrich Graumann (1999) listed three additional aspects: perceptivity, corporeality and Lebenswelt (Eng. everyday life). So, every individual has a unique view on environmental aspects. This view originates from his daily life routines. It is the human body as a whole that fulfils daily tasks.

Both Karl Bühler and Oswald Külpe left Würzburg in 1909. With the departure their specific experimental approach to studying cognitive processes disappeared as well. But after more than 100 years the phenomenological approach of the Wurzburg School is still relevant in different branches of psychology. The anniversary textbook of Janke and Schneider (1999) has proven this, although the book does not mention environmental psychology to a large extent. Modern environmental psychology discovered classical phenomenological psychology in the form of Gestalt psychology. The different schools of Gestalt psychology achieved their peak at the universities of Frankfurt and Berlin in the 1920s. But Gestalt psychology has more than one link to the phenomenological tradition of the Wurzburg School. There were diverse continuities, theoretical ones, methodical ones and personal ones (Galliker et al., 2007). Theoretical links are common basic assumptions, for example holism as a principle. It refers to the experience of nature and surroundings within the human mind (see Ash, 1995

for holism in German psychology). Methodical similarities show in the concepts and practices of experiments. Both schools emphasised the high epistemological relevance of the verbal statements of persons during and after experiments (for the phenomenological approach in experiments in psychology see Kebeck & Sader, 1984). Personal relations between the two schools existed as well. Max Wertheimer, one of the heads of Gestalt psychology, wrote his dissertation under the supervision of Oswald Külpe (see details in King & Wertheimer, 2005, p. 55f.).

Transformation of phenomenological psychology into ecological psychology

Modern environmental psychology has its cultural origin in the general environmental movement that gained gradually stronger public influence during the decade 1970 to 1980. At that time academic psychologists reflected on the question how academic psychology could contribute to this movement. Environmental psychology, also called ecological psychology, was founded as a new discipline of academic psychology at that time. On the one hand the advocates remembered classical German psychologists with phenomenological and ecological orientation. On the other hand, they adopted ideas of American authors. German environmental psychologist Rudolf Miller summed up these two branches in his article (Miller, 1986). The following passages refer to him.

Among the classical German psychologists that inspired the new psychological discipline two persons stand out: Kurt Lewin and Willy Hellpach. In the 1920s Kurt Lewin was a member of the Berlin branch of Gestalt psychology. He called his phenomenological theory Field Theory. It is a theory that designs the relation of a person and its environment from the perspective of the acting person. Depending on the perspective Lewin's theory was interpreted as theory of perception, of action or of motivation. Even sociological links were constructed by succeeding generations of scientists (see different scientific interpretations in detail in Lück, 2001). Lewin's theory is a phenomenological one. According to Lewin a person's acting within the environment is determined by personal values of different aspects of the environment. This is proven by different directions

of attention and by different forms of efforts of individuals. In the language of modern epistemology Lewin's approach focused on the perspective of the first person in contrast to the third-person-perspective of natural sciences. The person acting attributes different values to different aspects of the environment. The values are not quantitative. Lewin used the notion valence. The person moves within a field of elements. Each element works as an attraction or a repulsion. Often Lewin's theory is referred to as motivation theory. Instead Lewin himself preferred to speak of a space theory of human life. It is the personal space around the body as a whole that determines human thinking, learning and acting.

The second classical author was Willy Hellpach. In contrast to Kurt Lewin he cannot be assigned to a distinct psychological school. Hellpach became famous as politician elected in the Weimar Republic during the 1920s. The general public was familiar with Hellpach's writings on social-psychology topics but not with his early works (Hellpach's personal, scientific and political biography is presented in Kaune, 2006). Modern environmental psychologists considered Hellpach to be the founder of German environmental psychology. One of his books was already published in 1911. The title was: Die geopsychischen Erscheinungen. Wetter, Klima und Landschaft in ihrem Einfluß auf das Seelenleben dargestellt. (Eng. The geo-psychic phenomena. Weather, climate and landscape and their impact on psychic life.) This book met with phenomenological views on human surroundings. Nature and human experiences of it were not designed by stimuli or by measurements. According to Hellpach all human environments consist of three global sectors:

- Nature (Ground, Weather, Climate, Landscape),
- Social and human environment (Cooperations),
- Cultural Environment (Art, Media).

Individuals experience each of the three sectors in a holistic manner. They construct distinguished relations with the sectors and show specific forms of interaction with each of them. When human beings get in contact with these sectors, different forms of expectations, emotions and actions evolve. Retrospectively Hellpach's viewpoint of nature and social surroundings comes surprisingly close to the famous idea of 'Behaviour Settings' of the American sociologists Roger Barker (1968). Barker was one prominent Anglo-American author that inspired

the environmental psychologists in Germany in the 1970s and 1980s. Two other Anglo-American psychologists cited often by Germany's environmental psychologists were William Ittelson (his book Introduction to Environmental Psychology was published in 1974) and James Gibson. His book, The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception, was published in 1979, but his ecological approach in visual perception research can be traced back to his dissertation in 1928.

Apart from classical phenomenology in Germany and apart from American psychologists with ecological orientation there was a third source of the new discipline environmental psychology in Psychology. The general environmental movement discussed the damages of nature as the result of uncontrolled human interventions into nature and of negative repercussions on humans. Decisions under uncertainty during interventions into complex social and ecological systems were studied and made famous to the general public in the 1980s by Dietrich Dörner (1989). He favoured computer-simulations of complex natural and social systems to study interventions and forms of decision-making of humans. Despite the orientation on computer-modelling his results had a large impact on environmental psychologists. Dörner's experiments revealed misleading strategies of persons trying to conduct complex social and ecological systems.

The concepts of German and American psychologists have been a theoretical background in order to outline research programmes of modern environmental psychology in Germany during the years 1980 to 2000. Fietkau (1999) summed up four guiding principles for empirical research in environmental psychology:

- Person-environment-relation is created and experienced by individuals in holistic forms. From outside (viewpoint of research) this is a dynamic interaction.
- For humans the environment usually does not consist of single stimuli or objects. There are perceived areas of living (for example: town centres, recreation areas, pedestrian zones).
- Different areas of living are emotionally charged by humans using symbolic values (for example: native town, area of well-being, area of danger).
- Empirical research on person-environment-relations has to consider these three basic assumptions in order to use appropriate research designs.

Fietkau's principles are in complete accordance with the assumptions of phenomenological approaches of Bühler, Lewin and Hellpach presented above. The Wurzburg School and the Gestalt psychologists as well conducted qualitative experiments. Verbal descriptions of attitudes, experiences and thinking played an important role in these forms of empirical research (Kebeck & Sader, 1984). Indeed, Fietkau did not argue in favour of qualitative methods, but he discarded laboratory experiments. In his opinion empirical research in environmental psychology has to be conducted within natural settings and has to consider personal emotions and perceptions.

