

Disciplinary Barriers between the Social Sciences and Humanities

National Report on Finland

**Suvi Keskinen and Harriet Silius
Åbo Akademi University**

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INTRODUCTION

Geographically Finland is a wide but sparsely populated country (5.2 million inhabitants). Until the 1950s Finland was to a large extent an agricultural society, but then went through a rapid industrialisation in a couple of decades. In the 1960s and 1970s large groups of people moved from the rural areas to towns, some also to Sweden. The welfare state project which successive Finnish governments adopted in the 1970s included the aim of educational equality. Equal educational opportunities for all population groups and regions of the country have been regarded as important principles when making educational reforms in recent decades (www.minedu.fi/education). The building up of the Finnish basic education and higher education system has followed these guidelines. In the 1960s and 1970s higher education expanded considerably in Finland both what both in terms of number of institutions, and in terms of number of students and teachers. Several new universities were established according to a regional policy principle (Välilmaa 2001b, 29). This led to a situation in which all major provinces had their own universities by the 1980s. The first universities were established in the large cities in the south and south west parts of the country, but today the more sparsely populated areas in northern and eastern Finland have their own universities too.

The welfare state project has however encountered some problems and gone through changes since the 1990s. At the beginning of the decade Finland went through a serious recession with growing unemployment rates and financial cuts in the public sector. The end of the decade was characterised by an improving economic situation and new national initiatives were proposed to turn Finland into an “information society” capable of surviving in the global economic competition. In 1995 Finland joined the European Union which was introduced by political leaders as opening possibilities for continued economic growth and participation in future European integration. Recent Finnish governments have viewed knowledge and education as important. The aim of the science and technology policy has been to support a national innovation system which can be achieved through growing cooperation between research and its practical users (for example industry) (Hakala et al 2003, 11). Investment in research and development by the government has extended considerably and development programmes have been introduced to make the research system and the education of researchers more efficient. The universities were also given a so-called “third task”, which means impacting on the surrounding society and industry. The educational system from basic to higher education and the organisation of research receives continuous attention, because they are regarded as crucial for this national project. In this policy Finland is not alone, but is following OECD policies on developing a knowledge-based economy and society (Nieminen and Kaukonen 2001, 7-8). Comparative reports on the amount of research funding as part of GDP and on learning results in comprehensive schools have shown that Finland has been rather successful in implementing this policy.

The Finnish educational system is based on a nine-year comprehensive school. It is compulsory and usually starts in the year children turn seven. Most children also attend preschool education one year before this. Finnish post-comprehensive school education is divided into two types – studies at upper secondary school or vocational school. In the upper secondary schools the studies

usually last for three years and end with a matriculation examination¹, which provides the general eligibility criterion for higher education. Until autumn 2004 the matriculation examination consisted of four compulsory subjects (native language, second official language, one foreign language, mathematics or general studies, which includes one or more subjects such as biology, history, physics etc.) and some optional subjects (for example other foreign languages). From spring 2005 the exam will consist of the native language and at least three other compulsory subjects which can be chosen among the second official language, a foreign language, mathematics and general studies. In addition optional subjects can be chosen. Today about 60 per cent of pupils continue their studies at upper secondary school (www.minedu.fi/koulutus). Vocational education usually also lasts for three years. It leads to vocational qualifications and covers several areas of working life. Upper secondary schools form the route to university, but vocational education also provides eligibility for higher education. Finland has two official languages (Finnish and Swedish) and the whole educational system follows this language-division. It is possible to study either in Finnish or Swedish from comprehensive school to university. The general outline of the Finnish educational system is presented in Chart 1.

There are altogether 20 universities in Finland. Out of these, ten are multi-faculty universities, three are technical universities, three are schools of economics and four are art academies. Within all Finnish universities both education and research are practiced and all of them have the right to award doctorates. All Finnish universities are state-owned and receive a majority of their funding from the government.

In addition there are 29 polytechnics (Fachhochschulen) in Finland. They are more practically oriented and aimed at training professionals. They are mostly maintained by municipalities or federations of municipalities. The polytechnics give BA-level education in several areas, including Humanities (e.g. in cultural production, communication studies and media studies) and Social Sciences (in social services²). The polytechnics have also started post graduate programmes. If one continues to study the same type of subjects at a university (e.g. social services - social work), the courses at the polytechnic can be used to replace courses at the university.

Education is free of charge at all levels in Finland.

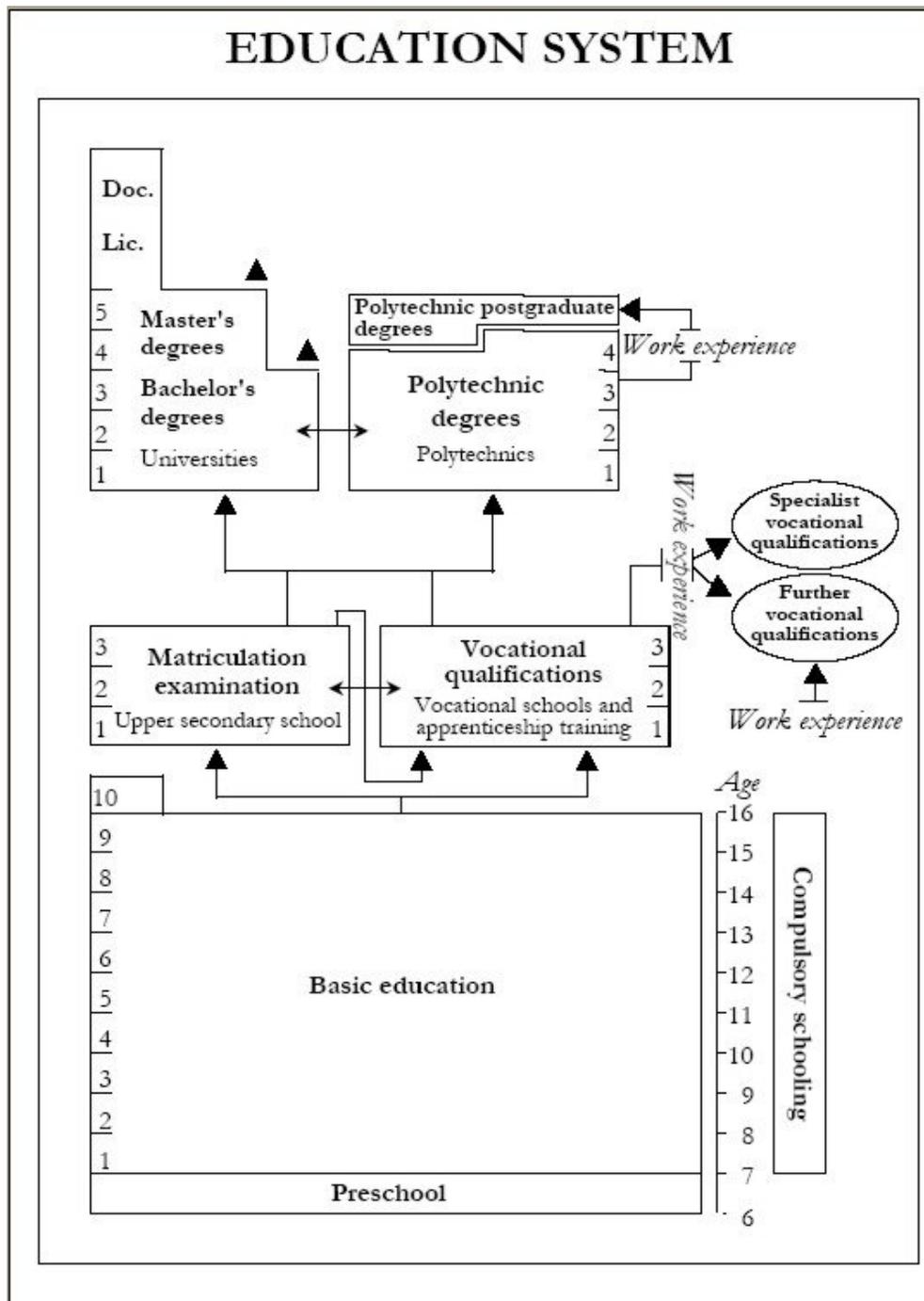
In this report we explore how disciplinary boundaries between the Humanities and Social Sciences are produced and reproduced in Finland. We also analyse possibilities and hindrances to interdisciplinarity in higher education and research. What kind of structures and processes are typical for the Finnish situation? What are the most important barriers for knowledge production transcending disciplinary borders? The material of the study consists of interviews with key persons, documents, newspaper articles and research literature. The material has been analysed in relation to the theme of each section. The material will be described in more detail in each section.

¹ The matriculation examination, similar to an *Abitur*, *Baccalauréat* or *A-levels*, consists of nationwide identical tests at the same date and hour in all schools.

² The BA level programme in social work is often called *social services* in Finland, while the term *social work* is reserved for MA programmes.

Chart 1: The education system in Finland.

(Source: www.minedu.fi/minedu/education/)



THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND EDUCATION

Finnish universities select their students. The system is based on the *numerus clausus* -principle and entrance exams form a key element. In Humanities and Social Sciences, on average a quarter of applicants are admitted. However, admission rates vary quite widely among universities and disciplines. Students are admitted to university on three different bases: a) on the basis of success in entrance exams and marks in the matriculation examination and in the school-leaving certificate; b) on the basis of entrance exams; or c) only on the basis of grades in the matriculation examination and in the school-leaving certificate. Universities, faculties and disciplines decide which system to apply and whom to admit according to their ranking system.

In the Finnish educational system the subjects chosen at upper secondary school do not determine or exclude choices for university courses in the Humanities or the Social Sciences. Within the Humanities and the Social Sciences everyone who is eligible for higher education can take part in the entrance exam and if successful enough start studying. It is not required that one has studied those subjects at school. Within the Humanities one need not to have studied a foreign language at school to start studying, but instead to have a certain level of skills in that language. The skills are tested in the entrance exam. The required level is defined according to upper secondary school courses, but can be achieved otherwise too. In practice most students starting to study a foreign language have studied it already in upper secondary school, but it is possible to gain these skills by other means. In some universities (University of Turku, University of Tampere and University of Jyväskylä) additional points are given in the entrance exams of history if a student has good marks in history in the matriculation examination and school-leaving certificate. In the University of Turku the Department of Statistics has reserved two places (of 10 admitted) each year for students who have shown success in studying mathematics at school. These places are filled according to the normal system if there are no applicants meeting the requirements. Thus, successful study of a subject at school may in some cases be helpful in getting into university, but is not a condition for studying these subjects. It should also be noted that in Finnish upper secondary schools social sciences are not studied as a separate subject. As a supplement to history, some modules in social sciences are, however, offered.

Within Finnish higher education the trend during the last decade has been towards increasing autonomy for the universities. Through changes in legislation and other regulations, decision-making has to a large extent been transferred from the Ministry of Education to universities. New instruments called “management by results” have replaced the earlier budgetary and regulatory control by the Ministry (Välilmaa 2001b, 37). Performance and efficiency are rewarded. Budgeting is related to results and evaluation systems have been developed. In the relationship between the Ministry of Education and the universities, the result agreements play an important role. The Ministry and each university negotiate objectives and funding level for that university and sign an agreement on these (Higher Education Policy in Finland 2001). The agreement is made for three years, but every year financial issues are checked and negotiated. State funding to universities is allocated according to a formula. Altogether 76 per cent of core funding is based on the number of degrees. Completed Masters degrees form the basis for 46 per cent and PhDs for 30 per cent of the core funding. Of these 2/3 are based on targets and 1/3 on real outcomes. In addition, core funding is directed to cover the infrastructure of universities (19 %) and to

“earmarked core funding” (5 %). “Earmarked core funding” includes funding to graduate schools and the Open University, (Välímää and Jalkanen 2001, 187.) About 90 per cent of state funding goes to core funding, but state funding can also be directed to certain projects and a small amount is directly performance-based (Hakala et al 2003, 41). This performance-based funding is given as a reward for high-quality education and research. Centres of Excellence are chosen both in high-quality education and top international research. They receive special funding and also have high status within the university system.

However, the amount of state funding in the budget of universities has decreased in recent years. It nowadays only covers around 65 per cent of the budget of universities (Higher Education Policy in Finland 2001). External funding, especially for researchers and research projects, has been growing considerably. At the same time basic education in the universities has been in distress. The amount of teaching staff in the universities has been declining during the 1990s (see Table 1³).

Table 1. Amount of university staff in Finland

Year	1985	1990	1995	1999
University teachers on budget funds	7.200	7.800	7.600	7.300
Other staff on budget funds	6.700	8.000	9.000	10.200
Other staff on external funding	4.700	5.200	7.500	9.600

(Source: Välímää 2001b, 27)

At the same time the number of students has been rising. This has led to a growing student-teacher ratio. Whereas in 1985 there were 12.7 students per teacher, in 1995 there were 17.9 and in 1999 20.9 students to each teacher (Välímää 2001b, 37). Competition between and within universities has been encouraged and efficiency has been emphasized. As a result of the rising student-staff teacher ratio and growing demands to perform new tasks regarding education and administration, university teachers report working under high pressure and are constantly lacking time (Ylijoki and Mäntylä 2003, 128-9). Teachers find it difficult to organise time for their own research and yet often work overtime.

The autonomy of the universities was considerably widened by the Universities Act which came into force in 1998. Universities were given the right to allocate internally resources without having to negotiate with the Ministry of Education. Universities can also establish internal rules on decision-making and other important issues. Professors and other academic staff are now

³ In the table university teachers include professors, associate professors, lecturers, senior assistants and assistants; other staff on budget funds include mainly administrative personnel and some researchers (14 % in 1999); other staff on external funding include project researchers, administrative and assisting personnel.

appointed by the universities themselves. Earlier, final decisions regarding the nomination of full professors were made by the Ministry of Education and the President. In the Universities Act of 1998 the role of rectors and deans was strengthened. Rectors now lead the operations of the university. They are appointed for five years by an electoral commission. Rectors can be elected from outside the university, but this has not happened so far. Deans are heads of faculties and are elected among the professors. Faculties in Finland are also administrative bodies which are formed of several departments.

The Ministry of Education defines the objectives, extent and overall structure of university degrees. Within this national framework universities and departments are free to make decisions regarding the content and the more detailed structure of the degree. Departments and disciplines build up their annual curricula themselves. In the Social Sciences and Humanities the Masters degree consists today of one major subject and one or more minor subjects. These subjects consist of modules called courses. In addition the degree includes language studies and methodological studies. An MA degree consists of 240 ECTS. Out of this the major subject counts for around 115 ECTS, the 1st minor one for 55 and the 2nd minor one for around 30 ECTS-points⁴. Studies in a subject are usually divided into basic, intermediate and advanced studies. In the early 1990s a lower academic degree at Bachelor level was introduced. However, it has not been an independent degree until now. Usually it is included in the Masters degree as one phase of the studies. Students are at the moment admitted directly to study a Masters degree.

