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ABSTRACT

This report, one of a series of country studies on higher education and employment particularly in continuing professional education, looks at recent developments in Finland. An opening section reviews the structure of continuing education in Finland where most continuing education is arranged by private employers with universities. The paper describes how continuing education has led to several schools of thought on how these services should be provided: neo-traditionalists, cultural revolutionists of science, and utilitarians. A following section describes and analyzes the role of open universities, Finnish universities open to all and designed to serve adults over age 23. This section looks at how individuals pursue study at these institutions in order to gain the required credentials for various types of employment, a process which may devalue the basic academic degree. A discussion of the growing volume of continuing education and projected need for these services shows that continuing professional education recently grew by 86 percent over 3 years. A comparison to other European countries identifies nine important differences. A final section describes how a university-level continuing education course may come about when an enterprise, municipality, ministry or professional organization proposes it. (Includes 13 notes.) (JB) (JB)

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HIGHER EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT: THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

COUNTRY STUDY: FINLAND

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Paris 1991

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HIGHER EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT: THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP

Project iii): Recent Developments in Continuing Professional Education

COUNTRY STUDY: FINLAND

This report is one of a series of country studies prepared in the framework of the OECD Education Committee activity on Higher Education and Employment: The Changing Relationship. It deals with one of the three main topics covered by this activity, Recent Developments in Continuing Professional Education. Together with other country studies on this topic, it provides the background information for the preparation of a Secretariat general report that will be published by the OECD in 1992.

Country studies and general reports are also being made available for the other two projects included under this activity: The Flows of Graduates from Higher Education and their Entry into Working Life; Higher Education and Employment: The Case of the Humanities and Social Sciences.

The present contribution has been written by Matti Parjanen of the University of Tampere. It presents an overview of continuing education and is excerpted from a broader country study on the Humanities and Social Sciences in Finland. The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily commit the national authorities concerned or the Organisation.

CONTENTS

STRUCTURE OF CONTINUING HIGHER EDUCATION

There are more than 1000 organizations that provide adult education in Finland, and the number of participants exceeds 1.8 million. Most of continuing professional education is arranged by private employers. In 1988 employers spent 2500 million FIM in this training. The state invested 200 million marks in its own in-service training. Industry devoted 5-6 days per employee to education outside or within the enterprise and had a full- or part-time training official for 100 employees. But the higher the educational level, the more frequently training is given by an university. Universities have always been criticized for keeping the results of scientific research inside the confines of university walls and not putting the results at the disposal of working life rapidly enough. In the late 1960s a totally new form of education, extension studies, was instituted to assist in disseminating research findings. This created the Finnish institution of continuing higher education.

In 1970 saw the establishment of the first extension studies centre subordinate to a university. It had two basic functions: 1) continuing professional education and 2) open university instruction. This division is still used in all the Finnish institutions of higher education. The first form of education means that all university graduates and non-graduated employees in similar professional positions may return to their alma mater or go to another university to upgrade and update their professional knowledge. As a rule, the teachers of the courses are either researchers or experts working with practical applications.

At present all the 20 Finnish institutions of higher education have continuing (or further) education centres of their own, with filials in smaller towns. In 1989 these institutions had 90,000 students. The centres employ c. 700 permanent planners and administrators. The largest centres, which have more than 100 planning and administrative posts, cater to over 10,000 part-time students each year.

The basic organization structure of the continuing education centres is approximately the same in all universities. The centres are affiliated institutions subordinate to the university central administration, just like libraries and computer centres. As a rule, they have no teaching posts of their own. In principle, this is one of the basic factors for their success: when teachers and consultants are hired for a given purpose only, the information is always up to date in terms of pedagogics and scientific knowledge and its application. It is easy to avoid outdated or pedagogically inadequate (or repetitious) teachers, which is one of the greatest problems in faculties, since university teachers hold tenure posts in Finland. Continuing education centres are in a position to choose the best teachers from faculties.