1994 was the year of the formal establishment of environmental psychology within Germany's academic psychology. The section environmental psychology was formed within the Germany Society of Psychology. Leading persons of this section wrote in programmatic papers (see Hunecke, 2001; Lantermann & Linneweber, 2006) that the role of this discipline is to cooperate in interdisciplinary research projects dealing with environmental protection and sustainability. In these projects environmental psychologists should analyse the human factor using key psychological concepts as perceptions, emotions, attitudes or motives. Moreover, a large branch of environmental psychology has integrated into medicine, clinical psychology and public health research. This branch analyses the healing power of different aspects of nature (Gebhard et al., 2016). In international environmental psychology the health branch seems to be the dominant one (see review of research in Hartig et al., 2014).

Environmental Education

Environmental Education started as an academic discipline in Germany during the 1970s as well. There were substantial similarities to environmental psychology. Both disciplines emphasised a holistic experience of nature. Both disciplines aimed at protection of nature. But historical roots were different. In contrast to the classic experiments in cognitive psychology presented in the previous chapter, the sources of environmental education were outside German universities.

Advocates of environmental pedagogy saw sources of their discipline in diverse trends of Reformpädagogik (Eng. reformatory pedagogics or progressive

education) between the years 1900 to 1933 in Germany, especially those that defined themselves to be nature orientated youth movements. For example, the youth movement Wandervogel e.V., founded in 1896 in Berlin, can be considered to be one of the earliest forms of environmental education in Germany. Joint walking in the nature and joint experiencing of nature, mainly of forests, were basic activities and ideas. The Wandervogel movement was not unique at that time in Germany (characteristics of the Wandervogel movement were described by Giesecke, 1981, p. 17f.). Different movements had different ideals of youth and human life. But nearly all of them had in common to perceive nature as a space of shared experiences of groups. Members of the group should stand up for each other. And they should educate each other. Today especially concepts of environmental education with focus on Erlebnispädagogik (Eng. experiential pedagogy) define nature orientated youth movements such as Wandervogel to be pioneers (Fischer & Lehmann, 2009, p. 32f.). Erlebnispädagogik means to be in nature for a longer period of time, guided by educators, in order to have a holistic experience and to recognise nature as a complex ecosystem.

Compared to environmental psychology at that decade the discussions within environmental education in the years 1970 to 1990 were less focused on research methods and research designs. Instead publications treated political matters and environmental education was designed as a form of political education. Protection of nature was regarded at the same time as a personal and a political goal. The individual should recognise the value of nature for humans in general. Moreover, the individual should reflect on political and economic tendencies working against the protection of nature. Typical learning goals in order to protect nature were carefully usage of energy and knowing of ecological resources in daily life.

Kahlert (2005) argued that the experience of nature is not sufficient if environmental education is the intention of learning processes. He summed up three learning objectives for individuals within political orientated environmental education:

1. To come to living-age appropriate judgements on ecological risks (that means evaluation of the quality of different natural areas and of political necessities to act);

2. To recognise, to understand and to evaluate the context of measures taken to improve the quality of environment (that are prerequisites of ecological actions);
3. To consider possible (intentional and non-intentional) consequences of actions to improve quality of the environment (so one has to make calculations of consequences of ecological actions).

Ecological education means to increase the knowledge of students to consider consequences of human interventions. It also means the ability to evaluate these consequences in an appropriate ecological manner. The latter marks the transition to ideas of sustainability in education.

Education for sustainable development in VET in Germany

In Germany the BIBB functions as a big regulatory institution in the background of all strategies, techniques and achievements concerning the implementation of sustainability into Germany's VET system. The implementation of structural innovations into Germany's VET system, such as sustainability, usually is carried out by the BIBB at two levels: new definitions of regulatory instruments of vocational trainings in the dual system on the one hand and model projects combined with scientific research on the other hand. Since 2005 the BIBB has initiated diverse Model projects concerning sustainability. Authors of this paper have already given an overview of the BIBB's relevant initiatives since 2005 in the last conference proceedings (Vollmers & Kuhlmeier, 2017). So we go on without any description of these model projects. Instead we cast a glance at their prehistory.

After the year 2000 Konrad Kutt, as member of the BIBB's scientific staff, was given the task to design a concept that should guide research on sustainability. It should be addressed in two forms: as a new qualification requirement of skilled workers and as a general didactic principle. Kutt collected diverse ideas from environmental and political education and linked them with aspects of the triangle of sustainability discussed in publications of economists (von Hauff & Kleine, 2009). Ideas of sustainability could be traced back into the 18th century in Europe (Grober, 2010). But they had been linked to economical processes in

general, not to work requirements of individuals. Before the year 2000 this term had been scarcely used in Germany's VET system.

The BIBB's first ideas on sustainability as a new principle of learning and teaching in Germany's VET system

After 2000 Konrad Kutt organised a series of round-table-discussions with experts from different scientific disciplines and published some papers containing results of these discussions. Kutt's concept how to integrate sustainability systematically into Germany's VET system can be traced back to the year 2001. In his first paper Kutt (2001) stuck to general goals of environmental education. In his opinion these goals are necessary but not sufficient. If one wants to support principles of sustainability in VET one has to go further. According to him sustainability functions as a 'global political-strategic reference-point and must integrate economic, ecological and social goals. Worldwide justice as global orientation has to be addressed at' (Kutt, 2001, p. 50). Therefore, sustainable concepts of VET must focus on:

- Ethical and moral aspects of private, professional and economical actions,
- Intergenerational justice,
- Succeeding arrangements of future global social and economic developments.

Three years later he published an expertise paper (Kutt, 2004). He discussed the blurriness of the concept of sustainability, especially with reference to the definition of professional qualifications in VET. He saw three aspects as main obstacles preventing the successful implementation of sustainability in VET:

- 'There is uncertainty and indistinctness because of increasing complexity. Future development cannot be predicted. That means qualification requirements in professional labour cannot be predicted.
- There are conflicting goals when it comes to the organisation of sustainable development. Actions are influenced by values; objective indicators are not visible. Essential parts of social determined sustainability are ambiguity and conflict.

- Interests of actors are social as well. Their orientation is individual and collective acquis and advantages. Sustainable development starts from conflicting interests' (Translation according to Kutt, 2004, p. 1).

Thus professional knowledge of sustainability is more than domain specific knowledge. Apart from the professional dimension it contains a political and a global future dimension. Because of the wideness and combination of the dimensions, there will be a big risk of failure in learning. The following section expounds one famous example in this respect. It treats the topic of sustainability with focus on misleading ecological innovations within the area of car fuel. After this example it will be discussed how education of sustainability in VET should be organised in order to prevent such misleading actions in the near future.

