PART 4



NORDIC OR PLANETARY RESPONSIBILITY IN FINNISH POPULAR ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH?

BY

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Responsibility only to the markets?

urrently, both the practice and research of Nordic popular adult education seem to be conditioned by competition on their own markets. The popular adult education organizations in Finland have developed perhaps even more than in other Nordic countries into subcontractors of the education - or lifelong learning and national innovation - system that is controlled and resourced within the national and regional framework, called adult education. Universities and researchers, on the other hand, are fighting on the transnational publishing and financial markets. It seems that both the autonomic research and the autonomic popular adult education and the organizations of citizens, are in danger of turning into a tool for promoting national business economic and innovation activities. (Ahonen et al 2013, cf. Berman 2012.) Do the interests of either party support research that critically analyses the conditions, practices and experiences of popular adult education reality, or do they in fact promote the erosion of its potential to their critical de- and reconstruction?

If we take seriously the societal responsibility of the academy and popular adult education, there might be no other way to go forward than to make different confrontations and dichotomies visible. Pursuing this would make it possible to understand popular adult education as a continuum of practice, research and policy instead of seeing it as antagonistic action fields. If researchers, for example, would view the traditional idealistic self-definitions of popular adult education critically, they might be able to actualize the contents of its basic categories with regard to people's contemporary lives and challenges, such as the globalization and localization of economy, supranationalization of politics and administration and the growing number of ecological, economic and social crisis.

In this article we discuss, how responsibility has been conceived in the development of popular adult education research tradition in Finland. It is mainly based on empirical findings from two doctoral researches. The study of Sini Teräsahde focuses on conceptions about the nature and function of adult education research among different actor groups. Jenni Pätäri is studying how the popular adult education research has actually developed during its academic history. For contextualization we use findings from the project Fields and Layers of Finnish Adult Education and other relevant research literature. We show, how different conceptions as well as actual research in popular adult education are primarily responding to national political and societal change while concerns about wellbeing of humankind or the planet itself remain absent.

We challenge the inward-looking self-conceptions of the Nordic popular adult education tradition - exemplified by Finland -, while acknowledging the controversy of the imagined homogeneity of the Nordic countries and the uniqueness of each country. Instead, we draw attention to outward-looking and socially responsible research and practice, which take into account the conditions for survival of humankind and of the planet. We assume that neither improvement of the current situation, nor democracy and moral agency including both human and non-human perspectives, can be achieved without finding new ways to collaborate between researchers, practitioners and policy-makers in popular adult education.

The territory of Nordic popular adult education research

In the current European and supranational discourse researchers, practitioners and policy-makers from Nordic countries all tend to share the vocabulary of non-formal or non-vocational adult education instead of popular adult education. Such negative definitions only pay attention to the lack of occupational or degree-orientation, typical for studies, which adults undertake 'only' as a hobby or for personal development. This vocabulary ignores and loses the traditional meanings of Nordic popular adult education, which are indicated in indigenous expressions such as folkbildning / folkeoplysning / vapaa sivistystyö, which would translate as people's edification / people's enlightenment / free edification work.

Finnish popular adult education is a good example for reflecting on modification of Nordic tradition, since it has exclusively adopted the concepts of liberal and

non-formal adult education, while the attachment to traditional concepts in other Nordic countries still reminds of its function in promotion of public enlightenment and civil society activities (Korsgaard 1997; Gustavsson 1991; Salo 2002). The different use of concepts indicates the more institution-based self-understanding of Finnish popular adult education, where the connections to various societal – economic, political, religious, cultural – movements have remained weakly recognized or unrecognized.