Universities receive “lump-sum” funding from the Ministry of Education and can then autonomously decide how to divide it between the faculties, departments etc. Within universities resources are allocated in a similar way as in the negotiations between the Ministry and the universities (Välilmaa and Jalkanen 2001, 188). The rector and some high administrative personnel represent the university when negotiating with the faculties and/or departments. On the basis of these negotiations performance agreements are signed with each faculty and its departments. In these agreements the number of degrees a faculty and its departments are going to produce and the resources they are provided with are determined. The definition of what is regarded as appropriate resources for each faculty and department is based on formulas, usually similar to the ones of the Ministry of Education.

The evaluation of education and research in the universities has increased rapidly during the last few years. Evaluations on research are mainly conducted by the Finnish Research Council called the Academy of Finland⁵. Evaluations of higher education have been conducted by the Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council. It is a government-funded, but independent organization.

Recruitment of staff takes place within each university. The faculties and departments form the most important level of decision-making in recruitment. The process is regulated at the national level through established criteria for each position. Due to the strengthened autonomy of the universities it is possible for departments and institutions to establish posts (professors, lecturers etc.) in new fields of study and to build new educational programmes. It is also possible for

⁴ The detailed structure of the degrees after 1.8.2005 will be known during the spring of 2005.

⁵ The word *Academy* (in Swedish *akademi*, in Finnish *akatemia*) is used in three ways in this report: 1) as name of the national research council: the *Academy of Finland*, 2) as the name of one university: *Åbo Akademi University*, and 3) as the name of some learned societies, for example *Suomen tiedeakatemia*.

universities to cut chairs and other positions when vacant. However, the disciplines that can award a Masters degree are usually nominated by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry also declares which degrees each university can provide. Universities cannot choose themselves which degrees (e.g. Master of Arts, Master of Social Sciences) they will provide education in. When the Ministry has accredited certain degrees in a university it cannot stop providing education in that area without a new decision of the Ministry.

The procedure to fill a professorial post is generally the following. The university identifies the specialism of the post on the basis of a proposal from departmental and faculty⁶ levels. Calls for applicants are made publicly, often in newspaper ads. Applicants provide their CV and either all publications or a specified selection together with their application. After this, the faculty board appoints 2-3 external⁷ reviewers, who on the basis of the written material rank the applicants according to their scientific excellence. If there are more than three applicants, usually only the three short-listed get ranked. In practice, publications play the major role in the ranking process, although other merits like teaching experience, production of doctoral dissertations, fund-raising abilities, successfully completed research projects, management abilities etc. might be taken into consideration, especially when deciding on the rank between two applicants who are regarded as of equal scientific competence. The reviewers often write several pages-long statements about the publications and other merits of the applicants, and give arguments for their ranking of the applicants. In addition, the short-listed candidates give a short test-lecture, if they have not given it before. Today, test-lectures are in some cases supplemented with more or less extensive teaching portfolios. When the candidates have been approved in the test-lecture, the faculty board makes its own ranking list of the three most excellent candidates to the head⁸ of the university. In most cases this list is identical to the reviewers' list, but minor changes do happen. The head of the university then normally appoints the person, who was ranked number one. There is also a system of appointment by invitation to professorships, which is used more rarely. A fast procedure takes around a year from application deadline to appointment, a normal one under two years, and a very slow one several years.

In sum, the autonomy of Finnish universities is based on lump-sum funding, the right to select staff and students, the right to elect their own decision-making bodies and the right of staff to teach and conduct research without external interference.

INFRASTRUCTURAL DEFINITIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES IN EDUCATION

In the following we analyse how the definition of the Humanities and the Social Sciences looks from the viewpoint of the administrative structure of university education. We ask what disciplines are usually included in these two faculties, what kind of variety there is between different universities and if it is possible to distinguish some 'core' disciplines. By core

⁶ Faculty in the Finnish system means the administrative level between department and central administration.

⁷ External means from another university, in many fields from abroad.

⁸ The head of the university is the Rector. In the old universities (in five), on addition to the Rector there is the Chancellor, who has the task of appointing professors.

disciplines we mean disciplines that have self-evident and legitimated existence within the Humanities or the Social Sciences (cf. Salter and Hearn 1999). As core disciplines we regard those that are systematically placed within the same faculty and are taught in several universities, thus forming a kind of basis for either the Humanities or the Social Sciences. Our analysis is based on the administrative structure of faculties and institutions in all Finnish multi-faculty universities.

There are 10 multi-faculty universities in Finland. Out of these six have both a Faculty of Humanities and of Social Sciences (University of Helsinki, University of Turku, Åbo Akademi University, University of Tampere, University of Jyväskylä, University of Joensuu). All these are well established universities that consist of several faculties and independent units (research institutes etc.). The University of Helsinki is the oldest and largest university in Finland. It regards itself as the heir of the first university in Finland, established in 1640 in the city of Turku and transferred to Helsinki in 1828. Nowadays the University of Helsinki has 11 faculties, 38 000 degree students and a staff of 7400. It emphasizes its wide international contacts and cooperation in addition to the high quality of its research and education. These have also been recognised by international expert panels. Åbo Akademi University provides higher education mainly for the Swedish speaking students and has been functioning since 1918⁹. Today it has seven faculties and nearly 8000 students. The University of Turku is also one of the oldest universities in Finland. It was established in 1920. Now it has six faculties and over 15 000 degree students. From the beginning the University of Turku focused on the Humanities and Natural Sciences. In recent years especially Biotechnology has been a growing field. The University of Tampere was established in the 1925 as a Social College to provide education in the Social Sciences. In the beginning it was directed to students with no formal eligibility for university education. In 1966 it was renamed University of Tampere. It has developed into a large university with six faculties and over 15 000 degree students. Even today the university educates most Finnish social scientists. The University of Jyväskylä is also one of the large universities in Finland. It was established in 1934 as Jyväskylä College of Education and received university status in 1966. Today it includes seven faculties and has nearly 16 000 students. The University of Joensuu in Eastern Finland near the Russian border is one of the newer and smaller universities. It was established in 1969 and has 7200 students who study in six faculties.

The rest of the multi-faculty universities only have either a Faculty of Humanities or a Faculty of Social Sciences. Two universities (University of Kuopio, University of Lapland) have a Faculty of Social Sciences, but not a Faculty of Humanities. Two universities (University of Oulu, University of Vaasa) have a Faculty of Humanities, but not a Faculty of Social Sciences. Three of these universities are rather small and their establishment was part of the regional policy of the 1960s and 1970s. For example the University of Kuopio started in 1972 and has 4800 degree students now. Education and research are provided by five faculties with such common themes as health, environment and well-being. Medicine, Natural Sciences and Social and Health Sciences form the backbone of the university. The University of Vaasa had its first students in 1968 and now has 5000 students. It is organised into four faculties. Its importance lies to a large extent in its effect on the nearby region through cooperation with businesses, municipalities and regional offices. The University of Lapland was the last university to be established in Finland. It was

⁹ With the same name as the old Åbo Akademi (1640-1827), Åbo Akademi University also regards itself as the successor of the first university in Finland.

established in 1979. The most Northern university in Finland has five faculties and 4000 students. The University of Oulu has a different profile from these three. It has over 15 000 students and is both nationally and internationally known for its work especially within information technology. The university was established 1959 and has as its focus information technology, biotechnology, regional northern issues and the environment. The university is also engaged in several high technology application projects. The largest of its six faculties is in fact the Faculty of Technology.

When looking at how disciplines are placed into faculties within different universities it becomes clear that there is considerable variety. Some disciplines are rather tightly bound institutionally to the Humanities or the Social Sciences, whereas other disciplines are placed in different faculties depending on the university. *Within the Humanities* those disciplines that are always¹⁰ placed in the Faculty of Humanities can be grouped into *Language Studies*, *Arts Studies* and *Cultural Research*. Language Studies include different languages and translation studies. Arts Studies can include disciplines such as Literature, Musicology, Art History, Theatre Research or Media Studies – sometimes also Digital Culture, Visual Culture, Musical Education, Arts Education or Contemporary Culture. What is called Cultural Research includes disciplines such as Folklore, Ethnology, Comparative Religion, Archeology, Cultural Anthropology or Museology – sometimes also Maritime History or Life Philosophy. *History* is a discipline that is most often placed in the Faculty of Humanities, but parts of it are institutionally defined as Social Sciences. This concerns Political History (also called Contemporary History), which is based in the Faculty of Social Sciences in two universities (University of Turku, University of Helsinki). Social and Economic History is also taught within the Faculty of Social Sciences (University of Helsinki).

The disciplines that are most often taught within the Humanities are Literature, Musicology, Folklore, History, Languages, Anthropology, Art History, Ethnology and Comparative Religion. There is a large field of studies called Media Studies, Cultural Research, Cultural Policy, Visual Culture etc. which consists of studies in popular culture, cultural politics and other related issues. Many of these programmes have started in recent years and are going through a change at the moment. New modules and courses are being planned and established.

Definitions of which disciplines form *the Social Sciences* are not as clear-cut as they are within the Humanities. It is not so easy to name disciplines as core disciplines within the Social Sciences since many disciplines are placed in different faculties depending on the university. Neither is the differentiation between Social Sciences and Economics always sharp. The boundaries to Law or Caring/Nursing Science also seem to be porous. For example Åbo Akademi University has a faculty called the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences which combines disciplines such as Political Science, Economics, Business Management and Sociology. A division of the university functions in Vaasa and offers education in disciplines such as Social Policy, Developmental Psychology and Caring Science. This faculty is called the Faculty of Caring and Social Sciences¹¹.

¹⁰ Always here means that the disciplines are not placed in other faculties when they are taught at the university.

¹¹ In the following parts of the report we regard both these faculties as being a Faculty of Social Sciences. Only when discussing the differentiation between Sociology and Economics attention is paid specifically to the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences.

Disciplines that are always (when existing in a certain university) placed in the Faculty of Social Sciences include *Political Science*, *Social Policy* and/or *Social Work* and *Social Psychology*. *Social Work* can be taught either as a complement to *Social Policy* (University of Helsinki, University of Turku) or as a separate discipline (University of Tampere, University of Lapland, University of Kuopio, University of Jyväskylä). *Social Psychology* is taught in three universities (University of Helsinki, University of Tampere, University of Kuopio).

Three disciplines which often belong to the Faculty of Social Sciences, but are also at times placed in other faculties, are *Sociology*, *Economics* and *Statistics*. *Sociology* is taught in the Faculty of Social Sciences in seven universities (Helsinki,; Turku; Tampere; Jyväskylä; Joensuu; Lapland; Kuopio) and in one university in the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences (Åbo Akademi University). In one university *Sociology* belongs to the Faculty of Public Administration (University of Vaasa) and in one university it is part of the Faculty of Education (University of Oulu). *Economics* on the other hand belongs to the Faculty of Social Sciences in three universities (University of Joensuu, University of Helsinki, University of Turku), but in four universities it belongs to the Faculty of Economics (University of Vaasa, University of Oulu, University of Tampere, University of Jyväskylä) and in one to the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences (Åbo Akademi University). *Statistics* is also sometimes part of the Faculty of Social Sciences (University of Turku, University of Helsinki, University of Joensuu). But in one university it belongs to the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences (Åbo Akademi University), in one university to the Faculty of Information Sciences (University of Tampere), and in one university to the Faculty of Information Technology and Economics (University of Kuopio).

The Faculty of Social Sciences can also include disciplines such as *Nursing Science* (University of Kuopio, Åbo Akademi University) and *Law* (Åbo Akademi University, University of Lapland, University of Joensuu). In one university *Geography* is in two faculties – the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Faculty of Science (University of Joensuu). In one university *Development Studies* is included in the Faculty of Social Sciences (University of Helsinki). This is the only university in Finland in which *Development Studies* can be studied. *Development Studies* however defines itself as an interdisciplinary discipline.

Communication is a discipline which moves between the Humanities and Social Sciences. It is usually included in the Faculty of Humanities (University of Jyväskylä, University of Joensuu, University of Vaasa, University of Oulu). In the University of Turku *Communication* used to be a discipline that was taught both in the Faculty of Humanities (Speech Communication, Film and Television Studies) and in the Faculty of Social Sciences (Journalism/Media Studies), but these different disciplines were merged into *Media Studies*, placed in the Faculty of Humanities. Yet, there are two large and established institutions of *Communication* within the Faculty of Social Sciences (in the University of Tampere, in the University of Helsinki). These two educate journalists whereas the degree programmes in the Humanities are not professionally orientated.

Psychology is often a part of the Faculty of Social Sciences, but can be found in other faculties also. In three universities it belongs to the Social Sciences (University of Turku, University of Tampere, University of Joensuu). In one university it is in the Faculty of Humanities and in the Faculty of Caring and Social Sciences (only as *Developmental Psychology* which is taught in another town) (Åbo Akademi University). In one university it is in the Faculty of Behavioural

Sciences (University of Helsinki) and in one university in the Faculty of Education (University of Oulu).

Philosophy is also a discipline that can be found in several faculties. In two universities it is part of the Faculty of Social Sciences (University of Turku, University of Jyväskylä). In two other universities it is in the Faculty of Humanities (University of Helsinki, Åbo Akademi University) and in one university it belongs to the Faculty of Information Sciences (University of Tampere).

The disciplines that are most often taught in the Faculty of Social Sciences are Sociology, Social Policy/Work, and Political Science.

Fields of study that define themselves as interdisciplinary such as Women's Studies and different Area Studies and Futures Studies can also be in several different faculties. They are most often taught at the basic and intermediate studies level, although recently there have emerged also advanced level studies in Women's Studies and some Area Studies. *Women's Studies* is part of the Faculty of Humanities in three universities (University of Turku, University of Helsinki, University of Joensuu) and in three universities it belongs to the Faculty of Social Sciences (University of Tampere, University of Jyväskylä, Åbo Akademi University). Two universities offer education in Women's Studies in the Faculty of Education (University of Lapland, University of Oulu). *Area Studies* such as Latin American Studies, North American Studies, Russian and Eastern European Studies and East Asian Studies are usually in the Faculty of Humanities. They combine historical, social and cultural perspectives along with language studies. *Futures Studies* are in two universities included as minor subjects (University of Joensuu, Åbo Akademi University). At the University of Joensuu Futures Studies are in the Social Sciences. The courses in both these universities are however organised by the Turku School of Economics and Business Administration, which has a specific study programme and a research centre on the issues.

The University of Lapland has established a specific Department of Methodology. It serves all the faculties of the university and is interdisciplinary in character.