What is it that makes these university teachers educate adults outside their normal teaching loads: after all, it is well-known that adults expect and demand more of education than young students? For some teachers, the most important reason is need **to earn more money** - even though the prevailing social norms condemn it. The remuneration in continuing professional education is slightly higher than university teachers' salary (maximum 430 marks an hour), although clearly lower than in the private sector. Another, probably more common reason is **pedagogical**: it is more rewarding to teach mature students who have work experience than inexperienced young people for whom it is difficult to find

examples for application. This is true especially of the humanities and social sciences (H/SS) fields. The third reason given by teachers has to do with the opportunities further education courses offer for testing their own scientific theories. For one instance, a researcher of social policy gets immediate feedback on their theories from an audience of experienced practitioners of social work or correctional care.

These three factors are not characteristic only of Finnish continuing education: The same kind of features can be found in totally different education systems (1).

IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICTS

When extension studies became one of the basic university functions, the ideological point of departure was to apply and disseminate researched data and to establish contacts with employment. The "scientific knowledge" has not been defined in so many words, it being taken as self-evident that all information and knowledge produced and disseminated by a university is based on research that meets all the ethical and methodological norms of science. The term "science" itself has a certain promise-of-use-value, which is boldly exploited by the further education centres in marketing their education (2). The attitudes towards 'scientificness', knowledge, labour markets, marketing and especially the interdependence of science and the market mechanisms vary between different disciplines and educational fields, depending on their traditions. Table 1 shows in broad outline the relationships between different schools of thought and adult higher education. The **neo-traditionalists** highlight the autonomy of research and under- and postgraduate education. The **cultural revolutionalists of science** predict that world peace will be shattered and humanity is on the verge of eco-catastrophy, from which it follows that science and academic education should return to generalism and should thus be devoted to averting these global threats. The **utilitarian** doctrine takes an optimistic view of development and sees that scientific progress and application of science are of major importance to society and that achieving this goal requires education and science policy planning and steering.

How are the H/SS university teachers placed in this table? Studies made of researchers' attitudes as well as practical experience give grounds for assuming that the majority of them are "neo-traditionalists". The "cultural revolutionalists of science" will probably increase among them, and their future stronghold will probably be the university, H/SS departments and student unions in particular.

Will this setup result in a situation in which the new continuing professional education will ideologically, attitudinally and practically rely on utilitarians and see neo-traditionalists as an obstacle to its expansion, if not its downright enemy? Academic extension studies have "enemies" both inside and outside the university (3). In my opinion, it is precisely this continuing (probably never-ending) conflict between the schools of thought that will keep continuing professional education above water.

This conflict could be exploited by continuing higher education as its trademark or pedagogical inducement in its competi-

TABLE 1.

Relationships between different schools of thought and adult higher education

TYPES OF ADULT HIGHER EDUCATION

Schools of higher education and science policy	Open university	Short-term continuing professional education	Long-term continuing professional education
Neo-traditionalism	Not a necessary basic function of university	Not a university function, allowed to the extent that it e.g. furnishes funds for pure research	Not a university function
Cultural revolutionalists of science	Wholly to be endorsed, to provide scientific survalist knowlegde and skills for people	Condemnable, not a university function	Justifiable to a certain extent, with a research, not professional orientation
Utilitarialism	To be endorsed moderately: (a) to make use of educational reserves (b) for equality	Necessary to certain extent constantly, economic profits to university	Indispensable, the most recent research findings made available to promote occupational changes

Source: Panhelainen, M., Korkeakoulujen täydennyskoulutus ja työorganisaatiot, Paper for the 4th Symposium on Finnish Higher Education, Jyväskylä, 1990.

tion for educational markets, which are turning hard as rock. The setup also involves a paradox: it is possible for education based on scientific criticism of the market mechanisms to do well on educational markets which work on market mechanisms. There are signs of this in Finnish management training, in which the participants do not necessarily wish to study familiar business mechanisms and ideologies but "the adversary's doctrines", such as industrial democracy or environmental protection (socialism in the eighties — and in the nineties?).

In this way, many continuing education programmes intended for business managers include — at the participants' initiative — visions presented by researchers of H/SS fields concerning changes in cultural or social values. This set of problems relates to the seemingly eternal question whether it would be more appropriate to hire H/SS graduates for management posts in business and public administration or to provide further education in H/SS fields for managers who have law, economics or technology degrees.