The false hope of biofuel – One example of sustainability as a broken promise

As part of the promotion of renewable energy Germany's Government supported, in concordance with the European Union, the introduction of biofuel. Biofuel is fuel from plants (mainly palm trees, soy and rape). In the first years of the 21st century the view prevailed in environmental politics that biofuel was more sustainable compared to fossil petrol. In 2003 the European Parliament and European Council adopted the directive No. 2003/30. It was called the biofuel-directive (European Union, 2003). The member states made the commitment to define state specific basis quotes of biofuel as part of the total consumption of fuel. In 2009 the former biofuel-directive was replaced by the much stricter directive No. 2009/28. Its title was 'Directive of Renewable Energy' (European Union, 2009) and it is still valid in the EU. The directive claimed that each member state of the EU should reach the proportion of 10 percent of renewable energy within the total energy consumption. In 2016 the European Commission has made the proposition of a new directive that scheduled a much bigger rate of renewal energy. Right now this directive is under review within political and scientific discussions (DNR, 2017).

During the first decade of the 21st century Germany was in the role of a pioneer concerning the introduction of renewable energy in the European Union. Since 1998, when the coalition of social democrats and greens took over government in

Germany, there have been a lot of legislative initiatives to foster green energy. Since 1998 within the automobile traffic Germany's diverse governments have fostered diesel powered car construction and diesel fuel. Concerning biofuel, of which the biggest amount should be diesel fuel, the so called Biokraftstoffquotengesetz (Eng. Bio-fuels-quota-act, Deutsche Bundesregierung, 2006) was the most relevant one. After some changes of this law in 2008 the Mineral oil industry in Germany was obliged to secure until the year 2020 the rate of 5 percent bio diesel and of 4 percent Ethanol within the offered fuel in total. Moreover, since 2000 all over Europe farmers have received diverse Government subsidies in order to cultivate energy crops instead of food or animal feeding stuff (Meyer et al., 2007, pp. 123f.). In Germany this has led to an enormous growth of the cultivation of rape, from which is obtained bio diesel, to its peak point in 2007. During the last 10 years the cultivation of rape has remained nearly constant (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017).

Since its starting point Governmental support of bio diesel has been a controversial issue in Germany. Most of the environmental associations opposed to this support. For example, Greenpeace demands the abolishment of the addition of biofuel to fuel (Greenpeace, 2008, p. 5). In 2013 Swiss sociologist Jean Ziegler demands to stop fostering biofuel within the European Union (Ziegler, 2013) because biofuel damages nature and human beings.

In 2015 German journalist Kathrin Hartman published her book 'Aus kontrolliertem Raubbau' (Eng. From controlled overexploitation, Hartman, 2015). Hartman has travelled worldwide in order to study the global effects of monocultures of energy plants. These plants are not only destined for biofuel, nutrition and cosmetics contain it as well. The monocultures are different in different regions in the world. The plants are soy and rape in Germany and in the USA. But in Indonesia and South America plants of palm oil dominate. Hartmann sums up the global effects of such monocultures as follows:

1. Poisoning of ground and water, because pollutants on the ground were not removed by animals. They lost their former habitats.
2. Dying of species, because these species find not enough food as a result of the use of pesticides. For example, in Germany bees are dying, in Indonesia Orangutans are suffering the same fate.

3. Expulsion of inhabitants in order to plant palm trees within big areas, because the enterprises behave ruthlessly. This happens mainly in Asia and in South America.
4. Concentration of financial capital in private companies planting palm trees; Companies pay dumping salaries to former inhabitants that are in the role of workers now. This happens mainly in Asia and South America.

Under aspects of sustainability, from a worldwide prospective, if one considers all economical and biological consequences, promotion of biofuel is misleading. Moreover, this example demonstrates that different professions are touched. In VET the devastating consequences of monocultures are of relevance for car mechanics, for trade occupations, for agricultural vocations and for nutrition professionals. The problem is how make such global effects tangible for individual learners, for apprentices and skilled workers alike. The following section (3.3) discusses two different strategies: didactical reduction and creation of sensitivity towards personal lack of knowledge.

Teaching and learning of sustainability in VET – Two different strategies

A lot of philosophers, psychologists and educational scientists emphasised the important role of direct personal experience in human learning. The direct interaction between individual and surroundings is decisive in order to acquire knowledge and skills. What cannot be experienced cannot be understood properly by the individual. But sustainability cannot be experienced by individuals completely because it incorporates global and future consequences. To make sustainability tangible during learning scenarios in VET is a paradoxical task to a certain extent.

There are two basic strategies how to handle complexity in teaching and learning scenarios. One strategy is to reduce the complexity of topics. This strategy is called didactical reduction and a lot of teachers are familiar with it. The other strategy comes from cognitive psychology. It aims to make learners sensitive for their personal extent of ignorance in complex conditions. In the following the two

strategies will be presented in brief. Both strategies have in common the focus on personal experiences of learners.

Werner Kuhlmeier (2008) discussed how to make sustainability tangible during learning scenarios in technical VET, with special focus on agriculture and building jobs. He argued for the reduction of complexity by illustrating complex global relations within simple demonstration experiments and within tasks of moral dilemmas. Demonstration experiments can support experience of natural surroundings. For example, the task to plant an area on the soil will give learners the experience on the links between plants, soil and fertilisation. For example, the task to decide what kind of wood to purchase for carpentry work will give learners the experience of a dilemma situation between sustainability and financial profit. According to Kuhlmeier (2008) these two examples of reducing complexity enhance four aspects within learners in VET:

- To perceive (German *Wahrnehmen*): To experience directly abstract global relations of nature or of society that are relevant concerning sustainability.
- To know (German *Wissen*): To acquire knowledge how products are manufactured, in sustainable form or not.
- To motivate (German *Wollen*) and to evaluate (German Bewerten): To develop personal moral standards for regular decisions at work that balance environment protection an economic profit.
- To operate (German *Wirken*): To experience self-efficacy by being able to act in a sustainable way.

The second strategy, to sensitise people for their extent of ignorance about details of complex situations or subjects, is supported by American cognitive psychologist Steven Sloman. Together with his colleague Philip Fernbach (Sloman & Fernbach, 2017) he has pointed out that a lot of people make decisions and evaluations in daily life with an enormous ignorance about facts. For a modern democracy it is scary that a lot of people are not conscious of their lack of knowledge within a lot of domains of public interest. Sloman and Fernbach have studied the knowledge of individuals in experiments using various topics, for example technical devices, scientific facts, law plans and political decisions. He did not study sustainability in economics or in professional aspects, but his general recommendations how to enable individuals to make smarter decisions within complex surroundings could

be applied on sustainability. Steven Sloman favours communicative learning scenarios that demand verbal descriptions from learners. Thus, they learn what they do know of topics and what they do not know. Questions of others, teachers or colleagues, help them to discover their blind spots. Moreover, learners should develop their personal decision rules at work and in private life when they deal with complex topics. If they internalise their strategies and these strategies proved to be successful learning will be sustainable in a psychological manner.