How can we explain that many disciplines are scattered around different faculties in the universities? To some extent it is a question of how the universities were built up, especially during the 1960s and the 1970s. When universities were established on the basis of regional policy in the northern, eastern and west coast parts of the country the intention was to encourage economic and social development within all parts of the country, not to build broad-based universities. The institutions were usually small with few faculties. Thus, new disciplines were based in faculties that were "available" and willing to start education in these areas, instead of being able to choose a faculty on behalf of related disciplines. For example at the University of Oulu, Sociology was established in the Faculty of Education, since the university lacked a Faculty of Social Sciences. The university also co-operates with the University of Lapland regarding advanced level studies in Sociology. Co-operation is needed due to scarce resources. The University of Lapland is situated relatively close by geographically and has a more established Masters programme in Sociology within the Faculty of Social Sciences. Many other practical and administrative reasons have also affected the situating of disciplines within certain faculties in addition to scientific relatedness. Disciplines that were established early in some of the older universities have often been in a similar situation as disciplines in the new small

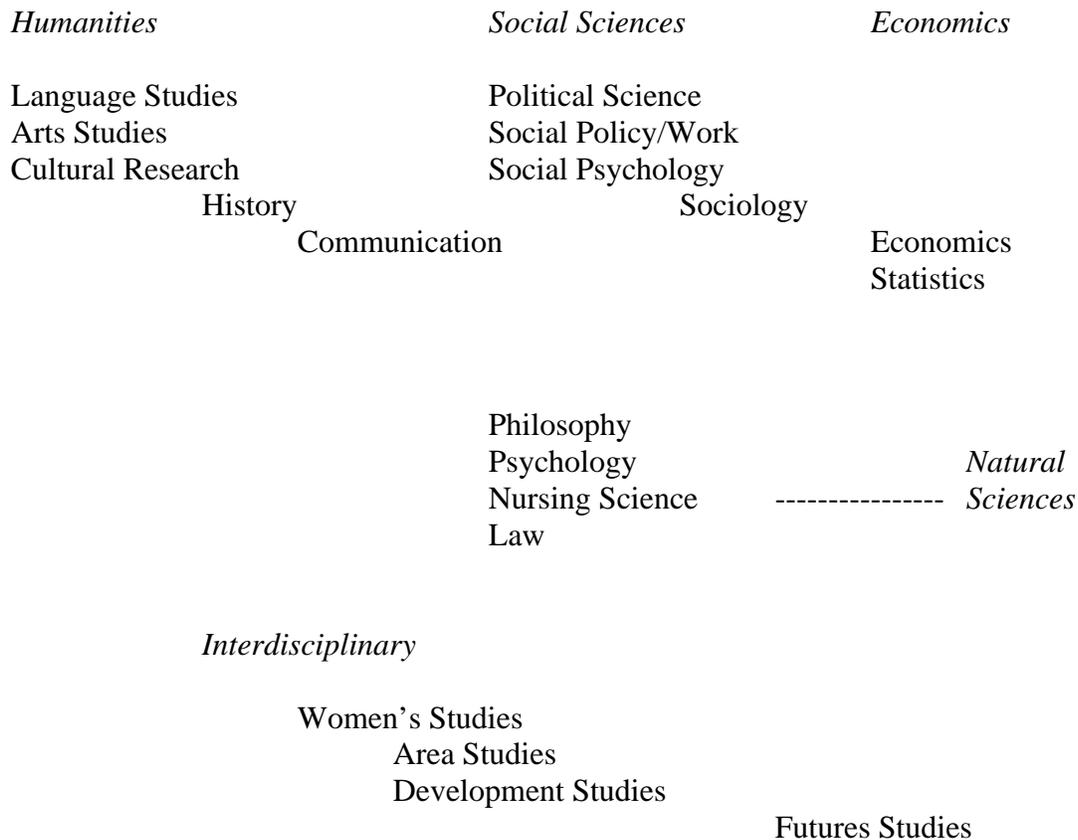
universities. The possibilities of choice and the interests of the faculties have to a large extent guided the decisions.

On the other hand, change is an ongoing process within universities. Since the new Universities Act (1998), establishing new faculties and merging old faculties together has become an issue which universities themselves can decide on. This can speed up change, although the first years have shown that this kind of restructuring is still rather moderate (Välímää and Jalkanen 2001, 192-3). Some new faculties have been established and disciplines are moving between them. For example in the University of Tampere a new faculty called the Faculty of Information Science was founded in 2001. Disciplines such as Philosophy, Information Studies, Statistics and Computer and Information Science belong to it. These used to be part of the Faculty of Social Sciences, but Information Sciences was regarded as a new and rapidly developing area which needed a faculty of its own. Disciplines such as Philosophy which conduct basic research and have a broad application range can be grouped together with many other disciplines. Thus, perhaps the linkages with the Humanities, the Social Sciences or other types of disciplines are not so strong, enabling new groupings. Psychology seems to be another subject with connections to many different disciplines. It has common interests with Social Sciences, but also with Medicine, other Biosciences and Education. Thus, its place can vary according to what is emphasized.

In Chart 2 we present the position of the disciplines in relation to the Humanities and Social Sciences in a chart. In order to catch the multiplicity of the field we need to add Economics and Natural Sciences to the chart. Disciplines that define themselves as interdisciplinary are placed in their own group.

What can we say about core disciplines in relation to the definitions of the Humanities and the Social Sciences? Liora Salter and Alison Hearn (1996, 175-8) argue against the concept of core disciplines on the basis of constant change in the disciplinary field. They criticise a view in which some disciplines are regarded as stable and elementary core disciplines whereas others are considered to be less important and offshoots of core disciplines. They emphasize that the concept implies a hierarchical and evolutionary view of knowledge. However, if we interpret the concept "core discipline" in a less rigid way, paying attention to change as well as to continuities and look at the establishment of positions it can be useful in describing the differences presented earlier. It can be used to distinguish those disciplines that are more often positioned within the Humanities or the Social Sciences from other disciplines that have a more variable position. We are not suggesting that core disciplines are more important or developed than the others, but only that they are most often and consistently placed within the categories of Humanities or Social Sciences.

Chart 2: Disciplinary field of Humanities and Social Sciences in Finland



Within the Humanities the core disciplines are Language Studies, Arts Studies and Cultural Research. These most often include studies in different languages, literature, art history, musicology, Folklore, ethnology and anthropology. History to a large extent belongs to these disciplines too. Within the Social Sciences Political Science, Social Policy/Work and Social Psychology can be regarded as the core disciplines. Sociology can also be placed here, because although it is at times situated in other faculties these are exceptions; it can be studied in most of the Faculties of Social Sciences – unlike, for example, Social Psychology.

Disciplines that can be within the Humanities or the Social Sciences are Communication, Philosophy and Psychology. The latter two can also be in other faculties. Thus they belong more to the margins of the field discussed here. Even more on the margins are disciplines such as Law and Nursing Science which only once in a while are found in these faculties.

INFRASTRUCTURAL DEFINITIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES IN RESEARCH FUNDING

In Finland's expenditure on research and development, universities receive around a quarter of public funding. Roughly speaking, together with funding of the national research council around 40 per cent is directed to the university sector, while 60 per cent is directed to the development sector (which some university fields also benefit from). More details are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Share of expenditure on R & D in Finland in 2003

UNIVERSITIES	27.3 %
University hospitals	3.4 %
National research council (Academy of Finland)	13.1 %
National Technology Agency (TEKES)	28.2 %
Government research institutes	16.5 %
Others	11.5 %

(Source: Academy of Finland Annual Report 2003, 9).

Since the 1990s external funding for university research has increased. The most important sources are the National Technology Agency (Tekes), the EU, the Academy of Finland, ministries and private corporations. A closer look however shows that there are clear differences between disciplines regarding the funding organisations (Hakala et al 2003, 43-6). The National Technology Agency plays a crucial role especially within research in technology and has importance even in natural sciences and medicine. Funding within the Humanities and the Social Sciences comes to a large extent from the Academy of Finland. The Academy of Finland is the national research council in Finland through which the state finances research. Within the Humanities over half of the external funding in 2000 was provided by the Academy of Finland. Funding in the Social Sciences too relies to a considerable extent on the Academy of Finland, but its importance is not as large as within the Humanities. The Academy of Finland has provided around 12 % of the external funding in the Social Sciences in recent years.

The Academy of Finland is divided into four sections. These are called the Research Council for Culture and Society, the Research Council for Biosciences and Environment, the Research Council for Natural Sciences and Engineering, and the Research Council for Health. The Board is the highest decision-making body in the Academy of Finland. It formulates the science policy of the institution and defines the amount of funding resources allocated by each of the four research councils. The total sum of research funding by the Academy of Finland was 184.4 million euros in 2003 and it consisted of several types of research funding (Academy of Finland Annual Report 2003, 9). Of these the largest part (43%) went to funding of research projects and other support. Research programmes received 23.5%; researcher training 14.5%, research posts 11% and international cooperation 8% of the total funding. Research programmes are launched in order to fund research on certain specified areas and themes, whereas bottom-up research projects are based on subjects and themes that are defined by the researchers in the project.

Until 1995 there were separate research councils for the Humanities and the Social Sciences. During a restructuring of the organisation seven research councils were merged into four. Today the Research Council for Culture and Society covers the Humanities and Social Sciences, as well

as some disciplines which are not traditionally regarded as part of these. The Academy of Finland lists as its fields of research: Philosophy, Theology, History and Archaeology, Cultures Research, Aesthetics and Arts Research, Philology and Language Studies, Law, Psychology, Education, Social Sciences, Economics, Political Science and Administration, Communication and Information Sciences and Statistics. For the most part this definition of disciplines or groups of disciplines follows the patterns we found within the university education structure. What is more specific is that disciplines such as Theology and Education are included here. The inclusion of Law may raise questions, although within some universities it is found within the Faculty of Social Sciences.

There are ten members in the Research Council for Culture and Society and they represent different disciplines. They are appointed for three years. The appointments are made officially by the government, but universities, research institutes, scientific societies and other related bodies make proposals for these.

The decision process regarding research projects and research programmes includes elements of disciplinary and multi-disciplinary peer reviews and judgements. According to an interview with science adviser Raija Matikainen (2004) from the Academy of Finland the process proceeds in the following way. *First* the applications are reviewed either by an expert panel or at least two reviewers. The panelists and the reviewers are chosen so that they represent the same discipline as the applications. The expert panels consist of 3-5 members most of whom are international experts. Usually also one Finnish member is included. The decision whether to form an expert panel or contact single reviewers is made by the member of the Research Council for Culture and Society to whose discipline the application belongs and a science adviser who is employed at the Academy of Finland. *In the second phase* the applications and reviews are taken into discussion in a preparatory group. The Research Council of Culture and Society is divided into three preparatory groups according to disciplines. The first of these disciplinary groups consists of History, Philosophy, Political Science, Education and Psychology. The second disciplinary group includes Language Studies, Arts Research, Cultural Research and Communication. The third group consists of Social Sciences (Sociology, Social Policy, Social Work, and Social Psychology), Economics and Theology. One Research Council member can represent two disciplines in these groups (for example History and Philosophy) and on the other hand there may be two members representing the same discipline (for example different languages). Within these preparatory groups a preliminary list of projects to be financed is made. *In the third phase* all members of the Research Council of Culture and Society gather together, discuss the three preparatory lists and decide on one final list of projects to be financed.

Thus, the review phase occurs within disciplinary boundaries. Even the preparatory groups are based on disciplinary definitions, but include members who represent several disciplines. In the final phase the decisions are made in the Research Council with representatives from both the Humanities and Social Sciences. According to Raija Matikainen, the review phase is important because decisions are based on expert statements, but the preparatory groups are crucial in making the decisions about the funding lists. These phases are the ones that largely follow disciplinary boundaries. Disciplinary differences and preferences also come up in the discussions in the preparatory groups.

When making decisions regarding the call for applications in the spring of 2004 an experiment was made with interdisciplinary panels. A panel was set up to make recommendations about environmental project applications. It consisted of experts from both the Research Council for Culture and Society and the Research Council for Biosciences and Environment. Another interdisciplinary panel was formed within the Research Council for Culture and Society. It made recommendations on applications that had an interdisciplinary perspective and belonged to a research area consisting of History, Cultural Research, Political Science and Philosophy. Some of the experts in this interdisciplinary panel also joined disciplinary panels in that area (for example History) in order to keep the review processes connected with each other. The initiative to establish interdisciplinary panels was a consequence of an international evaluation of the Academy of Finland published in March 2004. In this evaluation the situation of interdisciplinary research projects in funding decisions was pointed out as a problem. Since the expert panels are usually set up within disciplinary boundaries interdisciplinary projects have been in an unfavourable situation. Interdisciplinary panels were established to be able to review these applications in a more appropriate way. However, the future of interdisciplinary panels has not yet been decided. They may be included as a part of the reviewing process, but they may also be treated as only a temporary experiment.

When specific reviewers – instead of expert panels – make recommendations about research applications attention is often paid to interdisciplinarity by asking several reviewers. Disciplinary research project applications are usually reviewed by two experts, but concerning interdisciplinary applications three experts are usually asked for assessments. On the whole, the problem with individual expert statements is that they may differ quite much from each other. In these cases an additional assessment can be asked for, or the members of the Research Council of Culture and Society use their own expertise to make the final evaluation. The working process of the expert panels on the other hand includes producing a common assessment during the meeting.

The preparatory groups are not built on a clear division between the Humanities and Social Sciences, although to some extent they follow these lines. Raija Matikainen's view was that interdisciplinarity had played some role in making decisions on the composition of the groups. The aim was to avoid setting up groups that would be very strictly either Humanities or Social Sciences.

The research posts funded by the Academy of Finland include post doctoral researchers (3 years), Academy Research Fellow posts (max 5 years), Academy Professorships (max 5 years) and grants for Senior Scientists. There is tough competition for the posts and they are highly valued among researchers and university teachers. When deciding on research posts there are no specific quotas for particular disciplines. The Board of the Academy of Finland decides how many posts each of the four Research Councils can appoint. The Research Councils decide the appointments on the basis of the scientific level of the research plan and the scientific merits of the applicants. However, disciplinary background can be important if there are two equally matched applicants. Then one of the arguments can be based on whether there is more need to appoint an applicant to the research post from one or the other discipline. Since not all disciplines within the Humanities and Social Sciences are represented in the Research Council for Culture and Society, the members try to pay special attention to fair treatment of the disciplines that are not represented, according to Matikainen. Thus, it seems to be taken for granted that members of the Research Council have an understanding and speak for their own disciplines at least to some extent.

The Academy of Finland also finances Centres of Excellence in research. The Centres usually receive additional funding from other organisations such as the National Technology Agency (Tekes) and different foundations. The aim of the Centres of Excellence is to support research that is of internationally high standard and to increase competitiveness within research. One objective is to promote interdisciplinary research. Units that are appointed as Centres of Excellence in Research must be ranked to the international top level within their field of research. Interdisciplinarity is stressed when decisions are made about the appointment of Centres of Excellence.

