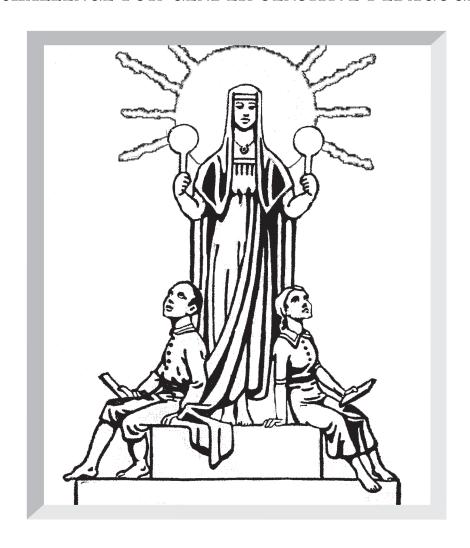
Northern Gender Studies 4 Universities of Oulu and Lapland

GENDERED STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES IN PRIMARY TEACHER EDUCATION-CHALLENGE FOR GENDER-SENSITIVE PEDAGOGY



Vappu Sunnari

Femina Borealis 4



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GENDERED STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES IN PRIMARY TEACHER EDUCATION – CHALLENGE FOR GENDER-SENSITIVE PEDAGOGY

Vappu Sunnari

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Sunnari, Vappu, Gendered structures and processes in primary teacher education – challenge for gender-sensitive pedagogy

Oulu Department of Teacher Education, University of Oulu, Finland Femina Borealis Publications 4; Northern Gender Studies 4.

Abstract

My aim was to study gendered structures and processes and the challenges arising from them in primary teacher education. The topic was studied from structural and from agency-based and processual perspectives. The special tools used in the analyses consisted of culturally produced differences and asymmetry and the symbolic meanings given to them.

The study included historical and contemporary parts. The historical part of the study acquired its focus through the structures of the first Finnish Teacher Seminar and through three annual curricula of primary teacher education in Oulu. Data for the contemporary analyses were collected during a pedagogic development project carried out at the Oulu Department of Teacher Education in the years 1988–1996.

The most visible components of the gender system identifiable in the structures of the first Finnish Teacher Seminar were the following:

- different aims for personal growth
- sex- and grade-based division of prospective teachers: female teachers for girls of all ages and small boys, male teachers for boys aged 10 or more
- differences in study subjects; especially in physical education, handicraft and pedagogy
- everyday chores and pedagogical tasks of the students
- moral code and normative control
- different enrolment requirements.

The sex-related differences in the first curriculum of the Oulu College of Teacher Education were surprisingly similar to the differences seen in the first Finnish Teacher Seminar. The academic curricula proved to be ostensibly gender-neutral. But the research findings showed, in accordance with several other research findings, that formal neutrality does not eliminate institutionalised gendered features or gendered perspectives for personal and/or professional development. On the basis of the findings, the following aspects of the gender system and gender contracts in contemporary primary teacher education in Oulu could be identified:

- Almost without exception, the students qualifying in the education of the first two forms were female.
- Female students qualified in various subjects taught in primary school while male students rather tended to acquire their qualifications according to a more personal orientation. Their special qualifications were mostly physical education and technical work.
- There was a tendency among the student teachers to notice boys differently from girls and to experience boys as more challenging, and to
- interpret pupils' school achievements in sex-related ways. This tendency was also shared by the pupils.

Keywords: primary teacher education, gender, gender system, sex-related differences and asymmetry, equity and equality-promoting gender sensitivity in pedagogy

Sunnari, Vappu, Sukupuolittuneet struktuurit ja prosessit opettajankoulutuksessa haasteina sukupuolisensitiivisen pedagogiikan kehittämiselle

Oulun yliopisto, Opettajankoulutuslaitos

Femina Borealis -julkaisu 4, Northern gender studies 4.

Tiivistelmä

Tutkimus kohdistui luokanopettajakoulutuksen sukupuolittuneisiin struktuureihin ja prosesseihin ja niiden pedagogiikan kehittämiselle asettamiin haasteisiin. Sukupuolittuneisuuden analysoinnissa käytettiin tutkimuksellisina erityisvälineinä kulttuurisesti tuotettuja ja epäsymmetrisesti arvotettuja eroja sekä näiden perusteluja.

Tutkimus sisälsi sekä historiallisen että aktuaalisen osion. Historiallinen tarkastelu kohdistui Suomen ensimmäiseen opettajaseminaariin rakennettuihin sukupuolittuneisiin struktuureihin ja niiden perusteluihin sekä kolmeen Oulun luokanopettajakoulutuksen vuosittaiseen opetussuunnitelmaan. Aineiston keruu sukupuolittuneisuuden aktuaalista tarkastelua varten suoritettiin Oulun opettajankoulutuslaitoksella vuosina 1988–1996 toteutetun pedagogisen kehittämisprojektin yhteydessä.

Suomen ensimmäisen opettajaseminaarin sukupuolijärjestelmää luonnehtivat mm. seuraavat tekijät:

- Nais- ja miesopettajien koulutukselle asetettiin erilaiset persoonallisuuden ja ammatillisen kasvun tavoitteet.
- Oppiaineissa oli sukupuolen mukaan määräytyneitä eroja. Erot olivat selvimmät liikunnassa, käsitöissä ja pedagogisissa opinnoissa.
- Päivittäiset, oppituntien ulkopuoliset työtehtävät eriytyivät sukupuolen mukaan.
- Naisopiskelijoiden moraalin vartioimiselle asetettiin miesopiskelijoiden moraalin vartioimista tiukempia määräyksiä.
- Käytännössä myös sisäänpääsyehdot eriytyivät sukupuolen mukaan.

Sukupuolittuneisuus Oulun opettajakorkeakoulun ensimmäisessä opetussuunnitelmassa sisälsi samoja aineksia kuin Suomen ensimmäisen opettajaseminaarin ohjelma. Akateemiset opetussuunnitelmat sitä vastoin ovat olleet muodollisesti ns. sukupuolineutraaleja. Mutta monia muita tutkimustuloksia vastaten myös tämän tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat, että muodollisesta neutraaliudesta huolimatta koulutus oli sukupuolittunutta:

- Lähes poikkeuksetta alkuopetukseen erikoistuneet opiskelijat olivat naisia.
- Naisopiskelijat hankkivat koulutuksen aikana erilaisia luokanopettajana toimimisen määrittämiä erityiskompetensseja. Miesopiskelijat näyttivät suuntautuvan erikoistumisaineissaan enemmän omien harrastustensa mukaisesti. Heidän tyypillisimmät erikoistumisaineensa ovat liikunta ja tekninen käsityö.
- Sekä nais- että miesopiskelijat näyttivät kiinnittävän huomiota erilaisiin asioihin tyttöja poikaoppilaissa ja kokevan pojat tyttöjä haasteellisempina sekä
- tulkitsevan heidän koulumenestystään sukupuolen mukaan eriytyvällä tavalla. Tällaista tendenssiä ilmeni myös oppilaiden keskuudessa.

Avainsanat: luokanopettajakoulutus, kulttuurisesti tuotettu sukupuoli, sukupuolittuneet erot, epäsymmetria, sukupuolijärjestelmä, sukupuolisensitiivinen ja tasa-arvoa edistävä pedagogiikka

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This book deals with gendered structures and processes in primary teacher education. These issues have been one part of my everyday professional tasks in teacher education for years. The number of people who have contributed to the shaping of this book is therefore considerable. I wish to thank the Faculty of Educational Sciences in the University of Oulu and all my associates and students there and in the Polytechnic Teacher College in Oulu. I further wish to thank all my discussion partners in the women researchers' community in the University of Oulu, in the Nord-Lilia Project and in the Femina Borealis Network.

My special thanks for constructive comments and criticism are due to the reviewers of the thesis, Professor Terttu Tuomi-Gröhn and Docent Elina Lahelma and to my supervisor Professor Leena Syrjälä. I further thank Eine al-Sadoon and Sirkka-Liisa Leinonen for their co-operation with the English language, Vesa Komulainen and Anneli Komulainen for editing this book and Ismo Lallukka for the cover design. I also thank my sister Vuokko Örn for "being near" and my son Tero Haapala and my fellow employee Hannu Lounila for challenging me to reflect on my own gendered constructions of men.

I dedicate this piece of work to SARA WACKLIN, an educated Northern-Finnish female teacher before the establishment of the first Finnish teacher seminar, to MINNA CANTH, one of the first student teachers in the first Finnish Teacher Seminar and to THE WOMEN who had no possibilities to be educated for the teaching profession because of their peripherical geographic or social position.

Oulu, On Mothers' Day 1997. Vappu Sunnari

1. DRAWING THE MAP AND OPENING THE VIEW

"The problem lies with the refusal to accept that there is anything more involved in being a teacher than 'knowing your subject' and learning the 'techniques' of teaching by observing experienced teachers. Learning how to teach children is a much more complex business than this. If as a wider community we are to protect teaching quality in the future, we must begin to develop a theory of teacher education in which we make not only what we do but how we work and why explicit." (Pat Mahony 1995.)

1.1. The research and development projects and the challenges posed by them

There has been a lot of debate and research on teachers' professional qualifications and their development in the recent years (e.g. Fessler 1985; Ojanen 1989; 1991; Houston 1990; Järvinen 1990; Zeichner & Core 1990; Diamond 1991; Kremer-Hayon 1991; Hargreaves & Fullan 1992). The questions of professional development and its possible regularities have also been targets of discussion at the Department of Teacher Education in Oulu and for me personally (e.g. Jussila & Toivonen 1979; Jussila 1983; 1988; Niemi 1992a; b; Sunnari 1993).

