

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

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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.

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.

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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

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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),

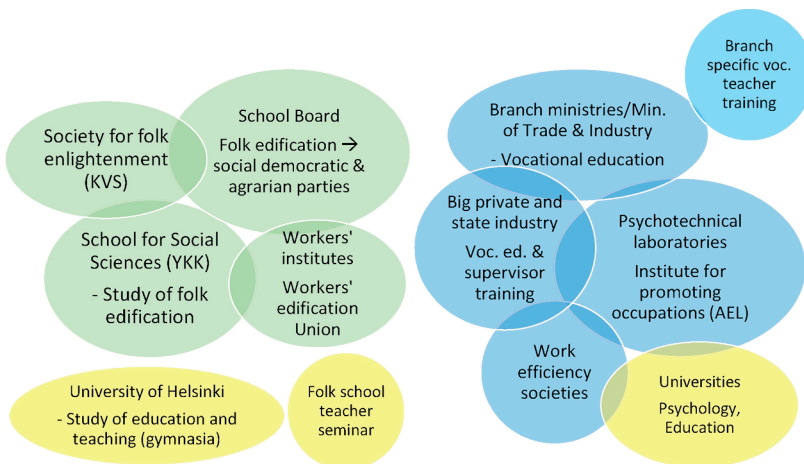


Figure 1. Engines in the disciplinisation of adult and vocational education in the 1920s.

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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 disciplinarianisation.

The standard story seems not interested in how the practice of folk edification contributed to the discipline and disciplinarianisation 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’,

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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' edicators 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 reconceptualisers 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

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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 the 1930s' 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

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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 work³

The scientification⁴ 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 disciplinarianisation of both adult and vocational education⁵ (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 disciplinarianisation 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.)

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the Finnish army, the Aviation Institute and the State Institute for Occupational Health as well as for recruitment to vocational Factory Schools⁷. (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.

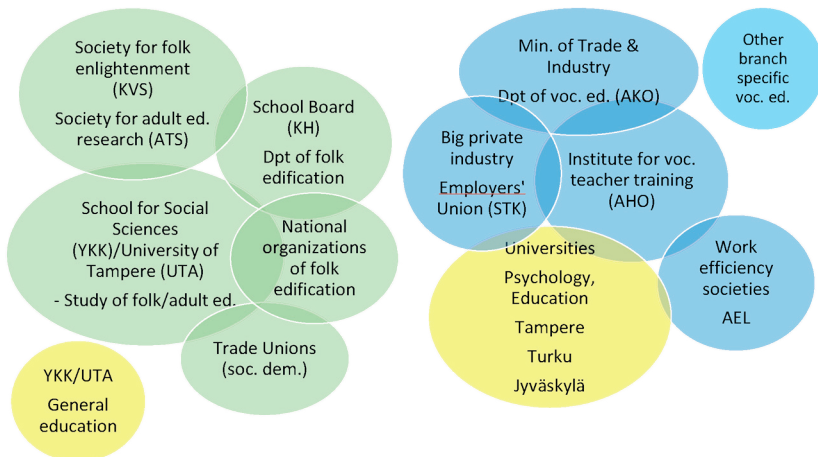


Figure 2. Transition period from post-WWII to welfare state reforms 1950s–60s.

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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 disciplinarianisation 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

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‘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.

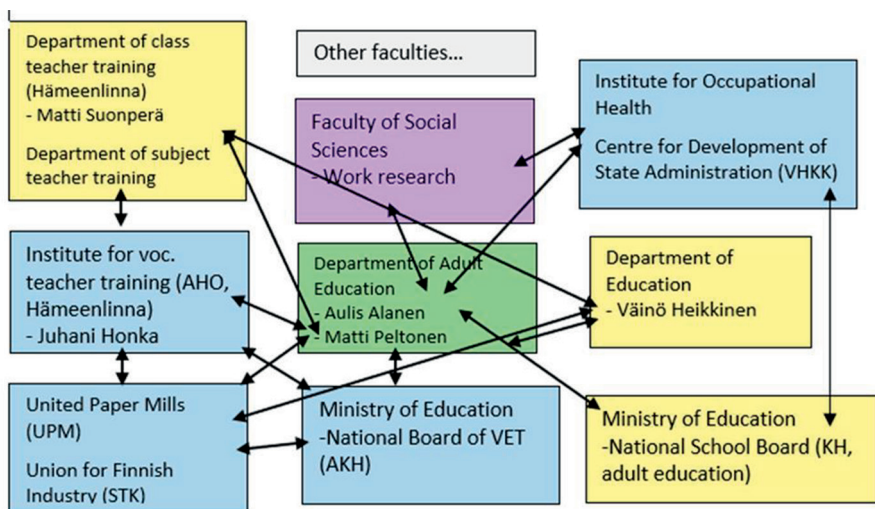


Figure 3. Struggle over adult and vocational education in the 1970s–80s.

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,

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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.

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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 disciplinarianisation 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, OPH¹¹ 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

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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

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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

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

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