Within the Academy of Finland there is a Culture and Society Research Unit which takes care of the administration of the Research Council for Culture and Society. As a part of the Unit there is a Subcommittee for Development Studies. It allocates funding for research in Development Studies. This funding includes both Academy funds and development coordination funds by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Members of the Subcommittee are appointed by the Board of the Academy of Finland.

There are also several governmental research institutes in Finland which operate in the fields of Humanities and Social Sciences. The largest of these research institutes is The National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health (Stakes). It is an expert agency under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. Other governmental research institutes within the Social Sciences and the Humanities are the National Research Institute of Legal Policy, the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland and the National Consumer Research Centre. In addition there are the National Public Health Institute and the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health which combine health and welfare. Their funding structure is shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Funding structure of relevant research institutes in Finland

	Government funding million €	External funding million €	Total funding million €
National Public Health Institute	23.0	10.0	33.0
Research Institute for the Languages of Finland	4.7	0.4	5.1
National Consumer Research Centre	1.8	1.0	2.8
National Research Institute of Legal Policy	1.2	0.2	1.4
National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health	14.4	4.5	18.8
Finnish Institute of Occupational Health	13.7	7.6	21.3

Source: www.research.fi/tutkimlt_fi.html.

Statistics Finland collects data on different aspects of the society and compiles statistics and social surveys. It belongs administratively to the Ministry of Finance, but is an independent unit which is responsible for its own activities and keeping of statistics. One of its tasks is to provide statistical services to different authorities, including researchers in different institutions. It utilises a disciplinary classification in which the Humanities include Philosophy, Language Studies, Art Research, Theology, History and Archaeology and Cultural Research. In the Social Sciences are Economics, Business Management, Law, Social Sciences (Sociology, Social Policy, Social Work, Social Psychology), Psychology, Education, Political Science and Administration, Communication and Statistics.

There is also a privately organised research institute called The Finnish Institute of International Affairs. Although privately organised, it receives the main part of its funding from the state.

DISCIPLINIZATION: PROCESS AND PROBLEMATICS

The typical pattern of disciplinization is to start by organising single modules called courses in a new and interesting field within the universities. After that the courses are built up to form larger entities. The first step is to introduce basic level studies. As the amount of courses increases the need for teaching and administrative posts arises. In this phase many fields of study institutionalise as separate units. If the institutionalisation is successful the points of departure for a broadening of the studies are usually good. The next step is to introduce intermediate level studies. This is usually not a problem if the resources have been secured in connection with establishing a special unit. However, introducing advanced level studies is a more difficult task.

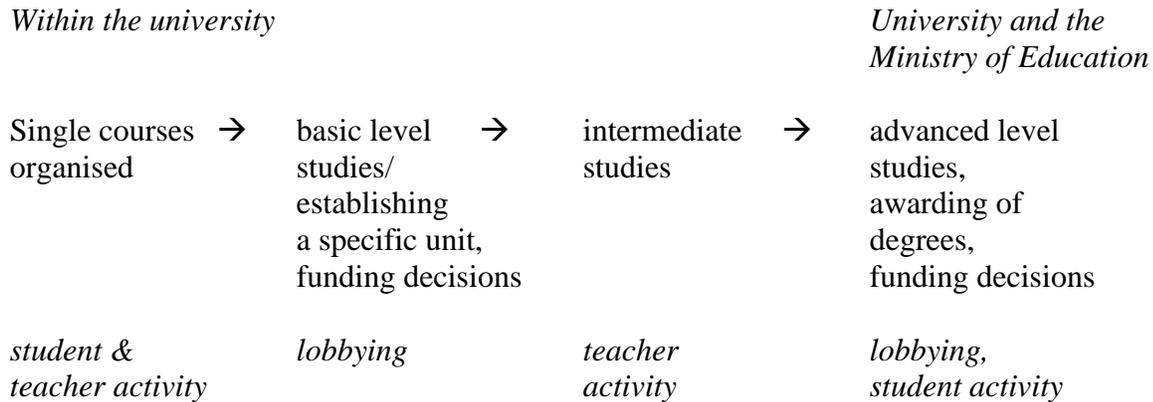
This includes the right to award degrees which is regulated by the Ministry of Education. The relationship between the autonomy of the universities and the ministerial regulation becomes an issue. Also the question of how to divide economic resources within the university often becomes more acute than in the earlier phases of disciplinization.

Since the Finnish funding system of universities is to a large extent based on completed degrees, the disciplines which cannot award degrees are in an unfavourable situation. The scarce resources for university education and the growing student-staff ratios also make all decisions on new posts controversial issues. Thus, introducing new fields of study has to solve these problems. A favourable attitude for a new field of study needs to be established within the faculty and/or the university. In a few cases (such as Women's Studies) earmarked funding for professorships or other posts has been important in enabling a further disciplinization of a field. The Ministry of Education can also steer the development at the universities by reserving certain funds for projects or study programmes. For example with the implementation of the Bologna process the Ministry has reserved funds for Masters programmes covering new areas.

The decision to establish advanced level studies and award degrees in a new discipline often requires years of work and lobbying. Lately the Bologna process has become a way to promote this process. Masters programmes have been planned and established in new fields of study which already have basic and intermediate level courses. The development of the Renvall Institute for Area and Cultural Studies at the University of Helsinki shows that it can be effective to establish a unit which includes several new fields of study. The Renvall Institute belongs to the Faculty of Arts and includes for example Latin American Studies, North American Studies, European Studies, and Russian and East European Studies. Most of these programmes are taught at basic and intermediate level, but Latin American Studies and North American Studies can be studied at advanced level. In Russian and East European Studies a Masters programme has been established which admits students from several universities. The studies are provided by the Renvall Institute for Area and Cultural Studies, but the students receive their Masters degree in their own main subjects and in their departments. In the disciplinization process the new fields of study can refer to previous examples within the institute. Being on the alert and using all new possibilities such as those brought by the Bologna process seem to be traits of success in disciplinization.

The final decision lies within the Ministry of Education, since it declares the disciplines that have a right to award degrees. However, active and determined measures within the universities can push the process so far that the Ministry decision becomes only a legitimation of an existing situation. For example in the following case study we can see that Women's Studies at the University of Helsinki has used this strategy rather successfully and Women's Studies in other universities are following the same path. This of course requires an attitude in the Ministry which is not openly resistant to the process. The typical disciplinization process is presented as a flow chart below.

Chart 3: The typical disciplinization process in Finland



The problems of disciplinization to a large extent follow from the present funding system of the universities. The degree-based funding formula is not favourable to new interdisciplinary fields of study. Initiatives and activities based on cooperation between different disciplines and universities are not valued in this system. This causes problems in the evaluation of units and includes a risk for funding in the long run. This can be seen in our second case study, Cultural Studies at the University of Jyväskylä.

In the following we will analyse more closely two cases of disciplinization – Women’s Studies and Cultural Studies. Both have been rather successful in this process, but they have used very different strategies. The disciplinization of Women’s Studies has followed the typical process described in this section. Cultural Studies has to a large extent established itself within other disciplines, such as Sociology and different Arts Studies (Literature, Art History etc.) and organised itself in a loose network style. In the University of Jyväskylä it has established itself as a discipline, but directs its activities to PhD training and cooperation between post doc researchers. It has no base in BA or MA degrees.

CHANGE IN DISCIPLINIZATION: TWO CASE STUDIES

Women’s Studies at the University of Helsinki

The first wave of research on women in Finland was connected to the sex-role discussion and the equality movement of the 1960s (Tuori and Silius 2002, 90). The feminist movement did not arrive to Finland until the end of 1970s and never gained as strong a foothold as it did in the other Nordic countries. Feminist influences spread gradually to Finnish research, for example through the study circles of the Nordic Summer University. Teaching and research in Women’s Studies started in Finland relatively late compared to the other Nordic countries. As a field of teaching, university Women’s Studies during the 1980s. At the same time cooperation and networking between researchers increased. This process was encouraged by the Academy of Finland and the

national Council for Equality (Bergman et al 2002, 10). These two organised the first seminar in Women's Studies in 1980. The Academy of Finland allocated funding for a Coordinator of Women's Studies (1981-1983) and for research networking. The Coordinator's post was later moved to the Council for Equality where it was based until recently. The Council and its Research Section were important in promoting Women's Studies in a phase when Women's Studies had not yet been institutionalised in the universities.

The institutionalisation of Women's Studies started in the latter part of the 1980s, but especially the 1990s were a time of growing activity and better resources. In four universities separate Women's Studies units were established (Åbo Akademi University in 1986, University of Tampere in 1990, University of Helsinki in 1991 and University of Turku in 1995). Today, the Women's Studies departments of Helsinki and Tampere universities are fully independent, while the unit of Åbo Akademi University is semi-independent. In the other universities, (University of Jyväskylä, University of Joensuu, University of Lapland, University of Oulu, University of Turku and the Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration) Women's Studies training is organised within other departments. In the beginning, teaching and administrative posts were however few and resources scarce.

A considerable improvement occurred when the Ministry of Education funded eight five-year professorships in Women's Studies during the last half of the 1990s (Lykke et al 2004, 49). The intention was that after the five-year period the universities would take on the responsibility of funding the professorships. Most universities have continued funding these professorships in their own budgets, but not all on a permanent basis. The University of Oulu decided in 2004 not to fund the professorship in Women's Studies after the five-year period. In addition there is a professorship funded by the Research Council, called the Minna Canth-professorship. The contract for this most prestigious professorship is five years. Women's Studies is usually studied at basic and intermediate level, but several universities have also introduced advanced level as well as PhDs. The universities of Tampere, Jyväskylä and Åbo Akademi have established joint degree programmes. In these, Women's Studies is combined with a traditional disciplinary subject. The University of Helsinki is the first, followed by Åbo Akademi University and soon there will also be other universities where students can graduate in Women's Studies at MA and PhD level.

In the following we introduce a case study on how the disciplinization of Women's Studies has occurred at the University of Helsinki. The study is based on interviews with professor Kirsi Saarikangas and coordinator Pia Purra at the Christina Institute of Women's Studies at Helsinki University. In addition two annual reports of the Institute (Annual Report 2002; Annual Report 2003) and one congress speech (Purra 1993) discussing the establishment of the Christina Institute have been used as source material.

The first introductory course in Women's Studies was organised at the University of Helsinki in 1984. It was organised by several researchers in the field of Humanities and Social Sciences. Later other courses were organised. Feminist-inspired students promoted actively the idea of a specific Women's Studies programme. Together with researchers and teachers interested in Women's Studies they started planning a study programme. This study programme started in 1987. Teaching was provided by scholars from the Faculty of Arts, the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Faculty of Theology. Later other faculties and departments took part in the programme

too. When the number of courses and other activities started to expand, a clear need for institutionalisation and administrative staff arose. The programme had been organised as voluntary and unpaid work – that is, as additional to all other work researchers and other teachers were doing at their departments.

The Christina Institute for Women's Studies was established 1991. According to Pia Purra (1993, 4) who was closely involved in the process the decisions about the institute were made surprisingly quickly and smoothly. This is even more surprising since at the time students were not allowed to take part in the decision-making (contrary to other universities in Finland) and the power was held by full professors. They were overwhelmingly men and rather conservative. Thus, it is interesting to analyse how it was possible that the establishment of a separate department was so successful. First of all, it seems to have been a determined goal of several active and influential women scholars. They based their arguments on the existence of a study programme and many organised events to show that the field was important and expanding. There was also pressure from students who were enthusiastic about studying Women's Studies and were completing their Masters thesis with feminist themes within several disciplines. In addition the timing was right and the strategies used to achieve the goals effective. The proposal to form a specific institute for Women's Studies was presented by the newly appointed Equality Committee at the university. The Chair of the committee, Professor Raija Sollamo, was actively engaged in the study programme and responsible for organising Women's Studies within the Faculty of Theology. As one of its first tasks the Equality Committee made a proposition about a specific institute for Women' Studies. The Board of the University set up a working group to consider if there was a need for such an institute, how it could be financed and what tasks it would have. The working group members were primarily feminist professors and students and it was chaired by a male professor who had a positive attitude towards Women's Studies. The working group presented a detailed proposal and soon after that the Board of the University decided to establish the Christina Institute. According to Pia Purra (ibid.) there was very little visible resistance. Some professors did not wholeheartedly accept the idea, but they were not publicly critical either.

Especially three feminist professors were active in the process that led to the establishment of the Christina Institute – Raija Sollamo, Päivi Setälä and Auli Hakulinen. These feminist professors were influential within the university structure and used their contacts to promote the idea of a new institute. Päivi Setälä was at the time also in charge of organising the 350-year jubilee of the University of Helsinki and worked in close cooperation with the highest decision-makers of the university. She constantly pointed out the importance of establishing an institute for Women' Studies. Due to the jubilee year the university received attention in the media. Feminists at the university were skilful in using publicity and media contacts to advance their goals. They made the situation of Women's Studies news and pointed out the problem of resources. They organised a press conference together with the national Coordinator of Women's Studies at the Council for Equality and managed to get all the important newspapers and news channels to pay attention to the situation. Even the largest newspaper in the country, *Helsingin Sanomat*, wrote an editorial on the need to institutionalise the position of Women's Studies at the University of Helsinki. Thus, there was pressure from several quarters to make a positive decision.

The Christina Institute for Women's Studies was established as a separate department of the Faculty of Arts. At the same time Women's Studies also received a professorship in the same

faculty. The professorship was funded by the University of Helsinki. At first it was fixed-term for five years, but in 2001 it was made permanent. The institute has students even from other faculties and works in cooperation with many departments. This was recognised in 1999 when the Rector decided to start financing the institute from special funds on basis of activity that serves the whole university. There is also another professorship in Women's Studies at the University of Helsinki. It was established by the Ministry of Education as part of the project to ensure the position of Women's Studies in Finnish universities. This fix-term professorship is in the Faculty of Law. It was made permanent in 2004.

In the beginning the institute had a professor, a coordinator and a secretary. Since 1999, it also has a lecturer. There are several researchers. In October 2004 there were eight researchers and PhD students with funding from the Academy of Finland, the University of Helsinki, the Ministry of Education and other funding organisations (Saarikangas 2004). The Christina Institute for Women's Studies is responsible for the coordination of the National Research School for Gender Studies. In addition the institute coordinates a national network for virtual Women's Studies.

When the Women's Studies programme started in 1987 the studies were organised at a basic level. In the following years new courses were started and they then formed intermediate level studies. In 1997 it became possible to take so-called "expanded intermediate studies" which was the first step towards advanced level studies. Among researchers at the Christina Institute of Women's Studies, feminist scholars at other departments and students, there were different opinions about whether to promote main subject status for Women's Studies or not. Some wanted to keep it as a minor subject and integrate teaching in Women's Studies in the other departments. Others on the other hand saw many advantages in main subject status. Many students wanted to do MAs and PhDs in Women's Studies. Scholars thought that the main subject status could strengthen the position of the institute within the university system.