Conclusions: Main aspects of the phenomenological approach within learning scenarios of sustainability in VET

General didactical guidelines and models of competencies are the overall results of model projects of sustainability in VET in Germany (see introduction). Both contributions are creditable if the aim is to implement sustainability into a VET system. They can be written in general regulatory tools (for example, in curricula). But didactic guidelines and competence models should not be the starting point of learning-scenarios if one takes into consideration fundamental principles of phenomenological and cognitive psychology. Instead the starting point should be the individual experience of person-surroundings-relations at work. Learning scenarios must be designed open and exploratory. Instructions of teachers must support reflections of individual experiences. The instructions of Karl Bühler could work as a model. Moreover, learners must be guided to reflect on real interventions, if they are seniors at work. If they are apprentices, they could discuss consequences of possible future interventions. Evaluation of interventions is one central point of environmental education.

Usually individuals at work have created habits or routines in order to make decisions. That helps them to deal with complexity. Dietrich Dörner and Steven Sloman demonstrated the disastrous consequences of inappropriate habits of decision making in complex systems. Therefore, learning scenarios must encourage learners to explore their habits at work, with special reference to the question, if they support sustainability or do the opposite.

Individuals cooperate in groups, organisations and enterprises. Professional work can be found in all three levels. Therefore, larger forms of decision making and interventions into surroundings should be discussed in VET. One example is the biofuel. It is an example of inter-professional learning. It demonstrates the sociological, political and economic aspects of sustainability.

Phenomenological and cognitive psychology have emphasised that learning is first of all a matter of very individual experiences. Subjective experiences do not deliver complete knowledge of topics. But personal experience does form future actions of humans. In the words of Ernst von Glasersfeld: 'What we make of experience constitutes the only world we consciously live in' (von Glasersfeld, 1995, p. 1).

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Financing and institutions as key elements of the future of adult education – Disciplinary struggles about empirical observations[1]

Lorenz Lassnigg & Stefan Vogtenhuber

Abstract

The empirical basis of this chapter is an explorative attempt of the observation and analysis of the total expenditure and basic structures of participation for adult education in Austria, compared to selected countries from different welfare regimes (Finland, Sweden, Australia, Scotland/UK). The empirical results from the estimations are widely unexpected, and they are reflected in relation to disciplinary struggles at different levels, viz. the inner Austrian discourses and more broadly the wider academic and research disciplines. A big disciplinary struggle is about how the contributions of different stakeholders relate to market failure and to adult education as a public good.

Keywords: adult education, financing, institutions, comparative, policy

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the ESREA conference at Maynooth, Ireland, http://www.equi.at/dateien/Esrea-fin.pdf; see also the presentation including more visualizations of the results at http://www.equi.at/dateien/esrea-dublin-16pdf.pdf.

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Introduction

This chapter reflects on the disciplinary struggles at the interface between empirical 'facts' and political interpretations and strategies. The main point is that facts do not speak for themselves; therefore, conceptual frameworks (theories, ideologies, beliefs, rhetoric) are needed to 'translate' them into the political domain. Thus, facts and conceptual frameworks are not substitutive but complementary. Not only good facts are needed, but also good frameworks – this truism might be forgotten if facts are missing altogether and expectations in facts are overemphasised. An empirical study about the levels of financing and different sources of the expenditure in states from different welfare regimes (Nordic: Sweden, Finland; liberal: UK/Scotland, Australia; Austria as a continental country) is taken as material to reflect on different kinds of disciplinary struggles – between academic disciplines (economics and political science), between meta-political interpretations (neoliberal and welfare-oriented approaches) and between different approaches to observation (qualitative and quantitative).

The empirical results were unexpected in some ways. First, the overall expenditure per capita was highest in Austria, with the highest expenditure by individuals, signifying rather a neoliberal policy approach than a corporatist one; second, there is no overall relationship between participation and expenditure in the selected countries except that higher state expenditures are related to increased participation in formal adult education (AE); third, in terms of policy strategies the results do not point towards deliberate systematic patterns: corporatist Austria shows the most 'neoliberal' pattern despite none of the actors deliberately following this strategy; fourth in the liberal countries high state expenditures are combined with low overall expenditures and high participation. How these 'anomalies' might translate into disciplinary struggles is asked in the reflection.

The chapter elaborates on the results of a comparative observation and analysis of the expenditure for AE in a set of five countries (our own country, Austria, compared to Finland and Sweden as two Nordic countries and Australia and Scotland/GBR as two liberal countries). In its empirical part, it sketches the approach of how the total financing of AE was observed in our project and relates the estimated expenditure to participation and institutional traits in the countries compared. In its conceptual and theoretical interpretation and reasoning about

the – quite astonishing and unexpected – results, it reflects more systematically on how the resources and expenditure dimension in AE is related to disciplinary struggles about broader economic, political and institutional understandings.

How can expenditure be measured? Is the amount of financing systematically related to the prevailing institutional frameworks? According to which criteria can the level of expenditure be assessed or evaluated? Do the results allow us to draw political conclusions about financing and/or institutions? Questions of this kind are related to disciplinary struggles as different disciplines will give different weight to different aspects. Economics will focus on the efficiency and impact of resources, with different emphases on other aspects (e.g. distributional) depending on different approaches; political science will emphasise the institutional frameworks of delivery, their relationship to goal setting and their steering power; sociology will look at the patterns of social distribution and the conditions for access in different structures; educational science has the goals, processes and conditions of learning at its centre and might question abstract perspectives on institutions and structures based on quantitative observation. In addition to these raw differences in perspective, the various disciplines themselves are driven by competing explanatory approaches, establishing difficulties of mutual understanding. Inter-, multi- or transdisciplinarity approaches have been proposed as potential solutions to these struggles, and from psychology a hybrid discipline of Bildung-Psychology has been proposed to integrate the various dimensions of lifelong learning, with AE being a part of the overall framework (Wagner, Strohmeier & Schober, 2016).

Comparative research as a specific domain poses questions and highlights struggles about legitimate political conclusions or consequences from the comparisons. Currently comparisons are frequently used as (quantitative) benchmarks, however, without clearly establishing why some configurations are better than others. The disciplinary struggles are in one way or another filtered and amalgamated in the political discourses, which transforms questions about 'facts' into questions about political or rhetorical alternatives.

This chapter attempts to demonstrate these interrelationships taking as an example research and related political struggles about financing and the provision of AE in Austria and about potential political alternatives. It is organised as follows: The next section describes the political struggles around financing AE in Austria

during the 2000s related to policy evaluations of the European Social Funds (ESF), which have laid the ground for a more thorough analysis of financing and institutional structures, including a comparative analysis of different countries. The disciplinary struggles around these analyses are discussed in the following section. A section discussing AE in relation to welfare regimes, the market and institutions concludes the chapter.