When speculating reasons for the discursive differences, a candidate is the rivalry between continental European and Anglo-Saxon influences in Nordic popular adult education research, which may have been most striking in Finland. The latter has long been dominant, promoting understanding of adult education as a field of study, and applying theories and methods from certain basic sciences, mainly from (learning) psychology and sociology. However, the rhetoric of continental tradition has remained crucial for legitimizing the autonomy and distinctiveness of adult education as practice and theory. Because of linguistic but also of geopolitical reasons, it has become typical for Finnish universities and academics to comply eagerly with mainstream trends in educational research. (Heikkinen 2014a.) Yet, the debates on connections and relations between research, practice and politics are not new. In Finland, they have been crucial since the beginning of academization of popular adult education in the 1920s. (Heikkinen & Teräsahde 2011.) We can ask, whether the pressure from present rhetoric of economic growth and competitiveness are really so different from those of national independence and cohesion about a hundred years

ago? Have peoples' lived realities, the concrete 'edification work' and its contents and meanings really interested more the practitioners, politicians and researchers of popular adult education in those days? Do we know, what the responsibility for popular adult education has meant and who have taken it and why, in the practice of popular education?

Both Anglo-Saxon and continental European traditions clearly build on human and social-centred assumptions about the meaning and aims of popular adult education (Heikkinen 2014b). Through the increasing pedagogization of human societies and practices, education sciences have become a massive force for adoption and reproduction of human-centred thinking. behaviour and morals. On the one hand, the human-centred educational philosophy and history have functioned successfully in legitimizing educational research, which ignores the findings from natural sciences about the non-human aspects of human culture, and promotes ontologically and ethically untenable relation to natural sciences. On the one hand, cognitive and neurosciences are recklessly exploited to legitimize policy-conformist research and recommendations. Concerning Nordic popular adult education research, we can ask, whether the esoteric philosophical and historical discourse allows the circulation of traditional texts and ideas without contextualization to 'factual' transformation of the planet and the conditions of life of its inhabitants. Might the revision of concepts such as folkelig / kansainen, which were fundamental in the early phases of Nordic popular adult education remind of the embeddedness of edification work in the material life and living conditions of people? (Korsgaard 1997; cf. Narotzky 1997; Graness 2012.)

The differences in Nordic conceptions of popular adult education are also visible in institutionalization of practices and in different relations between research, practice and policies. In Finland the farmers' and peasants' edification and the workers' edification movements contributed to rather equal distribution of institutions into 1) folk high schools. 2) workers' and people's institutes ('adult education centres' of today), and 3) study associations of both movements, later of any civil society organization or a party. Although people's and public libraries were an essential part of popular adult education movements and institutions, in the context of rationalization of educational system they were during the 1960s transferred into the realm of 'cultural policy'. Similarly, for administrational reasons, the 4) sports institutes were currently included into institutions of popular adult education, while 5) summer universities - established and maintained by municipalities - are still part of this field despite administrational pressure to integrate them into the mainstream university system.

The Finnish discipline of adult education referred mainly to popular adult education until the 1960s. The degree studies started already in the 1930s in the School of Social Sciences (originally established as a Folk High School/Civic College in 1925). The first Finnish and Nordic professorship in popular adult education was established in 1946, and the first doctoral thesis in popular adult education originates from 1955. It took till the 1960s with the next dissertation. In 1960 the School of Social Sciences relocated in Tampere and in 1966 changed its name into University of Tampere. During the same year the discipline was renamed as adult education, partly due to the expansion of vocational adult education. During the 1980s adult education started to expand to other Finnish universities. Parallel to the transformation of adult education practice and policies. also the discipline started increasingly to focus on work-related and higher education. (Tuomisto 2016.)

Responsibility in conceptions

In her doctoral study Sini Teräsahde has come across many conflicting conceptions and discourses about relations between research, practice and politics. The research data of the study consists of interviews, questionnaires and discussion sessions with different actors in Finnish adult education.¹³ The findings discussed in this context build on the analysis of key person interviews and discussion sessions. The analysis about actors' conceptions towards adult education research is composed of three categories: 1) the indicated functions of research 2) needs and expectations towards research and 3) attitudes towards research. Actors are grouped

13 For more detailed description of the project behind thesis research, see Heikkinen, A., Teräsahde, S. 2011.

into researchers, policymakers, and practitioners; and practitioners are regrouped into popular and vocational adult education.