A couple of years later the institute tried to introduce advanced level studies in which students would graduate in Women's Studies. Thus, Women's Studies would have in practice become a main subject. This proposition was however rejected by the Faculty of Arts. Professor Kirsi Saarikangas (2004) and coordinator Pia Purra (2004) said that this was due to the Faculty's structure and the funding system of the university. The Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki has several small disciplines, such as rarely taught languages. The Faculty also has the nationally slowest flow of students through the educational programme. It takes too many years for students to graduate and some students never receive their Masters degree. Since the funding system in the universities is based on completed degrees, this means serious trouble for the Faculty. The Faculty has already decided to reduce the number of new students by 5 per cent each year as a solution to this problem. Thus, establishing new small disciplines and funding these in the future is something the Faculty does not want to commit itself to. The Faculty also expressed a view that Women's Studies was not an established discipline since it did not have enough teaching staff and might not be able to carry out the study programme. At the time the professorship was not yet made permanent. In addition the Faculty also regarded the planning of the advanced studies as insufficient. The cooperation between the Christina Institute for Women's Studies and the Faculty of Arts has been good during the past years, but establishing a new small discipline in the faculty was too difficult. Other important steps in the disciplinization process, such as the decision regarding the permanency of the professorship, were achieved without specific problems or notable resistance.

However, the issue of advanced studies was not buried after the negative decision by the Faculty. A while later the Dean of the Faculty of Arts suggested that the new Masters programmes introduced by the Bologna process could be a solution. Decisions about the Masters programmes are made each year separately and thus the faculty does not need to commit itself to funding for a long period. The suggestion was well received at the Institute since it would enable the most important goals to come true. Students could do MAs and PhDs in Women's Studies. There was not much interest to start admitting students to Women's Studies through the entrance exams anyway. The Institute made a proposal for a Masters programme in Women's Studies which was accepted by the Faculty of Arts. The first students were admitted to the programme in 2003. Pia Purra (ibid.) said that the acceptance of the Masters programme in the Faculty was easy. The proposal was one of the first planned Masters programmes in the University and the Faculty regarded it as a pilot project. Other disciplines and the administrators were interested to see how it would develop and what kind of experiences could be gained from it. Thus, it can be said that the Bologna process and the new degree structure was very important for the disciplinization of Women's Studies at the University of Helsinki. The support of the Faculty administration was also important for the success of the Masters programme. The institute promised to implement the programme without any new financial resources. Thus, it was also easy to accept the proposal in the Faculty. Much of the positive attitude in the Faculty and administration was due to the activity and authority of Professor Aili Nenola who was head of the Christina Institute for Women's Studies in 1995-2003.

The decision about the right to pursue doctoral studies in Women's Studies was made in another meeting of the Faculty some months later. There were no problems with the acceptance of the syllabus, since a Masters programme is bound to produce eligibility to doctoral studies in at least one subject. The basic decisions were made already when the Masters programme was established. In the meeting one professor expressed critical views regarding the flow of PhD students from other disciplines to Women's Studies, but this caused no actions.

If the relationship to the Faculty of Arts has been rather good and the attitude in the Faculty positive about the institutionalisation of Women's Studies, the relationship to the Faculty of Social Studies on the other hand has been somewhat problematic (Saarikangas 2004). The Faculty of Social Sciences has been reluctant to take part in the funding of the Christina Institute for Women's Studies, although many students from the Social Sciences study Women's Studies as a minor subject. When the professorship at the Institute was made permanent the Institute negotiated with the Faculty of Social Sciences about participation in the funding of the position. The Institute pointed out that the professorship benefits the Faculty of Social Sciences. However, the Faculty of Social Sciences did not pay attention to this argument, but decided not to join the costs. Thereafter the Faculty of Arts defined the professorship to be placed within the Faculty of Arts focussing on humanistic Women's Studies. This reduced the scope for interdisciplinarity which had been one of the basic traits of Women's Studies. This shows that Faculty-specific interests and economic arguments may lead towards more discipline-based structures and leave less space for interdisciplinary approaches.

The Institute also negotiated with the Faculty of Social Sciences about the new Masters programme. It suggested that students admitted to the programme with a BA degree in Social Sciences could receive their Masters degree in Social Sciences. Although feminist scholars within

the Social Sciences have supported this proposal the Faculty of Social Sciences was not willing to approve this. It would establish a situation in which advanced level studies would be organised within the Faculty of Arts and yet the degree awarded in Social Sciences. These changes seem to be too radical for the Faculty of Social Sciences.

From the beginning the institutionalisation of Women's Studies at the University of Helsinki has been quite successful and encountered only minor resistance. The first courses in Women's Studies were popular among the students and many scholars in different departments and several faculties actively organised courses although it was an additional task to their everyday work. The proposal to establish the Christina Institute for Women's Studies and a professorship with funding from the university was accepted without visible resistance. The number of courses taught at the Institute has grown steadily and new posts have been established in teaching and administration. The latter is partly due to the Institute being a coordinator for national projects in developing Women's Studies. The Institute also has a good image in the Faculty of Arts. It is active in developing virtual teaching and internationalisation which are valued activities both in the Faculty and the whole University. In 2002 the Institute received a grant for high-quality activities from the University of Helsinki. The only "backlash" in the process of disciplinization occurred with the establishment of main subject status. The Faculty of Arts rejected this proposal for financial reasons and the relatively unestablished position of Women's Studies. However, when these problems were solved through the new Masters programmes and strengthened institutionalisation the Faculty was positive about introducing advanced level studies in Women's Studies. After this the decisions regarding the starting of the Masters programme and doctoral studies were made without much resistance.

What made this possible at the Christina Institute of Women's Studies? One reason may be the specific position of the University of Helsinki as the oldest university in the country. Its autonomy is guaranteed in the Constitution¹². Some people have interpreted this to mean that the university is less bound by the regulations of the Ministry of Education than other universities. However, Professor Kirsi Saarikangas (ibid.) does not agree with this interpretation. In her view the law is not in itself important, but it is more a question of the University of Helsinki being a large university and widening the scope of their independent decision-making. She says that the Faculty of Arts has used its powers to decide on issues that it regards as belonging to the autonomy of the universities and has interpreted the national regulations as broadly as possible. Certainly the independent decision-making within the Faculty of Arts and the University of Helsinki has been crucial for the disciplinization process discussed here. How much it is based on a legal position and how much on the decision culture is a matter of debate, but in any case the emphasis on the autonomy of universities has been an important element.

When looking at the history of the Christina Institute for Women's Studies it also becomes obvious that there have been several feminist or pro-Women's Studies professors who have been decision makers and lobbied for the further institutionalisation of Women's Studies. They have been influential and their lobbying effective both within the Faculty of Arts and the whole university. When introducing new initiatives, such as the Masters programme, this group has been among the first or sometimes ahead of other universities. It has managed to build an image of itself as dynamic and active in the areas which are valued in the university today.

¹² The autonomy of all other universities is guaranteed in the University Act.

For the establishment of advanced studies at the Christina Institute for Women's Studies the impact of the Bologna process was crucial. The new degree structure includes more flexible arrangements since the Faculty only commits itself to funding a new programme for one year at a time. On the other hand, this may in future increase unpredictability and make planning short-term. In many other Finnish universities, Women Studies has followed the same path of disciplinization and important decisions are taking place in them at the moment of writing (2004).

Despite the relative smoothness of the disciplinization process there have also been some problems. They have emerged in the establishment of the main subject status and in the cooperation with the Faculty of Social Sciences. What have been the hindrances to disciplinization? In the interview professor Kirsi Saarikangas (ibid.) mentioned the funding system of the university. When the funding of the Faculty is connected to completed degrees every department watches the others in order not to lose money. The students participating in the Women's Studies Masters programme may come from other universities which would increase the total amount of degrees awarded in the whole Faculty, but decrease the relative amount of degrees awarded in other departments. Thus the faculty wants to follow [I don't understand the phrase 'wants to follow' here – what does it mean? – does not make sense in English] the costs of the Masters programme and its implications for the whole funding of the Faculty. Money was also the reason why advanced level courses were rejected by the Faculty. The degree-based funding system does not support new interdisciplinary fields of study. If the situation had not changed with the arrangements connected to the Bologna process, these reasons would have been important hindrances for the disciplinization of Women's Studies. Since a large part of the funding is on a temporary base the institute has to constantly lobby and defend its position. It also uses much time to apply for project funds.

This case study makes visible actions that can be interpreted as defending disciplinary boundaries between the Humanities and Social Sciences. The cooperation between the Institute and the Faculty of Social Sciences has not been successful in all instances. The Faculty has refused to bear part of the costs of the professorship and has also been negative towards giving the right to award Masters in Social Sciences within a study programme situated in the Faculty of Arts. The Faculty of Social Sciences has stuck to its traditional field of education and institutional structures at the cost of engaging in new interdisciplinary experiments.

Cultural Studies, especially at the University of Jyväskylä

The second case study centres on the disciplinization of Cultural Studies in Finland with a focus on the University of Jyväskylä. The University of Jyväskylä is the only university in Finland which has established a multi-disciplinary research centre in the field of Cultural Studies. It is also the only university which has a professorship in Contemporary Culture and where it is possible to do a licenciate and doctoral thesis in Cultural Studies. The national Network of Cultural Studies is coordinated at the Research Centre for Contemporary Culture. The centre is also responsible for publishing the Finnish journal *Kulttuurintutkimus* (*Cultural Studies*). Our study is based on interviews with Professor Katarina Eskola from the Research Centre for

Contemporary Culture at the University of Jyväskylä and editor of the journal *Kulttuurintutkimus*, M. Sc. Eeva Peltonen at the University of Helsinki. Articles, discussions and conference reports published in *Kulttuurintutkimus* and other related scientific journals have also been utilised to gain knowledge of the process.

At the beginning of the 1980s disciplinary boundaries were sharp, according to Professor Katarina Eskola (2004). In the University of Jyväskylä researchers from the Humanities and Social Sciences had however started to question these divisions and sought more cooperation. Culture was one uniting theme. At the same time the Ministry of Education initiated a project in cultural policy which the University of Jyväskylä became responsible for. This was the background for an establishment of a project on Cultural Studies at the university in 1983. The project was divided into two parts. The first aimed at establishing a Research Unit for Cultural Studies and the other focused on information services. D.Sc. Katarina Eskola was appointed as special coordinator (in 1985 the post was changed to special researcher) of the project whose task it was to plan the research unit. She is a sociologist who had done research on the reception of literature, Finnish authors and other issues crossing disciplinary borders. The information service was responsible for the publishing of the new journal *Kulttuurintutkimus (Culture Studies)* which later changed its name to *Kulttuurintutkimus (Cultural Studies)*. An advisory group was appointed for the project. Its members represented several disciplines within the Humanities and Social Sciences.

The unit was named the Research Unit for Contemporary Culture in 1985 (since 2000 the Research Centre for Contemporary Culture). It was directly responsible to the Rector, not to any faculty. During 1983-1987 the city of Jyväskylä funded the special coordinator/researcher post and since 1988 it has been financed by the University of Jyväskylä. At first the unit was administratively placed within the Department of Arts Education, but it soon moved to the Department of Literature. Since the unit was funded by the city of Jyväskylä and responsible directly to the Rector, it was not competing for funding with other departments. The aim was also to obtain external research funding for the unit. Its activities and its research projects were from the beginning multidisciplinary and national which also meant that it was not competing with the other disciplines in the University of Jyväskylä. According to Professor Katarina Eskola, due to these reasons other departments were not against the newly established unit. However, when the unit was later made part of the Faculty of Humanities there was some hesitation and doubts of this leading to the reduction of funding for other departments. No notable resistance was however expressed.

With the support of the Academy of Finland the Network of Cultural Studies was started in 1984. The research unit initiated the network and Katarina Eskola was chosen as its chairperson. The network grew rapidly from a group of 30 researchers to approximately 150 researchers in 1986 and 230 researchers in 1988. In 2004 there were already about 600 researchers in the network with different disciplinary backgrounds (The Research Centre for Contemporary Culture 2004). The Network has organised many thematic national conferences and since 1994 a yearly Summer School of Cultural Studies with international key note speakers. In 2003 the Network of Cultural Studies arranged the first national Conference of Cultural Studies. Around 400 researchers and post-graduate students joined the conference and 20 working groups were organised.

From the beginning the research unit was oriented towards multidisciplinary research, cooperation between researchers and PhD training. Five large multidisciplinary research projects were carried out at the research unit/centre between 1985 and 2003. These were mainly funded by the Academy of Finland, but also the Ministry of Education and other funding organisations. Two of the projects were international. The research profile of the research unit/centre has combined empirical research on the production, distribution, reception and use of cultural products with theoretical approaches. A close connection between theory and its application has been a base line for the research unit/centre. Its theoretical approaches relate to the modernisation of Western societies, and the growing importance of cultural issues and questions of identities and meanings. Methodologically narrative approaches, sociology of culture and discourse analysis have been common. The research unit/centre has also had a publishing series of Contemporary Culture since 1986. In this series scientific monographies and anthologies by researchers from different universities are published. The Research Unit/Centre for Contemporary Culture has also been active in developing PhD training. It has a seminar in which established researchers and PhD students meet to discuss papers, but also another seminar in which issues related to scientific writing are discussed on a more general level. In connection with the yearly national Summer School of Cultural Studies many book projects have evolved. The aim of the research unit/centre has been to organise these book projects in order to develop PhD training.

The Research Centre for Contemporary Culture received a professorship in 2001 to which Katarina Eskola was appointed. Since then it has been possible to do a PhD or a licenciate thesis in Contemporary Culture. Licenciate thesis used to be the intermediate stage between MA and PhD. Nowadays the trend is towards dropping the licenciate thesis phase. Two researchers have already gained their PhD in Contemporary Culture. However, there is no BA or MA-level training in Contemporary Culture. The education and activities organised by the research centre are directed at PhD students and established researchers. Once in a while the research centre organises lectures that are open to both undergraduate students and researchers.

Besides the special researcher post (now a professorship) the research unit/centre has had one fix-term researcher post since 1989 and another since 1991. A secretary has been working in the unit/centre since the beginning. Several persons have also worked as researchers on externally funded projects and as PhD students with grants from foundations. The external funding covers about 40 per cent of the budget of the research unit/centre.

The strategy chosen in the Research Unit/Centre for Contemporary Culture has thus been in many ways different from the one chosen in Women's Studies. The research unit/centre has focused on multidisciplinary research and on the education of PhD students. At times the possibility to organise Masters level education has been discussed within the unit/centre, but they have always come to the conclusion that Cultural Studies is better suited to research and PhD training. Because of the professorship and the disciplinary status it would be possible to introduce studies at Masters level, but the centre does not regard this as a goal. Katarina Eskola (*ibid.*) emphasises multidisciplinary which is different from interdisciplinarity. Multidisciplinary requires basic disciplines and cooperation between researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds. It does not mean as much integration in theoretical or methodological approaches as interdisciplinarity does.