Political struggles around AE in lifelong learning policy during the 2000s

The early political attempts to develop a 'lifelong learning strategy' in Austria were driven by quite fierce disputes about the positioning of adult education (AE) in this context. Three observations stood out in the beginning: First, Austria made quite early moves to include the topic of lifelong learning into the financial support programme of the ESF; second, the measures taken in this programme were primarily focused on initial school and youth education despite that the public expenditure for AE was very low in Austria; third, the goals and delivery methods of the ESF have contrasted with the traditional AE policies with a strong orientation towards project planning methods and an orientation towards employment and human capital.

A new requirement was that the policies had to be evaluated concerning the delivery and the potential impact. During the evaluation process political struggles came up about the agenda and the tasks of the policy evaluation: Where are the limits of critique by the evaluation team? Where does scientific assessment end, and where do political statements begin? A main dispute in the course of the evaluation of the ESF interventions took place about the potential impact of the European funds for lifelong learning in Austria: as the amount of the additional European funds was given beforehand, the support could clearly make much more impact in relation to the small public funds spent on AE than in relation to the huge and also comparatively high expenditure on initial education.

Further questions emerged from this dispute: How much is really spent on AE from different sources? From what rationales can the amount and proportion

of public spending be evaluated? For which purposes is public money spent on AE (e.g. vocational or general AE), and to what extent can this be scientifically justified? It was clear that a rational discourse about funding policies is foreclosed if the amount of available funds for the different purposes is in fact unknown. These questions are related to the interconnected disciplinary and political struggles.

In the lifelong learning policy discourse a market-oriented economic and political perspective has gained hegemony in the 2000s, posing its main emphasis on the redefinition of costs into investments and their relationship to the returns for the different stakeholders. An even relationship of investment and returns was assumed to reflect the proper working of the market, cost-benefit discrepancies were seen as signals for 'market failure' and market failure as justification of public interventions. Political interventions should be limited to the areas of proven market failure, and the analysis of market failure and related policies became a main topic of economic research (e.g. Booth & Snower, 1996). From an economic point of view a main empirical indicator of market failure was defined by discounting the investments and returns of the different actors: in particular, if returns are lower than investments (or unevenly distributed among players), market failure exists, and investment will tend to be too low.

However, the empirical assessment of these relations turned out to be much more complicated than expected, and a generalised rule of thumb came up that has distinguished three main categories of players – individuals, enterprises and the public – and proposed normatively a rough 1:1:1 relationship between these categories in funding. Accordingly, the question came up as to how this relationship would play out empirically, and a kind of 'market equilibrium' could be derived from this rule of thumb.

The attempts to observe or estimate these proportions have led to new conceptual questions and disputes concerning the attribution of funds to the players. In Austria labour market policy contributes substantial funds to qualification measures. How shall these be attributed to the three categories of players? This question is related to the welfare model: in the conservative Bismarck-type welfare state the means for labour market policy are raised by the social insurance from employees and employers, and the spending is basically related to the entitlements according to the insurance principle. Thus an

ambiguity arises about whether this empirically large amount of money should be attributed to the public funds or to the contributions of the employers and the employees. In Austria the 1:1:1 relationship as an indication for an equilibrium is largely reached if the labour market policy expenditure in AE is attributed to the public funds; however, if counted as part of the employers' and employees' contributions, the public funds are very low (according to the first analysis in 2006 the public-individual-enterprise distribution was between 15-42-43 and 11-46-42 depending on the consideration of opportunity costs – in any case far from the 1-1-1 relationship). This means that the 'fact' itself was under dispute. In the public discourse the labour market policy means were attributed to the public, thus no challenge for politics was derived from the results.

These questions about the amount of expenditure were supplemented by further dispute over reasonable funding mechanisms and the creation of supportive institutional structures in AE. Since the 1960s a longstanding debate concerns the basic regulation and the political responsibility for AE; this was later amended by the dispute over the support of institutions vs. the strengthening of market forces. Finally, another debate came up with the new project-related European governance mechanisms, which replaced the traditional unconditional lump-sum support by the more goal- and results-oriented and heavily monitored practices in the ESF policies. These topics were strongly structuring the political and professional discourse, with important institutional issues in their background.

The basic political structure is determined by the decision in the early 1970s not to establish a clear political responsibility under the leadership of the central government and only to amend a law (Erwachsenenbildungsförderungsgesetz, 1973)[2] about providing government support for a list of purposes to a set of stakeholders (KEBÖ Conference of Austrian Adult Education)[3] and otherwise to leave the scattered and strongly voluntarist structures of responsibility among the regional and local authorities in the complex Austrian state. A mechanism of support from the central budget to KEBÖ providers was set up that distributed a yearly updated amount of money to them. In addition, the providers have their relations to their owners as well as to the various government authorities at

2 https://erwachsenenbildung.at/themen/eb_in_oesterreich/gesetze/foerderungs gesetz.php.

3 https://erwachsenenbildung.at/themen/eb_in_oesterreich/organisation/keboe.php.

regional and local levels, where they also (can) receive various kinds of additional support (the resulting structure is called the 'cooperative system'). One purpose of this solution was the intention on the side of the players to remain independent from the state, however, at the cost of an overall weak institutional structure and of the perpetuation of conflicts and competition among them; because new providers came up, insiders and outsiders emerged among the providers, which further weakens the overall structure. Formally, the various purposes of AE are covered by the regulation, in principle combining non-vocational and vocational purposes and stakeholders.

With the rise of human capital purposes and the increase of labour market policy support for qualification, the vocational providers gained more strength and influence in policy, and the Public Employment Service (AMS), governed by the social partners, became an important player in AE outside the formal political structure. Despite that a formal distinction between the different kinds and sectors of AE does not prevail, de facto a structure of different sectors has emerged comprising three main camps: the providers of vocational AE led by the big institution of the employers' chamber (WIFI), the labour market policy measures (AMS), also related to some providers, and the AE section of the education authorities mainly related to traditional non-vocational AE with a strong emphasis on the support of disadvantaged groups. AE researchers have always criticised this basic structure and called for a clear public responsibility for AE (Lenz, 1994); however, with the increasing neoliberal discourse of New Public Management, this position appeared increasingly more outdated.

More recently the political discourse about the funding of AE in Austria has been dominated by a market rhetoric. As the market was and still is commonly attributed as being the main governance mechanism in Austrian AE, questions about political alternatives to marketisation are hardly asked. However, as there are mainly institutional and non-profit players acting in this 'market', the practices of the actors are in fact not profit-driven but heavily determined by institutional structures and interventions (which in turn are not transparent and also covered by the market rhetoric; Lassnigg, 2011). In the AE discourse since the 1990s, we can thus find a paradoxical structure: the positive struggle of the providers to make them marketed and commodified pushed critical questions about the purpose of this struggle and its alternatives to the margin (Lenz, 1994; Lassnigg, 2015).