The starting point for my reflections on the issues was offered by Fuller (1969), who proposed three stages of teachers' professional development, starting with survival concerns and proceeding through teacher concerns to pupil concerns. Fuller further proposed that pupils' achievement, motivation and satisfaction will not preoccupy student teachers' minds until they work in the profession. Especially this last claim appeared problematic, because for me the teaching profession is justified, first and foremost, by pupils' learning and growth. I wanted to make the students to orient themselves towards children and their growth from the beginning of their studies.

Another challenge was connected with the first. The pupils are girls and boys, and several studies have shown that there are tendencies to value different aspects of their growth and to educate them differently (See e.g. Einarsson & Hultman 1984; Kessler et al. 1985; Lahelma 1987; Lesko 1988;

Acker S. 1989; 1990; Spender 1982; 1992; Crump 1990; Shilling 1991; Dolle-Willemsen & Rodenburg-Smit 1992; Green 1992; Kruse 1992; Riddell 1992; Thorne 1993). The challenge, thus, was to try to support the student teachers to become conscious of these tendencies and the necessity of promoting equity in education (L 609/1986). As regards the latter task, there was also a need to find meaningful tools for this.

The two different challenges, the challenge to support the student teachers to orient themselves towards children¹ from the beginning of their studies and the challenge connected with gender and equity issues, have been combined in this study. In the years 1988–1996, I conducted a development project concerning my own teaching work and its content in the Oulu Department of Teacher Education. The development project, in turn, provided an environment for collecting data on gendered features and sex-related equity issues in primary teacher education and on pedagogy aimed at being gender-sensitive and equity-promoting.

The development project was characterised by a cyclic process of integrating efforts to study the issues and to change the educational structures and agencies as well as reflectivity and an empowerment orientation. From that perspective, it is possible to call the project action research, moving in its process mostly towards a reflexive-dialectical direction, as suggested by Stephen Kemmis (1995) or a radical direction, as suggested by Lynne Chisholm (1990a). Also, the aim to place the analysis in appropriate historical-cultural and situational contexts and the aim to develop negotiated partnerships were the same as those emphasised by Lynne Chisholm (1990a, 252) for radical and by Stephen Kemmis (1995, 1, 6–7) for reflexive-dialectical action research.

The development project included three cycles. The first of them was carried out in the years 1988–1991, the second in 1991–1993 and the third in 1993–1996. The beginning of each cycle coincided with the beginning of studies and with a course in educational science dealing with children and the world of children. The title of the course during the first two cycles was "Familiarisation with pupils". At the beginning of the third cycle the course was titled "The growth and development of human beings as a starting-point for learning to be a teacher".

The course dealing with children and the world of children constituted the content of the first cycle, but only the beginning for the second and the third cycles.

[&]quot;The child perspective" for me does not mean the same as child-centred education (see Hytönen 1992), nor does it mean the same as "practical orientation towards teachers' work". Rather I seek with it an emancipating perspective towards teachers' work so that the central point in the emancipation would be children's growth as persons and as members of society. (Cf. e.g. Leino & Leino 1988; Järvinen 1990.)

A central component in each cycle was the pedagogical development work. Issues of gender and sex-related equity were included in all of the cycles. Each cycle was essentially also connected with the school practice periods and especially with the first of them.

The last two cycles were accomplished as parts of the Lilia project, which was a Nordic research and development project for the promotion of sex-related equity/equality in teacher education (Arnesen 1992, 1; 1994; 1995b; Ruotonen 1995). The sub-project in Lilia carried out in Oulu was called "Can it really mean us" (see Sunnari 1994a; b; 1997).

The primary student teachers who participated in the course "Familiarisation with pupils" in Oulu in the academic years 1988/89, 1989/90 and 1990/91 constituted the students of the first cycle. The 80 primary student teachers who began their studies in primary teacher education in Oulu in 1991 were enrolled in the second, and 17 of the students who began their studies in 1993 in the third cycle.

The study connected with the development project focused on gendered structures and processes and sex-related equity issues in primary teacher education. These issues have been studied very rarely in Finnish educational contexts (Lahelma 1992, 16; Kuikka 1991, 22), although the beginning of the debates on the topic area dates back to the 19th century (Jallinoja 1983, 32; Gordon et al. 1991. See also cf. Canth 1884a; b; 1885; Hultin 1892; Wilkama 1938; Sysiharju 1979; Setälä 1984; Lahelma 1987).

Anna-Liisa Sysiharju (1979, 133-134) divides the history of sex-related equity debates in Finland into two separate periods. The central demand at the beginning of the first period in the 19th century was that women and girls of the upper social classes should have possibilities equal to those of men to attend institutional education. The demands were later extended to apply to all social groups. The next significant period of public activity concerning gender and equity in education did not occur until the 1970s.

The first mentions of gender and sex-related equity in state-level official educational documents are from the 1970s. The report of the curriculum committee on comprehensive schools refers to sex in the section on handicraft. A proposal was made to eliminate the distinction between girls and boys in this subject (Kom. 1970, 49). The report of the educational committee of 1971 mentions briefly "gender differences" as a potential source of inequality (Kom. 1973, 18). The report of the education section of the equality committee discussed equality between the sexes mainly from the viewpoint of occupational orientation and segregation (Kom. 1975, 11).

As regards teacher education, the report of the education section of the equality committee invited attention to the female predominance among the teachers of pre-schools and the lower grades of comprehensive school and discussed the need to recruit more men to these positions. Higher salaries and overall unification of teacher education were suggested as means to reach the goal. (Kom. 1975, 47.) On the other hand, the section proposed that the future teachers undergoing basic education should be given information on "sex roles". It further proposed that the efforts to attain equality between

men and women should be introduced in teacher education and that the topic should be included in different subjects and especially in educational science. (Ibid.)

The first law on schools which included the demand to promote equality/equity between the sexes was the law on the development of upper secondary education (L 474/1978) issued in 1978. The laws on comprehensive school and upper secondary school (L 476/1983; L 477/1983) also include a mention of the issue. The law on equality (L 609/1986) was passed in 1986. This law obliges all authorities and institutions as well as other educational organisations to promote equality between the sexes.

But in spite of the laws mentioned above, practical efforts of promoting sex-related equality in education were few until the committee for equality experimentation in the 1980s. The committee published an equality survey in 1987 (see Lahelma 1987). A report on experimental activities (see Salonen 1988) and a report of the committee on equality experimentation (see Kom. 1988:17) were published in 1988. Research and discussion on the issues have increased in the 1990s (e.g. Haataja et al. 1989; Huttunen 1990; Tarmo 1989; 1991; Määttä & Turunen 1991; Lahelma 1992; Näre & Lähteenmäki 1992; Räsänen 1992; Härkönen 1996; Raehalme 1996).

But if we compare the discussions and studies on gender and sex-related equity issues in Finnish education with the international discussions, we can see that discussions in Finland have been few. Questions of gender and sex-related equality/equity in schools and other educational systems have been topic of notable interest in the USA, Australia and in some European countries during the past two or three decades. Research on this area has produced knowledge of gendered choices (Grafton et al. 1983; Girls 1987; Wolpe 1988; Riddell 1992), future orientations (Stanworth 1987; Holland & Eisenhart 1990; Taylor 1995), classroom interaction and interpretation frames (Brophy & Good 1970; Wernersson 1977; Kessler et al. 1985; Wolpe 1988; Thorne 1993; Sadker & Sadker 1994), different languages used by boys and girls (Spender 1982; Einarsson & Hultman 1984; Swann 1995), etc. Since then, research has also produced results on "girl-friendly" education and education aiming to widen the perspectives of both sexes (See e.g. Whyte et al. 1985; Chisholm & Holland 1987; Weiner & Arnot 1987; Acker, S. 1989; Arnesen & Ní Chárthaigh 1992; Boulton et al. 1992; Dolle-Willemsen & Rodenburg-Smit 1993; Ruotonen et al. 1995; Arnesen 1995a; Blair et al. 1995; Holland et al. 1995).

In addition to the fact that the issues connected with gender and gender-sensitive and equity-promoting pedagogy have been studied very rarely in Finland, they have also been included only exceptionally in curricula. Schools have cherished an ideology of neutrality, which seems to have influenced the thinking on the topic area. Teachers and other school staff assume that they treat pupils equally and without sex-related differences. (Gordon 1993; Lahelma 1992; Lampela & Lahelma 1996.)² The same ideology seems to have characterised the topic area in teacher education.

In the development project and the research connected with it, the aim has been to go beyond the formal neutrality to discuss the phenomenon of gender and the challenges originating from it. Both contemporary and historical analyses have been made. The inclusion of the historical perspective was due to methodological reasons: a historical understanding of phenomena facilitates the understanding of their contemporary forms of existence and their regularities (see e.g. Scott 1986; Connell 1987; Setälä 1988; Acker 1990. See also e.g. Engeström 1983; Vygotsky 1987; Haapala 1989; Edson 1990; Kemmis 1995). The history of Finnish primary teacher education has been studied widely, but the perspective of women has been lacking or has been only very narrow in the studies (see e.g. Salo 1939; Halila 1949a, b; 1963; Isosaari 1961; Nurmi 1964a; b; 1979; 1988; 1990; Kähkönen 1979; Viljanen 1984; Kivinen 1988; Simola 1995). Several recent studies also reveal the historical stratification underlying the phenomena of the said period (see e.g. Räisänen 1995; Miettinen 1993). This was the second reason for including the historical analysis in the project.

