

## Ερευνητικό Πρόγραμμα

«Πρόσβαση στην Ανώτατη Εκπαίδευση.

Μελέτη των κοινωνικών, εκπαιδευτικών και θεσμικών διαστάσεων της ζήτησης τριτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, των προβλημάτων και των πολιτικών ικανοποίησής της – μία Συγκριτική και εμπειρική προσέγγιση»

“Access to Higher Education.

A study of the social, educational and institutional dimensions of demand for and supply of higher education in Greece.

Problems and policies in comparative-historical and empirical perspective.”

**ΔΡΑΣΗ 7 - Μελέτη της διεθνούς εμπειρίας αναφορικά με το ζήτημα της πρόσβασης στην τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση**

Risto Rinne

## FINNISH EXPERIENCES REGARDING ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION AND CHANGING HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES

ΑΘΗΝΑ 2015

«ΘΑΛΗΣ-ΕΚΠΑ Πρόσβαση στην Ανώτατη Εκπαίδευση. Μελέτη των κοινωνικών, εκπαιδευτικών και θεσμικών διαστάσεων της ζήτησης Τριτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, των προβλημάτων και των πολιτικών ικανοποίησής της – μια Συγκριτική και εμπειρική προσέγγιση»

**MIS: 375728**

**Επιστημονικός Υπεύθυνος: Ομοτ. Καθηγητής Δημήτριος Ματθαίου**

**Ερευνητική Ομάδα Υπεύθυνη για τη Δράση 7: Ε.Ο. ΕΚΠΑ 1**

**Συντονιστής:** Δημήτριος Ματθαίου, Ομ. Καθηγητής

**Μέλη ΚΕΟ**

Κωνσταντίνος Φασούλης, Καθηγητής Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών  
Αθανάσιος Γκότοβος, Καθηγητής Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων  
Κωνσταντίνος Αγγελάκος, Επίκουρος Καθηγητής Ιόνιου Πανεπιστημίου  
Loucas Petronicolos, Associate Professor, Department of Educational Leadership and Policy,  
University of Wisconsin – Oshkosh

**Μέλη ΟΕΣ**

Ιωάννης Ρουσσάκης, Δρ Επιστημών Αγωγής με ειδίκευση στη Συγκριτική Εκπαίδευση και την Εκπαιδευτική Πολιτική, Σύμβουλος Α' του Ινστιτούτου Εκπαιδευτικής Πολιτικής, Εκπαιδευτικός.

Αντωνία Σαμαρά, Δρ. Επιστημών της Αγωγής με ειδίκευση Συγκριτική Εκπαίδευση και την Εκπαιδευτική Πολιτική, Εκπαιδευτικός .

Χαρίκλεια Ματθαίου, Ερευνήτρια, Εκπαιδευτικός

Michael Tomlinson, Lecturer, University of Southampton

Risto Rinne, Professor, University of Turku

Hans-Georg Kotthoff, Professor, Pedagogische Hochschule Freiburg

Marie Duru-Bellat, Professeur de Sociologie à Sciences Po Paris, chercheur à l'Observatoire Sociologique du Changement (OSC-CNRS)

Risto Rinne:

## **FINNISH EXPERIENCES REGARDING ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION AND CHANGING HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES**

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

One of the first scholars who focused critical attention on the close connection between the transformation of the university, the transformation of the state and the transformation of the global economy was Readings in his book “The University in Ruins” (1996). We may disagree with his findings, but we must agree that the university has become a very different kind of institution which is no longer linked to the destiny of the nation-state. Today, the universities must balance between two cultures: the traditional academic culture and the culture of the free market.

These changes have heavily modified the forms and mechanisms of governance and university policy making. The old traditional models such as ‘collegial organization’ or ‘professional bureaucracy’ have been replaced by perspectives and models such as the ‘entrepreneurial model’. However, the domination of a top-down effectiveness-based approach has also been seen by many as damaging, and the resistance of market-oriented changes is strong in many institutions. (Rinne & Koivula 2005)

In the Nordic countries, these trends can distinctly be seen. States are trying to increase competitiveness between universities by diminishing funding and establishing assessment procedures “to guarantee and improve efficiency and quality”. In Finland, the new University Law (2009) was the culmination point of breaking away from the old, long national Finnish university model and rushing for the new neo-liberal university model.

In this report, I will present the results of numerous studies, mostly carried out in CELE (Center of Research on Lifelong Learning and Education, University of Turku, Finland), in changing Finnish university politics and their consequences as well as the transition of the university towards a market-driven institution in the NPM period (Rinne 2010). One of the main questions in this report is, what kind of profound changes have been going on in the history of Finnish university policies and access to Higher Education, and how have new modes and features of university policies changed the place, the role, the functions and the significance of the Finnish national university? My research team and I are also interested in asking, what kind of new university policies and new technologies of power have penetrated into state-level official university policies and how these policies have been implemented, transformed and received in the institutional level, and still, how the university actors on the shop-floor level have accepted and/or rejected these changes and seen their consequences in their everyday work. And finally, how have the political changes in the access to Higher Education changed, and what consequences have these changes had on reformulating the university system and the limits and possibilities of different groups of people to enter the university system? (See eg. Rinne, Jauhianen & Kankaanpää 2014; Nori 2011)

The article will progress as follows; in sub-chapter 2, I will analyse some basic characteristics of the Nordic and Finnish university traditions and major reforms that have been carried out. I will also present the model of historically changing doctrines of the Finnish university. In session 3, I will take a step forward and describe, in more detail, the period of formulating the

new Finnish enterprise university after the mid-1980s. I will describe and analyse the recent and current discourses of the Higher Education policy and access policy by putting forward the official national discourse, the university level discourse, and some figures concerning the big change towards an enterprise university. At the end of this sub-chapter, I will summarise the recent changes and the series of new reforms. In session 4, I will go through the critical review of the Finnish Higher Education system and its functions by analysing the “new policy of power technologies and techniques” launched in Finland. I will move closer to the modern day and present the main stream of new public management as well as the strive for accelerating the competition and ideology of top universities in the 2000s. I will also analyse the reception and reactions of the university staff to the new university politics transformation and policy technologies as well as their views on the new non-transparency and the undemocratic administration culture. Subsequently, in section 5, I will shortly discuss the current discourses and initiatives for the future. Finally, in chapter 6, I will make some more general conclusions of the new university politics and their implications.

## **2 FINNISH NATIONAL TRADITION AND MAJOR REFORMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY AND ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION**

“The term Scandinavia is often used by the Anglo-American world not only to refer to the peninsula itself but also to the whole north-western region of Europe which includes Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden and has [a] population of about 20 million people”, noted Arild Tjeldvoll in the introduction to his book *“Education and Scandinavian Welfare State in 2000 – Equality, Policy and Reform”* (Tjeldvoll 1998a, pp. xi–xii). He claims, as does Esping-Anderssen, that a typical characteristic of all five Scandinavian countries is the kind of welfare state model adopted. At the heart of this model, as he puts it, is a striving for social justice and the ideal of a democratic society that has been promoted historically through social and educational policies.

A comparison of the Nordic countries with other European countries in the 1980s, before the great depression set in at the beginning of the 1990s, shows that the differences were still striking. A clearly social-democratic welfare regime was the Nordic norm: in accordance with the Keynesian policy of “full employment”, unemployment was kept low (4%), in contrast to 10 per cent in the EU countries; more Nordic women were employed outside the home (more than 70% of women of working age, compared to 50% in the EU countries), and the level of public-sector employment was higher (more than 26% in the Nordic countries, compared with less than 18% the EU). (Kosonen 1992, 17; Rinne & Kivinen 2003; Rinne 2004)

The State has traditionally played a prominent role in the Nordic countries. With the help of large corps of State officials, the central authorities seriously set out to direct and control their citizens. The social elite and its associated professional groups were trained in public institutions of higher education and were employed in the service of the state or the public sector. There has been a very strong belief in the importance of education in building the nation. Since the Second World War, there has been a particularly heavy emphasis on the ideological “social democratic” concept of citizenship, and the ideal of the egalitarian “citizen worker” (cf. Hernes, 1988; Kivinen & Rinne, 1990b; 1992). The social-democratic regime has relied on corporatism, a strong public sector and a symbiosis between social movements and political parties, and the State professions educated by the institutions of higher learning have been entrusted with a vital role (Kivinen & Rinne, 1990a).

Arild Tjeldvoll (1998b, pp. 4–7) describes a particular “Scandinavian education model”, the aim of which is to produce equal educational opportunities for all citizens. This educational system was generally strongly centralised nationally in terms of the curriculum, examinations and governance until the 1980s. Many other researchers, including Kjell Rubenson (2007) and Ari Antikainen (2008), have called this specific model the “Nordic model” of education.

We have good reasons for naming the fourth university model the *Nordic university model*<sup>1</sup>. It is a model in which the university sector has followed a wider educational and state policy and surrendered almost entirely into the hands of the nation state. Even higher learning is referred to as the institution for promoting democracy and equality among citizens in society. Universities are almost entirely publicly funded, and there is very little room for private institutions. The institutions are, at least officially, homogenous and equal, and there is no educational market. A centralised administration and state management guarantee the limitations on competition. An important principle is to keep the degree-level education free of charge, in the spirit of the Nordic welfare-state model. (Rinne 2012a; 2012b; Rinne & Antikainen 2012)

The Nordic higher-education model combines the features of fast expansion, strict central planning and regional policy. In a sense, the Nordic university model could be described as an inverted mirror image of the Anglo-Saxon model.

It took a considerable amount of time before the Nordic university system began to be grafted onto the educational system to become a part of the wider social, economic and educational policy. It lived a long life as an ivory tower, dominated by the “academic oligarchy”, the professoriate and the elite. In Finland, for example, it was not until the 1960s that the expanding welfare state, through the emerging Ministry of Education, started to legislate more powerfully, and to regulate and plan the functions of a higher-education system for the masses. Since those days, and during the later period of the “State regime of the development doctrine”, it was literally forbidden for the surrounding market and economic life to make any effort whatsoever to influence the decisions of the autonomous and state-driven universities. Even private donations were all but dismissed as irrelevant interference in academic freedom and the principle of autonomy.

For historical reasons, the Nordic university model was strongly influenced by a powerful nation state up until the late 1980s. A comparative study of higher education and research in the USA and Western Europe concluded that the higher-education systems in the Nordic countries were, in many ways, the inverted image of those in the US. The Nordic university model has long been characterised by (Rinne 2004, p. 92; Kivinen & Rinne 1993, p. 183; Fägerlind & Strömqvist 2004, p. 45; Rinne 2010; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c):

- Its relatively small size and restricted markets.
- Strict centralisation and the control of resources.
- Formal institutional uniformity with almost no hierarchy ostensibly recognised.
- Restricted competition, exercised with respect to State-controlled resources rather than markets, students or business.

---

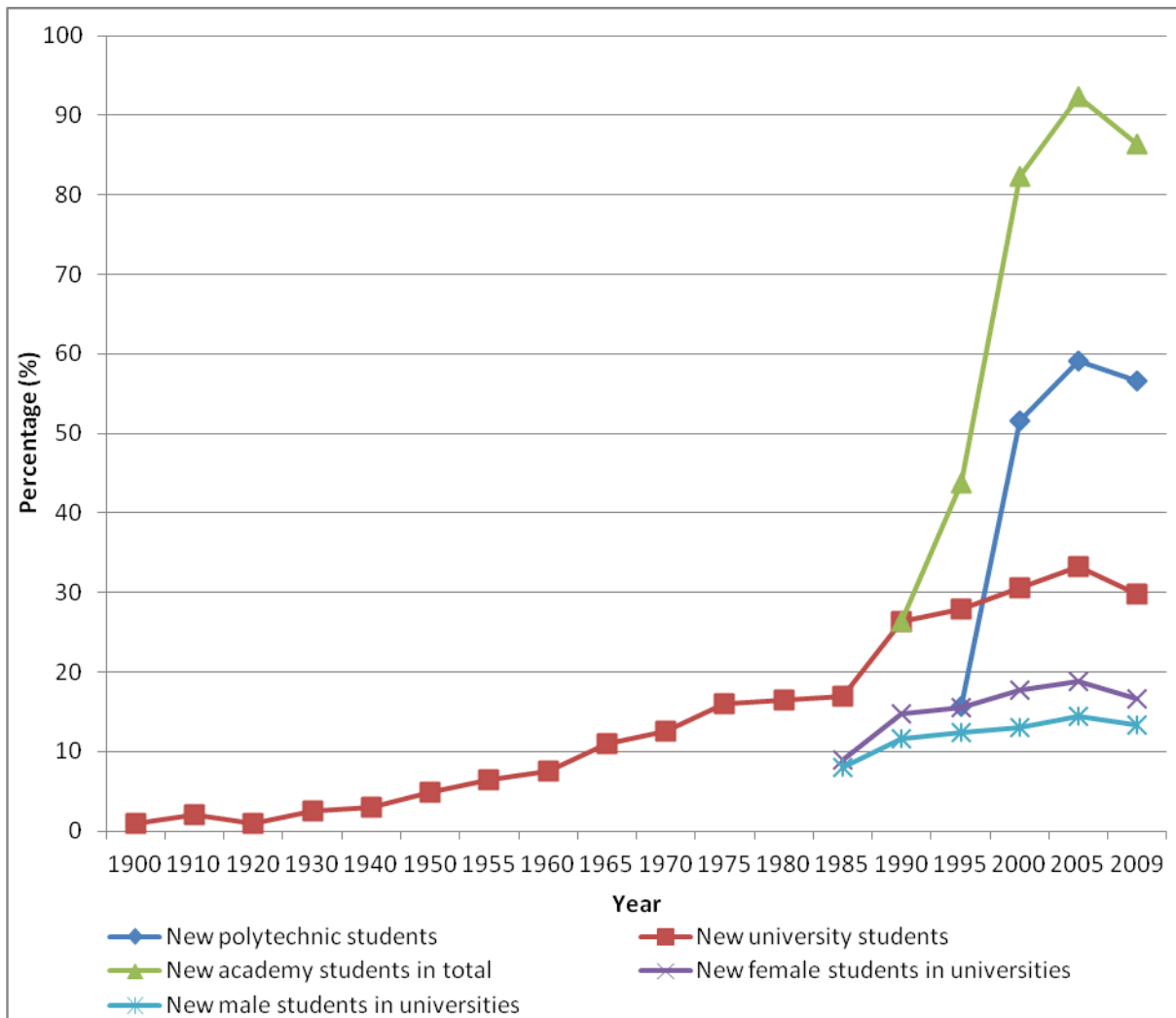
<sup>1</sup> When I characterise and analyse the Nordic university model here, I am consciously using Finland as a representative of the Nordic countries.