The Research Centre for Contemporary Culture has in recent years also experienced some problems. These have been connected to evaluations and the degree-based funding system of the universities. In 2000 the Research Centre was placed in a newly established Department of Arts and Culture. The evaluation criteria after that followed the result management principles and focused especially on the number of licentiate and doctoral theses and to a lesser degree on publications by researchers and international contacts. The activities that the centre has carried out in supporting and developing multidisciplinary research and education of PhD students in Cultural Studies have not been given the same attention in the evaluations as used to be the case. Since many of these activities (the Summer Schools, publishing series etc.) are national and benefit other universities as well as the University of Jyväskylä they follow a very different logic than the university, Faculty and discipline based system that allocates funding in relation to Masters and Doctoral degrees. Neither have the multidisciplinary research projects and obtaining of external funding been valued very much in recent evaluations. Due to the funding system of the universities, units such as the research centre which aim at promoting cooperation between different disciplines and universities are in an unfavourable situation. A large part of their activities are not recognized or valued in the evaluations. Professor Eskola (ibid.) is however optimistic about the future of the research centre and regards the situation as stable. It has been decided that the professorship will be continued after she retires in February 2005. The other fixed-term researcher post has also been augmented to a senior lecturer's post which means more continuity for the Research Centre and its individual researchers.

In her interview, Editor Eeva Peltonen (2004) emphasised the degree-based funding system as a problem for interdisciplinary research and activities. As a long-time member of the faculty board she also pointed out that when scholars are recruited to teaching posts (professors, lecturers etc.) it is often emphasised that they need to have done research and taught in the field of the specific post. Thus, during the appointment process of a post for example in Sociology there are discussions and evaluations of how the research by the applicant can be placed within the field of this post. In these situations interdisciplinary research can be a disadvantage compared to research that is clearly done within the boundaries of that discipline.

As a research field Cultural Studies came to Finland in the 1980s. According to one of the leading figures in the field, Professor Mikko Lehtonen (1997), Cultural Studies has to a large extent been institutionalised *within* traditional disciplines. It has gained a strong foothold especially in the Arts (Literature, Art History etc.), Sociology and Communication. In some universities disciplines belonging to Culture Research (especially Ethnology, but some extent also Comparative Religion, Folklore etc.) have been largely influenced by Cultural Studies. Some new disciplines such as Media Studies have a very close connection to Cultural Studies as a theoretical approach and a research field. Eeva Peltonen (ibid.) also pointed out that the Art Academies (especially the University of Arts and Design, the Theatre Academy) have recently been increasingly interested in Cultural Studies and been active in the Network of Cultural Studies. This can also be seen in the fact that the first national Conference for Cultural Studies was organised at the University of Arts and Design in 2003.

Although the Network of Cultural Studies has functioned as a rather loose organisation during the last 20 years, lately new initiatives to build a more formal organisation and follow more traditional forms of scientific activity have arisen. The network has established a leading group and there have also been discussions of changing the network into a scientific society. The

leading group was formed because many thought that a representative leadership was needed for the network. In autumn 2002 the network decided to elect a leading group so that the members would represent different disciplines and different universities. At the same time some scholars, such as Professor Pertti Alasuutari, expressed views that the network should be changed into a scientific society. The leading group produced regulations for the network which resemble those of a scientific society. The Network of Cultural Studies has applied for membership in the Federation of Finnish Learned Societies, but this was denied due to its loose organisation (most of all the membership system) of the network. In the future the network aims at making a new application and points out that it has renewed its membership system. If this is enough for the Federation of Finnish Learned Societies to accept the application, the network is, according to Katarina Eskola (*ibid.*), going to stay as a network and forget about the registration process of the scientific society. The loose organisation and the flexible arrangements are valued by many in the Network of Cultural Studies, even these days. Those that have spoken for a more formal organisation have wanted to follow the path that scientific cooperation usually does and referred to international development. Cultural Studies has recently become more organised on the international level. The first national Conference of Cultural Studies by the Network of Cultural Studies too can be interpreted as a move towards more institutionalised and traditional forms of scientific cooperation.

How should we interpret the disciplinization process of Cultural Studies in Finland? One possibility is to emphasise that Cultural Studies is a multidisciplinary field of research that requires disciplines as its base. In this case Cultural Studies forms a space for cooperation in which researchers explore common themes from different disciplinary perspectives. According to Katarina Eskola (*ibid.*) Cultural Studies does not have a specific object or field of research in the way other disciplines do. Neither does it have a specific methodology. In order to have a more interdisciplinary approach one would need to develop a more integrated perspective, in her view. However, the same state of affairs can also be interpreted in another way. Professor Mikko Lehtonen (2004) has written about Cultural Studies as a postdisciplinary field of study. In his view Cultural Studies transcends disciplinary boundaries and experiments with new kinds of knowledge production. Its way of connecting approaches and concentrating on uniting themes goes beyond the disciplinary system. Lehtonen seems to articulate something specific to Cultural Studies that cannot be explained by the term multidisciplinary. Cultural Studies does not aim at a disciplinization in the traditional form by building a study programme, defining the object, theories and methods of the discipline in a way that would make it distinct from other disciplines. It has been flexible in its institutionalisation and established itself within several disciplines. At the same time it is clear that as a research approach it cannot be divided into several disciplinary perspectives, but is a combination of many and although loose and wide-ranging, also a distinguishable approach in itself. Perhaps postdisciplinarity is the best word to describe an approach that does not aim at establishing itself by exclusion (becoming one distinct discipline among other disciplines) and at the same time is an influential and distinguishable discursive system.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND LEGITIMATION OF PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES IN ACADEME

In Finland the establishment of professional identities is based on fulfilling formal criteria in the form of completed degrees (Masters degree, Doctoral degree). The entrance to a scientific degree is the Doctoral degree, which also is surrounded with traditional ceremonies and festivities, which differ a lot from those connected to the Masters degree. There are also posts, positions and forms of scientific activity that are needed in order to build a successful scientific career, such as the hierarchical order of teaching posts at universities, positions in scientific associations and editor posts in scientific journals. Certain positions are signs of an especially productive career and some disciplinary associations select their members on the basis of academic merit and contacts. For the most part, however, in the Finnish system the establishment and legitimation of professional identities is achieved through informal and rather invisible processes, where gate-keepers play a crucial role. Chairs act as gate-keepers. In the following we shall take a closer look at what are the more formal and visibly selective processes and on the other hand, how the informal processes occur.

The highest point of a scientific career given in Finland is the honorary title of Academician. The title is bestowed by the President on the proposal of the Academy of Finland. It is awarded to specifically meritorious scholars. There can be 12 Finnish Academicians at a time (however, there are no restrictions to foreign Academicians). A new Academician can only be bestowed when one of the other Academicians dies. Today the Finnish Academicians include eleven men and one woman. Academicians have been appointed since 1948, but the first woman scientist received the title only in 2003. At the moment the disciplines represented by the Academicians are Sociology, History (two Academicians), English, Medicine, Geography, Technology (two Academicians), Mathematics (2 Academicians), Chemistry and Bacteriology/Genetics. Thus, the Humanities and especially the Social Sciences are represented by a clear minority of Academicians, whereas the Natural Sciences are well represented.

In addition to the title of Academician, some research posts by the Academy of Finland are also regarded as very prestigious. This applies especially to the Academy Professor post and the Academy Fellow Researcher post. At the moment there are 38 Academy Professors. They are required to have shown skills and competence in research and contributed to the progress of their field of research. Academy Professors lead a research project and supervise PhD students during their five-year period. Academy Research Fellows engage in independent scientific work during their five-year period.

There are two Finnish learned societies which are highly selective of their members – the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters and the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters. Their selection is based on academic merit and both associations only invite members. Membership is limited. The older of these two is The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters which was founded in 1838. It is divided into four sections which are Mathematics & Physics, Biosciences, Humanities and Social Sciences. There are 30 lifetime members in each section. The second association is called the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters. It was founded in 1908 in order to unite and

support Finnish-speaking scientists and scholars in Finland. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century nationalism and the strengthening of the position of the Finnish language were highly topical issues within the intelligentsia and high society (Välilä 2001a). The creation of a new learned society for Finnish-speaking scholars was part of the nationalist tendencies of the time. As a consequence of this the emphasis in the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters was in the beginning on the Humanities, especially with topics and disciplines of national character. Later, however, the position of the Natural Sciences became strong. The association is divided into two sections: the section of Sciences and the section of Humanities. In the section of Sciences there are 189 members and in the section of Humanities 139 members. Specific quotas for members are given for each discipline within both sections. The disciplines included in the section of Humanities are Theology and Religion, Philosophy and Aesthetics, Psychology and Pedagogy, History and Archaeology, Finno-Ugric studies, Language Studies, Jurisprudence and Social Sciences. The structure of the section thus resembles the list of research fields by the Research Council for Culture and Society within the Academy of Finland. However, Social Sciences do not have a very large representation in the section or in the association as a whole.

Both the Finnish Society of Letters and Sciences and the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters aim at promoting scientific research and serve as a uniting bond for well-established researchers. The societies organise lectures, seminars and symposia on timely issues, publish scientific literature, award grants and prizes and promote contacts with other researchers in Finland and abroad. The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters also states that it makes recommendations and statements to the authorities related to scientific or academic issues. It is represented in many scientific committees and foundations. Most of all the associations form a place for making contacts and discussion forums for high-level scholars. The membership of these associations is not required to be appointed to any post or position. Membership is as much a part of networking and influence in the scientific community, as a sign of being placed high up on the ranking lists. The membership in these associations can be part of the legitimation of a professional career and identity, but the effects are achieved mainly at the informal level.

Other Finnish disciplinary associations usually grant membership for all interested. They are not selective or exclusionary. This applies to most large disciplinary associations, such as the Westermarck Society (for sociologists), and the Finnish Association for Mass Communication Research and the Finnish Historical Society. Some disciplinary associations define in more detail at whom they are directed, but in practice they admit members in the same way. One example of this is the Association for Social Work Research. It seems that detailed definitions are introduced, because the area of social services is large and the association wants to build a profile particularly in social work research. There are also a few disciplinary associations that only admit members by invitation or by recommendation. Such are for example the Finnish Society of Military Science, the Finnish Commission for Military History and the Actuarial Society of Finland. Also the philosophical association *Societas philosophica et phaenomenologica Finlandiae* selects its members and admits researchers by invitation. A few folkloristic associations, such as the Finnish Folklore Society and the Kalevala Society, function in the similar way. Both these are rather old associations. They were established in the first half of the 20th century when this field of study was of great national interest. Their exclusionary membership policy may be due to this history. On the other hand, many historical associations, such as the Finnish Historical Society, have several kinds of member categories. Anyone interested in history can be a member of the

association, but research members, honorary members and international members are invited. This seems to be due to the fact that there is a wide interest in (especially local) history from people outside the university. Through different membership categories the associations can include 'lay historians' in the association and at the same time reserve some parts of the activities for researchers and scholars. For example research members are in charge of the associations and decision makers. Membership in disciplinary associations mainly serves as a means of receiving information and contacts, and is not a requirement for an academic post. Memberships in boards of associations, as well as editorships of journals, however, are regarded as signs of professional/academic commitment.

Scientific journals usually follow disciplinary boundaries. Most journals are based on one discipline, such as the journal *Sociology*, the journal *Psychology* and the *Historical Journal*. There are also several interdisciplinary journals in Finland, such as *Cultural Studies*, *Region and Environment*, *Eastern Research*, *Youth Studies*, *Women's Studies*, *Journal of Social Medicine* and *Kosmopolis – Research on Peace, Conflict and Global Policy*. Most of these journals are published by interdisciplinary scientific associations or networks. There are no clear distinctions between more prestigious and less prestigious scientific journals within the Humanities and the Social Sciences in Finland. The scientific community is so small that all journals have an equal position in this respect. Lately however Finnish journals have increasingly become fora for PhD students since established researchers and scholars to a large extent publish in international journals. This is due to the Finnish science policy which emphasises international publishing as one criterion for good quality research and which rewards international publishing instead of publishing in Finland. Depending on discipline, refereed journals are more valued than non-refereed ones.

Although there are not many formal exclusionary structures in the Finnish scientific community, there are many informal processes through which professional identities are established and maintained. Several Finnish research projects have studied how these processes occur. Oili-Helena Ylijoki (1998; 2000) has analysed four disciplinary cultures (Sociology/Social Psychology, Public Administration, Computer and Information Science, Information Studies) following Tony Becher's idea of "academic tribes" (Becher and Trowler 2001). Ylijoki points out that the novices (students) are familiarized with the habits and goals of their tribe by for example introductory studies and tutoring. But much of the disciplinary culture needs to be found out and learned by the students themselves, because of how it works on the informal level. It is like a hidden curriculum which is not easily spelled out. When investigating these four disciplinary cultures Ylijoki found that they had different academic statuses in the scientific community. They also had different ways of relating to research, teaching (see also Bradbeer 1999; Neuman 2001) and professionalism. She also writes about the moral order of a discipline into which students are socialised and which they reproduce by telling their own personal history in a specific way. The students talk about their studies and professional future using narratives that are common within a certain disciplinary frame. According to Ylijoki for example the students in Sociology and Social Psychology narrated their stories emphasising scientific and critical thinking instead of narrow professional goals, a holistic and devoted attitude instead of just passing the exams and independent choices instead of following conventional models. On the other hand, the moral order of Public Administration was based on getting a degree soon, practicality and getting a good job. Besides the typical narrative, Ylijoki also found some less common and marginal

narratives. In order to join the academic tribe students need to take part in disciplinary cultures and narrate themselves into them.