1.2. The methodological premises and challenges

There have been two different sources for my methodological choices on collecting and analysing data both adequately and credibly. The first, and for me personally the most fundamental, was my activity-theoretical approach towards human beings. The second, and temporally later, was the feminist orientation towards research.³

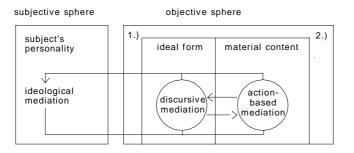
Corresponding to the activity-theoretical views (see Vygotsky 1987; Leontyev 1978, 1981; Ilyenkov 1977; Engeström 1987), I assumed that it is not biology that determines human growth and personality, nor the external contexts of people as such. These are both present in human development, but an additional link is needed to unite these two aspects. The link appears to be the active relations human beings have towards the ideal⁴ and material world and towards themselves as part of that world. These relations are assumed to be culturally, historically and situation-specifically mediated, systemic and non-dyadic entities. In agreement with the activity-theoretical views, I also assumed that human life and its different manifestations are characterised by movement and change and at the same time by the phenomena of constancy and encapsulation. (See e.g. Miettinen 1993.)

The ideology of neutrality has not characterised only the Finnish discussions in the area (see e.g. Houston 1985, 363; Sörensen 1991).

Feminism here means that I assume gender to constitute one of the foundations in every existing social order.

⁴ The ideal world is assumed to consist of different ideal, ideological and discursive constructions.

Ilkka Alanen has constructed an interesting visualisation of mediatedness, using the same visualisation to show its essential direction (Alanen 1991, 129, 132). I will use his visualisation in a slightly simplified form. (See figure 1.) Also, the two-dimensionality of paper sets certain limitations on the illustration. The subjective sphere and the objective sphere⁵ are not two separate spheres of the world. Rather, the spheres are parts of a whole. The arrow in the figure illustrates a subject's mediated relation toward the material contents of the world. The solid part of the line illustrates the most central parts of the formation of this relation from the perspective of a subject and her or his growth.



- Ideological formations outside the activity sphere
- 2.) Material formations outside the activity sphere
- the essential direction in the determination of the quality of interpretations

Figure 1. The subjective world and the contents of what is called the objective world from the perspective of mediatedness (cf. Alanen 1991, 129)

For me personally, the activity theoretical and feminist discussions were originally two separate fields of discussion. This is understandable, because discussions on gender on the activity-theoretical discussion forums were rare (see e.g. Hildebrand-Nilshon & Rückriem 1989; Iscrat 1990). That may have been the reason why I did not take the woman perspective in research as a separate methodological challenge, but as a question of, how to include it in the research and how to do this in an ethically justified way. I do not know if such introduction to feminist issues is typical, but the question of how to make women, their activities and the social bonds of their lives visible in research has been and is a typical question posed by feminist researchers (see e.g. Harding 1987a; b; 1989; Fonow & Cook 1991; Acker 1991; Olesen 1994). The second central question concerns the adequacy and credibility of the information gathered and the interpretations made (ibid.).

In this study, the concept "objective" refers to the existence of a phenomenon without one's personal knowledge of it.

There have been different possibilities available for researchers to recognise the sex of the people who participate in the study and the gender issues in research. Norwegian Hanne Haavind (1989) identifies three such possibilities. First, the researcher can ignore the need to take issues connected with sex and gender into account in the study. Second, she/he may recognise the need to consider the sex of the people studied, but disregard her/his own gender while interpreting her/his findings. The third possibility is to approach gender as an issue which presupposes recognition in the whole study context and in all social relations connected with it.

Traditional research has applied the first two alternatives. If it has applied the second alternative, it has done it by using the sex of the people studied as an independent variable, a dichotomous characteristic or a role. (Haavind 1989, 5.)

To use the sex of the people as an independent variable in the research framework has been usual in, for example, educational research. Haavind assumes this use of sex to be based on the assumption that women and men are, in principle, similar and that they have equal and mutually unrelated possibilities to develop their capacities and make choices in life. The dichotomous approaches, in turn, assume women and men to be essentially different. (Haavind 1989, 5). In both of the approaches the basic explanation for the possible findings is biological, and additionally, possibly individualistic. Role analyses, as also Haavind (ibid. 6) emphasises, have had the advantage compared to the above mentioned approaches that they have shown gender to make up a cultural and ideological reality in human interaction and identification processes, although these approaches are also individualistically limited.

Moreover, women research has differed and differs in the ways it recognises the sex of the people who participate in the study, the gender issues involved in it and the question of how to include women and the woman perspective in research. The differences are based on the different societal and scientific orientations of the researchers and on historical differences in the ways to resolve the question of how to make women visible in research and what this resolution means for the organisation of research.

Aino Saarinen (1988; 1992) described research by feminist scholars as projects of deconstruction and reconstruction. The projects of deconstruction have been based on the question of why and to what extent scientific thinking pertaining to humans and society has been and is male-oriented and conditioned by men and how its values, questions, theory and concept formation are determined by men. In agreement with Gerda Lerner, Saarinen (1992, 123) divides the reconstructive project into four historically developed, but simultaneously existing steps of women research. These steps are compensatory research, contribution research, transitional women research and a synthesis step.

In compensatory research, the basic starting-point is the traditional system of values, theories and concepts with an additional interest in women. In practice, the interest in this approach has been on 'exceptional women', i.e.

women who remain or have remained invisible, but have done something equally worthy as men in terms of the mainstream value system. Contribution research, in turn, has been interested in women in their own sphere of life and the differences in the suprahistorical essence of women and men and the consequent differences in their tasks. During the transitional step, the main concern shifted from 'exceptional women' and 'women in their own spheres of life' to 'ordinary women' and the societal spheres of life important from the perspective of women, their action and societal position. (Saarinen 1992, 123–125.)

The synthesis step of women research, which considers gender an issue that is involved in societal existence and also in the personal lives and the mutual relations of women and men, finds the above traditional approaches inadequate. It is characterised by a view of relational approaches to the questions of sex and gender. It views women as both subjects and subordinated. Saarinen describes this research perspective as follows:

As women were now viewed not only in terms of their subordinated position, but also as active subjects, it became possible to study society as a sex/gender system, as a relationship between female and male cultures where gender, or being a woman and being a man, was the object and result of a continuous practical and ideological struggle (Saarinen 1992, 127).

Women research of the synthesis step typically also tries to penetrate beyond the one-dimensional dichotomy of viewing the man as subjecting and the woman as being subjected in society, and it poses the question of how gendering human relations based on asymmetrical power relationships restrict the life and subjective world of the different parties of the relations. (Ibid.)

The last of the above mentioned views has been a central challenge for me in the research and development project.

The key terms used to conceptualise gender in synthesis step research are gender, gender system and gender contract and gendering in processes (Rantalaiho 1994; Connell 1987; Acker 1991; Lorber & Farrell 1991). The term "gender" was originally adopted to refer to the distinction between the 'biological' and 'social' aspects of sex-related and -biased human development (Scott 1986, 1054). It implies the view that there are socially and societally produced notions and interpretations of women and men and that these notions shape the cultural context where one grows up as a woman or a man. These generated norms determine, for example, which activities are normal, questionable or abnormal for an individual. (Lorber 1991; Lorber & Farrell 1991; West & Zimmerman 1991.)

Some researchers, e.g. Lorber and Farrell (1991, 1), speak about genders. The pluralistic form emphasises the fact that the gender category is a socio-historically and culturally changing category. The essence of being a woman and being a man changes from one generation to the next and is different for different racial, ethnic and religious groups as well as for the members of different social classes. (See also Ortner & Whitehead 1981; Cucchiari 1981.)

But as a concept, *gender* is descriptive rather than explanatory. This implies, for example, that the differences in the status of women and men in and of themselves do not indicate reasons for the differences. Nor does gender account for the dynamics of the relations.

On the other hand, and partly because of the origin of the term *gender*, there is also the danger of using it to refer to a dichotomous distinction between the biological and the social domains. A dichotomous distinction of this kind may lead to a notion that the bodies are separable from the social entities and that biological sex is something more or less "obvious" or "static" than gender. But, as for example Rita Liljeström emphasises, the process through which people place themselves and are placed in reality is a part of their corporeality. (Liljeström 1994, 66–67.)

The concepts that have been widely used in women research in the late 1980s and the 1990s and are more useful than the concept *gender* in theoretical examinations are *gender system* and *gender contract* (see e.g. Rantalaiho 1994; Lähteenmäki 1995; Räisänen 1995). These concepts bring into focus the question of gender as a systemic and societal and, at the same time, agency-based phenomenon.

Liisa Rantalaiho (1994, 10) defines gender system as a concept implying a methodological understanding of gender as a stratified aspect of society and a factor organising societal life. The idea of stratification suggests that gender is assumed to be present simultaneously in societal level constructions and structural divisions, in their symbolic meanings and individual identities, although there is no reason to assume these processes to be uniform. Rantalaiho writes about the matter as follows:

Women and men together and separately produce and reproduce the totality of human life and simultaneously the social and cultural structures as well as themselves and each other as sexual beings. The system, in turn, is a functional whole, which is not necessarily uniform or 'well organised', but may contain inherent contradictions, incoherence and chronological disruptions. (Rantalaiho 1994, 10.)

As regards *gender systems* in organisations, Joan Acker (1991, 167) takes it to mean that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine.

The term *gender system* has the advantage of permitting the same tool to be used in the analysis of different levels of social formations ranging from individual to societal structures and processes. But the concept is a concept of systems. (Rantalaiho 1994, 13.) The term *gender contract* has been applied to analyses of the activity and subjectivity of subjects from the perspective of their own conditions in the gender system. The Finnish and, as Rantalaiho points out, Nordic usage of the term refers to the unspoken rules, reciprocal obligations and rights that define the mutual relationships between men and women. (Ibid.)