- Low institutional initiative in conditions of strict centralization has inhibited taking initiative, challenges to bureaucratic rule in the universities, and the development of an entrepreneurial culture.
- The right to study in institutions of higher education free of charge.
- A strong belief in fostering social equality by removing the obstacles preventing inequality of opportunities in higher education.
- The higher-education policy as a vital part of broader regional and social policies.

One very important feature to understand the access to university in Finland is, that since 1933 the Finnish Universities began to use the so-called *numerus clausus* -system. This means that there have been organized special selective exams in almost every field for applicants to be able to enter the universities and that the matriculation examination has not been ever since the only examination to access to university. This also meant that already in 1930s there were the first discussions about the “matriculation flood”, which meant lines and waiting times in front of the gates of universities.

The higher education policy of the country also strongly supported the elimination of obstacles and inequalities in moving up the educational ladder as far as every citizen’s abilities and efforts allowed. This was meant to strengthen the equality of educational opportunity, regardless of socio-economic and cultural background, gender, religion, and ethnic background. The system expanded rapidly and regionally to cover the whole country. The university expansion in an independent Finland and after the Second World War relied heavily on the ability and the will of the academic elite to steer the direction of the rather autonomous and independent system. The main aim was to guarantee freedom in teaching and research in the universities, and to provide an elite education to meet most of the civil-service needs of the country. This “traditional academic doctrine” lasted in Finland until the 1960s and the opening of the universities to the masses in response to new social demands.

As the starting point for the development of higher education, an addition of educational opportunities in Finland was aligned, largely by founding new universities. At the same time, higher education was even more strongly bound as a part of the equality ideology typical for building a welfare state. The aim of extending the highest education was to improve educational opportunities, particularly at the peripheries of the state. The extension of the regional coverage of university education and the primary school reform carried out in the late 1960s was meant to deploy, as phrased in contemporary terms, “the ability resources of the entire nation” (Nevala & Rinne 2012).

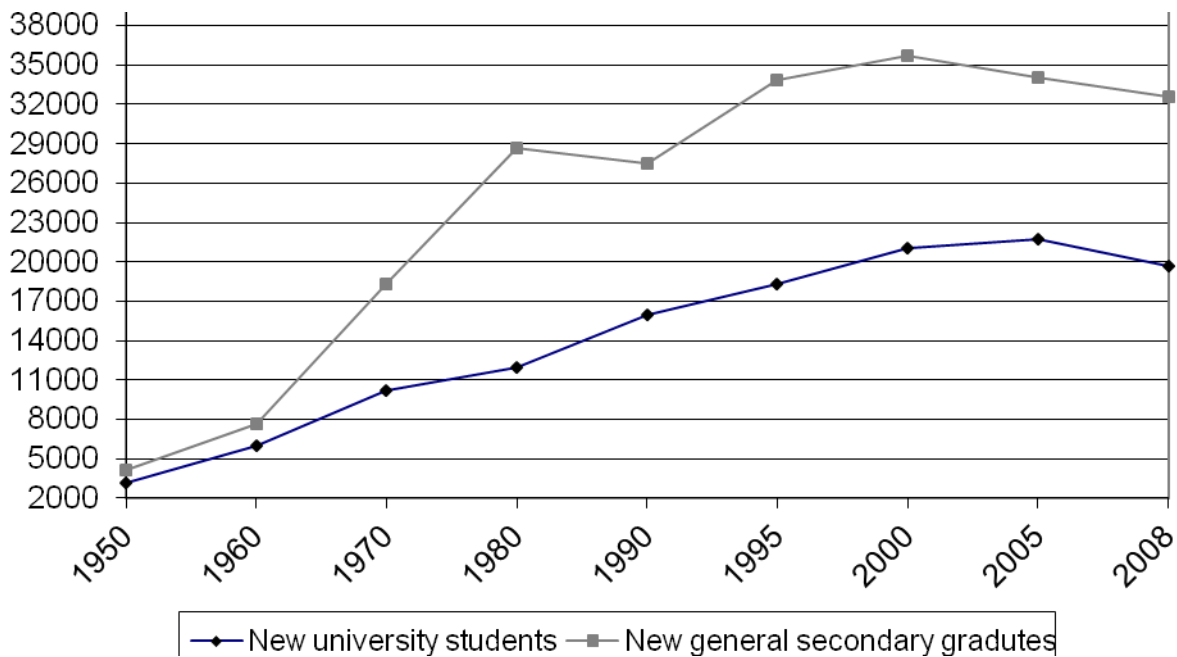


**Figure 1.** The growth of new Higher Education students by gender and by university and polytechnics from 1900 to 2009 in Finland compared to the age group

As can be seen in the figure, up until the 1960s, only approximately seven % of an age group was approved to study in a university. In the 1960s and the 1970s, the share rose to approximately 17 %. A strong growth was seen in the late 1980s, raising the share of accepted students to 27 %. The highest share, nearly one-third, was seen in the mid-2000s, and the percentage has since dropped slightly.

Already in the mid-1980s, more women than men were accepted into universities. From that point onward, the share of women in the group of students accepted into universities has clearly been larger than that of men.

The massification of Higher Education in Finland has followed the mainlines of massification of general secondary education. Since 1960s the amounts of secondary school graduates grew anyhow much quicker than the amount of new Higher Education students. And ever since there has been much more applicants to Higher Education and especially universities than there has been new student places. The following figure 2 describes the growing gap between the secondary school graduates and the new university students.

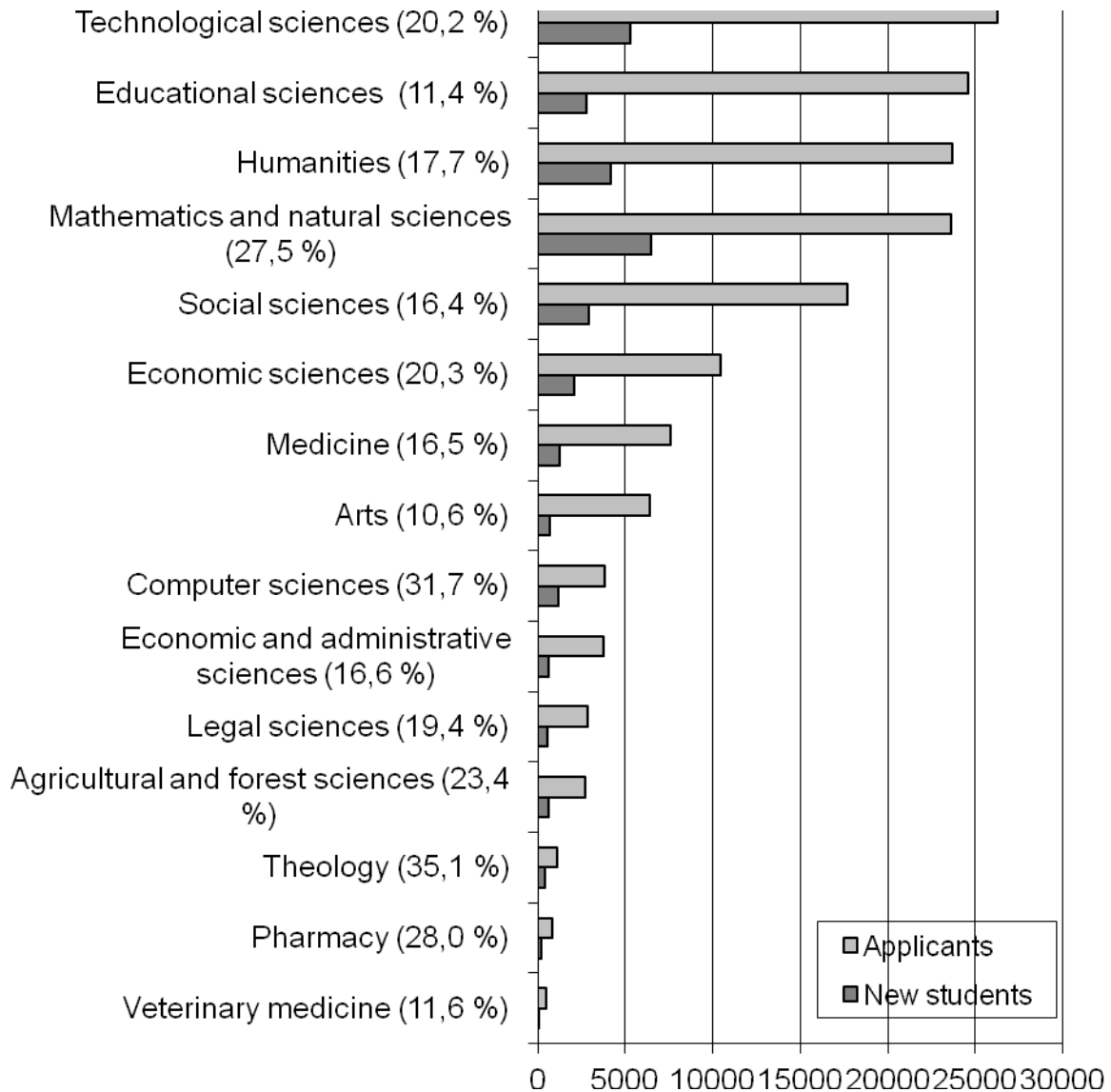


**Figure 2.** New university students and new general secondary graduates in Finland 1950-2008. (Nori 2011, 20)

In 1960s and 1970s the “matriculation flood” became the sustainable educational political issue concerning the access to Higher Education and universities. The lines and waiting times in front of the gates of universities grew and accumulated enormously year by year, when those matriculated people could not have access to universities but joined the massifying queues. In spite of added Higher Education starting places the problem of the accumulated jam is still today acute and only some 40% of new matriculated applicants is able to have access in Higher Education. Some researchers are writing about the “chronic head ache” of the access- and HE policy. (Nori 2011, 24.)

In recent years it is clearly seen, that the traditional Finnish quite monolithic university system is not so monolithic anymore. When competition between applicants get ever harder, also the universities get more and more segmented by university institutions but also by scientific fields of study. Some university institutions get more elite universities and some more folk-like. So do some faculties and fields of study get more elite and some more folk-like. When we analyze this segmentation in Finnish university concerning the fields of study and looking on the difficulty and easiness to get access compared to applicants, we can draw the following figure 3.





**Figure 3.** The applicants and those getting access in university in Finland and percentages of access in (in parentheses) 2003 according to the study fields (Nori 2011, 178)

Most easy to get access to university in Finland are the fields of theology (more than one of three applicants), information technology, pharmacy, natural sciences, agricultural-forestry, economy and technology, where more than one in five can have the access. We may call these fields most folk-like. Controversary most difficult to get access are arts, educational sciences and veterinary (almost one of ten). In this point of view we may call them elitist segments of the Finnish university.

As indicated by, for instance, the Swedish researchers Robert Eriksson and Jan O. Jonsson (1996) with their cohort studies, the meaning of a family's cultural equity as the designator of the children's educational career has not disappeared. This has not taken place even in the Nordic welfare societies, even though they – including Sweden and Norway – have in every way attempted to remove the inequality of educational opportunities related to the social origins. The social inequality of educational opportunities has, however, decreased. When in

the early 1900s, the chance of upper-class children to be accepted into high school was 28-fold compared to that of the children of the unprofessional working class, it was only quadruple for those born in the 1950s. In the recent decades, the differences have remained clear but decreased slightly (Antikainen, Rinne & Koski 2006).

In Finland, the progress has been mainly similar, although the differences may be larger than in Sweden. In 1990, the children of the higher officials had approximately eightfold chance of being accepted into an academy, compared to a working-class child. (Kivinen & Rinne 1995a).

In 1990, approximately two-thirds of those who had completed a vocational degree had fathers who had received only elementary education, one-third had fathers with an intermediate education, and only a small percentage had fathers with higher education. The difference to those who completed an academic degree was steep, as one-fifth had fathers with a higher education and two-fifths had fathers with an intermediate education.

The issue can be examined from another point of view as well. When taking the educational level of fathers as a starting point, it is noted that most children of higher-educated fathers are found in academies (52 %), whereas children of elementary-educated fathers are, correspondingly, found in vocational schools (46 %). Only 13 % of the children of elementary-educated fathers completed their degree in academies. Correspondingly, only 15 % of the graduated children of higher-educated fathers completed a vocational degree. In other words, the educational careers of the children of fathers with either an academic or an elementary-level education are somewhat mirror images of each other (52 % – 15 %; 13 % – 46 %).

Even though the domestic background as a fate-like foreseer of the educational career of the youth has weakened, the youth from an official background still aim for higher education more clearly than others. It justifies the phrase "heritable education" even in the 2000s. Even though higher education has, in Finland, massed on such a high level that it can be viewed as having left the elite university stage behind long ago, moved to the stage of a mass academy and reaching for the stage of a universal academy, the Finnish academy still functions very selectively (Rinne 2012d).

The children of parents with increasingly high official statuses have been selected into universities with almost a tenfold probability, compared to the children of labourers. Correspondingly, the higher degree of the parents has been a good stand from which to strive to the academies. In a general manner, it can be said that the probability of the children of academic fathers to study in a university was, still in 1990, more than eleven-fold compared to the children of uneducated fathers. Compared to the children of a father with a vocational degree, the children of fathers with a higher degree had an eightfold probability of studying in an academy, and compared to the children of fathers with an institute degree, the ratio is nearly threefold. Therefore, the educational level of the father dictated heavily, at least in the early 1990s, the probabilities of their children to attend an academy, and only slight weakening on this fact has occurred over the recent decades. The higher the father's education, the more probable that the child is accepted into an academy (Antikainen, Rinne & Koski 2006, 112).

When examining the socioeconomic background, the results are very similar to those of educational equities; after all, the socioeconomic status and educational level of the father are

strongly bound together. The children of fathers with a higher official status had nearly an eightfold probability to end up as academy students, compared to the children of labourer fathers. An internal examination of the official class, in turn, tells that the probability of a child of a father with a higher official status was threefold compared to a child of a father with a lower official status. The probability of the children of lower officials to study in an academy was, again, nearly threefold compared to the children of labourers. The children of entrepreneurs and farmers were slightly more probable to end up in academic studies than the children of labourers (Kivinen & Rinne 1995a).

The decades from the 1960s until the late 1980s could be called the period of the Social Democratic Nordic "State development doctrine", and a kind of watershed between the old, more Humboldtian "Academic traditional doctrine" and the emerging, more liberal "Managing by results and competition doctrine", which in turn is gradually becoming the "Neo-liberal NPM doctrine" in the 2000s.

We can, quite justifiably, divide the history of the Finnish university into these four doctrines and the corresponding periods (see also Rinne 2004). Table 1 below lists their most important features.