This discourse was supported by the strong emphasis placed upon vocational AE and labour market policy, which is to some extent familiar to the market logic and, moreover, receives strong support in the corporatist institutional structures of the Austrian Social Partnership (with employers and employees organisations owning their own big training institutes and being involved as key players in the governance structures of AE, labour market policy and social insurance). The institutions of non-vocational AE did not stand against the tide but rather tried to get into this market and to some extent to vocationalise themselves. In sum, a discourse about economisation, commodification and marketisation in AE has been widely lacking in Austria (with some exceptions in higher education) (Heissenberger, Mark, Schramm, Sniesko & Süss, 2010).

The governance topic and the stance of the AE sector towards the EU policy was somehow trapped in the conflict between the existing institutional structures and practices of support of AE, on one hand, and the potential of reaping additional funding from the European programmes, on the other. The EU programmes were originally situated under the control of the social and labour market policy authorities, with the education authorities somehow 'invading' these policies under the rhetoric of lifelong learning in the 2000s. The players in AE had to choose between defending their independence in the traditional support structures and applying for additional funds by subordinating themselves to the new European support regime. They took different stances, and no common policy towards reaping funds for the sector has been developed. In particular vocational- and labour market-oriented programmes developed, including several new providers that were/are not part of the established provider system. In parallel the support structure of the central government changed towards new governance instruments (mainly achievement contracts), and some comprehensive support instruments have been set up (Adult Education Initiative, https://www.initiative-erwachsenenbildung.at/). However, the institutional structure remained fragmented and divided along several lines. This is visible in the Austrian Lifelong Strategy (Republik Österreich, 2011), in which the various activities towards AE have not gained momentum so far, and the related benchmarks about participation in AE are increasingly falling apart.

With respect to the disciplinary struggles, we can hardly find marked disciplinary contributors from the different camps of economics, political science

or sociology to these topics and questions in Austria (this kind of scientific discourse is mainly 'imported'). The distinguished academic Bildung-Psychology approach has not focused on AE so far; rather the earlier preconditions of lifelong learning in the school career are emphasised. Largely two lines of research-related discourse emerged: (1) a disciplinary hybrid line of work positively related to political consultation processes trying to support the development and implementation of a comprehensive lifelong learning strategy, however, with only weak consideration of AE and largely driven by the Human Capital and New Public Management rhetoric; great importance was attached (at least rhetorically) to the support of disadvantaged groups and to the transition of young adults into employment and working life; (2) mainly in the field of AE research an intellectual camp of radical critique of the neoliberal directions emerged, that in the sense of Adorno's Negative Dialectic tries to formulate much broader educational purposes in the deliberate resistance against the economisation and commercialisation of AE (Holzer, 2017 works this out thoroughly; see also http://kritische-eb.at/wordpress/?page_id=335). So far, communication between these far distant lines of research seems difficult, and the differences are situated in the interpretation of basic conceptual issues rather than in empirical questions.

A more empirically grounded middle way approach that combines critical economic (market failure), political science (democratic governance, policy learning) and sociological (Matthew principle) reasoning research was developed first about how the status of AE in Austria can be evaluated and second how it can be politically supported and sustainably established as a fair part of lifelong learning (policy). At this point the comparative dimension came into play. It has become familiar to use country comparisons as a source of assessment and evaluation of the situation in a particular country and furthermore also to look for good practices abroad to learn from in policymaking at home. Both practices, however, are rightly heavily disputed. Comparisons are mostly highly superficial and selective and utilised in biased ways; and learning from good practice requires a deep understanding of context that is mostly lacking; thus the use of comparisons is more rhetorical and propagandistic than substantial. We wanted to overcome these shortcomings at least to some extent by our approach and methodology entailing a comparison of the financing of and participation in AE between Austria and selected other countries (Lassnigg, Vogtenhuber & Osterhaus, 2012).

A comparative analysis as a contribution to disciplinary struggles about the financing and institutions of AE

Based on our previous studies about Austrian structures we wanted to look at how these structures play out in other countries.

First, in contrast to the abstract quantitative ranking procedures, we wanted to make controlled comparisons with countries selected on purposive grounds, so we selected countries according to contrasting welfare regimes to the Austrian conservative-corporatist continental type: on one hand, Nordic countries which are – theoretically supported – judged as good practice cases (Rubenson & Desjardins, 2009; Desjardins & Rubenson, 2013) and, on the other hand, countries of the liberal type that rather confirm the current neoliberal mainstream regime of economisation (Rees, 2013).

Secondly, we tried to get a complete picture about the financing of AE by the different actors' categories and used available comparative statistical sources in combination with qualitative explorations in the countries (examples of comprehensive studies of expenditure are available from Germany by Hummelsheim, 2010 and the UK by Williams, McNair, & Aldridge, 2010; however, these studies are based on national sources only and thus not so easily comparable). A shortcoming of our approach is that only a cross-sectional analysis of funding is possible with these data (no time series are available), which is additionally problematic because of sometime inconsistencies.

Third, we tried to get beyond the simple participation benchmarks as measures for performance by trying to use more detailed indicators and also looking at their patterning in relation to each other; here, unfortunately, not much comparative information is available that would consistently include our cases (Kilpi-Jakonen, Vono de Vilhena & Blossfeld, 2015).

Finally, we also looked to some extent at qualitative information about the policies and institutional structures in the countries compared to get an overview about the relationship between the financing and structures of AE; this was clearly constrained by the overall background condition that the study had to be as simple as possible and as cheap as possible.

The comparative empirical analysis was pragmatically inspired by questions about the impact and methods of public expenditure for adult education (AE)

in Austria and how it could and should be improved through the alternative strategies of supporting individuals in the market vs. supporting the providers and strengthening the institutions. The conceptual approach behind the empirical analysis was based on two main strands of reasoning.

One was derived from the reasoning about public interventions because of underinvestment based on market failure, which has inspired the proposition of a shared financing by the three actor categories of individuals, enterprises and the state to roughly equal proportions. From this argument the empirical question about the distribution of the contributions of these actors' categories arises. In relation to the disciplinary struggles we settled on using the basic ideas of market failure for an assessment of financing amounts and structures.

The other conceptual strand was the reasoning about the consequences for the financing and participation structures of the institutional embeddedness of AE in different welfare regimes as brought forward by the 'bounded agency' approach (Rubenson & Desjardins, 2009). From this reasoning resulted the selection of the countries for comparison from the Nordic and the liberal regimes, which should also bring some illumination about the consequences of a more institutional- (Nordic) vs. a more market-oriented (liberal) financing strategy on the participation in and structures of AE. A simple interpretation of the welfare regime approach would suggest that the Austrian results should rank in between the Nordic and the liberal regime; policy directions towards improvement should possibly be inspired by the Nordic regime, and – less clearly expected – policy directions towards decline might be inspired by the liberal regime and more market-based policies.