Gendering, which means the shaping and maintaining of gender systems and contracts, is assumed to take place through different simultaneous processes at the different levels of structural divisions of society, in human interaction processes and also concerning individual identities. Creating and maintaining differences and divisions between the sexes, valuing them hierarchically/asymmetrically and creating symbolic meanings for the differences and hierarchies are assumed to be central tools in these processes. (Rantalaiho 1994, 10–11; Acker 1991. See also Ortner & Whitehead 1981; Scott 1986; Hirdman 1990; 1994; Flax 1995.)

There are assumptions that the form of existence of the hierarchies in valuing men and women and their actions would be dichotomous and logocentric. The phenomenon has been illustrated with the symbols A and -A, where A, symbolising men and their actions, is the norm and the matrix through which -A, the women and their actions, are valued. -A is something less than A, as if "not yet A". (Reskin 1991, 143–144; Holli 1995.)

My analysis of gender in this study is based on an assumption of it being a systemic phenomenon. The central tools for analyses have been the phenomena of building, maintaining and rebuilding differences and divisions and their symbolic meanings. The question of the hierarchical/asymmetrical valuation of the differences and divisions has also been present in the analyses.

As regards the epistemological issues, the core question which feminist researchers have put to mainstream research concerns the questions of how to know the social and how to apprehend its meaning (Harding 1983; 1987a; b; 1992; Fonow & Cook 1991; Saarinen 1992). Feminist researchers, as also many others, especially qualitative researchers, emphasise that the life of human beings is characterised by subjectivity and that researchers as human beings are not able to go beyond their existence as human beings while doing research. They therefore demand that the researcher must be conscious of her- or himself and the researched as parts of the human relations and the issues of power and status in research (e.g. Harding 1987; Chisholm 1990a; Fonow & Cook 1991; Acker et al. 1991).

The postulations of value-free and neutral research and the researcher's indifference towards the research objects or the researched subjects are replaced in feminist research by the researcher's partial identification with herself or himself as a researcher and the relationship between her-/himself and the subjects under research (Harding 1983; Keller 1983; Acker et al. 1991; Mies 1994; Shiva 1994).

The most widely used tools in trying to solve the problems of how to get to know the social and how to comprehend its meaning in feminist research include the action orientation (Chisholm 1990a, b; Acker 1990; Acker et al. 1991; Fonow & Cook 1991; Olesen 1994; Mies 1994), reflectivity (Acker et al. 1991; Fonow & Cook 1991; Harding 1992; Mies 1994; Olesen 1994), shifting attention to emotions (Chisholm 1990a; Fonow & Cook 1991), use of the situation at hand (Olesen 1994; Fonow & Cook 1991), power sensibility (Fonow & Cook 1991; Chisholm 1990a; b), and the use of individual and

social histories (Mies 1994; Acker et al. 1991). Changing of the status quo has also been used (Mies 1994).

The tools mentioned above are quite widely known and used also in other types of qualitative research (see e.g. Syrjälä 1988; Syrjälä & Numminen 1988; Kemmis 1988; 1995; Engeström 1987; Peräkylä 1990; Syrjäläinen 1991; Kortteinen 1991). I will hence only discuss here some issues of the action orientation and the questions of reflectivity and power sensibility, because these issues include special feminist-related components.

The action orientation has been seen as a special tool of feminist research to make women and women's lives visible in research. The action orientation is visible in, for example, the statement of the purposes of research, topic selection, theoretical orientation, choice of method or view of human nature (Acker et al. 1991; Fonow & Cook 1991). This orientation has also evoked a critical re-examination and reformulations of the action agenda. The sensitivity of political and policy issues (Acker et al. 1991), the critical analysis of experience (Harding 1992; List 1993; Holland & Ramazanoglu 1995; Wolf 1995) and the introduction of the terms of *situatedness* and *positionality* (Alcoff 1989; Benhabib 1992; List 1993) are examples of these discussions and their products.

Reflectivity in the research context can be defined as a tendency to reflect upon, examine critically and explore analytically oneself as a researcher and the research process with its varied components (Fonow and Cook 1991; Acker et al. 1991). The phenomenon is essentially the same as in other qualitative research methodologies and methods (See e.g. Kemmis 1988; 1995; Schön 1983; 1987; Räsänen 1993). Compared with other reflective approaches, reflective research with the women and gender perspectives, differs in that reflectivity is also used to gain insight into the assumptions about gender relations underlying the conditions and process of research (Fonow & Cook 1991, 3–4).

The question of power is related to the question of doing research as such and also to the question of doing research as a woman researcher. As regards the doing of research, questions of power are related to such matters as the methods of acquiring knowledge and the relationship between the researcher and the researched.

It is usual for feminist researchers to emphasise that the relationship between the researcher and the researched should not be oppressive, nor objectify the researched (see e.g. Oakley 1990; Fonow & Cook 1991; Acker et al. 1991) although these goals are difficult or maybe impossible to attain in an absolute sense. Joan Acker and her co-researchers, for example, emphasise that when the researcher translates the experiences of the persons researched into more abstract and general terms, she/he uses power and the act includes the phenomenon of objectification. Instead of demanding the elimination of the power relations as such, they hence emphasise the need to take the question seriously and to attempt consciously to minimise the power differentials in the research relationships. (Acker et al. 1991, 136.) Special and poorly

reflected questions of power are included in the research relationships where the research is conducted on children (Chisholm 1990a, 254).

As regards the study methods, there were five central presuppositions originating from the methodological starting points that influenced the study methods and the settings used in this development and study project. The first of them was the presupposition of the central position of action in human learning. The second was the presupposition of mediatedness between people and the world influencing the ways in which people understand and interpret each other and the phenomena around themselves. The third was the presupposition of movement and change and a tendency of encapsulation. The fourth presupposition concerned gender issues seen as a component present in every social order. The presupposition of the subjectivity of human beings in experiencing the world and themselves and in making interpretations and discussing them was also central.

I originally intended to apply the method of developmental work research (see Engeström 1987; 1991; 1992; Sunnari 1991a; b). The way in which the learning context is understood in the developmental work research tradition is valuable. Equally valuable are the different tools developed for analysing the context. (See e.g. Engeström 1992, 11–13.) I also value the social and organisational emphasis of developmental work research and its way of approaching learning as a process whose quality is influenced by the process itself but also by its object and product and by their meaningfulness and quality for the participants in the projects (Engeström 1992, 23–28).

Despite the numerous advantages of developmental work research, however, it seemed that the method is better suited to actual organisational learning and change processes (see e.g. Engeström & Engeström 1984; Engeström et al. 1991; Gröhn et al. 1993) than to this study, where the main agents were new students who may face the issues at hand for the first time and who know the study organisation only poorly. The issues connected with gender also seemed to be poorly reflected upon in this research tradition. Therefore, and also because of certain pedagogical problems (see pages 23–24), I revised my original plans.

The development project was carried out as a cyclic project involving the planning of study processes, carrying them out, observing and reflecting on the issues, trying to change the activity contexts and replanning the actions, like in action research (see e.g. Chisholm & Holland 1987; Chisholm 1990a; Kemmis & McTaggert 1988; Kemmis 1995).⁶ The methods of the research

Lynne Chisholm (1990a, 252) divides the different kinds of action research into conformist, reformist and transforming on the basis of the differences in their approach and characteristics as regards the relation between the researcher/s and the researched and the nature of the research procedure. She labels traditional action research as conformist, liberal and progressive reformist and the radical approach as transforming. According to her, trans-

connected with the development project were directed by the above mentioned five presuppositions. From that starting point, the other central principles apart from the action and process orientation which directed data collection were the principle of the historical formation of the phenomena, mediatedness, reflectivity, and an attempt to minimise the power relations present between myself and the students and pupils and in the students' and pupils' mutual relations. Ethical responsibility was also a leading principle of the study. These principles also directed the data analyses.

1.3. Study themes

The development project and the study have been discussed on several forums (Sunnari 1991a; b; 1992a; b; 1993; 1994a; b; c; d; 1995a, 1996a; b; c; d; 1997; Sunnari et al. 1997). In this report, I will reflect on the project from the pedagogical point of view, and I will observe the phenomenon of gender in primary teacher education from two perspectives. The first perspective is structural, being connected with the gender system while the second is agency-based and processual, being closer to the phenomenon of gender contract (cf. Acker 1987; Rantalaiho 1994. See also Gröhn 1991; Otte 1984; 1988; Wolffensperger 1993; Kemmis

forming and radical action research are characterised by a negotiated partnership and cultural research context and paying attention to the processes and objectives of the research.

Stephen Kemmis (1995, 7–8) also distinguishes different types of action research based on the researchers' different study perspectives and assumptions of focus needed in doing research. Kemmis finds the different perspectives to be based on the researchers' different assumptions of individuals and their life determinants that need to be taken into account in research. He calls the perspectives the objective and the subjective perspective and an approach where both are needed. The corresponding focuses are individual, social and one where both are used.

Using the different perspectives and focuses, Kemmis (1995, 7–8) distinguishes five different aspects of practice emphasised in different investigations of practice. The aspects are the following: practice as individual performances viewed from the external perspective of an outsider, practice in the context of wider social and material conditions and interactions viewed from the same perspective as above, practice in the context of intentions, meanings and values viewed from the internal perspective of the practitioners themselves, practice as socially structured and constituted viewed from the above perspective, and practice as socially and historically constituted and reconstituted by human agency and social action.