**Table 1.** Finnish university doctrines in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries (cf. Kivinen, Rinne & Ketonen 1993; Rinne 2004; Rinne 2010)

POLICY DIMENSIONS	DOCTRINES			
	“Academic tradition”, until the 1960s	“State development”, from the late 1960s to the late 1980s	“Managing by results and competition”, the late 1980s and onwards from the 1990s	“Neo-liberal NPM”, onwards from the late 2000s (2009 New University Law)
Teaching and research	Freedom in teaching and research Focus on the provision of an elite education Professional power	Production of an adequate supply of trained manpower Allocation of training quotas according to labour-market needs Science as a factor of production	Response to demand from many sources Focus on productivity Orientation to EU policy and EHEA	Elastic and flexible Europeanisation of Finnish HE Full Quality Assessment and Evaluation
Politics and relations with the State	University autonomy	Subordination of education to social, regional and labour-market policies State dirigisme in education University democracy in inner governance	Flexible and innovative servicing of societal needs University governed on the basis of achieved results Innovation policy Evaluative State	Non-state institutions Restructuring the university field Amalgamating universities Strong innovation policy and the ” third function” New Public Management
Economics	No expectations of immediate economic gain but an awareness of long-term benefits	Higher Education as one crucial factor in economic development	Promotion of international competitiveness and industrial diversification Market-driven	Extensive external private funding Diminishing public funding Providing stakeholders in governance
Equality	Training students for leading positions in society, especially in the civil service	Full utilisation of potential talent requiring egalitarian educational access Rapid expansion leading to the levelling out of social and regional inequality	Observance of gender and regional equality The promotion of state-led competition Equity	Full free profit-seeking competition Excellence above all Top units Equity as individual performance and competition
University type	ELITE	STATE	STATE-DRIVEN, MIXED UNIVERSAL	QUASI-MARKET-DRIVEN ENTERPRISE UNIVERSITY
HE model	NORDIC HE MODEL WITH RATHER WEAK STATE CONTROL	NORDIC HE MODEL WITH STRONG STATE CONTROL	LIBERAL QUASI-MARKET HE MODEL	NEO-LIBERAL QUASI-MARKET HE MODEL

In the 1980s, Finland stepped into a totally new kind of “managing by results and competitions” world in its higher education, and this has gathered momentum since the 1990s. It was the first step towards the "enterprise university" (Clark 1998) and/or university enterprises.

The recession of the first half of the 1990s treated Finland much less kindly than it treated many other countries. Although it was more dramatic than any other since the Second World

War in terms of unemployment rates even in the rest of Europe, Finland faced an especially difficult situation because of its poorly handled economic policy and the collapse of trade with the Soviet Union, among other things. The recession reached its deepest point in Finland in 1993, when the unemployment rate was approximately 20 per cent, the interest rate 15 per cent, and the GNP had been falling for many consecutive years. Suddenly, Finland was at the top of the unemployment statistics in Europe with Spain and Ireland, leaving behind the good old days of almost full employment (Blom 1999, 16; Rinne 2004).

It was the downswing of the 1990s, the rapid increase in unemployment, joining the European Union and the increasingly right-wing bias of government policy that forced the welfare state to trim its sails. Rationalisation and utilisation were the watchwords, even in everyday practical education and higher-education policy. Welfare utopias resting on the virtues of education and equality of opportunity, and the university as an autonomous ivory tower have, belatedly compared with the rest of Europe, given way to efficiency and results, and their continuous assessment.

Nowadays, the trend in Finland is to promote all kinds of competitiveness and effectiveness. The increasingly unequal division of resources has become more the rule in that it is considered desirable to favour “diversity” and “giftedness” and to open new pathways for the best human capital and centres of excellence, i.e. for those with special gifts and inclinations. The universities are marching in the front ranks of the new “policy of assessment”, but close behind is the wider education policy – all school levels from primary school up to adult education (Rinne & Kivinen 2003; Rinne & Vanttaja 1999; SA 1999; Rinne & Vanttaja 2000; Vanttaja & Rinne 2001; Jauhiainen, Rinne & Tähtinen 2001; Simola, Rinne & Kivirauma 2002; Rinne, Kivirauma, Hirvenoja & Simola 2000; Nevala & Rinne 2012).

The fourth and most recent university doctrine, “the neo-liberal NPM doctrine”, is just about to land in Finland. Its institutional form rests on the new, quite radical University Law, which was established in 2009, and gives universities a far stronger financial and administrative status: they are considered “independent legal entities” and supplied with starting capital. (Rinne 2011)

The message in the political rhetoric is that as legal entities, the universities will be better equipped to respond to their own needs and to the expectations of society and the market than they were as “State accounting offices”. Another radical change is in the composition of the university board. The board decides on the main aims of the activities, the strategy and the principles governing the management of operations, and implements the regulations governing the organisation of the university. It is also responsible for the finances. The initial suggestion in the new law was that half of the board members must, for the first time in the history of the Finnish university, be persons from outside, elected by the collegiate body: this was changed in the final version to only “more than 40 per cent”. In addition, the chair and the vice-chair of the board are elected from amongst these members. External members and stakeholders, therefore, have quite a strong position in the board. (HE 7/2009; University Act 2009.)

The aim of the political rhetoric is that the universities will be better equipped to respond to their own needs and to the expectations of the society and the market as legal persons than as “State accounting offices”, as so far. Another radical change is that the composition of the university board is experiencing drastic alterations. The university board decides on the main aims of the activities, the strategy and the principles governing the steering of operations and

adopts the university regulations governing the organization of the university. The board is responsible for the finances of the university. Half of the board members must, after the new law, for the first time in the history of the Finnish university, be persons external to the university and elected by the university collegiate body. The chairperson of the board is also elected from external members, so that the external members and the stakeholders have the majority in the board. (HE 7/2009)

The latest doctrine is quite elastic and flexible, clearly supporting the universities in their efforts to become the spearhead of Finnish innovation policy and the forgers of strong co-operation with the market. NPM as a form of direction and governance is penetrating the system in order to foster success in circumstances of fierce market competition.

### **3 THE RECENT AND CURRENT DISCOURSES OF HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY AND ACCESS POLICY**

The two most recent university doctrines in Finland can be seen as a period of “becoming of enterprise university/entrepreneurial service university”. In this sub-chapter, I will examine the “managing by results and competition” doctrine on a more detailed level, the level of entrepreneurialism in Finnish universities, as well as experiences and reactions for the new policies and changes in universities. The doctrine examination is based on the analysis of 42 higher education policy documents written by the Ministry of Education and Culture between 1985 and 2006. The university-level analysis is based on institutional documents and interviews made in 2005 in three universities. (Kankaanpää 2013)

The concept of enterprise university (Marginson & Considine 2000) or entrepreneurial university (Clark 1998) has become quite a settled concept in higher education research to describe the latest phase in the development of universities (e.g. Barnett 2011; McLennan 2008, 197). It has certainly also provoked many questions and criticism. By entrepreneurial university, we mean a university model that has been created as a consequence of new governance technologies of new public management; broadly, all the values, constructions and practices in the current university operation that were not associated with the “traditional university model” and which usually are connected to the private sector.

#### ***The national official discourse***

The national official discourse about the role of Finnish universities has clearly changed from the mid-1990s to 2000s. The document data shows how the utilitarian or instrumental task of universities has started superseding the cultural task which, however, has not entirely disappeared. However, in respect of the fact that the Finnish higher education is based on *Bildung* University, the disappearance of the cultural task must be seen as a significant phenomenon.

We can perceive a trend in which the cultural task is gradually fading to the background when, simultaneously, the instrumental utility task which supports economic competitiveness is given more and more space. These tasks were still side by side in the 1980s, but little by little, the relation changed. In addition to that, the vocabulary of utility discourse of the 1980s was different to that of the 2000s. A similar change, concerning all the three basic tasks of universities, is visible. The emphasis of the instrumental utility task is strongest under the research task but it also emerges clearly in teaching and service tasks. (Kankaanpää 2013)

By cultural task, we mean straight references to the concept of "culture" (sivistys) but also to the national cultural (kulttuurinen) task, educating citizens, the mental development of society, lifelong learning, cultural innovations and cultural exploiting of knowhow. Occasionally, culture (sivistys) was brought forth as reminder. This happened when the texts were listing the tasks of the university, such as producing labour force and economic development, and then reminding that the cultural task is also an important part of universities. Sometimes, it seemed that culture was forgotten and added later as a separate comment. For example, the report about the future of basic research first examined broadly the meaning of basic research for economic development but finally noted that the need for strengthening the preconditions of basic research "of course" does not follow only from economic exploiting aspects but that basic research is also an important part of national culture (kulttuuri).<sup>F</sup> In addition to "reminder", culture (sivistys) was mentioned beside other tasks and as a value per se. For example, the committee which prepared the implementation of the new university degree structure stated that both cultural needs and the needs of labour market are stressed in the aims of university level education (Kankaanpää 2013).

Nevertheless, during the research period, the discourse about the instrumental task of universities was steadily growing. By instrumental task, we mean that the activities of universities are expected to enhance national competitiveness, innovation system, productivity, economic development, regional development and success of business companies as well as to flexibly respond to the needs of society. Almost all these effects are entwined with economy. The instrumental task was in question when the documents mentioned for example the service task, exploiting knowledge and know-how, and interaction with society.

The growing utilization discourse can be seen in the emergence of three new concepts into texts, namely *innovation system*, *competitiveness* and *exploitation*. These concepts did not yet exist in documents in the 1980s. *Innovation system* was introduced in 1992 in this data. In the report *Higher education institutions and structural change* it was simply noted that "higher education institutions are crucial part of innovation system". Since then, the texts often referred to the meaning of universities in the innovation system, most often concerning research in universities. Moreover, the meaning of basic research was connected to producing innovations:

*In the task of Finnish universities especially the meaning of basic research as producer of innovations is emphasized.*

*Innovation system* intertwined with competitiveness in the documents. International competitiveness was first mentioned in 1993, when the research of universities was supposed to support the growth of internationally competitive industry. In the documents, competitiveness – usually referring to economic competitiveness – was used to reason many things that could also have other value. For example, it was written that the quality of education increases competitiveness and is a prerequisite to controlled implementation of the structural reform of society. The quality of education certainly has other value, but in the report discussing the European Union higher education policy and Finnish higher education policy the justification for increasing quality was competitiveness.

*Exploiting* (e.g. knowledge, knowhow or research) was first mentioned in the development plan for education and research in 1991. It was required that the preconditions of national

research and research training would be improved to be able to "efficiently exploit the latest results of science and technology and to contribute to international scientific cooperation" (Kesu 1991, 24). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the use of concept exploitation increased. Knowledge, knowhow and research results were to be exploited. The aims of exploitation have been broad: successful entrepreneurship, creating new jobs, regional innovation applications, economic development, social and cultural exploitation, impact on regional development, developing competitiveness and well-being and commercial exploitation.

When earlier the texts of higher education policy stressed development of science and society, in the 1990s the language started to concentrate more and more on advancing business, industry and production. Interaction and openness to society changed to effectiveness. In the 2000s, the texts did not refer to, for example, transferring of national culture and inheritance. Commercial exploitation and productisation were visible instead. Nevertheless, language has not changed suddenly but gradually, and the texts still include mentions about society and science, but the emphases are different. (Kankaanpää 2013)

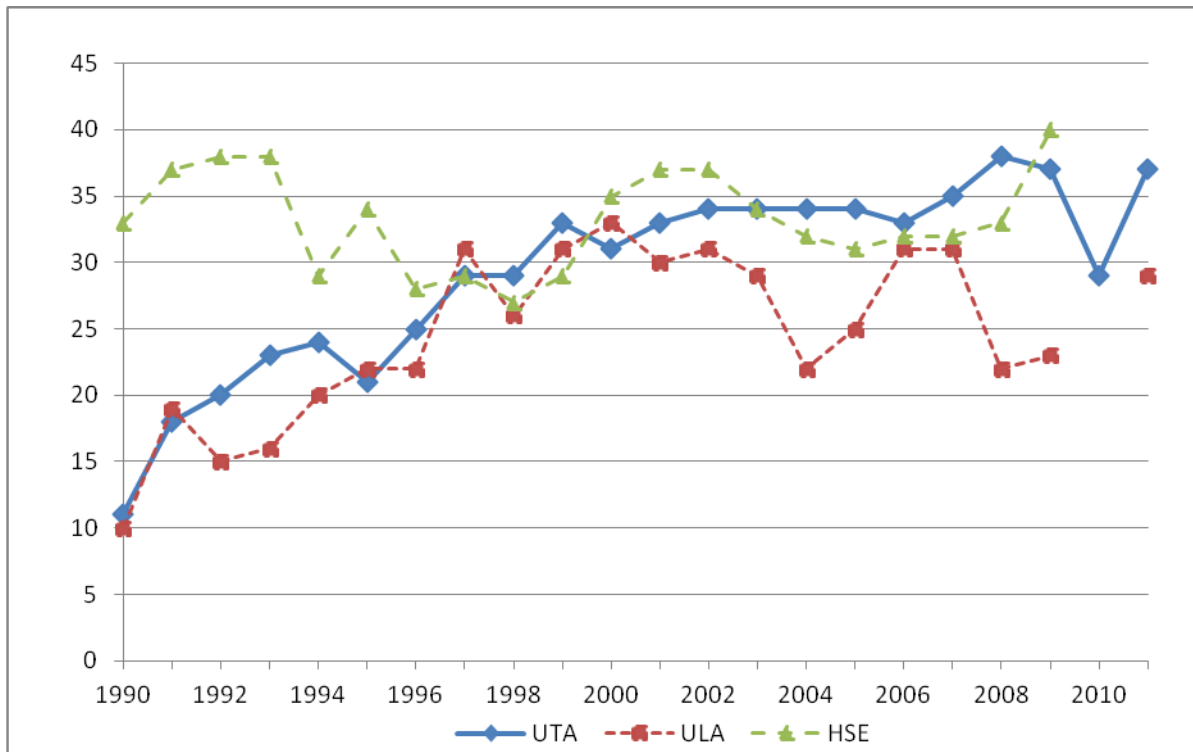
### *Towards enterprise university*

The analysis of entrepreneurialism in Finnish universities was part of a broader European level research project (EUEREK; see Shattock 2009). In Finland, three case universities were studied: University of Tampere (UTA), University of Lapland (ULA) and Helsinki School of Economics (HSE). Institutional documents, statistics and interviews were used to research the situation. The interviewees (n = 23) were leading members of universities: rectors, administration managers, financial managers, and chairs of departments and units. (Kankaanpää 2013)

On a practical level, the development of enterprise university means that universities face increasing expectations of efficiency, utilisation and productivity which we are used to think of as demands in the business world. Related to that, the practices and funding mechanisms of universities have rapidly changed towards practices that are familiar from the private sector. On the Finnish higher education field, reforms and changes have set similar challenges to all universities and there were common trends in our case universities.