Among practitioners of popular adult education, even 75 per cent of the functions that informant expressed research to have relate, one way or another, to the idea of influencing the policymaking. Also the rest of the functions interviewees mentioned relate to the responsibility to serve different stakeholders. 'Expectations' towards research are high among the practitioners as they, for example, emphasize that researchers should not only produce neutral evidence for policymakers about the societal impact of popular adult education and the benefits of studying in popular adult education institutes, but should even take their side and defend the field against the cuts in the public funding. The interviewees expressed that more than anything they need evaluative research about the impacts and benefits of popular adult education to be used in lobbying. Pedagogical research comes up as a minor need to apply to their adult education practices. They identify many research themes and topics that researchers should grasp. Terms like 'impact' and 'quality' are frequently expressed. The discourse of research needs is strong in this actor group, because they see that the overall increase in the volume of research would increase the political appreciation of the field as well. Therefore, they are also willing to improve the collaboration between research and practice, at least if resources for joint research (Vähämäki 2010) are ensured first.

The underlying 'attitudes' towards research seem to affect practitioners' enthusiasm for wider use of research to support,

develop and question their work and for research collaboration. Research is valued because of academic virtues of science, such as rigor, objectivity and strong argumentation. It is even appreciated if it defends the field. What reduces the interest towards research is the experienced distance between research and practice and the anticipated lack of resources to invest in research activities. All in all the conceptions towards and the value of adult education research seem rather instrumental. The research is considered to be responsible for securing the prerequisites of the operations of the practice. Finland's economic slowdown and the vulnerability of popular adult education as a recipient of funding from tax revenue may explain these expressions. Most popular adult education organizations have to spend all their energy to secure their resources by showing up the efficiency, quality and benefits of their operations and they wish support from the research that has traditionally been close to the field of practice in popular adult education. Consequently, practitioners often get disappointed at research that is usually focused on something else.

The conceptions of actors in popular adult education differ clearly from those in vocational adult education, where the primary 'function' of research is defined as production and provision of neutral knowledge for policymakers to support evidence-based decision-making. Of special interest are the impacts of European policies on national level and analyses of consequences from societal change on adult education and working life. The interviewees expressed only few 'expectations' for research, related to the implementation of educational policies into practice. They don't seem to have any actual needs for research, but

» What reduces the interest towards research is the experienced distance between research and practice and the anticipated lack of resources to invest in research activities. »

they recommend researchers to market their ideas and expertise, the supply, in case practitioners would find a demand for it. The 'attitudes' towards research are much more negative in vocational adult education: practitioners consider worlds of research and practice to be separate. attitudinal blocks to prevent cooperation and the autonomous academy to disregard their expectations. The reluctance may relate to historical battles between academic and vocational education.

Unlike practitioners, policy-makers don't consider the main function of research to be the production and provision of knowledge for evidence-based decision-making, although they might be interested in efficient information about main research outcomes. Instead, they mentioned such 'functions' as providing knowledge to different actors for developing policies and practices to support lifelong learning. On 'attitudinal' level they don't prioritize adult education research compared to other research fields. Also they complained about researchers' lack of practical knowledge, which may prevent them to ask for developmental projects from researchers in adult education.

The conceptions of adult education research among most actor groups seem rather narrow. There are hardly signs about prospects other than instrumental, such as global and local democracy, equality and justice. let alone the recognition of the absolute value of research that could be compared to the incontestable value of adult education itself, 'learning for its own sake' or for the sake of prerequisites of the human civilization.

Responsibility in research

Responsible conduct of research applies to all (academic) researchers but how does the research of popular adult education reflect its responsibility? Although Finnish research on popular adult education has been scarce compared to other fields of adult education, the amount is much bigger if theses in other disciplines are taken into account. Jenni Pätäri's research data (years 1933-2015, at the moment 422 theses) covers about 20 academic disciplines (adult education 14%). Unlike the practitioners often tend to assume (see previous section), thesis research on popular adult education is actually done.