Action research has been a popular methodological approach in projects where the central goal has been to develop gender-sensitive and equity promoting pedagogical theories and practices (e.g. Chisholm & Holland 1987; Lavin & McHugh, 1992; Berge 1995; Maguire & Weiner 1996).

1995). I assume the structures and processes to form dialectically complementary entities in social phenomena (see Otte 1984; Gröhn 1991). In this study, however, I have not chosen the topics of structures and processes by assuming them to form any essential dialectic complementariness, but rather expect them to be complementary in an additional sense. This means that I assume the perspectives I have chosen to complement each other in making up a picture of the gender system in primary teacher education.

I will focus on the structural perspective through the structures of the first Finnish teacher seminar and the argumentation Cygnaeus presented for them, and through three annual curricula used in primary teacher education in Oulu. These curricula which will be analysed in this context are the first curriculum, the first academic curriculum and the curriculum for the academic year 1988–1989, when my pedagogic development project began.

There were two main criteria for choosing the focuses for the agency-based perspectives. First, I wanted to have a look at the two central, though contradictory tasks of public educational institutions: reproduction and production of qualities and socialisation of people in society. These objectives were included in the first statutes on primary schools (Asetus 1866, §24, 50) and they still continue to characterise the primary schools and the education of their teachers (L 5/1958, §4; L 279/1971; L 476/1983, §2; Asetus 576/1995; Kivinen 1988; Antikainen 1993; cf. Maguire & Weiner 1996).

The other criterion was to try to develop some insight into the worlds of pupils and students and into their ways of seeing the issues. This criterion was connected with my interest in developing gender sensitivity in pedagogy and my way of understanding its presuppositions. Basing on the criteria, I focused on the agency-based perspectives through the students' minor subject choices, through the theme "Pupils as learners", which involves students' and pupils' discussions on the topic, and through students' writings about their encounters with gender and sex-related equality/equity issues.

2. LOCATING THE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, THE SUB-STUDIES AND MYSELF

2.1. Problems revealed

Four first-year student teachers, two of them female and two male, worked together in the same school class during their first-year school practice periods. As their last one-week joint project they were to plan and to supervise a puppet show. The pupils were to perform it at the school closing programme later. Three of the students also had a special interest in the gender theme. They wanted to find out in what kind of situations and in what way the girls and the boys would contact the female and male students during the week. Connected with this, I promised to provide the students with the possibility of videotaping the preparation of the puppet show.

The actual practice week began on a Monday morning. On Tuesday morning I went to visit the students in order to see if they had got the video camera and if they were all right. I first saw one of the female students, Ulla⁸, who looked very angry. I asked her what the problem was. Ulla told me that she was angry because she and her female colleague had "to do almost everything". They had to plan the puppet show, to teach and to supervise its separate elements and the whole show, to make the puppets and – as she said – to tell the male students what to do and to supervise them.

Ulla said that they had had a meeting together beforehand to plan the puppet show and to organise the tasks of the week. At the meeting, the students had divided the work in such a way that the male students had promised to build the scene. The female students had agreed to this, and they had planned that part of the project together. Then the male students had left. The female students had stayed on to write the manuscript for the

The name is a pseudonym.

puppet show and to plan the work of the whole week. While planning the project, they had realised that there was an awful lot of work to do.

According to the female students, the male students had done nothing with the puppet show until the Monday morning, the first project day. They only had come to the female students and asked what they should do. The next morning, just before I saw Ulla, the situation was repeated. I and the female students went to discuss the matter together with the male students. The male students said that they had had something else to do on Monday and that they would have enough time to take care of their part of the project during the remaining days. The female students noted that the responsibility for the puppet show was meant to be shared and that they had much more to do with it than the male students had. The male students promised to see to the tasks.

On the same morning the female students had discussed the division of work also with the class teacher⁹, who had instructed them to give tasks to the male students and to ask them to help. The teacher had based her advice on the interpretation that the male students did not know what to do with small children and with a project like a puppet show. Later on the same day, the students had had an argument with each other. According to the female students, this had happened because one of the male students had said that the female students had gossiped to me and the class teacher about their problems. This student was then absent for the whole week, saying he was ill.

We discussed the failure next on Friday, when the students had finished the project. The participants were the two female students and the male student who had participated in the project, myself and the class teacher.

I first saw the female students and asked them to tell about their experiences of the week. The female students said that the last days of the week had been okay. They were uneasy about discussing with me without the male student. We asked the male student to join the discussion. "It is impossible to discuss with those women", he said, pointing at the female students when entering the room.

The themes which the male student introduced and repeated several times while discussing the problems of the week were the following:

- they had agreed on the division of work at the first meeting
- the male students had worked according to this agreement
- the female students had tried to boss them around
- the male students had plenty to do with the scene
- the class teacher had been very strict about how the scene should be made
- nothing they did was good enough for the female students
- the female students were too strict about things.

⁹ She was a woman.

The female students emphasised that

- none of them had understood at the beginning of the first meeting the totality of the project nor the question of which parts would take the most time; it was therefore obligatory to reconsider things as one went along
- they did not agree on the division of work at the first meeting
- the main point had been to produce a good enough puppet show for the class to present it in the school closing programme
- the project was meant to be co-operative
- they were all responsible for it
- they were all student teachers in order to learn about the project
- it was not the female students' project and they were no experts in producing a puppet show.

The reason for the female students to claim that they had not agreed on the division of work during the first meeting was that the male students had only said what they would do and, after planning that part, had left. The male student's answer to the question why the male students had left before planning together the female students' part of work was: "We knew that you are good enough to plan without us."

The female students returned to the first meeting once and again. The male student was angry about that. His opinion was that when the meeting had been discussed once, it was enough. He did not understand why to return and return instead of going on. The female students' argument was that the first meeting was the starting point of the problems. The male students' claim that the female students had ordered them around was responded by the female students that the male students had done nothing at their home and had planned nothing before coming to school, though it was the joint responsibility of the group to build a good puppet show.

The above story is an illustration of a case of failure which occurred during the third cycle of the development project. And as Joan Acker (1990) has mentioned, a case of failure can be meaningful in a change project because it can make visible hidden structures of the phenomena studied. I interpret that it was also so with this failure. The problems concerned the division of tasks, the images of the natural action agendas of male and female students, the gendered meanings which were given to the process discussed and the presuppositions of the commitments needed. All these themes are connected with the questions of gendered structures and contracts and have been discussed on several forums of woman research (e.g. Spender 1982; 1992; Weiner & Arnot 1987; Riddell 1992; Thorne 1993; Holland & Weiner

The data were collected during the process from all parties through both informal discussions and two more formal sessions. The data were recorded in such a way that I kept a diary where I wrote down notes immediately after each meeting. The two female students working on the process also kept diaries. The interpretations were later validated with the persons in question.

1995; Swann 1995), although there has not been enough discussion about these issues in teacher education. All these themes are also within the topics of this research and will be discussed later.

2.2. The development project and its pedagogic progress

I started my work as an assistant in educational science at the Oulu Department of Teacher Education in the academic year 1988–1989, being responsible for the course "Familiarisation with pupils". The course comprised the following parts:

- 1. lectures, 14 hrs,
- 2. two books; one of them was the book "Oppilaantuntemuksesta opetukseen" by Martti Jussila and Riitta Toivonen, which supplemented the themes dealt with during the lectures, while the other concerned the notion of learning
- 3. exercises, 12 hrs,
- 4. familiarisation with an appointed class of pupils during a 3- to 4-week school practice period,
- 5. descriptions of the appointed class and its pupils. The description of the appointed class was written jointly by a group of 4–6 students who had worked in the same class. The pupil descriptions were individual products by the students. Each student wrote a description of one pupil in the class. (Opinto-o. 1988/89, 56–57.)

This course, and later a corresponding course in the new curriculum, was the core of my pedagogic development work for years.

The change which took place in my pedagogic solutions during the development cycles can be briefly illustrated as follows: During the first cycle I was a novice assistant in traditional structures. I dreamed of developing my pedagogy in the direction of activity theory. And I tried to arouse students' interest towards children and gender issues by giving them knowledge and by trying to provoke debates on the issues during lectures and exercises.

I named the second cycle a *time of change at the Department*. During that cycle, a further central goal was to try to support the students to become conscious of the issues in real pedagogic actions, and as regards gender issues to give them some insights into the issues as individual and social phenomena. During the third cycle, which I named *change processes*, the pedagogic core lay in flexible inquiry-oriented partnership relations between me and the students. I further tried to support the students to learn to reflect on their own actions in the context of the actions of the pupils. As to the gender issues, I attempted to make them visible on different levels of pedagogic relations in teacher education.

^{11 &}quot;From familiarisation with pupils to teaching"

As it was mentioned earlier, I started my work at the Oulu Department of Teacher Education in the academic year 1988–1989, being assigned responsibility for the course "Familiarisation with pupils". Before that, I had worked as a class teacher for about ten years. During these years, I had made various attempts to overcome the typical model of school learning, which seemed to produce knowledge that was not applied outside the classroom walls and kept the pupils passive. I tried to support the pupils to grow a personal interest in the topics to be studied and to produce knowledge that was understood and abilities to act instead of knowledge only memorised. As one attempt, I experimented with a teaching method developed in the Vygotskian cultural-historical tradition, known as ascending from the abstract to the concrete (see e.g. Davydov 1977; 1980; 1984).