Other studies have also shown how entering academic tribes is largely connected to learning discipline-specific discourses and social rules. These include views on knowledge production and scientific procedures, but also learning what counts as scientific argumentation, how to use different linguistic styles and how to distinguish your own discipline from other disciplines. There are certain rules and norms which students are expected to learn in order to be successful in their studies. Sirkka Hirsjärvi, Marja Leena Bök and Leena Penttinen (1996) have highlighted this in an analysis of a seminar meeting in Sociology during which working papers connected to Masters theses were discussed. They also conducted interviews with the students. The analysis showed that students linked scientific writing and discussion with a theoretical and abstract approach, the use of discipline-specific terminology and its distinctiveness from everyday thinking. Scientific argumentation was also listed as important, but no one could define its criteria more specifically. The meaning of the seminar was however to learn and practice scientific argumentation. According to the students the staff often guided the discussion towards scientific routes if it started to resemble everyday chat. The staff might refer to what some famous researcher or theorist had said about the issue or point out weaknesses in the student's argumentation. The seminar was also described as a place in which criteria for sociological research were reproduced and students crossing disciplinary borders were kept in line. The commentators evaluated if the papers presented were sociological enough and gave instructions on how to proceed towards this goal. Using Sociological discourse was a way of showing that one belonged to the 'insiders' compared to students who were doing Sociology as a minor and did not understand for example jokes about Durkheim or other classic sociological theorists. Oili-Helena Ylijoki (1998) found that being able to use certain discourses and terms is especially important for Sociology students in determining their professional identity. Sirkka Hirsjärvi, Marja Leena Bök and Leena Penttinen (ibid.) noticed that the seminar was also a place where students saw themselves as being ranked and evaluated in relation to their sociological competence. Especially students who wanted to continue their studies to PhD level wanted to show their competence. On the other hand, if a student thought that her/his views were not following the norms of the discipline she/he might decide to be quiet in the discussion since previous experiences had shown that such views were not considered relevant by others. The lecturer was given the role of the evaluator of the students' competence and of gate-keeper for what counted as good sociological research. The lecturer was interpreted to be an expert in the area and thus his/her competence was not questioned.

Somewhat similar learning processes have been studied by Sakari Ahola (2000) who uses the concept "hidden curriculum" in higher education. Ahola however emphasises the different ways that students learn to cope with the hidden curriculum. He speaks about the students learning how to play the game and survive. His survey on students in medicine, teacher training and sociology showed that students learned relatively well about professorial power, the need for self-control and to develop a scientific disposition. Many also learned a tactical disposition, the importance of social relations and a school-like study orientation. Especially female students in sociology also learned about the male dominance in the university.

Disciplinary differences have been found even in the leading cultures of departments. Jouni Kekäle (1997) did an analysis of eight university departments at two Finnish universities in four

disciplines (History, Sociology, Physics, Biology). He found that an individualist way of working was typical for historians and to some extent sociologists. However, within Sociology there was a strong pattern of collectivism which was to a large extent connected to the critical and Marxist traditions many researchers held onto. These traits showed even in the leading cultures of the departments. Kekäle regarded the two departments of Sociology he examined as representing collegial and democratic management cultures. The role of the leaders was seen to be the creation and development of the conditions of academic work, but not to make decisions or use power without listening to others. Basic decisions were made by staff together and the head of the department mainly did routine administration. The Departments of History represented, according to Kekäle, differentiated or ambiguous leadership cultures. The departments had been led by successive persons who had very different management styles. In one of the departments the researchers interviewed had differing opinions of how decisions were made and whose voice was heard. Some junior researchers also said that the department did not have a common strategy, but everyone was concentrating on their own work. The individualistic tradition of History has been pointed out by many other studies too (Hakala et al. 2003, 101-104; Becher and Trowler 2001; Edwards 2001).

Thus, in Finland the establishment and legitimation of a professional identity is not so much connected to membership in certain associations or other formal positions, but more to informal and invisible processes through which students and junior researchers learn the norms, social rules and disciplinary discourses of the field. During this process the novice has to convince the senior members of the academic tribe of her/his competence and talents. It is also obvious that these processes of inclusion and exclusion to a large extent reproduce disciplinary boundaries.

Funding of PhDs in Humanities and Social Sciences usually takes one of three forms. First, there are specific PhD positions in departments for a minority of PhD candidates. Second, PhD students are employed on research projects or graduate schools/research schools. Third, the largest group in this particular field is dependent on stipends from private foundations. In all these, professors act as decision-makers and gate-keepers. Professors in departments in practice decide on department positions, project leaders on project positions and very established professors on stipends. Thus gate-keeping plays an important role at the very beginning of a scientific career.

CURRENT DEBATES ABOUT THE CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES AND THE IMPACT OF THESE ON DISCIPLINIZATION

During the autumn of 2004 the higher education system in Finland was the object of several governmental reports and books on science policy. These were discussed in the newspapers and even the editorials took a stance on the issue. One set of reports was a consequence of the decisions of the Science and Technology Policy Council chaired by the Prime Minister. It initiated in 2003 an evaluation of the public research system (Helsingin Sanomat 21.10.2004). The first report was published in September 2004 and focused on governmental research institutions. The report made several suggestions on reorganising this research field. Technology

centres were evaluated in another report. In November a report on the structural development of higher education and research was published (Helsingin Sanomat 11.11.2004). The report was called the Rantanen-report after the responsible official Mr Jorma Rantanen. The report made a distinction between two types of universities in Finland. The first group was regarded as capable of surviving in international competition and having chances of reaching the top of their research field. To this group belonged the large universities with several different research fields and many faculties. The other group consisted of small universities with only a few faculties and research areas. Their importance was seen to be mainly on the local and regional level. The report suggested more funding for top universities to enable them to develop their research and take part in international competition. Basic research and Centres of Excellence should be supported financially. In addition international exchange and competition-based funding should be increased. The small and regional universities should be encouraged to cooperate with each other and the local polytechnics. In the long run the universities with mainly a regional impact should be put together to form larger units. The report also wanted to increase the autonomy of the universities both administratively and financially.

One day before the Rantanen-report a report by the so-called Globalisation group was published (Helsingin Sanomat 10.11.2004). This group was established to discuss how Finnish production and economy could be successful in times of increasing globalisation and changing economic relations. The Chair of the group was chosen to be the Head of the Ministry of Finance, Ms Anne Brunila, and the other members represented political parties, state administration, business and the labour union. The report took up many issues ranging from public services to international investments, but gave special emphasis to the production of knowledge and its efficiency. The report pointed out that the problem of young people dropping out of school had to be solved quickly. The university system was to be made more effective and specified. Competition for university funding should be increased and possibilities for fees in PhD training opened up. Finnish research should aim at reaching the international top level in some areas and this should be supported financially. Additional funding should be directed especially to fields of research which enable economic growth and productivity. The report also discussed the position of the polytechnics and stated that they should not strive to become like universities, since this would mean a waste of resources.

A few days before these reports, a book called *Internationalising the University* was published. It was written by a researcher (Mr Karl-Erik Michelsen) on behalf of Sitra, the Jubilee Foundation of Finnish Independency. The book can be interpreted as taking the floor in the science and educational policy debate. It also pointed out the importance of being successful in international competition and structuring the university system to support this. It advocated introducing fees for Masters degrees in Finland, whereas the BA degree programmes would remain free of charge.

The book by Sitra did not receive much attention in the newspapers, but the two reports did. The conclusions of both reports were supported in the editorials of *Helsingin Sanomat* (10.11.2004; 14.11.2004), the largest newspaper in Finland. There were also several writings by university staff and influential academic persons in the letters to the editor (Kurtakko and Kurtakko 2004; Rekilä 2004; Uusikylä 2004) and the debate pages (Väyrynen 2004). These debaters questioned the clear division between successful top research universities and small, only regionally important universities. They pointed out that there are strong and top level disciplines in every university and that no large university is at top level in all its disciplines. Therefore no hasty decisions of

cutting down the funding of some universities should be made. The writers however to a large extent agreed on the need to find new strategies for distinguishing between universities. In order to do internationally high level research, universities need more financial support. It was pointed out that educating doctors, teachers and lawyers for local and regional needs must be valued too. In these writings the problems of the university education with growing tasks and stagnating resources were also taken up.

No governmental decisions have yet been made on these issues. It is however clear that the production of knowledge and the higher education system are regarded as vital for Finland's survival in global economic competition. Thus, there are many who want to increase competition between the universities and within research. At the same time the local and regional importance of higher education has been emphasised by others. It seems that there is a tendency towards making clearer distinctions between different universities. Some would be regarded as capable of taking part in international competition and receive more funding. Other universities would need to strengthen their role in regional development and cooperate more intensely with the polytechnics of the area. Regional differences have been growing since Finland joined the EU and there is concern about the future of especially the Northern and Eastern parts of the country. The Minister for Regions and Municipalities has expressed concern about this and spoke in favour of broadening the role of the polytechnics in regional development (Helsingin Sanomat 12.11.2004).

The recent discussion on higher education has however mainly focused on the Natural Sciences, Medicine and Technology. These are the disciplines that count when top universities of the world are listed by the Jiao Tong University in Shanghai (Uusikylä 2004). Finland only managed to get five universities on this list of 500 universities and a concern was expressed about this in the Finnish discussion. The discussion of the role of science and knowledge for Finland's capacity for competition and growth has turned the interest to these disciplines. The role of the Humanities or the Social Sciences has not received attention, although these disciplines will also be affected by possible changes in funding and orientation of universities.

The increases of external funding in universities and the new ways of organising research have been a focus of Finnish debates on research policy. The changes have been called "academic capitalism" due to the introduction of market-based interests to university research through applied research and closer contacts with trade and industry. Academic capitalism also refers to the tight competition for research funding although it would not be closely connected to business interests. A Finnish research project (Hakala et al 2003; see also Hakala and Ylijoki 2001; Nieminen 2003) which studied these changes came to the conclusion that many of the dangers described in academic texts on academic capitalism had not come true, but the changes had brought along several new pressures and discrepancies. The study consisted of a survey of heads of several departments in different disciplines. In addition three units (the History Department, the Work Research Centre and the Laboratories of Surface Science and Semiconductor Technology) were studied more closely. University departments had survived rather well in the competition. Basic research was still valued in the departments and units, although at times there were discrepancies with especially commercial interests. On the other hand, sometimes it had become even more usual to emphasise theoretical and academic aspects of the research than earlier. The survey also showed that scientific values had not changed in a radical way although external funding and project research had increased considerably. Neither had the independence

of researchers and research groups disappeared nor decision-making power moved to providers of external funding. The formulation of research problems and choosing research methods was often done in negotiation between researchers and providers of funding. The research points out that researchers and other staff in the departments carry out the changes in their own way and adapt the demands to suit their purposes. The changes look different within different departments and disciplines. Thus, looking at funding statistics only does not tell how research practices and values change.

The in-depth study on the three units showed that the implications of growing external funding and new research practices were dependent on the disciplinary traditions and practices. The Department of History had held on to its individualistic tradition and developed research projects on the formal level to receive funding. However, after the funding was granted the researchers often continued to work separately on their own research. They had however made more contacts and appreciated the recent forms of increasing national and international cooperation. The discrepancies between academic values and applied, business-orientated research were most clear in the Laboratories of Surface Science and Semiconductor Technology. The publicity of results was a controversial issue, since it was in the interests of business to delay or keep secret the results of great commercial value. The Work Research Centre tried to promote both academic interests and follow the needs of diverse projects. Thus, many researchers in the Centre felt that they had been able to establish continuity in their research and specialise in some research areas. They had also learnt how to 'sell' their ideas regarding new projects to the providers of funding. The problems of project research were addressed too. Research had to be done on very short-term basis and the researchers were often engaged in several projects at the same time to ensure continued funding. There was not enough time to spend on only one piece of research. However, the researchers emphasised academic criteria and were devoted to holding on to them. They thought that this connection was crucial for the meaning of their work. Even the researchers in the Department of History referred to similar problems, although they were not as common there.

INTERDISCIPLINARITY

In the Finnish discussion no great difference is made between multidisciplinary and interdisciplinarity. The same word (*monitieteisyys*) is used to mean both of these. The aim is usually to promote researchers or scholars from different disciplines to get together in projects, networks or other forms of organization (multidisciplinary). The expectation is that in the long run this will result in regular cooperation and integration regarding research themes, methods and theoretical approaches (interdisciplinarity). In the following we mainly use the term interdisciplinarity to cover both these meanings, unless there are specific reasons to use the term multidisciplinary.

The national Finnish Research Council, the *Academy of Finland*, clearly states that cooperation between researchers from different disciplines is important and needs to be supported by funding. The Research Council for Culture and Society for example names as one of its principles for awarding funds, the promotion of "multidisciplinary both within the disciplines in culture and society and among the various research councils" (www.aka.fi). Interdisciplinarity is seen to

produce socially relevant knowledge and renew the scientific field. The Academy of Finland also follows and evaluates Finnish research. It has produced two reports called “The State and Quality of Scientific Research in Finland” (in 2003 and 1998) which gather knowledge of the area, evaluate the state of affairs and propose improvements. In the latest report (Oksanen et al 2003) the Research Council for Culture and Society gives quite a lot of attention to interdisciplinarity. The development of interdisciplinarity is one of the four headlines under the title “Recent lines of development and challenges”. In this section the Research Council evaluates the situation of interdisciplinary research and points out research fields where interdisciplinary projects are needed. The report considers a recent trend to be that the boundaries between different disciplines have become less strict and interdisciplinary cooperation has increased within the Humanities and the Social Sciences. They regard research programmes as an especially efficient means to promote interdisciplinarity. The Centres of Excellence in research are also mentioned as achievements that encourage interdisciplinary approaches. The report mentions that the Research Council has supported interdisciplinary research even through its choice of Academy Professors. They mention two new Academy Professors whose approach is interdisciplinary. The report regards a recent trend to be that strong interdisciplinary fields of study have gone through a disciplinization process and strengthened their positions in the universities. They mention Women’s Studies, Futures Studies and Cognition Science in this context. These have become disciplines, but still kept their interdisciplinary character.

The report also points out that new fields of research need flexibility from the providers of funding and new criteria for evaluation. It states that the Research Council for Culture and Society has tried to pay special attention to the evaluation of interdisciplinary research projects, but this still needs developing. As we saw in the section on the Finnish funding system, the Research Council for Culture and Society has now experimented with a multidisciplinary panel when reviewing research project applications to address some of the problems in the area. The report also notes that evaluations and result management practices in the universities often become hindrances to interdisciplinary research and teaching.

Interdisciplinarity is not directly discussed in the report which formulates the directions for Finnish science policy for the coming years. The report “Competence, innovations and internationalisation” was published in 2002 by the National Science and Technology Council. It emphasises cooperation between different sectors and flexibility when defining innovative systems. The promotion of this kind of activity is seen as important. The report (Osaaminen, innovaatiot ja kansainvälistyminen 2002, 9) also notes that “the most interesting scientific problems can usually be found at the borders of traditional disciplines” and continues with arguments of supporting international research on these problems. Thus, this kind of science policy is on the whole positive towards interdisciplinary research.