In this report the humanities and social sciences are examined as an entity. In Finland these fields share many features in terms of education. This also applies to continuing professional education in the fields. On the other hand, professional factors may clearly differ in the two fields.

LEGITIMIZATION — AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN FINLAND

The second mission of continuing education centres is open university. Its purpose is to provide university-level education, generally corresponding to courses in university degree studies. It is open for all, regardless of their former studies, place of residence and sex (so far, it has not been necessary to mention race or religion in this context in Finland). The age limit is generally set at 23-25, open university being primarily intended for adults. If there were no age limit, the high educational motivation of Finnish youth would result in the same concrete problems Finnish educational policy is facing at present: Tens of thousands of young people who have not gained entry into higher education would apply for open university studies to prepare themselves for entrance examinations or take studies corresponding to 60 credits (two years of full-time studies), which are required under the Ministry of Education guidelines for admission to universities through what is known as the alternative channel. This channel is restricted by universities despite government recommendations, only a few students are admitted as regular university students through it.

Some open university students have general education and some initial or refresher professional education as their goal. Surveys have also revealed a third motive: a desire to seek social contacts through studies.

It has also been suggested that in Finland — where the competition for enrolment is stiff — adult education might also be motivated

by a "status" factor, in other words exclusiveness, a scarce commodity distancing from the immediate surroundings. Although empirical interview studies do not validate this theory, in-depth interviews show that education can also have latent function of this kind, however condemned by social norms (4).

In 1989 there were a total of 35,00 students in open university. The majority of them studied H/SS fields: 26% social sciences and 19% the humanities. The most common subjects were social policy, special pedagogics and sociology, with education as the largest field (26%). It would be wrong to draw the conclusion that Finland were a positive "education society". Such eagerness to study educational sciences is largely due to the requirement that graduates must take certain specified courses in education to secure a post within vocational or adult education in Finland. Thus, it is not due to any demands or attraction of the training institution or pursuit of general knowledge, but simply a question of legitimacy, the labour markets demanding certain university-level qualifications for certain posts. As regards the public sector, these demands are defined in the statutes concerning competence, which are usually very difficult to change.

The legitimacy theory has great relevance to Finnish continuing higher education, because academic degrees are a specific requirement for a number of positions. In the typical H/SS fields this is a question of legislation and in the private sector social legitimation. In the absence of national statutory regulations, the private sector employers themselves generate the legitimacy. In Finland all university degrees and their parts are equal as to their standards and social prestige. So far, the wording in the certificates issued on graduation has been under the control of the Ministry of Education. In the nineties Finland is transferring to a new legitimization system in education. The long-term (1-3 years) programmes provided by continuing education centres have established their own legitimacy on the labour markets. Thus a one-year continuing professional education course taken by graduates in these centres may give the same kind of legitimacy, prestige and status value as six years traditional university degree. Such professional further studies often also involve the employer's expectations as to credentials or unionistic expectations of trade unions. In both cases the goal is to keep the labour markets in check and to regulate them with a view to preventing educational institutions or post applicants from specifying qualifications. The low salaries in H/SS fields have generated unionistic features, because the unions can demand a rise in salary on the strength of new professional requirements. This process is often difficult to arrest. The basic academic degree is in danger of becoming only an intermediate stage, if the practice of requiring more credentials for ever more posts gains ground in the labour markets.

GROWING VOLUME OF CONTINUING EDUCATION — AND THE NEED?

The continuing education centres are so new in Finland that no official system of statistics has yet been instituted, and there are few empirical studies available. Table 2 shows that continuing professional education grew by 86% and open university instruction by 66% over three years. In ten years they have grown tenfold. In 1988 the average length of a continuing professional education course was 12 six-hour days in contact teaching. The average number of participants per course was 31 (5). The longest courses take three years (e.g. personal and family therapy courses for psychologists and psychiatrists).