Increased external funding is probably the clearest sign of entrepreneurial activity and market orientation. Finnish universities have been pushed to seek for external funding because the state funding decreased. Some units have also actively acquired funding to increase their financial autonomy. The share of external funding in Finnish universities has grown considerably since 1990. At that time, the share was, on average, under 10 %. Currently, more than one third of university budgets comes from outside the state budget. The external funding is mainly competed public funding. Thus, universities have been forced to adapt their operation to new funding models and principles. In the case universities, the trend has also been rising. UTA and ULA have raised their external funding from 10 % to over 30 per cent – with some variation between years. HSE is an exception; the statistics show that external funding has already been quite high in the 1990s, but there is an explanation for that: before 1997, the HSE funding included its companies, which raised the level of external funding.





**Figure 4.** The share of external funding in the Finnish (EUEREK) case universities from 1990–2011 (%) (Source: 1990–2009 KOTA database; 2010–2011 statistics on the universities’ homepages; Rinne & Koivula 2005; 2009; Kankaanpää 2013)<sup>2</sup>

Moving to the policy of autonomy has, in principle, meant that universities are gaining power but the new policy technologies have meant even stronger control. The general opinion among the interviewees was that supervision and monitoring were more powerful than earlier despite of the certain freedom allowed by the new University Act in 1997.

Since 2005, the University Act has required that rectors to be hired must have good leadership skills. In the EUEREK study, some interviewees suggested ”chief executor officer” type of position also for the heads of departments and units, so that academic personnel could concentrate on their basic tasks and the manager would have time to focus on his tasks. This view was common in the central administration of universities and in the units that were outside of the traditional disciplinary departments. Many interviewees criticised the growing amount of different administrative duties. These referred to bureaucracy both between the Ministry of Education and Culture and the universities as well as between central administration and departments in the universities.

Increasing interplay with stakeholders in society caused transformations in the organizational structures of universities. In addition to that, reacting increasingly to the needs of society and external financiers favours multi- and transdisciplinary units. During the research period, all the case universities had established new units which are different from traditional

<sup>2</sup> Case universities are University of Tampere (UTA), University of Lapland (ULA) and Helsinki School of Economics (HSE). Information about University Lapland for 2010 not available and information about Helsinki School of Economics not available 2010–2011 because it was merged with two other universities to form Aalto University.

disciplinary departments and which operate at the interface of the university and the surrounding society. They were, for example, multidisciplinary and thematic research units, development companies exploiting research, or regional service centres. These units operating on the "developmental periphery" (Clark 1998) were usually more entrepreneurial than traditional departments. In these units individuals could also work entrepreneurially, irrespective of the rest of the university.

Strengthening the research task has been a popular trend among Finnish universities since the late 1990s. This is a clear consequence of knowledge society discourse and top university politics that emphasize the meaning of knowledge production in the innovation system. In addition, the new funding mechanisms favour research. Exploiting knowledge and innovations increasingly takes place in cooperation with business life and other stakeholders. In 2005, when the interviews were carried out, commercializing was still very rare. Many of the interviewees noted that their discipline does not even have possibilities for commercializing knowledge. It was seen as an operation better suited for medical, technical and economical sciences. (Rinne, Jauhiainen & Kankaanpää 2014)

All in all, the first three dimensions of entrepreneurialism mentioned by Clark (1998) – strengthened steering core, diversified funding base and enhanced developmental periphery – have come true in the three case universities, to some extent at least, and there is even more pressure to develop those dimensions. However, adopting entrepreneurialism thoroughly varies, depending especially on discipline and how commercially applicable the knowledge it produces is. The central administration had assimilated the procedures and values of enterprise culture more eagerly than "the academic heartland".

It is difficult to evaluate the degree of entrepreneurialism in universities because it can appear in various ways. Apparently, especially Helsinki School of Economics wanted to profile itself as an entrepreneurial university. It strived for good ranking position both nationally and internationally and for developing its brand. The central administration of the School of Economics was most steadily against strict state control. The university administration wanted to compete on international education markets, take risks as well as create real education markets and more entrepreneurial administration system to Finland. The School of Economics had a close relationship with the business world and it was ready to increase the share of external funding even more. It had several self-defined visions and aims, but to realize them, the obstacles set by laws and state policy should be removed.

The University of Lapland had a softer approach to entrepreneurialism. The university is in close cooperation with its region and tries to respond to the demands of the region without maximizing its own income. The small, young university wants to make sure that the organization acts flexibly and they have created innovative solutions like a network faculty to be able to act flexibly in different situations. The market model of universities, instead, does not attract the university. First, it was seen to be against the basic principles of the university institution. Second, the lack of external and local funding in Lapland is an obstacle for entrepreneurial activity.

In the University of Tampere, the units were in different phases concerning entrepreneurialism. Comparing the three case universities, it appears the most traditional university. Some of the interviewees described the university as shattered and that it has rigid administration structure because of its size and culture. Still, on the field of medical science

and information technology, for example, there are units that can be figured as entrepreneurial.

In all the case universities, there are both entrepreneurial features and hindrances to market-like behaviour. Some of the interviewees thought that real entrepreneurialism can only be imitated in universities; there are too many obstacles and too few incentives. Still, the situation in universities of technology is considered different because they have managed to create productive cooperation with business life. (Koivula et al. 2009; Kankaanpää 2013)

### *Reactions of university leaders*

The case universities and institution level were further elaborated by analysing the reactions of the interviewees towards the radical changes. The interviews in universities handled the question of becoming an entrepreneurial university. In addition to practical issues, this theme created discussion about the idea and core of the university institution. It was asked, what kind of discourse is generated in the university world in the era of demands for entrepreneurialism and neoliberal policy technologies. That is, the question was about reactions to changes in universities.

The strongest reaction can be seen in the discourse that I have named "specialty of the university" discourse. This was visible in the data as various discursive themes: 1) the university has both in its idea and functioning special characters which distinguish it from other institutions; 2) enterprise ideology as well as entrepreneurial practices do not fit in universities as such; 3) academic and other research is clearly separated; 4) strong belief in the preservation of the core idea and the basic values of university.

The specialty of universities was generated in the interviews by speaking about the traditional essence of universities, typical characters of organization structure and administration culture, long-term operation, differences between universities and polytechnics as well as the distance between university world and the rest of the world. These issues were not explicitly asked but interviewees used them to explain the functioning of universities and as reflectors of transformations and their suitability to the university institution. This can be thought as some kind of protection or defence reaction against the changes that the university is facing or even fighting with.

Entrepreneurialism and "universitiness" were largely positioned to opposite extremities. Entrepreneurialism did not fit together as such neither with the university ideology nor with functions. It was, however, noted by some interviewees that academic people often have a certain "inherent entrepreneurship" and that in some fields, entrepreneurialism might work. In other words, entrepreneurialism has different nuances and it can be understood in various ways. (Rinne, Jauhiainen & Kankaanpää 2014)

Teaching and research, the basic tasks of universities, were stressed to still be the primary tasks of the university. New tasks, such as service tasks and other extra tasks, were accepted, but it was said that these tasks must be realized on the terms of the university and in such a way that the basic tasks are not compromised. The so-called "service research", for example, should be naturally connected to academic research. Many of the interviewees highlighted that it would be important to get "real academic research" funding to university. Making reports and vaccination projects was not appreciated as much as academic research.

Despite quite radical changes, there was a belief that the basis and idea of the university will survive. The interviewees almost naively believed that external financiers and other stakeholders do not have possibilities to control operation in universities. On the other hand, the fear of universities losing their criticality and innovativeness was also present. (Kankaanpää 2013)

Among the interviewees, there was a common view about the specialty of universities as an institution, but beyond that, opinions varied greatly, especially concerning the desirability of market-oriented or entrepreneurial activity (Koivula et al. 2009). In addition, the interviewees spontaneously commented on the differences of the disciplines' possibilities to act entrepreneurially.

### ***Recent changes in Higher Education policies and access***

The values, goals and ethos of politics are implemented with certain procedures. NPM can be seen as praxis of neoliberal policy making. In Finland, during the era of "Managing by results and competition", political changes were implemented step by step and purposefully with various administrative and organisational reforms, documents, legislation, and concrete management methods. This development culminated in a new University Act in 2009. The following table is a summary of these reforms and interventions. Many of them refer to the so-called policy or power technologies and techniques.

**Table 2.** Some of the main changes and reforms in the Finnish HE politics and policy in the years 1996–2013. (see Rinne et al 2012, 52; 2012b)

Year	Event
1996	The Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council (FINHEEC) is established. Reform of postgraduate education and establishment of graduate schools.
1997	Parliament passes the Universities Act of 1997 which obliged the universities to evaluate their functions.
1998	Introduction of the performance agreement system. Shift to the 1600-annual workload system.
2004	The Ministry of Education publishes the memorandum on quality assurance in higher education, which serves as the basis to start the move towards a national external auditing system of quality assurance and assessment. The third function is imposed on Universities in the 1997 Universities Act are amended.
2005	The new degree system in accordance with Bologna process is adopted. The administrative sector of the Ministry of Education publishes its Productivity Programme.
2006	Transition to the New Salary System for Universities (UPJ). The Ministry of Education publishes a memorandum on the structural development of the universities. Audit of the working time management system is taken into use.
2007	The Ministry of Education publishes working group memoranda on three spearhead projects including proposals for a world-class top university and consortia of universities.
2010	New University Act (2009) came in power
2011	Second audit round (2011–2017) of quality systems of higher education institutions begins
2012	Universities Finland (UNIFI; consisting of the vice-chancellors) set up a working group to prepare a national student feedback survey for universities. As of year 2015, 3 % of the core funding of the universities will be allocated on the basis of this system.
2013	The implementation of the new financing model in universities: 75 % of the core funding is determined by extent, quality and effectiveness of the functions.

Quality assessment and evaluation formed the corner stone of the new operating policy in the 1990's (see e.g. Rinne & Simola 2005). During the recession of the early 1990s, the importance of evaluation increased by decision of the Council of State, and at the same time structural reforms were demanded, which had the goal of cutting expenses. In the year 1993, the policy of rewards and excellence took on concrete forms when the Finnish Higher Education Council announced the first Centres of Excellence in Teaching and Research. In 1996, a panel of experts, called the Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council, was established to develop and coordinate the evaluation (Saarinen 1995; Rinne 2004). The evaluation was given legal status and institutionalized in the University Act of 1997 (SA 1997). The universities were saddled with the general goal of evaluation: they were responsible for evaluating their teaching and research, and were to publish the results of the assessment. The law also required the universities to allow external auditing.

The reforms caused by the new policy became even more concrete with the approach of the new millennium. In the year 1998 at the latest, the teaching staff of universities could feel the effects of the new operational policy in their daily lives very concretely. In that year, the salary system based on a fixed teaching load was replaced in all universities with a system based on a set number of total annual working hours, with the goal of increasing flexibility in arranging working tasks and improving the possibilities for the teaching staff to do research, and thus develop teaching based on research. The system had previously been tested at a few universities for about 10 years (Puhakka & Rautopuro 2003).

At the end of the last millennium, a significant step toward a global HE policy was taken when Finland, along with several other European countries, signed the Bologna Declaration (1999), which aimed at increasing the competitiveness of European education on the world's educational market and at the creation of a common European Higher Education Area and degree structure. At the same time, the discussion of quality intensified. In 2004, the development of quality assurance systems was begun in Finnish HEIs according to the guidelines set down in the report of the quality assurance committee of the Ministry of Education. The quality assurance systems were depicted as being continuous and very comprehensive: they were to fulfil the criteria of the quality assurance standards being developed for the European Higher Education Area, they should be integrated with the entire operational structure of the universities and with their management and governance systems, and it was to be ensured that all employees were committed to them. The committee suggested that the assessment of quality assurance systems, i.e. auditing, be initiated without delay. The first audit in Finland took place at the University of Kuopio in 2006.

In the amendments to University Act of 2004, the so-called third function of the universities was defined, which meant that they were to serve the surrounding society and that their activities should have a social impact.

After this began the 'years of folly' in the Finnish HE policy. In 2005, Finland's active role in the Bologna process took on a concrete form, when all universities switched to the new three-stage degree system. In the previous year, the extent of degrees was Europeanised in legislation, and the time used to complete an academic degree was limited by law for the first time in the history of the Finnish HE system. In 2005, the productivity programme of the Ministry of Education was published with the aim of forming larger units within the university network and dismantling overlapping operations. At the same time, emphasis was placed on the allocation of resources to certain key areas, the development of new growth areas and advancing top-grade research. The following year saw the publication of the Ministry's memorandum on the structural development of HEIs.

The year 2006 also saw the introduction of the New Salary System in the universities. After that, salaries have been based on the demand level of the job in question along with the individual's personal performance level in that job. In order to define and assess these two levels, a system of 'immediate superiors' was created. As a part of this reform, the previous system, based on job-related salary classes, and tenure pay, based on the length of service, were discontinued. In the same year, a system to record the allocation of individual working time was introduced, which required electronic recording and archiving of individual work plans and a follow-up of their implementation. The background of the system was that universities have to distinguish their business operations (externally funded) from budget-funded operations. In practice, the workers were obliged to mark their working plan and to

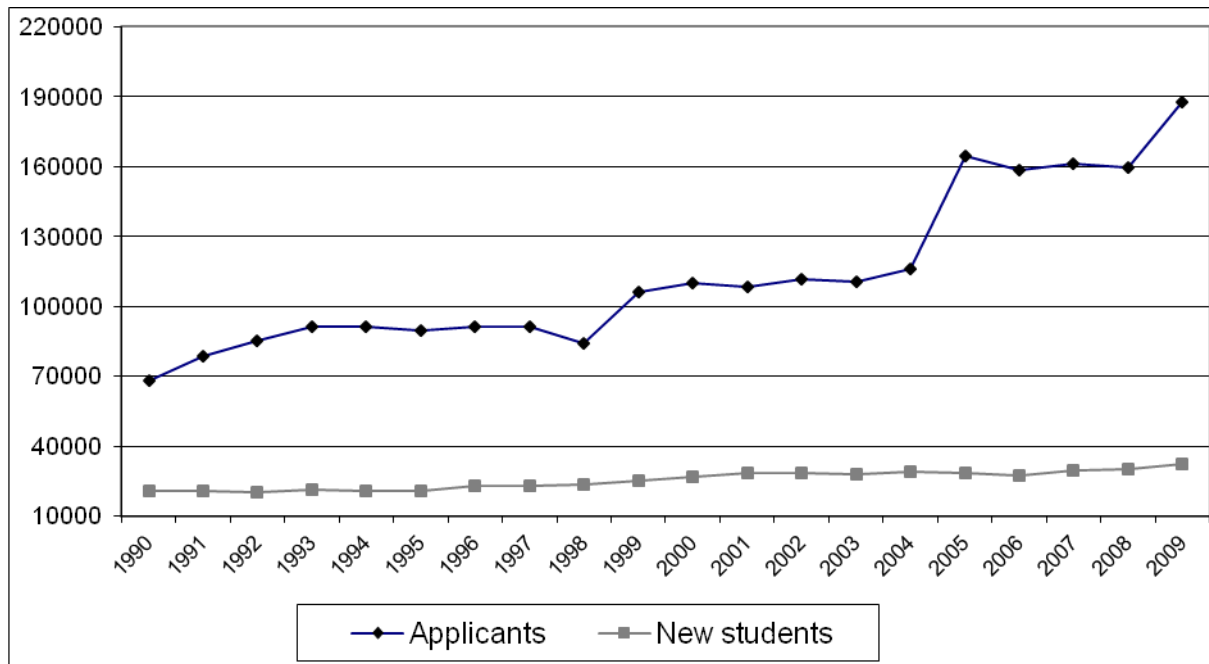
record and follow these working hours carefully using an electronic form in the Sole Time Management system. (Vanttaja 2010, 11)

In 2007, the centre of excellence policy was made a concrete part of the Ministry of Education's structural development plan in the form of the so-called third spearhead project. It was suggested that the Helsinki School of Economics, the University of Art and Design, and the Helsinki University of Technology form a new innovation university (Aalto University), that the universities of Eastern Finland in Joensuu and Kuopio form a university federation called the University of Eastern Finland, and that the University of Turku and the Turku School of Economics become a university consortium.