The core of the method lies in the activity-theoretical conceptions of human beings. According to the activity-theoretical conceptions, it is not biology that determines human growth and personality, nor the external world of people as such. These are both assumed to be present in human development, but an additional link is also assumed to be needed to unite these two. The link is the active relations that human beings have towards the ideal and material world and towards themselves as part of that world. The relations are assumed to be culturally, historically and situation-specifically mediated, systemic and non-dyadic entities and they are assumed to be characterised by movement and change. (See Vygotsky 1987; Leontyev 1978; 1981; Ilyenkov 1977; Davydov 1977.) The learning subject and the object and instruments of learning with their contexts are assumed to form the key poles of learning (Davydov 1988, 30–31).

The pedagogic method of "ascending from the abstract to the concrete" presents an attempt to organise the learning processes and environments in a way which would take into account the basic assumptions on human beings and the three key poles of learning. This has been done in a way which optimally supports the learners to create their own active relations to the world and its phenomena and to construct theoretical tools to orient themselves and act in the world. The central person in constructing the method has been Vasili V. Davydov.

The principle of ascending from the abstract to the concrete in the learning process means movement from the "theoretically general" to different particular and concrete cases. For Davydov, the "theoretically general" means the same as revealing the law which is the necessary connection underlying specific phenomena within the whole. This law should be discovered by the pupils themselves by learning to operate with the studied object and to engage themselves in verbal dialogues about it. (Davydov 1980, 193–194; 1984, 13–15.) What is special about learning activity is that the pupils are assumed to acquire theoretical knowledge in the process of its realisation. The content of this knowledge is thus the emergence and the development of the learning object.

I adopted from the method matters which I considered possible to use in a meaningful way when organising the learning of fourth-formers, whom I was teaching at that time. More than anything, I tried to utilise the idea of transforming the learning object as a starting point in the learning process. I also tried to organise the learning environments so that they would allow the pupils themselves to work with the matters studied and to discover them. (Haapala 1986.) The experiment made me interested in experimenting further and more profoundly with the matter. But before I had a possibility for this, I started to work in primary teacher education at the university.

At the university, I encountered teaching and learning problems similar to those in comprehensive school. Even here, the division of work in the teaching-learning process seemed to be constructed in such a way that the students' sphere of study was limited to the reception of ready-served knowledge and its active memorisation. But I felt that it was even less possible to change the traditional study culture at the university than it had been in the classroom. I was responsible for the course "Familiarisation with pupils". I had to lecture on the theme to the first-year student teachers, to give them exercises in it, and to evaluate the pupil and class descriptions which the students made after their first school practice period.

I felt that my possibilities to change the study culture were limited to the organisation of the lectures for which I was responsible. For this purpose, I tried to organise the lectures so that the students would approach the object of learning personally through critical discussion. I also tried to support the development of the students' independent initiative and critical attitude towards their studies.

I included gender and equality/equity issues in the lectures. The idea of dealing with them was the same as the idea of organising the lectures. The issues of gender and gendering were, however, implemented differently in different years. In the academic year 1988–1989, I dealt with the study results concerning the growth of girls and boys, their work in the classroom, the different positions of women and men in working life, etc., as a separate but integral part of the lectures. In the next two years, I did not introduce a separate theme of gender. Instead, I tried to include gender and equity/equality themes as an integral part in the other lecture themes. This was partly because of the limited time available for the whole course and partly because gender issues are included in the different areas of child development and children being pupils in the school.

According to the feedback I collected from the students, they were satisfied with the lectures. I myself was not. I considered the main problem to be that the lecture themes remained on the level of on intellectual debate without real or deeper connections with the practical actions of the students. But I saw that the possibilities to change the system were essentially connected with the overall organisation of studies.

In 1991, when I planned changes in the organisation of the course, I wrote the following theses about the general points and problems that I had become – or imagined to have become – aware of.¹² ¹³

- 1. The degree programme has been designed on the basis of a "rationalised idea of activities". Administration, research, teaching and studying are distinctly separate entities. Separation and division are implemented both vertically and horizontally. People working in each sector mostly only know their "own field of work" and defend their autonomy in it, taking at the same time their appropriate place" in the hierarchy of power relations.
 - Autonomy is mainly realised in relation to others on the same hierarchical level and in a form that seems to be an obstacle to meaningful co-operation. For instance, a lecturer is supposed to take as given the content areas, objectives and schedules of the lectures she/he is to give. It is her/his task to plan the concrete contents and to give the lectures. It is not recognised that the lecturer should, for instance, be responsible for the extent to which her/his lecture is connected to or overlaps with other lectures. Nor are the views underlying teaching and its content ever discussed publicly. Each teacher takes care of her/his own sector without knowing the daily, weekly or even annual work load of the students. Instead of concrete knowledge, there are different kinds of notions about the matter. These notions seem to be based on information received from various quarters.
- 2. There is an established "general" culture in the Department and a great number of subcultures transmitted through various stories. New students seem to embrace quite quickly the "general customs of the house" as well as their various variants. Associated with the above fact, a fairly common ideal directing the students' day-to-day activities seems to be the "strategy of getting by".
- 3. The flow of information on the whole seems to be problematic. The problems are, at least partly, connected with the matters described above in items 1 and 2, but cannot be explained by them alone.
- 4. Working with a crowd and in a crowd and the particularistic nature of the study programmes make up a problem area of their own. Education should provide equal challenges and developmental opportunities for everybody, but in practice only a few stand out in the crowd.
- 5. Several practical arrangements of education support and strengthen the existence of an instrumental study orientation¹⁴. But the students are also expected to get interested in the subject matter. And in spite of the institutional orientation contradictions, students' different orientations are assumed to be deter-

The text is part of an article "Kurssikeskeisestä ajattelusta kohti prosessisuuntautunutta teematyöskentelyä" ("From course-oriented thinking towards process-oriented theme work"). It was published in 1992 in a publication of the Department concerning the reform of primary teacher education. (Sunnari 1992a, 84–101.)

The development project has been a learning process also for myself. In order to reveal current reflections on each cycle, I will use texts which I have written at the times in question.

¹⁴ About different orientation types, see e.g. Engeström 1984.

mined mainly by their individual characteristics. On the other hand, process orientation in the context of production¹⁵ is not in itself sufficient to eliminate the instrumental valuation of studies. One of the central issues is why something is produced in the learning process and another that the processing and production are real.

- 6. The starting up and implementation of change processes connected with people's ways of working take time and seem to require more extensive actions and a more extensive population¹⁶ than is provided by a single course. This is connected with the fact that trying to accomplish change in one sector of an activity system triggers off pressures for change in other parts of the system and in sectors that cannot necessarily be anticipated beforehand.
- 7. A set of issues limiting development work consists of the individual limits of the persons who are doing the development work.
- 8. Owing to the students' different prior experiences, their different interests, etc., it may not be possible to find a single way of studying which would be valid and meaningful for everybody. Instead, it seems to be necessary to develop different and flexible alternatives for organising the studies.

As regards the gender issues separately, my interpretation was that their inclusion in the lectures was not without significance. But there were also special problems in this area. One of them was an antithetical contradiction of "yes, it is – no, it isn't", which often seemed to be caused by dealing with the matter during both lectures and exercises (cf. Arnesen 1995b, 13; Cooper et al. 1996). I interpreted this to show that we were still in the discursive-ideological sphere of the phenomenon. On the other hand, I interpreted it to represent an attitude of a question-based demonstration towards the issues. A question-based demonstration was also shown by the fact that there were some male students who wrote their pupil descriptions as if the pupil were a sexless being.¹⁷ An important question that arose was hence how to reach the material world and its movement through the ideological-discursive sphere of life when studying the issues.

The second cycle in 1991–1993: A time of change at the Department

The students who participated in the first development cycle were the primary student teachers who began their studies in the Oulu Department of Teacher

Process orientation in the context of production was an alternative model of organising the studies, which I introduced in the article.

I meant the staff.

The demonstrative messages of these acts were also confirmed by the students themselves.

education in 1988, 1989 and 1990. The student teachers who began their studies in autumn 1991 were involved in the second cycle.

There were different processes under way at the Department which influenced the planning of the second cycle and the decisions concerning its idea and contents. One of them was that Leena Syrjälä was nominated professor of educational science. She was the first female professor in the history of primary teacher education in Oulu and one of the few female professors in the whole University. On the other hand, there was an enhanced desire to launch a large-scale project of change in the Department. Thirdly, it was also significant that the Nordic Lilia project was beginning, and it seemed to be possible to undertake my development project as part of it. I had also completed my Licentiate degree and a thesis concerning activity theory (Sunnari 1991b).

My aim had been to channel the pedagogic development project more towards the basic ideas of activity theory, though not towards Davydov's method but rather towards the model of *learning by expanding* developed by Yrjö Engeström and the Finnish developmental work research group. I considered this learning model to be an expanded version of Davydov's model and more feasible while trying to overcome the institutional barriers of development discussed in the first cycle. According to Engeström and his co-researchers, e.g. Pentti Hakkarainen and Reijo Miettinen, activity level learning, *learning by expanding*, is only possible as a collective process (e.g. Engeström 1987; 1991; Hakkarainen 1990; Miettinen 1993).

But although the ideas and models of learning presented by Engeström and his co-researchers were interesting, there were some essential contradictions in the possibilities to use them. The contradictions were partly related to the prevailing study system in primary teacher education, partly to the resource needs of the planned development project of the whole primary teacher education programme. The contradictions were also partly related to certain emphases in the pedagogic model of learning by expanding.

As it was mentioned in the reflections on the first cycle, I estimated that any feasible development of teacher education would require more extensive changes than could be implemented by single individuals of the staff within separate courses. Yet, an overall reform of the degree programme was to begin the next year.