As a result of the recent expansion of extension studies, there are almost as many students (albeit part-time) in it as in undergraduate education (89,000/109,000), which is a clear manifestation of a genuine need for such education. Why this need? The most important reason may be that former in-service training, i.e. that provided by the employer or trade unions, is considered too dependent on the employer and sponsor of education in terms of content. It must be noted, however, that industry is more interested in providing education relating to technology, economics and information technology than H/SS fields. Accordingly, some university degrees are emphatically seen as **agents of change** in society, whereas some, that is H/SS fields, only tag along, dependent on public financing.

Those in favour of what is known as a 'cultivating' university have criticized the model in which university is a market place for knowledge and competence. Such a **"bazaar university"** is open in its organization but steered by market needs. In a bazaar culture everything is for sale: students, researchers, intellectual stimuli, status etc. In Finland for those circles that, particularly in recent years (with European integration), have expected the country to transfer from a regulated "semi-capitalistic" economy to an unregulated capitalism, the ideal model is a bazaar university where everything is turned into entities measurable in money. Such a model would push the H/SS fields in the background, because it is difficult to determine the exchange value of its components.

Business and industry does not always realize that rapid changes in knowledge and competence structures demand both wider social and humanistic knowledge and more specialized high-tech knowledge.

TABLE 2.

Relative growth in the number of students in university education

	Continuing professional education students	Change %	Open university students	Change %	Graduate and undergraduate students	Change %
1986	28 000		21 000		93 000	
		86 %		66 %		17 %
1989	52 000		35 000		109 000	

Not one or the other but both, otherwise we shall get overeducated employees and undercultivated citizens (6). Exaggerating slightly, one can say that in Finland technological fields "overeducate professionally" but at the same time produce "undercultivated citizens". In H/SS fields the situation is reverse. Such a bias could be avoided by means of cross-education, of which the British polytechnics provide good examples.

The following types, representing different lifestyles and modes of action, can be found in employment: 1) succeeders, 2) "copers", 3) "marginalizers" and 4) searchers of alternatives. The decision taken by the Finnish Government in 1989 is committed to increasing adult education on market mechanism principles. In practice this has already meant that continuing professional education focuses on "succeeders", who already have more than average education, good posts, wealth and so on. This group also possesses more cultural capital than the other groups. It is only wielders of public power that have H/SS education.

The "searchers of alternatives" constitute an interesting group, for they actively develop new forms of work and social relations. They ask that work should be accommodated to the human and natural conditions and not the other way around. This group contains many H/SS graduates, artists, scholars, free lance journalists etc. One of the future tasks of continuing education centres could be to give further education to this group. There would probably be no difficulty in reconciling new information with its application. These "marginal people" in working life would be a suitable target group in efforts to further develop the theories put forward by the American J. Mezirov concerning critical dialogue and, more generally, reflective professional practices; the latter enjoy great popularity as a theory in Finland (7).

Sociological studies have shown that new class structure is emerging in Finland. Although ignorant of this, education is nevertheless contributing to its existence (8). In the new class structure, Finnish wage earners can be divided into three main groups: 1) the core of the new middle classes, 2) their marginal groups, and 3) the traditional working class. Each of the first two classes represents 1/4 of the population and the working class 1/2. The proprietary bourgeoisie only represents 0.7% of the population. The core of the new middle classes is well educated and well paid. They feel no solidarity with the working class. Since education has traditionally fought to reduce class divisions, it may well be asked what attitude initial education manifests towards this new class society. If continuing professional education will increasingly be a paid service, it seems evident that it will be more available to the core of the middle classes than to other groups. In this case, some representatives of the H/SS fields would also have access to it.

What then are the factors that speak for attaching continuing professional education to universities? Further education provided by universities is seen to have the following advantages:

1) It is considered objective and ethically purer than private sector education;

2) The costs are generally lower than in private sector education, especially in the H/SS fields in which the government subsidizes the fees;

3) University graduates wish to maintain contacts with their universities. Finland does not have an American type of general alumni system to maintain intellectual and economic links between the university and old students. The University of Tampere created an Alumni organization in 1989.

4) In Finland higher education has preserved its high social prestige, and consequently continuing professional education is also ranked relatively high.

5) Despite the difficulties encountered in measurement, the continuing education

provided by universities is assumed to have a longer-term effectiveness than that provided by consultancy firms working on the business principle, which often have tempting models that yield quick results (e.g. management training).