After the new University Act came in power in 2010, the reforms and the interventions of the new policy continued. The second round of the audits of the universities and other HE institutions was started. The audits focus on six sections: 1) The quality policy of the higher education institution, 2) Strategic and operations management, 3) Development of the quality system, 4) Quality management of the HE institution's basic duties (degree and other education, research, development and innovation activities), 5) degree programmes, and 6) The quality system as a whole (FINHEEC 2012). In the year 2013, a new funding system in accordance with the ministry was introduced in all universities. From now on, the clear majority of the core funding of the universities is based on the results measured with quantitative indicators of research and education. From the year 2015, the quality of teaching measured with the students' feedback will also be one criterion for funding.

In the field of access to HE one of the most difficult topics is still the accumulated jams in front of the doors of Higher Education. As I wrote earlier, in spite of added Higher Education starting places the problem of the accumulated jam is still today acute and only some 40% of new matriculated applicants are able to have access in Higher Education. This "chronic head ache" of HE politicians and actors has not shown any marks of diminishing, but vice a versa getting more problematic. This is because at the moment the Higher Education policy in Finland is not aiming to add the beginning places neither in universities nor polytechnics but to diminish those. Because of the financial crisis in Finland and Europe as well as worldwide, also the unemployment rates of the academic and HE labour force is growing in 2000s and at the same time the new HE policy is devoted to more utilitaristic values and mechanisms, which have been described above.

In figure 5 there is the growth of difficulty of access to university in Finland.



**Figure 5.** Applicants and approved new students in universities in Finland 1990-2007 (Nori 2011, 28; KOTA database)

In the figure you can see, that then still in 1990 it was some one of four applicants could have access to university, in 2007 the share was less than one of six applicants.

The Ministry of Education and Culture has been in recent years very keen in changing the access policies to HE. They have proposed thorough changes in selective HE access exams in the way that they would be more everywhere the part of the so-called “united application exams”, where they can only apply to 3-5 study places. They have proposed that in these access exams the universities should favour new secondary graduates in relation to the older ones. The ministry is also compelling all university institutions and all the applicants to make their applications in common electric form. At the same time the ministry has limited the maximum years of the possibility of HE students to get financial aid to their studies. And the ministry has also restricted the possibilities of applicants to study simultaneously in two different study places. Behind these reforms there are many reasons, but one main topic in Finnish HE policy is above all: that is to try to shorten the studying times and years and liberate more labour force more rapidly to the labour market. (eg. Nori 2011).

The Ministry of Education and Culture has also tried to compel the universities to abandon the whole application examinations and give all the criteria matriculation examinations, but the universities and especially their many faculties and departments have decided not to give up the application examination and appealed to the long and strong tradition of the university autonomy.

#### **4 CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM AND ITS FUNCTIONING IN THE PAST AND TODAY**



### *New technologies of power*

All these changes, especially the new legislation, are substantially changing Finnish Universities as organisations. Features typical to Finnish university, such as collegiality, representative democracy and decision making, the respect of autonomy of academics and units, professional bureaucracy and expertise, are being replaced by managerialism, entrepreneurialism, top-down steering, quality control, the accountability of individuals and units, the ethos of competition and excellence. There is a shift from bureaucracy to market orientation and from the ethos of equality to that of excellence. Managerial technologies are clearly the most developed area in Finnish HE policy, while the ethos of excellence and especially market discipline is still being challenged in the face of the continuing ethos of equality and bureaucracy. (Simola 2009, 8, 12)

The implementation of the reforms presented above has been characterized by a top-down direction. They have been quasi-democratically submitted to the actors they affect with an extremely tight timetable for commenting. Some of the reforms have had to be forced through using the exercise of power – in its classical sense (e.g. Heiskala 2001) – regardless of the opposition of the actors involved. For example, the new salary system of the universities raised a strong resistance movement both on the Internet and in the press (Vantaja 2007).

Therefore, the reforms should not only be seen as kinds of “innocent” administrative tools or innovations of the new “brave” university but rather as methods or techniques through which the ideology, values and aims of the new policy are carried out in everyday work. In this sense, the policy technologies reflect the exercise of power as governance. Power is seen as a relationship of activity and interaction – strategies and tactics which determinate different positions and relationships of the actors in a certain political context.

One of our points of view to the new policy practises is based on the ideas of governmentality research tradition in which governance and power can be seen as techniques, tools and procedures to conduct or direct the everyday actions of people (e.g. Rose 1999; Dean 1999; Foucault 2000; Gillies 2008).

The British educational sociologist Stephen Ball has analysed and criticized the new policy from the point of view of the exercise of power and new forms of governance, and the consequences of these. He has examined the policy making based on new global, neo-liberalist values using the so-called policy technologies approach (Ball 2003, 216). This approach is derived from Nikolas Rose’s concept of technologies of government. With these, which he also calls human technologies, Rose refers to “those technologies imbued with aspirations for the shaping of conduct in the hope of producing certain desired effects and adverting certain undesired events” (Rose 1999, 52). According to Ball, the policy technologies refer to a variety of modes of the strategic exercise of power:

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

The basic elements of the new policy technologies are, according to Ball, market form, managerialism and performativity. These elements or ideas have replaced or are replacing, at least partially, the 'old' forms of policy governance, such as bureaucratic administration, representative democracy and expertise based on professionalism (Simola 2009; Tjeldvoll 2011).

The driving in and adaptation of these technologies entails a complete paradigm shift in policy. These are exactly those forms of policy-making that define the 'new covenant' between the public sector and the private sector in global politics and which supranational actors, with the OECD at the fore, have been enthusiastically spreading throughout various countries in recent years (see e.g. Ball 2001; 2003; 2004; Kallio 2009).

From a Foucauldian point of view, power is also a productive force which creates something new. As Ball (2003, 220–221) has emphasized, the implementation of new technology has a significant effect on shared values, interpersonal relationships, the individual's status and identity, as well as on work practices and work content in institutions and organizations. As a matter of fact, they produce new types of relationships, status and values, as well as new types of identities. In a Foucauldian sense, policy technologies refer to a mode of power which “applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize him” (Foucault 2000, 331).

With the implementation of the new policy, the individuals, their positions, roles, tasks and the aims of the organizations will start to be redefined through a new type of vocabulary, derived mainly from economical discourse (Rose 1999, 151–152; Ball 2003, 217–218). When the market logic is brought to universities and educational institutions, learning begins to mean more and more results to be measured and compared, education is begun to be understood as an export product, students as consumers etc. Managerialism represents the logic of the control, which is manifested in the march of different manager positions, in economic spurs and information control. “Organisations are peopled with human resources that need to be managed”. With the help of a manager, “the new hero of educational reform”, employees have to be made to feel personally committed and accountable to their own organization (Ball 2003, 218–219.) Performativity means continually ‘putting on display’ the performances of individuals and organizations for incessant evaluation and comparing – assessment, reports, indicators, statics, etc. This is likely to produce certain kinds of discourses and practices, which can be called fabrication (Ball 2006.)

### ***Reception and reactions of the university staff to new university politics and policy technologies***

Our survey study (Rinne, Jauhiainen, Simola, Lehto, Jauhiainen & Laiho 2013, see also Rinne & Jauhiainen 2012) which was a part of the larger project – “Power, supranational regimes and new university management in Finland” – explores the ways in which new university policy, governance and management have affected the work of academics and other employees and how they experience these new modes of governance from the point of view of power. The survey was carried out in the spring of 2008 among the employees of two Finnish universities, those in Turku and Joensuu. The questionnaire was administered to the research and teaching staff, as well as to the entire personnel involved in administration, development and planning. The questionnaire was sent to 2902 people, of which 1315 responded. Thus, the response rate was 43.3 per cent. None of the different employee groups

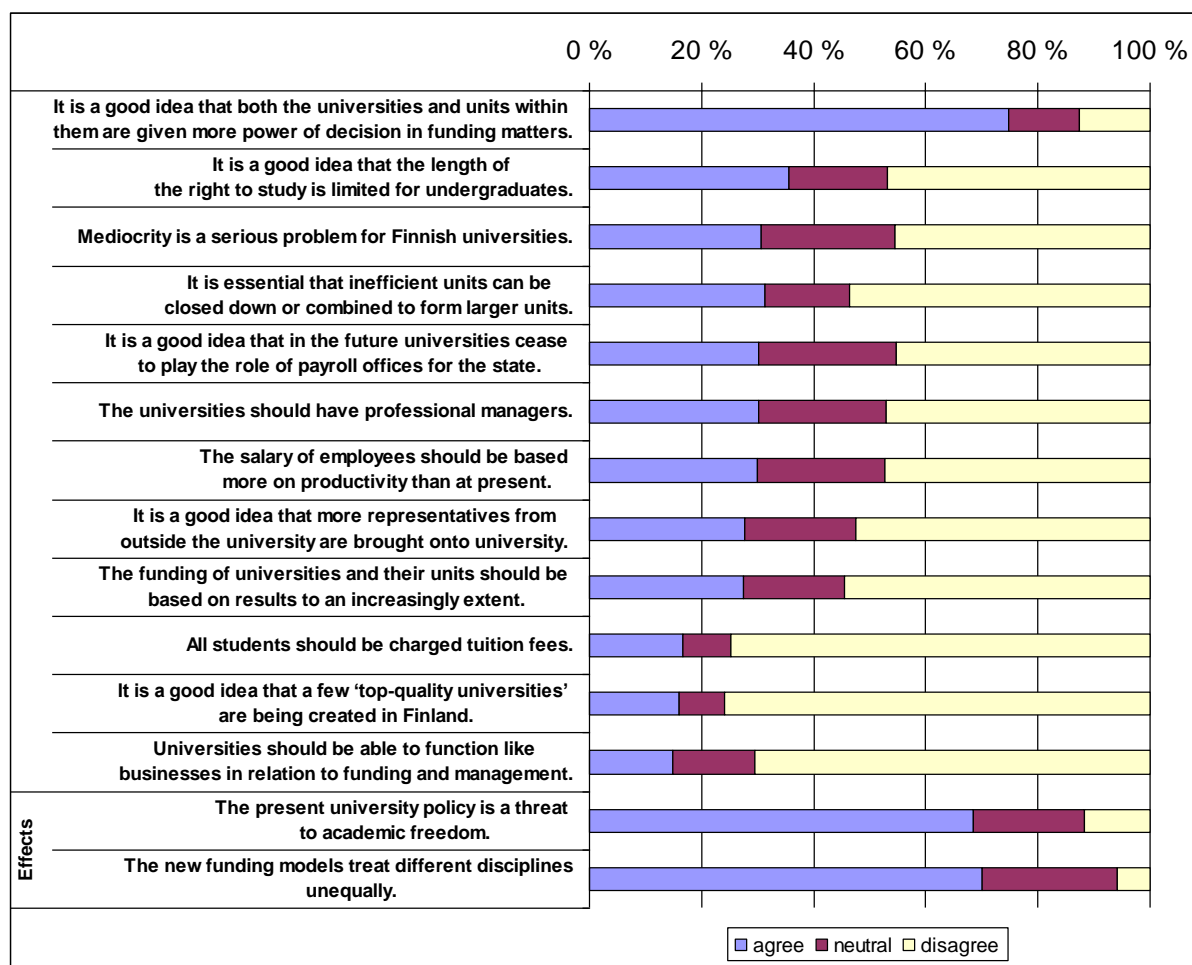
was significantly under-represented and the women and men respondents were rather evenly distributed.

The survey was in many ways extremely topical, because both target universities were in a period of structural change, with plans to merge with other universities. The University of Turku was in the process of finalizing a consortium with the Turku School of Economics while Joensuu was forming a university confederation with the University of Kuopio. (See more about mergers in Finnish university sector Aarrevaara, Dobson & Elander 2009, 97–100.)

The study group was comprised of “front-line” academics and administration staff at different levels. An online survey method was applied. The purpose of the questionnaire (Likert-scale items as well as open-ended questions) was to examine the effects and significance of university policy, university administration, university governance and new methods of steering from the point of view of different employee groups.

### *Reserved attitudes and negative experiences*

The attitude of the respondents toward the new HE policy lines and principles were investigated with the simple question "What is your opinion of the new Finnish HE policy?" This question consisted of 15 Likert-scaled statements. The figure below presents the raw distribution of the responses to these statements.