The empirical expectations derived from this reasoning and the available knowledge from the literature based on international indicators and databases were quite simple and straightforward: The Nordic countries should allocate comparatively high resources, spent to a high degree from public sources, with comparatively high and equal participation; on the other extreme, the liberal countries should reap their (eventually rather scarce) resources to a high extent from the individual contributions in the market, eventually with less participation and probably more inequalities; Austria, as a corporatist country, was expected to spend at least less than the Nordic countries, with a high proportion of contributions from the enterprise sector, and with medium participation and

rather high inequality, both dimensions ranking eventually better than the liberal countries because of the corporatist coordination.

It must be kept in mind that comparative information about total financing by the different actors' categories was not available at the time of writing. The main outcome to be produced by the project was to collect this information and to compare it with the indicators about participation available in the comparative databases. The study must be seen as a pilot in this respect, and still this kind of information about expenditure for AE is not available in international databases.

Research design and methodology

The empirical research was based on estimations from comparative databases (e.g. CVTS, AES), supported by direct inquiries in the selected countries. A main aim was to acquire comparative and comprehensive information about the levels of financing of AE in states from different welfare regimes and to observe the different sources of the expenditure by broad categories (individuals, the state and enterprises). This distribution of financing should show broad policy patterns: a high proportion of individuals signifying liberal policies, a high proportion of enterprises signifying corporatist policies and a high proportion of the state signifying high public responsibility for AE. The relationship of these financing patterns to variables about participation in AE should give some basic information about the impact of the financing structures in the different welfare regimes. The main purpose of the study was situated on the national level to better understand the Austrian structures by mirroring them through the comparison; however, the study also contributes information about the other countries selected.

The methodological approach relied mainly on quantitative data, however, it also included elements of case studies through direct contacts with representatives of the countries. Different sources of information were matched, and for the purpose of comparison the data were standardised to a common year (2009) by purchasing power and per capita. Detailed information about the sources and procedures is documented separately: see http://www.equi.at/material/financing-AE-comp.pdf. The main sources for information about financing are from national public households and from public employment agencies, the European Continuing

Vocational Training Survey (CVTS 2 & 3, 2005–07) and the European Adult Education Survey (AES, 2007), and for Australia complementary comparable sources were available and utilised (TEPS: Employer Training Expenditure and Practices 2001/20, and HHES: Household Expenditure Survey 2003/04).

Overall, because of much conceptual work, and several procedures of making the data comparable, the data used in the end must be classified to a high degree as estimations rather than observations. The definition of AE had to rely on the data sources. For the financial estimations we basically used the definition of non-formal vocational and general adult education from the AES (EC 2005 and STATA 2009) and generally applied an age criterion of participants at 25 years or older; for the analysis of participation, the distinction between vocational and general AE and the category of formal AE were also used (it must be noted that all these definitions are affected by definitional problems). Participation was mainly analysed on the basis of the European sources (AES and CVTS; therefore, Australia had to be left out, and Great Britain had to be compared instead of Scotland). Only crude variables were available for these purposes: sex/gender, marital status, citizenship, country of birth, language, education credentials, employment status and criteria including position, occupation and size of enterprise.

The research design included two steps: first, the comparative estimation of the expenditure by the actors' categories (individuals, enterprises, the state, labour market policy) per capita of the population, and second, the correlation of financing results to the available indicators of participation to identify rough patterns across the selected countries from the different welfare regimes and to confront the expectations.

Results

The results did not match the expectations in more than one key aspect, thus the methodology as well as the conceptual framework must be questioned and further developed, taking into account the more recent theorising and analyses. First, the comparison of expenditure by actors' categories in the selected countries showed that against the expectations the overall expenditure was highest in Austria (index 1.16 against the average), and there was no communality of Nordic

vs. liberal countries (Australia and Sweden ranging at average and Finland and Scotland/GBR slightly below). The comparatively high expenditure in Austria results from substantially higher individual contributions (index 2.39); moreover, the individual contributions are substantially higher in Nordic countries (index around 0.8) than in liberal countries (index around 0.5) – the individual market contributions to non-formal AE are thus lower in liberal than in Nordic countries.

The contribution of the enterprises, which is underestimated overall in the data, is comparatively similar across the selected countries (34% to 44%). If we count the sum of individual and enterprise contributions as private contributions, this proportion is highest in Austria (55%, index 1.34) and Sweden (54%, index 1.11), and there is no common pattern according to the welfare regimes, as in Scotland/GBR and in Finland the private contributions are lowest.

The combined state and labour market training expenditure (sum public) is quite similar and does not show a consistent pattern across the welfare regimes. The two components of public expenditure, state funds and labour market training, are distributed very differently and against expectations. The state expenditure is highest in the liberal countries, followed by Sweden, whereas in Austria and Finland the dominant part of the public expenditure is spent via labour market policy.[4]

In sum, unexpectedly, individuals in Austria spend comparatively much for non-formal AE. The enterprises' contributions differ less between the selected countries, showing no consistent pattern across welfare regimes. State financing is highest in the liberal countries, whereas private sources – in particular individuals – contribute comparatively little to non-formal AE in this regime.

The measurement of participation is a key element in European and international research and policymaking and has been quite extensively theorised and analysed in recent decades. In contrast to financing, comparative indicators are available on this aspect from the OECD and EU, and they are also used in the political discourses. However, these indicators are still very crude, and the measurement is impaired by much lack of clarity.[5]

[4] Sweden has substantially reduced labour market policy expenditure shortly before the point of estimation: in 2009 this part of financing was only about one fifth of 2006.

[5] E.g., the data gathering has been refined in Europe at some points in time, so the European time series reflect a mixture of real and definitional changes, which are difficult to distinguish;

Basically, in our results the rough indicators of participation are not related to the indicators of financing. However, there is one exception: the state expenditure is positively related to formal AE. Because we have been particularly interested in the impacts of individual market-related expenditure and of state expenditure, we have looked at the pattern among the selected countries and welfare regimes according to the comparative level of three stylised attributes that combine funding and participation: (i) total funding and total participation, (ii) private individual funding and total participation and (iii) state funding and formal participation. Using these stylised attributes, a certain pattern among welfare regimes appears that is to some extent in line with the expectations and in other respect contradicts them.

The Nordic countries show by and large a comparatively medium to high position with respect to participation but a rather comparatively medium to low position with respect to expenditure; in addition, the three indicators are comparatively homogenously positioned, and state expenditure is not particularly high. Overall, these countries rank relatively favourable if the total expenditure and total participation positioning is taken as a main quality attribute.

The liberal countries show by trend a polarised picture, with comparatively low to medium participation and low to medium expenditure for the broader indicators, on one hand, however medium to high formal participation and high state expenditure on the other; the individual contributions on the market are low in this regime. In terms of quality the broad indicators show consistently lower participation with lower expenditure in this regime, and at the same time the public support of formal AE appears comparatively high.