6) Only universities can be responsible for post-academic education which offers opportunities for interdisciplinary approaches and reflection between professional practice and research.

In an analysis of the relevance of continuing education to employment it is possible to apply the concepts 'use value' and 'exchange value' as theoretical tools. As was described above, traditional Finnish education stresses the legitimacy of education on the labour markets; there is a shortage of student places, the drop-out rates, especially in the H/SS fields, are high, and the statutory qualifications in most senior posts in public administration include a M.A. level degree. This underscores the exchange value of education, the certificate itself being of great importance, especially as the volume and social prestige of all university degrees are equal in Finland. Further education courses have created new professional postgraduate degrees, which, although not officially legitimized and with no traditional exchange value, have all the more use value. Owing to traditions, the labour markets (with the exception of business and industry) are still so inflexible that a diploma with a use value still needs to be propped by an ordinary degree with an exchange value and with all its academic symbols.

In past decades university degrees, being rare, still had a distinction function. At present the large number of degrees, their inflation in some people's opinion, has diminished their automatic exchange value. In terms of higher education policy, the emphasis placed on the exchange value means that for undergraduate students the goal is necessarily not to learn new things, for them studies have an instrumental value, aiming at a certificate. This means that further education will have to teach new learning models to the students.

At present continuing education programmes (in Finland we tend to avoid calling them degrees or diplomas) have exchange value but, in keeping with the law of scarcity, their value decreases with the increase in their numbers. Only continuing training that has relevance to the labour markets will maintain its use value. As a whole, it must be noted that the line between formal and actual qualifications is not clear-cut in Finland. A continuing education course may yield exchange value to some individual and use value to another. The large number of H/SS degrees, the new professions within these fields, the ever higher qualifications required for "semi-professions" (9), such as social workers, and the growing interest shown by employers in educating "key professions" (e.g. planning and development staff) allow an assumption that the use value of continuing professional education in these fields will increase. In the H/SS fields, unlike economics, there is no fear of an unsubstantiated promise-of-use-value. In the field of economics, continuing professional education often involves empty promises about its use value and, too much emphasis being placed on education as a commodity, commodity aesthetic selling, buying and marketing regardless of the contents (10).

A tragic but at the same time clear social example of the relation between the use and exchange values is provided by an order concerning the transferral of post-war Poland to Communism; the order had been issued by Moscow and was classified as top secret (11). The last item on the list of 45 points aiming at a rapid transferral of Poland into Communism reads: "Institutions of higher education should primarily admit people who come from the lowers echelons of society and who do not aim at in-depth knowledge about the field but at a diploma." (11) Thus, the new wielders of power preferred exchange value in education over use value.

HOW AND WHY DOES FINLAND DIFFER FROM OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES?

The Finnish system of higher education, including continuing professional education and open university, differs to some extent from the European tradition. In summary these features are:

1) A large educational reserve has emerged between the upper secondary school and higher education, a "blockage" due to the prestige of general upper secondary education over vocational education. At present only a third of matriculated school leavers gain entry into higher education, although half of them would like to enrol. This being the case, tens of thousands of potential students who are formally eligible for higher education end up forming a reserve, which later is greatly interested in the opportunities continuing higher education and/or open university offer for gaining entry to a university at a mature age. Delayed career choices occur especially in the social sciences field, one of the reasons being that these subjects are not taught in the upper secondary school to any large extent.

2) The proportion of mature students of the new entrants is high and on the increase. Students over 24 represented 15.7% in 1982, 16.2% in 1984 , 16.6% in 1987 and 18% in 1988.

3) For nationalistic reasons that can be traced back to the Swedish and Russian eras in our history, legitimacy given by general knowledge and education is preferred in Finland. This is reflected in the fact that we still have strict statutory competence requirements for public posts.

4) In Finland study times in higher education are unexceptionally long. In social sciences the mean duration is 7 and in the humanities 8.5 years (in medicine 6.5, in law 6 and in economics and business administration 6). The reasons can be traced to educational policy, pedagogics and social factors. One of the reasons is that students work at the final stages of their studies. This in turn is due to the Finnish system of financial aid, which largely consists of state-guaranteed loans with subsidized interest. The average loan incurred by students by graduation is FIM 52,000: in the humanities 55,000 and in social sciences 50,000. In these fields, professional insecurity often make students prolong their studies intentionally.