**Figure 6.** The attitude of respondents to the HE policy being applied – raw distributions by response to statements (Rinne & al. 2012a; 2012b)

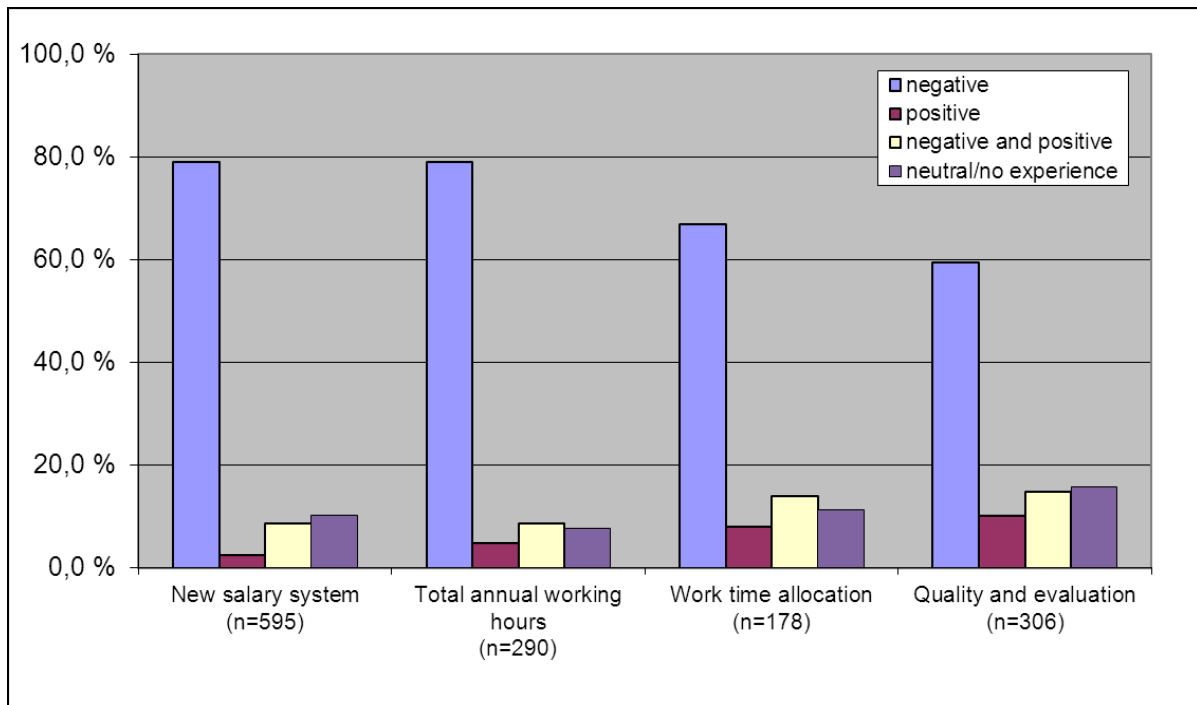
The general picture we get is that university employees have a fairly reserved attitude to the new policy lines. In particular, the huge investments in the 'universities of excellence', as well as making universities into businesses-like institutions, receive little understanding from those working in the everyday university world. The respondents were also rather categorically opposed to introducing tuition fees. They had an opposing attitude toward the effects of the new policy: the great majority of them thought that the new policy is reducing scientific freedom, and the new funding models are leading to inequality between different disciplines. The only policy point that was acceptable to the majority was the increasing of decision-making power in relation to the funding of universities. However, only one out of four respondents thought it a good thing that universities will cease being 'salary offices' of the state.

In order to analyse the acceptance of the policy according to background factors (here only two, see more Rinne et al. 2012a; 2012b; Rinne & Jauhiainen 2012), the statements (on a scale of 1–5) were subjected to factor analysis to form sum variables. To describe the various sub-areas of the policy four factors were formed, which relatively well describe the areas:

- Managerialistic governance and management (avg= 2,6; sd= 1,1;α= 0,691)
- Accountability (avg= 2,7; sd= 0,9;α= 0,625)
- Competition and the centre of excellence policy (avg= 2,5; sd= 0,9;α= 0,612)
- Entrepreneurialism (avg= 2,4; sd= 1,0;α= 0,525).

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

The distribution of the roughly categorized responses to the open-ended questions drew an even more negative picture of the attitudes of the university personnel toward the new techniques than the closed questions. The distribution of the roughly categorized responses to the open-ended questions gives quite a negative picture of the attitudes of university personnel toward the new techniques (Figure 4). As many as 80 per cent of the responses concerning the new salary system and total annual working hours contained negative content. Negative experiences and views were also found in the majority of responses concerning other techniques. It is interesting that for none of the techniques did the proportion of positive responses exceed 10 per cent. The respondents' position, discipline, work experience and age did not explain their attitudes towards the techniques.



**Figure 7.** The experiences of the new policy techniques – the distributions of the categories formed of the open-ended answers

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

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

The respondents' attitudes were also very sceptical concerning the fairness of the reform of total annual working hours system. A majority of the respondents felt that the system did not assist in the rational planning of one's work, nor in general describe the reality of university work.

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

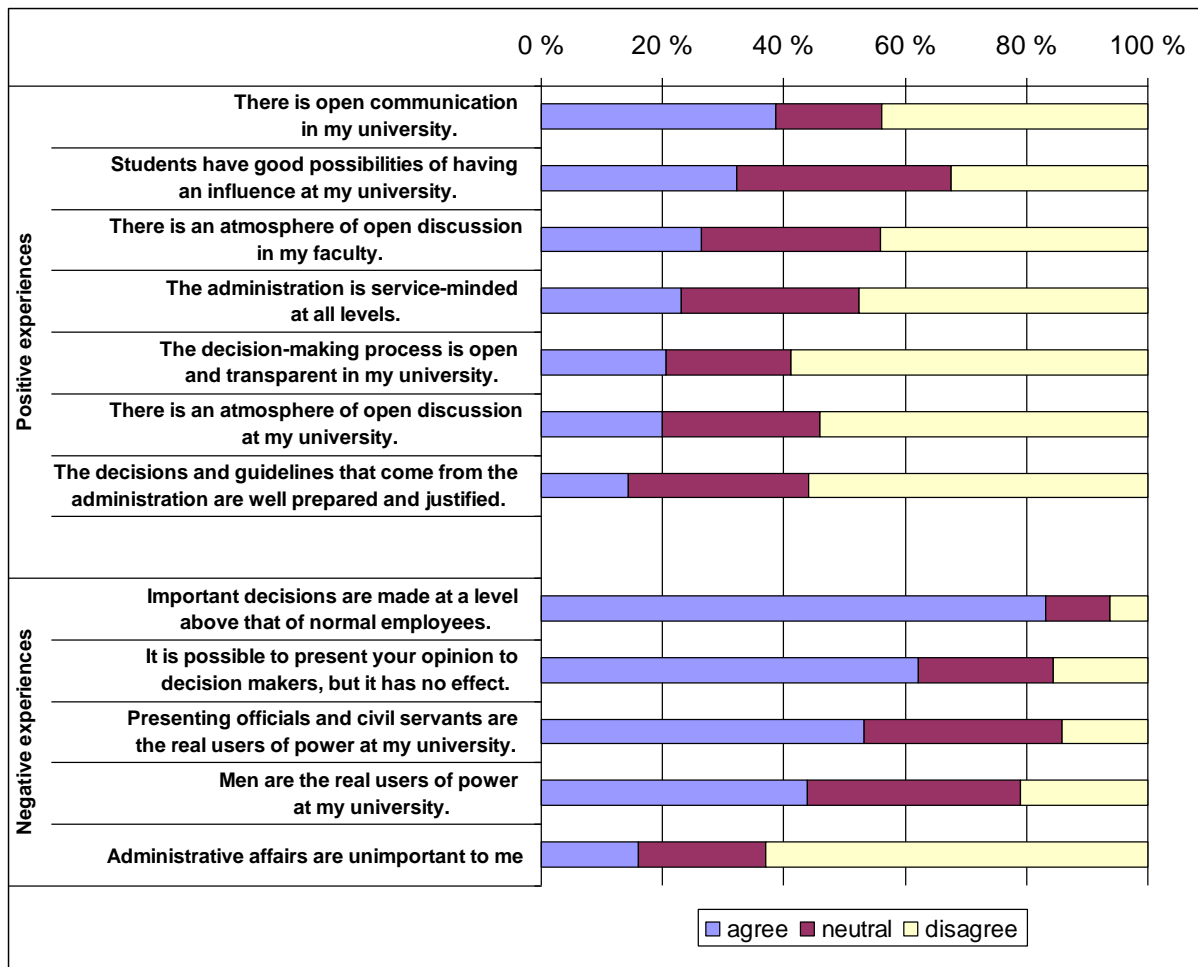
The attitude of the respondents to quality and evaluation is very reminiscent of the attitudes toward other techniques. Over half of the respondents felt that such activities took

unreasonably much time from other, more important tasks. A clear majority saw these activities as being tools for politics and for polishing the public image of the university. Clearly, more than half did not think that “the centres of excellence policy” was a good way to develop quality. Half of the respondents felt that these techniques were too foreign and one-sided to be used in the academic world.

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

### ***Non-transparency and undemocratic administration culture***

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



**Figure 8.** The attitude of respondents to the administrative culture – raw distributions by response to statements

The four sum variables described below were formed from the statements to describe the sub-areas of attitude toward administrative culture:

- Openness, transparency (avg= 2,6; sd= 0,9  $\alpha$ = 0,828)
- Democracy (avg= 2,5; sd= 0,5  $\alpha$ = 0,678)
- The functionality of administration (avg= 2,5; sd= 0,8  $\alpha$ = 0,557)
- General positive attitude towards the administration (avg= 2,6; sd= 0,6  $\alpha$ = 0,821)

The means of the sum variables confirm the picture given by the raw distributions: attitudes are reserved in all sub-areas, with the means remaining clearly below 3, nor are there large differences between sum variables.

When comparing the attitudes of different background factors, most of the differences appear to be statistically significant.

The employee groups differed very clearly in their attitudes toward the administrative culture of their university in all sub-areas. It is not surprising that upper administrative personnel view their own field of activity in the most positive light. An interesting result was that the

lower administrative staff identified more closely in their attitudes with the teaching and research staff than with their upper administrative colleagues.

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

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

	Openness, transparency		Democracy		The functionality of administration		General positive attitude towards the administration	
<b>Employee group</b>	F= 5,65 p= 0,000		F= 8,41 p= 0,000		F= 8,03 p= 0,000		F= 8,25 p= 0,000	
	avg	sd	avg	sd	avg	sd	avg	sd
professors	2,8	1,0	2,5	0,6	2,5	0,8	2,6	0,6
senior asst., asst.	2,5	0,9	2,5	0,6	2,4	0,8	2,5	0,6
lecturers, teachers	2,5	0,9	2,4	0,5	2,4	0,8	2,4	0,6
researchers	2,8	0,8	2,6	0,5	2,5	0,8	2,6	0,5
upper administr. p.	2,9	0,8	2,7	0,6	3,0	0,9	2,8	0,6
lower administr. p.	2,6	0,8	2,4	0,5	2,7	0,9	2,5	0,5
<b>Discipline</b>	F= 11,31 p= 0,000		F= 5,64 p= 0,000		F= 5,52 p= 0,000		F= 11,67 p= 0,000	
	avg	sd	avg	sd	avg	sd	avg	sd
Hum.	2,4	0,9	2,4	0,6	2,3	0,9	2,4	0,6
Edu.	2,4	0,8	2,4	0,6	2,4	0,8	2,4	0,5
Soc.	2,5	0,9	2,4	0,5	2,4	0,7	2,4	0,5
Law	2,8	0,9	2,6	0,5	2,6	0,8	2,7	0,6
Nat.	2,8	0,9	2,6	0,5	2,5	0,8	2,6	0,5
Med.	3,0	0,8	2,6	0,6	2,7	0,7	2,7	0,5

## 5 CURRENT DISCOURSES AND INITIATIVES FOR THE FUTURE

Making the functions of the universities market-driven has been spoken of as “the second academic revolution”, following the first revolution where research was accepted as a task for universities beside teaching (see Ezkowitz 2003). It has been feared that the second revolution, devastating the historical nature of the university, would eliminate the unique societal status of the university in the core of autonomic science and research and raise in its stead the control, economism and targeting for benefit. The frontline of the discussion on universities has turned out to be a sort of division into a party defending the traditional university and its values and a party defending reformation and market orientation. While those in favour of reforms accuse the old university of being slow, stiff and inefficient, the traditionalists point out that executing a market-oriented higher education threatens to dismantle



the collegial, professional and bureaucratic basic nature of universities (see Hay et al 2002). Such discussion is taking place in Finland at this moment.

Traditionalists also criticise those in favour of reforms for appearing to often ignore the fact that the question is largely a metaphoric discourse, as when it comes to the university, it is only possible to seriously talk about the quasi and semi markets of higher education, whereupon the effects of the market in the universities are also very questionable and controversial (Cutler & Waine 1997; Fuller 2006; Goedegebuure ym. 1993; Watson 2002). Undoubtedly, they are correct in saying that the change, even if only visible externally, may only be a rhetorical change, and the old values may be kept intact (Deem 2001, 10; Ylijoki 2003). Especially if the call for change has come from a high administrative level, it may of course affect the official normative discourse or the formal structures, but it will not be carried out on the grass roots (Becher & Kogan 1992; Bleiklie & Kogan 2000).

As anywhere else in the world, the paradigmatic and ideological change in the Finnish university policy and the new reforms of endeavours and operating mechanisms connected to it as well as new frontlines are closely knit to the societal context where the university exists. The most central defining factors in this entity are joined to both the wide growth of the university and, through this, to the shift to a more central status in the society and the educational system and, in the other hand, to the structural change of the academic institution, where higher education is sectioned and divided internally (Rinne et al 2012a; 2012b). In Finland, higher education has, during its strong extension, shifted into a more central position in the society and into an even more significant part of the educational system which most Finnish youth goes through. At the same time, even stronger expectations are related to it to ensure the Finnish competitiveness in the ever-increasing world-political race with the help of high education, high-quality research and productivity based on innovations. Investments into the human equity are generally considered the most profitable investments in the new information economy and the level of know-how of the nation as the strongest guarantee of national success and wealth. The Finnish field of universities and academies has clearly divided into more and less elitist fields, according to the social classes and groups from which people come to study. The massed university itself does not, as an entity, produce the similar, quite unified, system of separating the elite and selection as before; instead, the structures and mechanisms of separation and selection function inside the diverging mass institute, dividing the different fields into deviant channels and sections (Rinne 2012d).

The Finnish universities could, for instance based on the information concerning the year 1990, justifiably be divided into elitist (more than 50 % of fathers with higher education), relatively elitist (40–49 %), relatively democratic (30–39 %) and democratic (less than 30 %). The elitist academies included the University of Technology, the Sibelius Academy, the Theatre Academy and the University School of Business. The eight universities classified as the most elitist were from the metropolitan area. The only actual university among these was the University of Helsinki (Kivinen & Rinne 1995b).

From the late 1980s, the Finnish university policy adopted a quite radically novel education-political program that highlighted the profit responsibility and efficiency of universities, stronger competition between universities, strengthening the entrepreneurial nature of universities, and top-class university politics. While earlier, the mantra of the university politics had been the mantra of educational equality, it changed into the mantra of the achievements of top universities, top units and top individuals. The culmination point to the end of the old, equality-centred university politics can be seen as the new university act,

passed in 2009, which strongly ended the old tradition of a state university and directed the universities towards markets. Along with the rapid growth and massing of the university, the Finnish university institute has also more clearly in the recent decades differentiated and divided into more elitist and demotic sections, both university- and field-specifically. Especially the universities of arts and the universities in the Helsinki area have formed into the most elitist universities in the country. Field-specifically, the most elitist fields, besides arts, are law and medicine (Rinne 2012a). Along with the division of the university, it is justifiable to ask whether any unified student mass is gravitating into the traditional Finnish “unified university”. It obviously appears that the more elitist and demotic branches of the university select their students from completely different groups of applicants.