By the autumn of 1991, planning had reached a stage where Professor Hannele Niemi was employed to co-ordinate a team assigned to compile a preliminary development plan. The plan was also constructed (see Niemi 1992b). It was further planned that the new programme would be adopted into use in autumn 1992. As to my development project, it was also significant that the development of the degree programme was not based on the activity theory.

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I was the secretary of the team.

An essential theoretical problem was involved in the relation between the practice-based studies and the textual studies in primary teacher education. According to the activity-theoretical conceptions, textual studies and practice-based studies are to form a whole where one of the most essential things is that both focus on the same object of study. While organising the text-based studies and the practice-based studies in primary teacher education the objects of study can be assumed to be the same, but my assumption was that in actual practice, the organisation of studies might allow this only very narrowly or, as observed, on a very formal level, if at all. (See Syrjälä & Sunnari 1994.)

One of the basic premises of the model of "learning by expanding" also caused problems. The goal of learning by expanding is to promote organisational level learning and, through that, learning by the individuals of the organisation. The members of the organisation collaborate to reach this goal. They co-operate to review the history of the organisation, its historical and actual conflicts and contradictions and the actually felt needs for development. These are then used as a basis when defining the "proximal zone of development" of the organisation and the plan to develop the organisation and its members. (See e.g. Engeström 1987; 1991; 1992.)

The method appeared to be especially interesting from the viewpoint of changing the organisational culture, for example, the culture of teacher education. As regards the learning process of the new students, however, the set-up seemed to involve some special difficulties. Firstly, the new members of the organisation, who are only about to begin their studies, cannot be expected to be able to analyse the conflicts or contradictions of the organisation as fully authorised members with an adequate status and expertise. Secondly, the learning challenges of the organisation do not necessarily coincide with the learning challenges of the novice students. Nor can it be assumed that the learning needs of the long-term staff members and the new students would coincide.

Due to the above reasons, I had to decide on some minor changes. The changes were influenced by the experiences of the first cycle, by recent discussions on the perspectives of developing teacher education (Kom. 1989; Ojanen 1989; 1991; Calderhead 1989; Zeichner & Core 1990; Diamond 1991) and by experience-based pedagogic constructions, especially the pedagogic model developed by David Kolb.²⁰ The central topics in all these discussions were process orientation, reflection and emphases on experience and the human agency.

¹⁹ About the term, see e.g. Vygotsky 1987.

Kolb's model of experiential learning was at that time the best known model of experiential learning in our own Department (see Huttunen & Välijärvi 1990), in Finland (see e.g. Kohonen 1986) and also internationally (Henry 1989, 26).

Kolb (1984, 38) defines learning as a process where knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. In congruence with activity-theoretical research, he also emphasises that the learning process is cyclic. According to Kolb (1984, 40–41), a meaningful learning process presupposes concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation, and active experimentation.

From the theoretical perspective, the most influential of Kolb's constructions for me was his views of core contradictions in learning. Kolb (1984, 40–42) assumes that concrete experience/abstract conceptualisation and active experimentation/reflective observation make up two distinct dimensions, each representing two dialectically opposed adaptive²¹ and, in the learning process, transactive orientations. The first dimension relates to the different and contradictory ways of knowledge comprehension, while the second relates to the different ways of knowledge transformation. These assumptions and the assumption of the way of how to resolve the dialectically opposed orientations in the learning process serve as the core in Kolb's learning idea and the structural bases of his learning model.

In actual practice, I shifted the studies more towards a process and practice orientation and looked for possibilities to develop the students' observation and reflection skills during school practice (cf. e.g. Grøterud 1992, 64; Jónsdóttir 1992; Meisfjord 1992; Nielsen & Boysen 1992). For these purposes, I introduced two abstract instruments, the concepts of "giving rules" and "control". I asked the students to monitor the other persons' and their own ways of giving rules and controlling their actions and the children's actions in pedagogic processes, to monitor the types of situations in which they performed the controlling and rule-giving actions, and to reflect on how and why they performed them.

Secondly, I chose a common theme for the course "Familiarisation with pupils". The theme was "Pupils as learners". One of the central aims was to make it possible for the students to have the same learning object and target of observations and reflection in their practice-based studies, in the studies at the Department and in different discussions concerning them.²² Thirdly, I

Kolb uses the term *adaptation* to illustrate the relations of living organisms to their environments. He emphasises that human beings are unique among all living organisms in that their primary adaptive specialisation lies in identification with the process of adaptation itself, meaning the process of learning. (Kolb 1984, 1, 32.)

There were also two other reasons for assigning the course a theme. The first of them was the need to avoid overlapping and to look for connections with the course in developmental and educational psychology, which was also included in the programme. Secondly, the theme was intended to direct the student teachers' interest to observe the children at school from the perspective of learning and issues connected with it. The reason for this was that in the previous years the students had preferred to consider the

tried to open up further perspectives for the students' autonomy concerning their studies. During the previous cycle, I had tried to strengthen the students' critical and personal attitudes towards their studies as an individual phenomenon. Now I tried to go on by emphasising the students' autonomous group processes (cf. Boud 1989, 206, 208).

I also developed ways in which the students should conceptualise their experiences and discuss them. As part of this, I organised the contents of the lectures more in terms of the themes arising from the students' own observations, reflections and experiences during school practice, and I tried to see myself more in the position of a supporter than a source of knowledge.²³

The components which I also emphasised and tried to develop in learning projects, but which were not emphasised in Kolb's learning ideas (see e.g. Kolb 1984; Kolb et al. 1991), were a partnership orientation, the projects of deconstruction and reconstruction, the use of re-observations and re-analyses and the gender perspective. The need to seek for possibilities for projects of deconstruction and reconstruction, and for re-observations and re-analyses was based on the awareness of the common and deeply hidden, stereotypic notions of teachers' work in general and the gender issues in particular. The awareness of the phenomenon of institutional encapsulation was also significant for the decision.

As to the students' orientation towards gender issues, special attention was given to the fact that it is a different thing to discuss issues during lectures and to observe something in one's environment and in one's own actions. I thus began to pay more attention to measures which would make the students consider and reflect on practical pedagogic processes so that one component in the observations and reflections would be that of gender. In addition, attempts were made to find possibilities for the students to re-observe and re-analyse the issues they had once identified. A particular attempt was made to try to show the students that the issues of gender are essentially not individual, but culturally shared, to avoid making anybody guilty and also to avoid dichotomies. (Cf. Green 1992, 103; van Andel & Alberts 1992; Cooper et al. 1996.) As a special tool for showing the students the social character of gendered features, I undertook to analyse and make dialogue-oriented summaries of the students' observations.²⁴

peaceful working conditions in class rather than actual learning. The problems with working conditions, in turn, were explained by broken homes, etc., without asking or observing if there were also issues connected with it in the school or the class milieu. (Sunnari 1992a, 97.)

I limited my central tasks as a lecturer to introducing views, summing up and assisting students. I also wrote a handout of about 40 pages as my contribution to the discussions and dialogues concerning the themes. The handout also comprised topics that I had considered necessary from the perspective of the whole theme.

²⁴ Cf. footnote 23. The first part of the study theme "Pupils as learners" is

The second cycle began with the course "Familiarisation with pupils" and the related first school practice period, as did the preceding cycle. I resumed the gender theme during the second school practice period the next year, and also at the end of the second study year 25 and at the end of the school practice period of the third year. $^{26-27}$

If the first and second cycles of the development project are compared from the pedagogic perspective, one can see that the core of the development work was on textual studies during the first cycle and on school practice and experiential studies during the second cycle. The evaluation of the second cycle also challenged me to reflect further on the special issues concerning school practice and the problems of integrating textual and experiential components in studies.

I wrote the following theses concerning these issues (Syrjälä & Sunnari 1994):

- 1. There is a justified demand for long-term pupil-student relations from the perspective of learning to understand human relations and human growth. But one environmental school-class experience may limit the possibilities of the students to build their own perspectives for their growth and their own notions.
- 2. Learning requires time and possibilities to return to the questions which cause confusion. In schools and more generally when working with human beings the situations are unique. It is not possible to repeat them.
- 3. It is emphasised that the students should build their own visions and that the students' needs should be important when organising their learning. In schools, however, the needs of the school classes and their cultures and structures characterise the work. And the students' work is also directed by the ideas, needs and expectations of the educational and subject study personnel.
- 4. It is usual for the teachers and supervisors at university schools to be experts on the issues they are working with. But working as a new student with a person who is imagined to be an expert may create an obstacle for the student teacher's independent learning and growth. This feature seems to be present in both the student-supervisor relations and the student-pupils relations.
- 5. The learning object in the school subject studies consists of ideal and material objects of the world. But when thinking of the teaching profession, the learning object usually includes the question of how to teach it. Which, then, is the core question that mostly orients the learning of student teachers?
- 6. Reflection presupposes prior experiences, which may cause demands for having experiences as a school teacher as early as possible. However, teaching a school class presupposes various qualities. The parts of the context which are not, and

also based on such a summary (see figure 4, page 34 and sections 5.1.2.-5.1.4.)

See figure 5, page 35 and sections 6.1. and 6.2.

See figure 5 and sections 6.1. and 6.3.

For more details, see Sunnari 1997.

have not been, conscious learning objects, may strengthen stereotypic learning qualities and unconscious operational-level relations to the phenomena.

7. It is difficult to reflect on one's own structures, but it is even much more difficult to reflect on one's structures in relation to somebody else's structures. However, there is a need for it in pedagogic practices.