The following two data samples (Figures 1-4. Table 1) illustrate how the Finnish popular adult education thesis research connects with the question of societal responsibility in different historical periods. The older sample is from 1940-1959

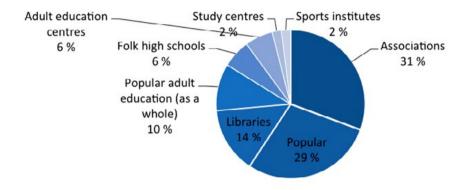


FIGURE 1. Institutional orientation of Finnish popular adult education thesis research, 1940–50s (%, n = 49).

and consists of 48 MA theses and one dissertation (49/180, 27%). It covers six disciplines including adult education. The newer sample 2000–2014 consists of 50 MA theses and 14 dissertations (64/277, 23%) from general and adult education disciplines. Both samples were selected randomly, although weighting educational sciences. The main themes, based on titles and keywords, provide an overview of thesis research.¹⁴

Figures 1–2 summarize the institutional orientation of the popular adult education research in 1940s–50s and in beginning of the 21st century based on a review of titles and keywords of the selected 113 theses. In both samples, there were eight categories identified but they appeared variably. Seven categories were related to the providers of popular adult education. Other categories were related to adult education discipline, to popular adult education as a whole and to popular or general topics – as in *Hobbies and leisure activities of young factory workers* (1949) and *Learning experiences of the elderly* (2012).

All five main providers of contemporary Finnish popular adult education are represented in the samples but in variation. In the older sample association oriented theses were the most frequent (31%), theses on libraries coming next (7%) and folk high schools and adult education centres coming third (3% + 3%). In the newer sample research on adult education centres is the most frequent (22%), asso-

14 Study centres are categorized according to the reference of a thesis. Topics related to university of Third Age are under the category of summer universities, which explains partly the peak in the newer sample. Workers' and people's institutes are categorized under adult education centres.

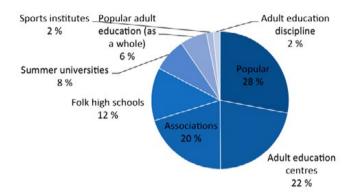


FIGURE 2. Institutional orientation of Finnish popular adult education thesis research, early 2000s (%, n = 64).

ciations coming second (20%) and folk high schools the third (12%). The proportion of adult education centres has increased the most. Summer universities come second popping up in the newer sample with 8 per cent. The proportion of libraries has decreased the most, which might partly be explained by the administrative transfer of libraries into cultural affairs. The decrease of association oriented research has also been remarkable.

The proportion of provider-oriented research takes the vast majority of the theses both in the older (61%) and in the newer (64%) sample. The samples indicate that popular adult education research commonly responds to the developmental needs of a certain organization or organization type. However, conclusions that are more substantial require analyses of the main themes of thesis research. The table 1 provides examples of theses in different thematic classes.¹⁵

The Figures 3-4 summarize the main themes of thesis research and how they are divided in the samples based on title and keywords analysis. In the older sample there were 14 and in the newer 17 themes identified. The total number of theses (n = 49 + 64) and themes (n = 78 + 102) do not match, because a thesis can be assigned to one or more themes. For example, thesis like Santeri Alkio's principles of youth education (1954) is assigned to themes Philosophical, theoretical and ideological topics, Educational mission, and Addressing a certain target group.

¹⁵ Here a thesis is put in one class, although in the analysis it can be assigned to several classes.

Theme	Thesis
Hobbies and leisure activities	A research on educative hobbies and leisure activities in the Savio factory colony (Erich von Denffer 1952, Helsinki: School of Social Sciences. Sociology and social psychology).
Addressing a certain target group	Sports and physical activities as an international language. Immigrants' relationship with physical education and its impact on acculturation. (Rachel Lehtosaari 2010. University of Turku, general education).
Societal meaning	The societal mission of folk high school (Kauko Honkala 1957. Helsinki: School of Social Sciences, societal studies).
Internationality	1. From Nordic roots towards global action? Cultural practices and their internationality in Finnish folk high schools at the beginning of the 21st century (Helena Koskinen 2003, University of Tampere, adult education. Dissertation).
	2. Conditions of countryside libraries in Germany (Anja Seppä 1955. Helsinki: School of Social Sciences, library studies).
Gender perspectives	1. Studying in more ways than one. Aged women at the University of the Third Age in Finland (Hanna Ojala 2011, University of Tampere, adult education. Dissertation).
	2. Finnish literature concerning women's gymnastics (Anneli Vakkari 1948. Helsinki: School of Social Sciences, library studies).
Literature and print media	The relationship between libraries and censorship (Irmeli Ekelund 1958. Helsinki: School of Social Sciences, library studies).
Regional perspectives	Migrants' adaptation to new circumstances and their educative hobbies and leisure activities in the Loimaa region. (Laila Rauta 1949. Helsinki: School of Social Sciences, societal studies).
Education policy	Municipalities' popular adult education and state aid system (Pentti Karppinen 1957. Helsinki: School of Social Sciences, municipal studies).
Active citizenship	Can you change the world by thumbs upping? Social media in civic activity – a place for learning in civic associations (Soile Honkala & Katja Nissinen 2013. University of Tampere, general education).
Communality, peerness	"It really shows that we are alike and like belong to the same group." Peernxess in the ICT studies of the elderly (Milla Saajanaho 2008, University of Jyväskylä, adult education).