According to Hanna Nori (2011, 225), it is clear that even though in the long run, the participation of different social groups into higher education has evened, the selection according to one’s social background has not disappeared. In the light of the favourable development in the 1960s and the 1970s, the current situation may even feel like a disappointment; the aim, when building a welfare state, was an equal society where education is not dependent on one’s social status.

University education has, for some time, been considered a guarantee for certain employment, good wages and a steady and ascending work career. The unemployment figures and shattered careers of those educated academically, however, weaken the faith of many young people on the profitability of a higher education. The decreasing development of applicants would, of course, have a positive influence on the student jam, although it is unlikely that the situation will change rapidly. At least in the early 2000s, the interest towards academic studies appears quite strong. Even polytechnic education has not been able to ease the crowding of university applicants, which can also be seen in this study: among those applying for universities, there were a surprising amount of those graduated from a vocational academy.

It is not possible to guide the peoples’ paths in the educational system and their life choices solely by means of educational politics. Neither does education guide the development of the society; instead, the changes happening in the society are reflected onto the educational system. Even though the goals of equality have, in the educational politics of the early 2000s, had to give way to the demands of economic growth and internationalisation, the richness of the Finnish educational system lies precisely in the regionally extensive networks of academies, equal acceptance probabilities of genders and the free education levelling the socioeconomic differences. If the tuition fee, long under discussion, will be introduced, a probable direction of development is that the chances for education to those with the least amount of economic equity will be narrowed. When the use value of educational equity is not as good as before, the tuition fees will hardly increase the will of those coming from lower backgrounds to gravitate towards an academic career. According to research, exactly those from lower backgrounds are most concerned about their employment and financial future.

In light of these results, it can be said that offering equal educational opportunities is not a sufficient equality-politic procedure. The effect of a social background reaches all the way to the gates of the university, and ultimately, the results of the educational policy striving for equality is measured on the labour market (Nori 2011, 225).

What comes to the current discourses and initiatives Finnish of HE access policy, there is quite a lot going on. The main aims behind the new policies are the targets to have savings in funding, to make universities work more effectively and more “result-responsibly”.

First, the government and the Ministry of Education and culture has planned and already in some aspect decided about the diminishing the starting places of students in universities and in whole Higher Education. They have also practice the policy of diminishing the amount of universities in Finland and are planning to go forward. This will inevitably mean that access to Higher Education and universities will be under stronger competition than before.

Secondly and quite controversially the ministry is very hard trying to unload the huge applicant jams on the stairs of the universities.

Thirdly, the ministry has decided to progress in many different ways to shorten the length of university studies. These ways are mainly financial ways combined with the new legislation: eg. to give new funding to universities according to lengths of study time and to shorten the time, that students to have the study aid as well as shorten the right to be student and restrict the possibility to study simultaneously in different study tracks.

Fourth, the ministry is having plans to unite the single application fields to bigger units and wider application fields so that it would be easier and more flexible for the universities to place the applicants later in more precise tracks and fields of study

Fifth, the ministry has since 1990s tried to develop more simple and common united application examination system as well as developed the electric technical system for that (Ahola 2011).

Sixth, ministry has advances the situation of the first year secondary graduated as setting them the quota of access to higher education and university studies among all the applicants and by this way worsening the possibilities of not-first-year matriculates to have access. This has waked up vivid discussion of the fairness and justice concerning similarly all the applicants. Because the traditional autonomy of Finnish universities has been quite strong, there is the quarrel going on between universities and the ministry. (Ahola 2011.)

Seventh, the ministry has also put forward suggestions to charging the university students and getting rid of the very strong tradition of university studies free of charge. Especially the students unions have oppose against these policies and the new student funding policy has so far being only used concerning the students outside the EU-countries and only as experiment. The reason behind this change proposal by the ministry has mostly been economical.

When analysing the changes of recent Higher Education access policy Heidi Ahola (2011, 80) comes to the conclusion that the discourse has changed:

- *from* “matriculated jam”-, slow transition of university students to labour market- and effective use of study places and diverse access practice- discourses (1980s)
- *via* guaranteeing equal opportunities for HE studies for all-, more efficiency to access examination procedures- and post graduate placing –discourses (1990s)
- *to* fast in – fast out-, connecting the access to the effectiveness of study processes, and from separated approach to the holistic approach of HE student access – discourses (2000s).

## 6 CONCLUSIONS

The Finnish university doctrine has gone through several historical changes after the Second World War. First, it was strongly connected with the old Nordic and Finnish historical tradition of “Academic doctrine”, including university autonomy, freedom of research and teaching, no expectations for immediate economic gain and clearly being of an elitist character. Then, from the 1960s to the late 1980s, it became connected with the state planning system and producing manpower and economic progress, but at the same time, strongly emphasising the values of equality in educational opportunities and democracy. The latest doctrines have changed first to “managing by results and competition” –doctrine, and in the newest version, to the “neo-liberal NPM-doctrine” in the 2000s, bringing in radical changes, strong market-orientation, expectations of immediate economic gain and huge assessment and evaluation mechanisms. The place, the functions and the governance mechanisms of the university, as well as the whole university culture of enterprise-university, has stepped in. The economy and competition discourse and vocabulary have penetrated to become the soul of the university. The change compared to the traditional Finnish university is shocking.

Barnett has stated that in these days, the only legitimated way to discuss universities is to speak the language of the ”performative university”. He warns that this closing of the language through which we can talk about the university may also mean to underrate the very self-being and nature of the university. What it is, how it is, how it understands itself, what it might become, is all underestimated (Barnett 2011, 15). In this process of reducing the whole meaning and idea of university to enhancing economic competitiveness, we are taking steps to narrow the versatile tradition of university.

We can say that in the university discourse, entrepreneurialism and efficiency appear as a threat to the speciality of the university institution as these trends make universities similar to whichever other institutions.

In the institutional level of universities, the leading members’ (rectors, administration managers, financial managers, and chairs of departments) opinions about the new university policy and the state plans to promote enterprise-university were divided. Most of all, the lead did not agree that the university could work like any other enterprise, but it has a special essential role and duty in the society. The majority saw that university is the only institution in society whose main duty is to produce best independent research and the teaching grounded on that, not marketable products. But in emphasising the meaning of university autonomy, many also admitted that the “old” university with very heavy steering and control from the Ministry of Education had been a heavy burden.

Moreover, the majority of the whole Finnish university staff has a reserved attitude toward the values and doctrines of the new university policy. The employees are not very enthusiastic about the basic elements of the new university policy technologies; not the market form, the managerialism, nor the performativity. In particular, the spirit of competition and the centre of excellence policy that are in the core of new policy technologies, as well as making universities into businesses-like institutions, do not receive the unrestricted approval of those working in the everyday university world.

The university workers were against the new policies of diminishing the academic power in favour of NPM and managerialist leaders and getting more close to market steering. Of utmost importance is that the academic staff was very concerned about the autonomy of the university and saw the new policy and new funding models as reducing traditional scientific freedom and also leading to inequality between different disciplines. These opinions were quite against the official aims and ideology presented by the Finnish Ministry of Education (Vanttaja & Jauhiainen 2009).

The university staff is, however, rather divided, even in some aspects polarized, in their perceptions and attitudes. This division reflects the power hierarchy of the academia surprisingly directly. Those upper level civil servants on the peak of the Finnish university hierarchy are, in many respects, perceived as being very aloof by the floor-level workers – whether they are academic teachers or researchers, or those working in the lower echelons of administration and planning. Upper level civil servants seem to identify more readily with the values and principles of the new university policy. The attitude towards the new administrative NPM culture strengthens the picture of the confrontation between the academics and the administration elite. The rhetoric of openness and transparency that is so frequent in today's administrative discourse does not seem to have become reality.

Rather common is the experience that new technologies of power have increased bureaucracy, continuous control and wasted useless 'busy work', which is the essential feature of the new performativity culture. This fabrication refers to expedient display, social representation or self-presentation by individuals or organizations without the aim of presenting the truth, but instead with the goal of doing whatever works best in a particular political context or market-centred, performance-centred and outcome-centred environment. This is a contradictory process; on the one hand, it means keeping up the appearance of efficiency through figures and outcome indicators, branding and, on the other hand, submitting to ruthless performativity and the rules of competition. Alternatively, it may be a question of conscious participation, playing the game, the cynical adopting of a superficial and foreign language, 'intellectual sport', as British university employees described their attitude towards quality assurance in Hoecht's (2006, 555-556) interviews.

The policy techniques have produced a reality which is strongly divided into 'real reality' and 'fake reality'. Especially the fabrication and the variation of the truth became concrete in the annual working hour system and in the work time allocation system. Those new technologies of power can be seen as the new forms of working time control in which the academic freedom – characteristic of the academic culture – has been replaced by a new time regime. In both systems, the use of time is classified by distributing the working hours among different functions, tasks and projects. The techniques were experienced reflecting two kinds of time perspective: the "real time" and the "artificial", "fabricated" time (Jauhiainen et al 2013).

The university staff is divided into academic traditionalists and academic marketisers and the majority seems to be somewhere in between, closer to the traditionalists. It would seem that there is a kind of resistance movement, or at least opposition and suspicion, toward the new market-driven university policy; to the market form, managerialism and performativity as the new policy technologies. This movement is, without doubt, connected with the defence of the old kind of autonomy of the university and with the collegial, professional and bureaucratic nature of the freedom of a university institution (cf. Hay & al. 2002).

If we take the title of this paper seriously, we may conclude that in Finland, we are in many respects surviving in the ruins of the university. The Finnish university has lost many of its dreams and older thoughts of autonomy, democracy, equality and the national character of the university. The new enterprise culture, the new market orientation and the new mechanisms and managers of power have profoundly changed the place of the university and the work in the university as well as weakened the crucial speciality of the institution of university in society. Moreover, this trend seems to be hegemonic in many ways. However, at the moment, the struggles inside the university are also going on between the different tribes and territories, and there are quite strong camps in both sides: the traditionalists and the marketisers.

As in the beginning of this paper, we may repeat the question whether the Kantian concept of reason and the Humboldtian idea of culture are about to give up to the techno-bureaucratic notion of excellence.

What comes to the access to HE and universities, at the moment there is going on quite wide and even radical changes not only in Finnish HE and university policy but also in HE and university access policy. While in the name of diminishing funding the Ministry of Education and Culture is diminishing the starting places and strengthening the competition between the applicants in HE and universities, the policy is at the same time rather controversial favouring new matriculated young as well as trying to dismantle the accumulated jam in front of the HE and university doors. In addition the facts of social, cultural and gender inequality of opportunities to access to HE and especially to university are admitted as well as the segmentation and segregation of the old universal university system, but if some, only few efforts are taken towards the increase of equal opportunities and equity.

## REFERENCES

- Aarrevaara, T., Dobson, I. R. & Elander, C. 2009. Brave New World: Higher education reform in Finland. *Higher Education Management and Policy* 21 (2), 89–106.
- Ahola, H. 2011. Korkeakoulujen opiskelijavalinnat. Virallinen koulutuspoliittinen puhe opetusministeriön työryhmien muistioissa vuosina 1988-2010. University of Turku: Master's thesis.
- Antikainen, A. 2008. Power, State and Education: Restructuring the Nordic model. In J. Houtsonen & A. Antikainen (Eds.) *Symbolic Power in Cultural Contexts: Uncovering Social Reality*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 93-105.
- Antikainen, A., Rinne, R. & Koski, L. 2006. *Kasvatussosiologia*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Ball, S. J. 2001. Globaalit toimintaperiaatteet ja kansalliset politiikat eurooppalaisessa koulutuksessa. Teoksessa A. Jauhiainen, R. Rinne & J. Tähtinen (toim.) *Koulutuspolitiikka Suomessa ja ylikansalliset mallit*. Jyväskylä: Suomen Kasvatustieteellinen Seura, Kasvatusalan tutkimuksia 1.
- Ball, S. J. 2003. The Teachers' Soul and Terrors of Performativity. *Journal of Education Policy* 18 (2), 215–228.

Ball, S. J. 2004. Suorituskeskeisyys ja yksityistäminen jälkihyvinvointivaltion koulutuspolitiikassa. *Kasvatus* 35 (1), 6–20.

Ball, S. J. 2006. Performativity and Fabrications in the Education Economy: Towards the performativity society. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J.-A. Dillabough & A. H. Halsey (Eds.) *Education, Globalisation & Social change*. Oxford: University Press, 692–701.

Barnett, R. 2011. *Being a University*. London and New York: Routledge.

Becher, T. & Kogan, M. 1992. *Process and Structure in Higher Education*. London: Routledge.

Bleiklie, I. & Kogan, M. 2000. Comparison and Theories. In M. Kogan, M. Bauer, I. Bleiklie & M. Henkel. *Transforming Higher Education. A comparative study*. Higher Education Policy Series 57. London, Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 11–34.

Blom, R. (toim.) 1999. *Mikä Suomessa muuttui? Sosiologinen kuva 1990-luvusta*. Tampere: Gaudeamus.

Clark, B. R. 1998. *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: Organizational pathways of transformation*. Issues in Higher Education. Oxford: Pergamon Press for International Association of Universities.

Cutler, T. & Waine, B. 1997. *Managing the Welfare State. Text and sourcebook*. Oxford & New York: Berg.

Dean, M. 1999. *Governmentality*. London: Sage.

Deem, R. 2001. Globalisation, New Managerialism, Academic Capitalism and Entrepreneurialism in Universities: Is the local dimension still important? *Comparative Education* 37 (1), 7–20.

Erikson, R. & Jonsson, J. O. 1996. *Can Education be Equalized?* Colorado: Westview Press.

Etzkowitz, H. 2003. Research Groups as 'Quasi-Firms': The invention of the entrepreneurial university. *Research Policy* 32 (1), 1090–1121.

FINHEEC 2012. *Audit Manual for the Quality Systems of Higher Education Institutions 2011-2017*. Helsinki: Publications of The Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council 15:2012 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.

Foucault, M. 2000. The Subject of Power. In J. D. Faubion (Ed.) *Michel Foucault. Power. Essential works of Foucault 1954–1984, vol. three*. London: Penguin Books, 326–348.

Fuller, S. 2006. What Makes Universities Unique? Updating the ideal for an entrepreneurial age. Paper presented in the EUERЕК Workshop in CELE in University of Turku, Finland, February 11th–12th 2006.