5) All institutions of higher education are run by the state. All posts have so far been permanent, but since the late eighties an increasing number of temporary and externally financed posts have been established.

6) In the continuing education centres of universities, the content and ideological bias of continuing professional education are usually defined by university teachers and researchers. Open university education is arranged strictly in accordance with the regulations governing degrees. The mutual complementarity of extra-mural studies and initial higher education has in Finland become a legitimacy model, to which universities adhere resolutely.

7) Despite the criticism aired by those who advocate a traditionalist idea of university, all the Finnish universities have established continuing/further education centres of their own. Considering their age (average six years), they have gained a strong foothold in the Finnish higher education system in an astonishingly short time. The rapid strengthening of its legitimacy give cause to assume that this form of education is here to stay. In the course of time, a working compromise will probably be

worked out between the neo-traditionalists and utilitarians models, which will convince all universities of their duty to provide education for their ex-students until retirement and even beyond.

8) Laws are being amended in Finland with a view to creating a system of financial aid for adult students, which is considered "the best in the world". Under it, mature students over 25 or those who have more than five years of work experience or those without any education could at best get student aid corresponding to 122% of their net salary.

9) One feature typical of Finnish society is women's education. In Finland women represent a larger proportion of all university students than in Europe in general. Girls are in a clear majority in the upper secondary school (58%). Since 51% of undergraduate students are women, it will be interesting to see what their proportion will be in various extension studies in the future; at present they make up 55% of continuing professional education students, 75% of open university students and 85% of third-age university students. In liberal adult education two thirds of students are women. In all these forms, with the exception of continuing professional education, the greater part of education is provided in the H/SS fields. How does it affect the labour markets that the H/SS fields are often conceived as "feminine" fields?

When researchers speak of the close or loose links between education and society at large, they often refer to employment, overlooking another important social institution, the family. Undergraduate students of different sexes show different degrees of social commitment. The term 'rationality of responsibility' can be used to explain why women with families cannot pursue undergraduate studies to the full and why adult education, offering more latitude with its various models of distance education etc., suits women better. (For instance, 90% of the recipients of the experimental mature student aid are women.) This may be one explanation for the over-representation of women in different kinds of extension studies. On the other hand, it may well be asked to what extent the concept of knowledge in the H/SS fields, the set of values and eventual self-selection in them, poor propensity to professional risks, and the weaker professional identity attributed to the fields can be explained rather in terms of sex than the inherent nature of the fields. It must be borne in mind, however, that despite their majority, women take relatively fewer degrees than men. But the fact that the same degree secures a lower status in the labour markets and less bright career prospects for women than men may also influence women to seek further education.

How does a university-level continuing professional education course come about? A short- or long-term course may be proposed by a client (enterprise, municipality, ministry, professional organization etc.) or created by the centre. In the former case, the client pays all the costs. The participants are selected either by the buyer or the centre. It is characteristic of the Finnish system that the continuing education centre, which bears the responsibility for the content and ethical and scientific standards of the courses they provide, also wants free hands in planning the programme and choosing the teachers. In the pressures of economic interrelations and market mechanisms, it is not always easy to hold on to this independence. The centres face a constant threat of becoming bazaar universities. These threats are more immediate in fields close to business than in the H/SS fields, in which education is less often a contracted service.

According to the guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education, the provision of continuing professional education must primarily consist of contracted services. The financing should come from external sources, either in the form of fees or on the basis of an agreement between the continuing education centre and the contracting party. This arrangement is preferred by both state and university administrations, since it eases the pressures for public financing. For the continuing education centres, this offers some economic freedom (bearing in mind that all institutions of higher education are run by the state), but it also involves a vicious circle in terms of finance and administration, which cannot but influence educational contents. This situation is similar to the over-dependence of research on external sources of financing.

The Finnish Ministry of Education has proposed 69 measures for further developing adult education (12). The Memorandum puts forward three models for steering education:

1) The administration model, which is directed by the central administration, is well suited to young people's but not adult education.