FIGURE 3. Main themes in Finnish popular adult education thesis research, 1940-50s (%, n of themes = 78).

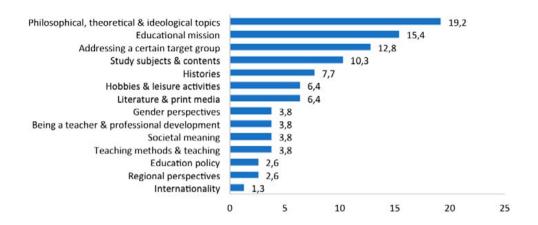
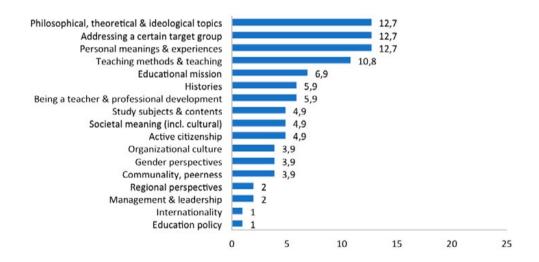


FIGURE 4. Main themes in Finnish popular adult education thesis research, early 2000s (%, n of themes = 102).



In the older sample the most frequent theme is *Philosophical*, theoretical and ideological topics (19.2%), followed by Educational mission (15.4%). In the newer sample variation is larger: the most frequent themes comprise Philosophical, theoretical and ideological topics, Addressing a certain target group and Personal meanings

and experiences (all 12.7%). Both theoretical and practical oriented topics are well presented in both samples, but more pragmatic themes have slightly increased (Addressing a certain target group + Teaching methods & teaching + Being a teacher & professional development + Study subjects & contents + Literature & print media

+ Organizational culture + Management & leadership, and also Gender perspectives). Their share in the older sample is 40.9 per cent and in the newer 44.1 per cent.

What is striking in the newer sample is the surge of the theme Personal meanings and experiences with the share of 12.7 per cent. It consists of topics considering the meanings of studies and studying different subjects in adult education centres or the meanings of folk high school studies for students. It is also noticeable that topics considering popular adult education in relation to Hobbies and leisure activities and their educativeness - are missing from the newer sample, although popular adult education has been criticized for becoming an entertaining leisure activity and losing its critical, educative mission (e.g., Manninen 2010). Also the theme Study subjects & contents has decreased from 10.3 per cent to 4.9 per cent.

In the light of the samples, the thematic orientation of research seems to follow its institutional orientation: the majority responds to the needs of popular adult education organizations and people involved (esp. students and teachers). The main orientation seems to have transferred from contents towards people. It also appears to respond to the needs of adult education policy and political agendas, since the *target group theme* focuses often on special groups like elderly people or immigrants.

The growing tendency of thesis research to serve popular adult education organizations is striking in the light of findings of Teräsahde (see above), where respondents repeatedly argue that research and practice have diverged. In the light of these samples it seems that they have in

fact converged and come closer to each other. Reasons behind this discrepancy might be the conflicting expectations, motivations and conceptions of research among various stakeholders and the way in which they see the quality and relevance of research. In conclusion, we can ask, if researchers' practical orientation is stronger than practitioners' research orientation? It seems that the responsibility, or the 'response ability', of the majority of the theses of this field seems rather to look inward than outward to the wider context of society and environment, which also the absence of the war in the older sample (comes up in two of the theses, 4%) rather strikingly indicates. However, it can also be interpreted as a manifestation of the consensus seeking culture of the Finnish popular adult education research.