Fägerlind, I. & Strömqvist, G. 2004. Higher Education Reform in the Global Context – What ever happened to the Nordic model? In I. Fägerlind & G. Strömqvist, (Eds.) *Reforming*

Higher Education in the Nordic Countries – Studies of change in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 17–53.

Gillies, D. 2008. Developing Governmentality: Conduct and education policy. *Journal of Educational Policy* 23 (4), 415–427.

Goedegebuure, L., Kaiser, F., Maassen, P. & de Weert, E. 1993. Higher Education Policy in International Perspective: An overview. In L. Goedegebuure, F. Kaiser, P. Maassen, L. Meek, F. van Vught & E. de Weert (Eds.) *Higher Education Policy. An international comparative perspective. Issues in higher education.* Oxford: Pergamon Press for International Association of Universities, 1–12.

Hay, D. B., Butt, F. & Kirby, D. A. 2002. Academics as Entrepreneurs in a UK University. In G. Williams (Ed.) *The Enterprising University. Reform, excellence and equity.* Buckingham: SRHE & Open University Press, 132–141.

HE 7/2009. Hallituksen esitys uudeksi yliopistolaiksi. Helsinki: Valtioneuvosto.

Heiskala, R. 2001. Theorizing Power: Weber, Parsons, Foucault and neostructuralism. *Social Science Information* 40 (2), 241–264.

Hernes, G. 1988. *Viva academia.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Hoecht, A. 2006. Quality Assurance in UK Higher Education: Issues of trust, control, professional autonomy and accountability. *Higher Education* 51, 541–563.

Jauhiainen, A., Jauhiainen, A., Laiho, A. & Lehto R. 2013. Fabrications, Moral Hazard and Time Control – Finnish university workers' experiences of the governance of the university work. (submitted)

Jauhiainen, A., Rinne, R. & Tähtinen, J. (toim.) 2001. *Koulutuspolitiikka Suomessa ja ylikansalliset mallit.* Jyväskylä: Suomen Kasvatustieteellinen Seura, Kasvatusalan julkaisuja 1.

Kallo, J. 2009. *OECD Education Policy. A comparative and historical study focusing on the thematic reviews of tertiary education.* Jyväskylä: Finnish Educational Research Association, *Research in Educational Sciences* 45.

Kankaanpää, J. 2013. Kohti yritysmäistä hyöty-yliopistoa? Valtiovallan tahto Suomessa vuosina 1985–2006 ja kokemukset kolmessa yliopistossa. *Turun yliopisto: Annales Universitatis Turkuensis C*: 369.

KESU 1991. *Koulutuksen ja korkeakouluissa harjoitettavan tutkimuksen kehittämissuunnitelma vuosille 1991–1996.* Helsinki: Opetusministeriö.

Kivinen, O. & Rinne, R. 1990a. State Governance and Market Attraction: Models of higher education in the USA, Western Europe and Finland. In *European Regional Consultation on Management and Administration of Higher education in a Market Economy.* UNESCO & Bulgarian Ministry of Science and Higher Education. Plovdiv, 1-13.



Kivinen, O. & Rinne, R. 1990b. The University, the State and the Professional Interest Groups: A Finnish lesson in university development policy. *Higher Education Policy* 3 (3), 15-18.

Kivinen, O. & Rinne, R. 1992. Oppivelvollisuudesta kestävään koulutususkoon: suomalaiset koulutusjärjestelmässään. Teoksessa M. Rahikainen (toim.) *Suuri muutos – suomalaisen yhteiskunnan kehityspiirteitä*. Helsingin yliopisto: Lahden tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskus, 81-87.

Kivinen, O. & Rinne, R. 1993. Changing Higher-Education Policy – Three Western models. In Z. Morsy & P. G. Altbach (Eds.) *Higher Education in International Perspective – Toward the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 177–185.

Kivinen, O. & Rinne, R. 1995a. Koulutuksen periytyvyys: nuorten koulutus ja tasa-arvo Suomessa. *Koulutus* 1995:4. Helsinki: Tilastokeskus.

Kivinen, O. & Rinne, R. 1995b. Koulutuksen kentät ja kulku. Teoksessa T. Takala (toim.) *Kasvatussociologia*. Helsinki: WSOY, 53-84.

Kivinen, O., Rinne, R. & Ketonen, K. 1993. Yliopiston huomen. *Korkeakoulupolitiikan historiallinen suunta Suomessa*. Helsinki: Hanki ja jää.

Koivula, J., Rinne, R. & Niukko, S. 2009. Yliopistot yrityksinä? Merkkejä ja merkityksiä Suomessa ja Euroopassa. *Kasvatus* 40 (1), 7–27.

KOTA database. KOTA -tietokanta. Helsinki: Opetusministeriö. <<https://kotaplus.csc.fi/online/Etusivu.do>>

Kosonen, P. 1992. Johdanto. Teoksessa P. Kosonen (toim.) *Euroopan integraatio, työmarkkinat ja hyvinvointivaltio*. Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 5-22.

Marginson, S. & Considine, M. 2000. *The Enterprise University. Power, governance and reinvention in Australia*. Cambridge: University Press.

McLennan, G. 2008. Disinterested, disengaged, useless: conservative or progressive idea of the university? *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 6 (2), 195–200.

Nevala, A. & Rinne, R. 2012. Korkeakoulutuksen muodonmuutos. Teoksessa P. Kettunen & H. Simola (toim.) *Tiedon ja osaamisen Suomi. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1960-luvulta 2000-luvulle*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, SKS:n toimituksia 1266:3, 203-228.

Nori, H. 2011. Keille yliopiston portit avautuvat? Tutkimus suomalaisiin yliopistoihin ja eri tiiteenaloille valikoitumisesta 2000-luvun alun Suomessa. *Turun yliopisto: Annales Universitatis Turkuensis C*: 309.

FPuhakka, A. & Rautopuro, J. 2003. Vessi ja illuusio. Opettajien työaikasopimuksen noudattaminen yliopistoissa. Helsinki: Tieteentekijöiden liitto.

- Readings, B. 1996. *The University in Ruins*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rinne, R. 2004. Searching for the Rainbow: Changing the course of Finnish higher education. In I. Fägerlind & G. Strömqvist (Eds.) *Reforming Higher Education in the Nordic Countries – Studies of change in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden*. New trends in higher education. Paris: IIEP, 89–135.
- Rinne, R. 2010. The Nordic University Model from a Comparative and Historical Perspective. In J. Kauko, R. Rinne & H. Kynkäänniemi (Eds.) *Restructuring the Truth of Schooling – Essays on discursive practices in sociology and the politics of education*. Jyväskylä. FERA: Research in Educational Sciences 48, 85–112.
- Rinne, R., Jauhiainen, A. & Lehto, R. 2011. Uusi suomalainen yliopistopolitiikka yliopistoväen itsensä näkemänä ja kokemana. Teoksessa R. Rinne, J. Tähtinen, A. Jauhiainen & M. Broberg (toim.) *Koulutuspolitiikan käytännöt kansallisessa ja ylikansallisessa kehyksessä*. Suomen kasvatustieteellinen seura: Kasvatusalan tutkimuksia 54. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopistopaino, 185-232.
- Rinne, R. 2012a. Changes in Higher Education Policy and the Nordic Model. In T. Halvorsen & P. Vale (Eds.) *One World, Many Knowledges – Regional experiences and cross-regional links in higher education*. Bellville: Southern African-Nordic Centre (SANORD), 39-54.
- Rinne, R. 2012b. Comparative Views on Continuing Massification of Higher Education and the Diversification of the System. In A. G. Eikseth, C. F. Dons & N. Garm (Eds.) *Utdanning mellom styring og danning. Et nordisk panorama*. Trondheim: Akademika forlag, 255-279.
- Rinne, R. 2012c. Koulutetun eliitin erottautuminen. (2012) Teoksessa P. Kettunen & H. Simola (toim.) *Tiedon ja osaamisen Suomi. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1960-luvulta 2000-luvulle*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, SKS:n toimituksia 1266:3, 367-407.
- Rinne, R. 2012d. Access to Higher Education – The case of Finland. In A. M. Kazamias & D. M. Mattheou (Eds.) *Comparative and International Education Review. A Biannual Journal of the Greek Comparative and International Education Society* 18-19. Athens: the Greek Comparative and International Education Society (ELESDE) & the Centre of Comparative Education, International Education Policy and Communication (ESPAIDEPE), 143-163.
- Rinne, R. & Antikainen, A. 2012a. Ylikansalliset paineet, pohjoismainen malli ja suomalainen koulutus. Teoksessa P. Kettunen & H. Simola (toim.) *Tiedon ja osaamisen Suomi. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1960-luvulta 2000-luvulle*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, SKS:n toimituksia 1266:3, 441-479.
- Rinne, R. & Jauhiainen, A. 2012b. In the Shifting Sands of Policy – University academics' and employees' views and experiences of Finnish new higher education policy. In S. Ahola & D. M. Hoffman (Eds.) *Higher Education Research in Finland. Emerging structures and contemporary issues*. University of Jyväskylä: Finnish Institute for Educational Research.

Rinne, R., Jauhiainen, A. & Kankaanpää, J. 2014. Surviving in the Ruins of University – Lost autonomy and collapsed dreams in Finnish transition of university policies. *Nordic Studies of Education* (in press).

Rinne, R., Jauhiainen, A., Simola, H., Lehto, R., Jauhiainen, A. & Laiho, A. 2013 *Valta, uusi yliopistopolitiikka ja yliopistotyö Suomessa*. Managerialistinen hallintapolitiikka yliopistolaisten kokemana. Suomen kasvatustieteellinen seura: Kasvatusalan tutkimuksia 58.

Rinne, R. & Kivinen, O. 2003. The Nordic Welfare State Model and European Union Educational Policies. In P. Rasmussen (Ed.) *Educational Policy and the Global Social Order*. Aalborg University: Centre for the Interdisciplinary Study of Learning, 23–42.

Rinne, R., Kivirauma, J., Hirvenoja, P. & Simola, H. 2000. From Comprehensive School Citizen towards Self-Selective Individual. In S. Lindblad & T. S. Popkewitz (Eds.) *Public Discourses on Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion: Analyses of policy texts in European contexts*. University of Uppsala: Uppsala reports on education 36.

Rinne, R. & Koivula, J. 2005. The Changing Place of Higher Education and a Clash of Values. *The entrepreneurial university in the European knowledge society*. *Higher Education Management & Policy* 17 (3), 91–124.

Rinne, R. & Koivula, J. 2009. The Dilemmas of the Changing University. In M. Shattock (Ed.) *Entrepreneurialism in Universities and the Knowledge Economy. Diversification and organisational change in European higher education*. London: Open University Press & Paris: IIEP, Unesco, 183–199.

Rinne, R. & Simola, H. 2005. Koulutuksen ylikansalliset paineet ja yliopistojen uusi hallinta. *Tiede ja edistys* 30 (1), 6–26.

Rinne, R. & Vanttaja, M. 1999. Suomalaista aikuiskoulutuspolitiikkaa: muutoksia ja jännitteitä 1980- ja 1990-luvuilla. *Koulutus- ja tiedepolitiikan osaston julkaisusarja: 67*. Helsinki: Edita.

Rinne, R. & Vanttaja, M. 2000. New Directions of Adult Education Policy in Finland. In S. Tosse et al. (Eds.) *Reforms and Policy. Adult education research in Nordic countries*. Trondheim: Tapir, 23–38.

Rose, N. 1999. *Governing the Soul: The shaping of the private self*. London: Free Association Books.

Rubenson, K. 2007. Participation in Adult Education: The Nordic welfare state model. In R. Rinne, A. Heikkinen & P. Salo (Eds.) *Adult Education – Liberty, Fraternity, Equality? Nordic views on lifelong learning*. Finnish Educational Research Association: Research in Educational Sciences 28. Turku: Painosalama Oy 47-66.

SA 1997. Yliopistolaki 27.3.1997. 645/1997.

SA 1999. Lakikokoelma. Koulusäädökset. Helsinki: Edita.

Saarinen, T. 1995. Nousukaudesta lamaan, määrästä laatuun. Korkeakouluarvioinnin käynnistyminen ja kokemukset laitoksilla. Turun yliopisto: Koulutussosiologian tutkimuskeskuksen raportti 32.

Shattock, M. 2009. (Ed.) *Entrepreneurialism in Universities and the Knowledge Economy. Diversification and organizational change in European higher education.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Simola, H. 2009. Trans-National Technologies, National Techniques and Local Mechanisms in Finnish University Governance: A journey through the layers. *Nordic Educational Research* 29 (1), 6–17.

Simola, H., Rinne, R. & Kivirauma, J. 2002. Abdication of the Education State or Just Shifting Responsibilities? The appearance of a new system of reason in constructing educational governance and social exclusion/inclusion in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 46 (3), 247–264.

Tjeldvoll, A. 1998a. Introduction. In A. Tjeldvoll (Ed.) *Education and the Scandinavian Welfare State in the Year 2000 – Equality, policy, and reform.* New York & London: Garland Publishing, Taylor & Francis Group, xi-xviii.

Tjeldvoll, A. 1998b. Quality of Equality? Scandinavian education towards the year 2000. In A. Tjeldvoll (Ed.) *Education and the Scandinavian Welfare State in the Year 2000 – Equality, policy, and reform.* New York & London: Garland Publishing, Taylor & Francis Group, 3-23.

Tjeldvoll, A. 2011. Change Leadership in Universities: The Confucian dimension. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management* 33 (3), 219–230.

Vanttaja, M. 2007. Uuden palkkausjärjestelmän lyhyt historia. *Tiedepolitiikka* 32 (3), 35–40.

Vanttaja, M. 2010. Yliopiston villit vuodet. Suomalaisen yliopistolaitoksen muutoksia ja uudistuksia 1990-luvulta 2000-luvun alkuun. Turku: Turun yliopiston kasvatustieteiden tiedekunnan julkaisu A: 210.

Vanttaja, M. & Jauhiainen, A. 2009. Jäähvyäiset autonomialle? *Tiedepolitiikka* 34 (2), 7–14.

Vanttaja, M. & Rinne, R. 2001. Vanhat vaatteet, uudet aatteet: kohti työelämävetoista aikuiskoulutuspolitiikkaa. Teoksessa R. Mäkinen & O. Poropudas (toim.) *Irtiotto 90-luvun koulutuspolitiikasta.* Turku: Turun yliopiston kasvatustieteiden tiedekunnan julkaisu B:67, 129–150.

Watson, D. 2002. Can We All Do It All? Tensions in the mission and structure of UK higher education. *Higher Education Quarterly* 56 (2), 143–155.

Ylijoki, O.-H. 2003. Entangled in Academic Capitalism? A case-study on changing ideals and practices of university research. *Higher Education* 45 (3), 307–335.

Yliopistolaki 2009. L 558/2009.