Austria, with its conservative-corporatist welfare regime, shows the least favourable pattern, with high expenditure and medium to low participation, a reverse polarisation between consistently low state funding with low formal participation and high individual market contributions leading to comparatively low participation. More detailed information about the costs and the selectivity

moreover, different indicators are used (participation during four weeks before survey, or during one year), and different observations in different surveys give quite different results (e.g. Labour Force survey, Adult Education Survey and Continuing Vocational Training Survey). Consequently, caution is necessary with interpretations, nevertheless, exploration and use of the data can gradually contribute to clarification.

of the different kinds of participation in Austria compared to the other European countries indicates that the high individual and enterprise contributions on the market are related to the comparatively high costs of participation, a pattern that cannot easily be interpreted as sign for efficiency – the mainly state-funded formal participation in the other regimes bears markedly fewer costs. The selectivity indicators show in particular a higher selectivity in terms of the educational background of the participants in Austria (group-specific selectivity also exists in the countries selected for comparison but clearly to a much smaller degree than in Austria).

Summing up the empirical results, we see first that the overall expenditure per capita was highest in Austria, in line with the highest expenditure by individuals, signifying a neoliberal policy approach rather than a corporatist one; second, there is basically no overall relationship between participation and expenditure in the selected countries, with the exception that higher state expenditure is related to increased participation in formal AE; third, in terms of policy strategies, the results do no point towards deliberate systematic patterns according to welfare regimes. Austria shows the most 'neoliberal' pattern empirically despite that none of the main political actors has stood in for this position in the period observed (the new 2017 right-wing government might make more deliberate moves in this direction); and in the liberal countries, high state expenditure is combined with low to medium overall expenditure and low to medium overall participation. The corporatist regime is also related to high inequality of participation in terms of educational background, which is consistent with the stratified character of this regime; moreover, the market does not seem to work very efficiently in this regime as the costs of (low) participation are high.

If we relate these results to the disciplinary struggles, several puzzles and open questions arise for the Austrian context and on wider international levels. First, in contrast to other analyses about governance of AE in Austria, and in line with the popular political rhetoric mentioned above, the market might play a much larger role than expected; however, in contrast to standard economic reasoning, the strong role of the market does not seem to improve efficiency. Second, the role of financing appears much more complicated than devised in simple economic reasoning, where more input should mechanically provide more and better results; the only indication for such a simple positive relationship arises with

state expenditure and formal AE, to a high extent driven by the liberal countries, and without an impact on overall participation. Finally, against widespread expectations, the welfare regimes do not seem to create consistent AE politics and institutions.

Discussion and conclusions

The results of the estimation of the financing of adult education (AE) in a comparative perspective were highly unexpected for us as researchers and for the Austrian stakeholders also, as the Austrian expenditure turned out not to be comparatively low (as expected) but on the contrary comparatively high, in particular with respect to the contributions of individual citizens. At the same time the indicators about participation and policies confirmed a rather unfavourable pattern in comparison with the other countries. How can these results be related to the disciplinary struggles?

A first point concerns the qualitative vs. quantitative struggles in comparative research. Indeed, we have to consider the explorative nature of the observation and analysis as a caveat; critiques can simply point to the necessary constructions and transformations of the data. The combination of the different sources of information has entailed much recalculation and standardisation (e.g. by transforming information about different years into 2009) and might be a source of error. Moreover, the estimation of the resources only covers one point in time (2009), which might be more or less representative for the situation in the selected countries. Thus, a deeper institutional analysis would be necessary to validate the observed patterns. Another question would be how much the Nordic regime has already been in fact liberalised. However, the attempt can also demonstrate first how much important and necessary information is lacking and second how many difficulties exist in solving the challenges in this area of comparative research.

A basic question behind the project was whether the politically deliberate state financing of educational institutions according to educational purposes and the public good would be more appropriate for the development of AE than the push towards the political support of incentives and market mechanisms according to the individual preferences of the (potential) participants, leading to the

commercialisation of learning and education. This question is clearly related to the disciplinary struggles in the social sciences. Traditional mainstream economic views and the influential economic theory of politics would support the second alternative. According to the socio-economic approach regarding welfare regimes, the Nordic regime would represent the first alternative and the liberal regime the second, with the corporatist Austrian regime lying somehow in between the two, with some potential in either direction. The findings do not support these expectations and, if the estimations are valid, point to more complex patterns.

A critical topic that further distinguishes between the two alternatives is whether adults still need education (or just learning), and if this difference exists, who should be the educators. This topic is closely related to core questions of educational research. The learning-centred market approach assumes that adults are already educated. They know what they need to learn and in principle will also be able to find ways to do this – the purposes of learning are in this approach assumed to be quite instrumental, with learning for work and professions as the main purpose. The educational approach assumes alternatively that educational purposes still exist in AE that go beyond the instrumental ones and concern learning for (the wider aspects and dimensions of) life, represented by the social, political and cultural fields, including moral and ethical deliberation and the wider fields of human knowledge production.

These alternatives cannot really be explored with the rough information about welfare regimes, financing and participation. A main component related to these aspects is the contextual understanding of the AE institutions and policies and of their traditions, which is only very indirectly represented by the quantitative measurement. With respect to research and theory, a main path of reasoning over recent decades was to underpin the abstract macro-level theorising and research by analyses at the micro and meso levels, in particular by studying the barriers and motivations at the individual micro level and by including this dimension into multi-level models (Boeren, Nicaise, & Baert, 2010). Compared to the above-mentioned bounded agency approach, this research has guided the attention towards the rational choice ideology and towards the strengthening of market behaviour at the 'cost' of moral and ethical behaviour. Moreover, this model has focused on the interaction between the individuals (micro) and the institutions (meso), and, despite to some extent being integrated, the macro level was to some

degree pushed aside. A better understanding of the interplay between the macro level and the others still seems to be an unresolved challenge.

Neoliberalism is a key concept in the disciplinary struggles on comparative research and needs to be used in a clarified way (Mudge, 2008). In this vein the question might be asked to what extent the market itself is conceived as an alternative educational institution that replaces moral and ethical reasoning through a rational cost-benefit calculation among alternative preferences. The decisions about participation and also more general policy decisions are modelled according to human capitalist cost-benefit calculations, with the inclination to transform the various and multidimensional potential effects of AE into a form of 'wider benefits' to accommodate to the cost-benefit rationality. The human capital approach with its basic logic of discounting costs and benefits has much suggestive power, such that it has invaded most thinking about AE by imposing the basic framework of supply and demand to the roots of reasoning, and furthermore pointing to the importance of incentives (or sanctions) in order to influence the actors' assumed rational behaviour.

Rees (2013) tries to escape this logic and proposes much more detailed analyses, starting with a combination of the welfare regime approach with the varieties of capitalism approach, which has distinguished the liberal market economy from the coordinated market economy. Austria would fall together with the Nordic countries in the coordinated regime. However, this extended approach would not really help to explain the unexpected results.

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