The responsibility of politics

The actors both in practice and in research of popular adult education seem to expect from each other justification for their existence. However, in reality, the lobbyers of popular adult education practice do not seem to need research-based critique about their practice more than the players of adult education research in publishing industry wish to go deeper into the dull practices. If neither of these camps have power to influence each other's futures, maybe the power hides in the cabinets of policy makers. It may be that the paradoxical position of popular adult education builds on its origin, which was firmly grounded on tripartite alliance between academy, practice and politics.

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Since the early 20th century, the existence of the field has been justified not on the development of its disciplinary foundation, but on the scientific nature of studies, on the width and beneficial effects of participation and on the circulation of practitioners and policymakers through university (Heikkinen 2012). The dominant interpretation of popular adult education was introduced in the aftermath of the civil war, when its leading figures started to emphasize free edification - Bildung - as conducive to peaceful societal development (Aaltonen & Tuomisto 1991). This also motivated the establishment of the Civic College in 1925 (later University of Tampere), the birth-place of popular adult education as an academic discipline. The first decades of the Finnish independence since 1917 were fragile, especially because of World War II (1939-1945). The reconstruction period, with the treaty of friendship, cooperation and assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union, required societal and political consensus and steady economic growth. The prolonged effort to solve social problems through small farming was abandoned during the 1960s and Finland started to develop into an industrialized and urbanized welfare state. Following the policies of equality of opportunity, education system was expanding and popular adult education as well as vocational

and higher education institutions were founded across the country to promote societal reform. In the mainstream politics of scientific-technological societal progress. planetary concerns gained minor attention in adult education practice and research. which - despite or because of intensified contacts to socialist and developing countries - promoted continuous identification with the Nordic popular adult education. (Kantasalmi & Nest 2014).

Nowadays the joint mission of policy-makers, practitioners and researchers seems to be the training of professionals of adult learning, where scientific expertise on adult education is just one among hundreds of other competences (Buiskool 2009). It also seems that the personal alliances between practice, research and policy-making in popular adult education have vanished. Compared to earlier phases, the major challenge for developing research and practice in popular adult education may be the rejection of the idea of edification amongst the policymakers and elites in general. The struggle between elites about the representation for the people and enlightenment has become replaced by the satisfaction of the demands posed by the quarterly financial demands of global markets. Does popular adult education have any other function any more than functioning as a sub-contractor for the rest of the education system and as a promoter of wellbeing through entertaining services?

As long as violence has not substituted democracy (power of the people), the elites are in need of recognition by their subordinates in Finland, as in other Nordic countries. Therefore, popular adult education as edification of the people might function as the promoter of scrutiny and control of the nature and level of edification of their leaders and elites in different sectors of social life. However, while the planetary environmental, economic and social crises are expanding and sharpening, the conceptual and action history in popular adult education may require fundamental self-criticism. In the core of such enterprise should be the critique of conceptions on planetary relations between humans, as well as those between humans and non-humans, in the Nordic popular education policy, practice and research. It would be also important to identify any silenced or ignored traditions, which may have suggested alternatives pathways for politics, practice and research.

From the planetary perspective of the survival and wellbeing of the whole human and non-human sphere, the aim of science and research could be considered as a component of a wider (popular) edification project. This however, may not be possible without availability of unbounded spaces for discussing the nature and aims of popular adult education. Even in the context of marketization imperative, Nordic universities still have a legal obligation and right to carry autonomous research, teaching and discussion. This should justify teachers and students to carry out autonomous research especially with basic funding and jointly with other actors in popular adult education (Kemmis 1998: Vähämäki 2010). It is a high time for universities and research communities, as well as practitioners and policymakers, to jointly recognize the vital and fundamental meaning and value of autonomous, self-directed research, which is currently mainly exercised through MA and Dr theses, for the development of planetary responsibility in popular adult education practice and research.

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