In the *official report* about the implementation of the two-tier degree system (Yliopistojen kaksiportaisen tutkintorakenteen toimenpano 2002, 15-18) the benefits of interdisciplinary research and education are addressed in detail. The report notes that new scientific problems and results are often found at the borders of disciplines. Therefore interdisciplinarity needs to be promoted. The report pays attention to the fact that departments have been united into larger ones and regards this as a sign of establishing multidisciplinary research units. It also points out that interdisciplinary graduate schools/research schools have been established. In addition the report discusses the benefits of multidisciplinary in education. It states that multidisciplinary studies

and a wide coverage of fields of study when taking the Masters degrees improve the situation of the student in the labour market. Degrees with new study programmes and combinations of different disciplines also bring new qualifications to the labour market and may form the basis for innovations. The report therefore states that the degree system should make it possible for students to change from one main subject to another more easily than is currently possible and pay more attention to choices of minor subjects. The new Masters programmes are viewed in a positive light since they increase the multiplicity of studies forming part of the degree. The labour market has new requirements for competence and the Masters programmes are thought to be a good response to these needs.

In the *strategic plans for the universities* promoting interdisciplinarity in research is often stated as a goal. Interdisciplinarity in education is not mentioned as often and when it is the attention is on the implementation of the Bologna process. The largest attention to interdisciplinarity is paid in the strategy plan of the University of Helsinki for 2004–2006. In it interdisciplinarity in research and education is listed among the most important aims of development. This includes promoting research that crosses disciplinary, faculty and university based borders. Within education the university wants to ensure possibilities for the students to choose minor subjects across disciplinary boundaries. New Masters degree programmes are thought to increase the mobility of students between disciplines and the interdisciplinarity of the programmes is emphasised. Among the priorities of the university it is stated that the university will allocate funding according to competition and evaluation with an emphasis on new interdisciplinary approaches in basic research. In the strategy plan of the University of Tampere attention is paid to interdisciplinarity in research and partly in education too. The plan states that the university will encourage a reorganisation of research into interdisciplinary research teams and research centres. In this process the cooperation forms that are initiated by researchers themselves should be especially supported. Innovative research is seen to be impeded by narrow disciplinary perspectives. The plan also discusses the establishment of new Masters programmes and points to the need for cooperation between departments, faculties and universities in organizing these. Even the strategy plan of the University of Turku refers to the need of research that crosses disciplinary boundaries and wants to activate cooperation between different disciplines and departments. The University of Lapland states in its strategy plan that it will promote interdisciplinary research within the university, but does not specify the means to this. Åbo Akademi University does not write about promoting interdisciplinarity in its strategic plan. In the strategy part of its Annual Report 2003 the University of Vaasa refers to interdisciplinarity as the most important future trend affecting the university. It links this to the complex problems of the future society, the “third task” of the universities, technological development and the demands connected to external funding. In its view the autonomy of the universities will be under stress and project research will increase in the future. Therefore the university needs to change its structures to become more flexible and look for cooperation with business and other actors.¹³

However, in the *annual reports of the universities* it is not common to discuss measures for promoting interdisciplinarity or achievements in this area. An exception is the University of Helsinki which, in its annual report from 2003 states, that the university has aimed at developing the conditions for interdisciplinary research by establishing a network for European Studies and a

¹³ The universities of Jyväskylä, Joensuu and Oulu do not have strategy plans on the web, and were thus not considered here.

Unit for Research in Science and Technology. The University of Helsinki established a *Collegium for Advanced Studies* in 2001 to promote research and interdisciplinary co-operation in the Humanities and Social Sciences. This is a unique investment on Humanities and Social Sciences in the Finnish context. The aim of the Collegium is to promote co-operation across disciplinary boundaries and to encourage the creation of transdisciplinary clusters of competence to complement traditional fields of inquiry. In 2004, 41 fellows made up the research staff of the Collegium. Their research contracts range from one to five years.

Within the Humanities and the Social Sciences there have been several trends that have opened space for interdisciplinarity especially within research. The Social Sciences have experienced a linguistic turn since the end of 1980s. Methodological approaches such as narrativity, discourse analysis, ethnography and conversation analysis have become elementary parts of the knowledge production in the Social Sciences. This has included a growing interest in research published within the Humanities and led to an increase in research transcending traditional disciplinary boundaries. However, the interpretations of for example discourse analysis or narrativity tend to become discipline-specific in the way that the 'same' method is used differently in Language Studies, Art Research or Sociology. Despite this the methodological development has led to increased interaction between researchers from the Humanities and the Social Sciences. Within the Humanities especially Cultural Studies but also other fields have emphasised the need to analyse the social and historical context of for example art. There are several theorists who are influential both within the Humanities and the Social Sciences. They include Mikhail Bakhtin, Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, Paul Ricoeur, Mary Douglas and Stuart Hall.

Although promoting interdisciplinarity is named as a future goal in many of the documents discussed and trends within science itself encourage interdisciplinary approaches there are also hindrances to interdisciplinarity. The information from the Academy of Finland report and our interviews clearly point out that the funding system and result management in the universities makes it difficult to carry out interdisciplinary research and study programmes. This is illustrated by the experiences of researchers in the Work Research Centre (Hakala et al 2003, 137). In their view the administration and funding system do not take account of interdisciplinary research. The structure of the university is based on disciplinary divisions, and experiments transcending these boundaries get ground down in it. This is shown for example in the doctoral dissertations which are produced in the Work Research Centre, but of which the credits go to the disciplinary departments. The Work Research Centre has initiated the research project, applied for funding and supervised it. However, in the degree-based system the department which awards the degree is the one to benefit from the results.

Many of our interviewees point out similar problems. Researcher Siru Kainulainen (2004) from the Women's Studies at the University of Turku who has taken part in decision-making in the Department of Arts for several years said that the attitude in the department is positive about developing Women's Studies, but the funding system causes problems. Staff in Women's Studies supervise many Masters theses and doctoral dissertations, but this is not recognised when funding is allocated. The other disciplines in the department also encourage students to look for supervision from Women's Studies if their research topic is in that field. Disciplinary boundaries are not per se regarded as important within the department, but since additional funding to Women's Studies would mean reduced funding for some other discipline no change is within sight unless the economic situation improves. Even in our other interviews about the situation of

Women's Studies and Cultural Studies problems connected with the funding system and management by result were highlighted.

Ms Eeva Peltonen (2004) who is the editor of the journal *Kulttuurintutkimus (Cultural Studies)* pointed out that the support by the Academy of Finland for interdisciplinary research networks was cut a few years ago. Earlier the Academy of Finland funded meetings of researchers who organised for example the network for narrativity called Kertonet. The network was responsible for a large e-mail list and organised meetings for researchers. However, the Academy of Finland cut its financial help to the planning meetings of the network and referred to the responsibility of the universities to pay for this. The universities did not have money or did not consider it their task to support this kind of cooperation which led to a gradual decrease of the activities.

Thus, interdisciplinarity is a common issue in documents on research policies by the Academy of Finland and to some extent also the Ministry of Education. Evaluations and reports on the condition of research by the Academy of Finland too pay attention to interdisciplinarity. Even in the strategy plans of the universities interdisciplinarity is often defined as a goal for future research. Yet, not many concrete initiatives are mentioned and interdisciplinarity in education is not taken up as frequently. When it is discussed it is usually in connection with the implementation of the Bologna process. In the universities there are multi- and interdisciplinary activities both within research and education, but often on the initiative of individual researchers and scholars. The structure and the funding system of the universities are in many ways unsupportive of these activities.

THE IMPACT OF THE BOLOGNA PROCESS ON DISCIPLINIZATION

After the Bologna Declaration in 1999 the Finnish government stated that it would not cause large changes in the Finnish higher education system, since the existing system already resembled the planned structure. Finland had introduced a Bachelor degree as the first step to the Masters degree at the beginning of the 1990s. This was due to increasing international cooperation and exchange which required comparable degree systems. Also it was hoped that Finnish students would graduate in a shorter time and the problem of uncompleted degrees could be solved at least partially. The change in the degree structure did not however make a big difference in that respect. The Bachelor degree has been voluntary and at most 26 per cent of students have taken it (Ahola and Mesikämnen 2003, 224). The BA degree has not been relevant in the labour market either. The Finnish government soon realised that the implementation of the Bologna process would require larger changes in the degree structure and curricula of the universities than was first expected.

The Ministry of Education set up a committee to plan the implementation of the Bologna process. The committee included representatives from the universities, student organisations and the Ministry. The task of the committee was to suggest guidelines for the change in the degree system and the required measures to achieve this. The committee report was published in October 2002 and it recommended the two-tier degree system to take effect in the autumn of 2005. This timetable became the basis for further action. The law regarding the new degree system will take

effect on August 1st 2005. All disciplinary fields, except Medicine and Dentistry, will adopt the two-tier degree system. Although the implementation of the Bologna process need not be started until 2010 Finland wants to be at the forefront of this process. This is part of Finland's policy which stresses European cooperation as a means for a small country to influence the course of events. It is thought that taking part in the necessary changes is the best strategy to ensure the position of Finland in the EU.

The Ministry of Education has organised conferences since spring 2003 to inform the universities of the implementation of the Bologna process and guide their work. The Ministry wished that the change in the degree structure would be used to make a thorough evaluation and development of the curricula. An analysis of the basic components was presented as a useful means for this. The Ministry has allocated specific funding for the implementation of the new degree system and educational experiments to all Finnish universities during 2004-2006. In addition the Ministry has funded national coordination groups for the Humanities, Social Sciences and other similar subgroups which have made suggestions regarding their own degree structures and contents (Aronen 2004). The implementation process will also be evaluated by the Ministry of Education, the Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council and the universities.

The universities have started their preparations for the change. All universities have established web pages where they report on the progress of the process within the university and provide useful knowledge for the departments, faculties and other responsible bodies on the implementation. The universities have organised conferences for their staff about the process, introduced the analysis of basic components and discussed the transition to the ECTS-system. The first universities have been actively preparing the change since autumn 2003 and even the last universities have started with this work during the autumn of 2004. These web pages¹⁴ suggest that there is variation between universities regarding the emphasis given to the evaluation and the need for change in the curricula. Some discuss rather limited and technical changes to the present curricula, whereas others aim at a more thorough evaluation of the curricula. The differences are probably even wider at department level.

In the new degree system the Bachelor degree will consist of 180 ECTS credits and this will take three years. The Masters degree will make 120 ECTS credits¹⁵ and the students are expected to receive this in two years. The universities will decide whether they admit students to study both BAs and MAs, only BAs or only MA degrees (www.minedu.fi). The practice will mainly be that students are admitted to study both BA and MA degrees in the same university, as has been the case before. It will, however, become more common among students to continue their studies after the BA degree in another university in Finland or abroad.

In addition to the integrated model in which students study the BA degree and the MA degree in the same main subject, a system of new Masters programmes is being set up. This has provided chances for new interdisciplinary programmes to be established. The Ministry of Education has also promoted this kind of change by allocating specific funding for Masters programmes which cover new fields of study. How the funding will be allocated and what the

¹⁴ The web pages concerning the implementation of the Bologna process of all Finnish universities were included in the research material.

¹⁵ The new ECTS-system is somewhat different than the one that has been used in Finland until now.

role of interdisciplinarity in this will be remains to be seen. The implementation of the Bologna process is very promising for the strengthening of the position of new interdisciplinary fields of study, as we have seen in earlier sections of this report.

The experiences from the planning of a new Masters programme “Gender and Representations” in the Department of Arts at the University of Turku show that the Bologna process can have a positive effect on interdisciplinary studies in several ways. Professor Tutta Palin (2004) and researcher Siru Kainulainen (2004) from Women’s Studies said that the idea of planning a Masters programme with a gender theme developed during the initial analysis of the new programme. The Department of Arts at the University of Turku includes disciplines such as Women’s Studies, Art History, Literature, Media Studies and Musicology. When the department made did its first analysis, a common view was that gender was the uniting theme of the research in the disciplines involved. Departments were also encouraged to specialise and find their own profile. Gender perspectives could be regarded as a specific knowledge area in a department. When Women’s Studies suggested the Masters programme to be built on the theme of gender and representations, the department was very positive about this and decided to finance its planning.

The two-tier degree system has the potential of undermining the strictly disciplinary system at the universities and promoting new interdisciplinary fields of study. The change in the curricula will probably not be so considerable in the year 2005, but may later have wide effects. Since decisions on new Masters programmes will be made every year, there is space for new initiatives. On the other hand, the Ministry of Education makes the final decisions on which Masters programmes are established. This can also lead to conventional decisions.

CONCLUSIONS: DISCIPLINARY BARRIERS BETWEEN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

Recent trends in higher education and research in Finland have included changes in the management system of universities, changes in the funding of universities, a growing amount of students at the same time as rates of teaching staff have declined and the ongoing change connected to the Bologna process. Parts of these general trends serve to strengthen the disciplinary system and the barriers between the Social Sciences and the Humanities, whereas others have a potential for promoting interdisciplinary research and studies. The strongest barriers between the disciplines and the main hindrances for interdisciplinarity are the degree-based funding system and the management system by results. These are established in terms of traditional and strong disciplines. They are unfavourable to new and small fields of study which are only trying to establish themselves. These fields do not always award degrees and their results are often visible only after several years of work. Since the results are defined in a way that does not take into account interdisciplinary activities, research projects and cooperation with other universities, the new interdisciplinary fields of study find themselves in a pressed situation. To some extent, also the growing staff-student ratio reduces interdisciplinary activities, since staff do not have enough time and energy to organise new innovative modules. The problems are therefore at university level, but their causes lie in the more general system. Management by

results could be developed by changing the definition of results to include interdisciplinary activities, but this too would require changes at policy level in the Ministry of Education.

The Bologna process has a clear potential for reducing disciplinary boundaries and opening up possibilities for interdisciplinary projects. Creating new interdisciplinary programmes has been stated as an aim in ministerial documents and there is also an interest in developing this kind of programmes in the universities. If these interests meet, it can result in new experiments. Some interdisciplinary study programmes have already been established.

Our analysis has also shown that interdisciplinarity is, on the one hand, often connected to research, whereas interdisciplinarity in education does not receive as much attention. The Finnish Research Council, the Academy of Finland, states as its aim to promote interdisciplinary research and has in its evaluations also focused on this theme. It has established research programmes which have a clear interdisciplinary character and support interdisciplinary researcher cooperation. Also the universities in their strategy plans often speak of interdisciplinarity in connection with research. It seems, however, that the disciplinary barriers in education are less discussed. Neither do there exist many suggestions of how to overcome these. The connections between education and research in this sense have not been discussed. The assumption seems to be that interdisciplinary research evolves from – or despite of – disciplinary-based study programmes. On the other hand, Finnish educational programmes in the Humanities and the Social Sciences might also be regarded as quite multidisciplinary, because they consist of at least two subjects.

Within universities and research funding bodies, definitions of what counts as Humanities or Social Sciences vary to some extent. Professional identities are constructed and reproduced by many informal and invisible processes. In the Finnish system, positions in disciplinary subject associations or other formal positions are not very important in the establishment and legitimation of professional identities. This proceeds mainly through the learning of social rules, norms and discursive structures typical of the discipline. Thus, it also usually reproduces disciplinary boundaries. Since these processes are informal and invisible they are also rather difficult to question and challenge.

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