'2) The supply model delegates decisions to the educational institutions.

3) In the demand model, public and private employers buy the educational services they need from educational institutions and organizations. This model has gained ground in Finland mainly because it forces the educational institutions must develop their provision and give flexible response to demand and changes in it. This makes it possible for the education system to self-direct its own expansion and the range of its services to meet new educational needs and to suit different sources of financing. There are, however, differing opinions about the excellence of the demand model in Finland, with traditionalists and utilitarians at opposite sides again.

According to the Ministry of Education, Finland is transferring from the administration model to the demand model.

In continuing professional education the H/SS fields differ from other fields in this economic respect. In these fields, fewer employers can conclude a contract directly with the continuing education centres. The salaries in these fields being lower than average, it is not so common for the employees to attend further education courses at their own expense. If there were no other model than that based on stone-hard mar-

ket mechanisms in the H/SS fields, the provision would be scarce and could take the form of some sort of cheap public lectures, "baptizing heathens with a fire hose". This is why the Finnish system has created a model in which the Ministry of Education subsidizes such "poor fields" with 20 million marks annually. The largest subsidies are allocated to continuing professional education of social workers, library staff, editors of small local newspapers, municipal employees and psychotherapists. The subsidies make it possible to keep the course fees low in these fields.

Table 3 is based on empirical studies and shows how the employers of continuing professional education students in two universities (Tampere and Jyväskylä) see this education. The findings reveal that employers give more backing to the students in management training than students in social fields (including journalism). This further validates the conception of the cumulativeness of the success strategy.

Nordic educational policy has long cherished an ideology according to which social inequality can be alleviated through education. Recent studies have shown, however, that the Finnish primary education reform implemented in the seventies, which abolished parallel forms of education, has not promoted educational and occupational equality to any considerable extent. Research findings show that parents' socio-economic background and accompanying regional factors and cultural capital (in Pierre Bourdieu's term) still influence education in a society of apparent equality.

TABLE 3.
Attitudes of employers to continuing education in social sciences and management studies in two universities

Employers' attitudes	Social sciences %	Management %
1. Employees can participate in all necessary continuing education	50	74
2. Scarce resources restrict participation in continuing education	37	22
3. Employees cannot participate in continuing education they deem necessary because of the employer's negative attitudes	2	-
4. Other attitudes	11	4
Total (n)	179	(90)

Source: Panhelainen, M., op. cit.

NOTES

1. See Lowe, J., The education of adults; a world perspective, UNESCO, OISE Press, 1982; and Freedman, L., Quality in Continuing Education, Jossey Bass Inc., San Francisco, 1987.

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The compulsory comprehensive school and even the voluntary upper secondary school and university are considered "as parking places for the unnecessary" (13). In this connection criticism has particularly been levelled at the fact that young people are isolated from the rest of society, employment in particular. It is only at a mature age that people have opportunities for recurrent education, in which they are members of the educational and employment institutions alternately. This model, which has interested school pedagogues as a theory, has received the support of people working within continuing professional education. For instance, in management training it has been found that the solution most acceptable to the two parties is a system in which the educational programme takes a year or so with contact teaching every third or fourth week for three days. Studies show that long further education courses or programmes are considered the best form of continuing professional education in both management and social sciences fields. Only 10-12% considered courses of a few days the best type (14).

Half of the 20 in Finland give continuing professional education in the H/SS fields. In 1989 there were 400 courses totalling 3,500 course days and 14,000 participants (representing one fourth of the total number of students in Finland). The average length of a course was about five days, the longest ones were about 100 days, and the average number of participants was 25.

The practical everyday activities of the Finnish continuing education centres are regulated by the dichotomy exchange value/use value. The projected institutions of vocational higher education have emerged as a "referee" between these two. It has been suggested that one of the advantages of these institutions will be their combination of a legitimized degree (exchange value) and a clear application of the degree to practical employment (use value). It is probable that universities will continue their contention regardless of the referee, giving the continuing education centres within universities a chance to keep their role — which has had an auspicious start — as mediators between traditionalism and utilitarianism.