On the whole, the project seemed to result in a rising awareness of gender issues among the students. It also seemed to do this mainly in a mutually respectful atmosphere. But it did not teach the students to discuss gender issues openly. As far as I can see, my most successful pedagogic solution was to approach the phenomena related to gendering in parallel at the individual and the culturally shared levels.²⁸

Practice as a starting-point and as the first phase towards encountering the issues connected with gender and sex-based equity turned out to be an unsuccessful decision from the point of view of becoming conscious about the issues. I consider the core question here to be the question of how a person can be interested in something that she/he does not even recognise to exist. (Cf. Arnesen 1992, 49.) But the practice as such turned out to be an important, though contradictory, element in the study processes connected with gender and equity.

Moreover, two particular issues should be noted about the whole cycle. The work of the students was characterised by haste. This issue was visible while observing the students' school practice and it was very clearly visible in the students' texts at the end of their third year's practice period. (See Sunnari 1997.) In a context of haste, it is difficult to make visible the hidden constructions (cf. e.g. Shor & Freire 1987; Acker S 1990), for example those connected with gender, and it is difficult to surpass the technical orientation towards work and studies. On the other hand, in a context of haste and technical orientation, it is difficult to encounter the child as a partner in pedagogic relations. I partly connect these issues with the fact that monitoring the rule giving and control also turned out to be difficult for the students. I additionally assume that this was also due to their strong teaching orientation and unindependent position as students and the fact that the task of monitoring one's rule giving and controlling acts is a difficult task.

The third cycle in 1993-1995: Change processes

In autumn 1993, I had 17 new student teachers to teach and guide in educational science and to tutor for the next two study years. The group consisted of 9 female and 8 male students. These 17 students became involved in the third development

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For more details, see Sunnari 1997.

cycle. The cycle began in the autumn 1993 and lasted until the end of the spring term 1996.

But before that, in 1992, the Oulu Department of Teacher Education moved to new premises in the main building of the university campus, and in the same year it began to use a new curriculum (see Huttunen & Karkama 1994; Syrjälä & Sohlo 1996). Owing to the new curriculum, both the way of organising activities and the expectations concerning the students' work changed radically. This change also resulted in long-term processes with the same students through a tutoring system. In 1992, the Department was also for the first time included among the top unit candidates. On the other hand, threats to discontinue the Oulu Department of Teacher Education were also momentarily in the air in the connection of state-level discussions about savings and about the need to reduce the number of teacher education units.

The degree programme reform was the most important of the changes from the perspective of the development project. The reform concerned the organisation of the studies, their contents and the planned study processes. It was emphasised in the new preliminary programme that teaching and learning are processes in which both teachers and students are active subjects. It was further emphasised that the teaching profession is an ethical and societal profession, and that the diversity of the students' prior experiences and competencies would make it impossible to build a single model of a meaningful programme or desirable professional development. (Niemi 1992b, 22–37.)

As it was mentioned earlier, I had a student group of 17 persons to teach in educational science and to tutor. ²⁹ My core task in educational science was to be responsible as a staff member for the students' educational studies. This was mainly done through seminar-type parts of the study modules. The seminar sessions were of three types: textbook seminars, seminar sessions where topics introduced during the lectures were discussed further and in more detail, and sessions where other tasks related to studying were discussed. This category included, for example, tasks related to school practice.

As to my pedagogic solutions, I continued in the direction of experiential learning. But I tried to solve contradictions connected with the relationship between experience and text-based information. I also looked for new possibilities of combining the individual and social processes of learning. New tools for reflections on the area were provided by the textbooks of Boris Bratus (1990), James Wertsch (1991) and Reijo Miettinen (1993).

I began to emphasise partnership-based inquiry orientation towards the practice and a more conscious and extensive orientation towards strengthening the students' own position concerning their studies. I also sought for possibilities to reflect on one-context experience in another context (see figure 2) and I decided to adopt a different and flexible position and tasks in the study

About the tutoring system, see Sunnari 1995b.

processes, depending on the nature of the processes (cf. Hunt 1987, 161, 115–120; Zeichner & Core 1990; Wineburg 1991; Green 1992).

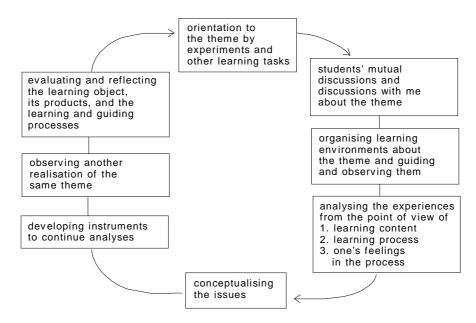


Figure 2. The widened model of experiential learning experimented and used during the third development cycle

My flexibility as a supporter of students' study processes meant, for example, that I entered the students' school practice processes as an inquiring partner. ³⁰ But in the processes where the students conceptualised their experiences and discussed the textbooks I preferred to act as a background consultant, trying to allow the students themselves to share their experiences, opinions and views.

At that time, I began to conceptualise the attempts to strengthen the students' own positions concerning their studies with the term *empowerment*. I tried to support the students to strengthen their own power over their studies and to strengthen their power to participate actively in decision-making concerning the contents of the studies, their evaluations and the ways of studying the issues. I also tried to support the students to share their power with me as a supervisor and with the other group members through study processes. (Rappaport 1990, 52. See also Rappaport 1981; 1987; Green 1992; Dolle & Rodenburg 1993; Mulligan 1994; Reisby 1994; 1995; Lather 1995.)

For an illustration of one such process, see Sunnari 1996e.

As regards the attempts to develop students' reflective skills, I continued to use the concepts of *rule giving* and *control* but instead of assuming the students to be able to use them alone while reflecting on their pedagogic actions as novice students, I also used them while inquiring into the processes and discussing them with the students.³¹ I also began to shift the students' conscious attention to their emotions while trying to support the development of their reflective skills (see pages 96–97; Boud & Walker 1991; Chisholm 1990a; Fonow & Cook 1991).³²

The special changes which I made while discussing gender and equality/equity between the sexes during the third cycle as compared with the second cycle were connected with the re-evaluations of the question of how one may encounter issues that one is not conscious of and how to support the students to conceptualise the issues. On the basis of the re-evaluations, I did not try to wait for the themes to emerge, but introduced them and some literature as well as certain tasks related to the school practice periods and the seminars and lectures.

I also considered it necessary to operate with the issues of gender and gendering simultaneously on several levels. In practice, this meant that I focused on the gender issues through student-pupil relations, as I had done during the previous cycle, but additionally and simultaneously also through student-student relations (cf. Bjarnadóttir, 1994; Taylor 1995). As to these relations, I started with an actual gendered situation. (See Sunnari 1997. Cf. Mahony 1995.)

As a whole, the discussion of gender and equity themes during the third cycle made up a complex process, which continued until the third year, similarly to the second cycle.³³

As to the pedagogic solutions of the third cycle analysed in the context of the gender theme, it is remarkable that most of the female students as well as the male students, began to include the gender theme in their discussions even on their own initiative. They had, however, varied opinions and also conflicts during their discussions on the issues and also in the practical actions. The case of failure which was illustrated in section 2.1. is an example of them. My interpretation is that they learnt to deal with the conflicts and opposite opinions relatively openly.³⁴

For more details, see Sunnari 1997.

³² See figure 4, page 34.

For more details, see Sunnari 1997.

This interpretation is based on my observations, on the student interviews (interviews April 3rd, 11th and 16th, 1996) and also on the fact that the students decided on tasks where they themselves included the gender theme. As examples of the tasks, I will mention that one of the female students and two of the male students made their pro seminar essays on the topic area and the female student is continuing her Master's thesis on the same theme.

The attempt to direct the students' interest towards children also succeeded best during the third cycle as compared with the previous ones (see Sunnari 1997).

2.3. The material used in this research

The research includes a historical part and a contemporary part, as has been mentioned earlier. The central focus of the historical analysis is on the first formation of the curriculum of primary teacher education in Finland. The main data of these analyses consist of the writings of Uno Cygnaeus, a central person in the formation of the first Finnish teacher seminar, and the seminar part of the first statute on elementary education from the year 1866. Prior research reports and other texts on the issues have also been used.

The writings of Cygnaeus which have been analysed are from the years 1856–1861. The reason for analysing Cygnaeus' proposals prior the first seminar statute lay in an attempt to reach the deeper meanings of the gendered issues in the curriculum. The reason for analysing the writings from several years lies in three things.

Firstly, the years 1856–1861 were the key period during which Cygnaeus published his proposals concerning the teacher seminar (cf. Salo 1939; Nurmi 1988). Secondly, the question of whether entrance to the teacher seminar should or should not be allowed for women was an issue of passionate debate at that time. Cygnaeus strongly spoke up for women's entrance throughout that time. The contents of his proposals, however, varied somewhat over the years. Thirdly, the proposals concerning the pedagogy which Cygnaeus suggested to be used when educating female students and teaching them to educate children differed to some extent from the suggestions concerning the pedagogy to be used with male students. To understand whether this was based on Cygnaeus' notions of the different learning styles of women and men or some other grounds required an analysis of his texts over a longer period.

My central interest while studying Cygnaeus' writings have been to analyse what the proposals were like, what he suggested concerning the education of female primary teachers, and how the proposals differed from the proposals concerning the education of male teachers. I also observed how he argued for the differences, how his proposals changed during the years 1856–1861 and what his proposals meant from the perspective of gender.

The contemporary curricula analysed are from primary teacher education in Oulu. Altogether three curricula were analysed: the first curriculum, the first academic curriculum and the curriculum from the academic year 1988–1989. The curricula of the years 1989–1995 have also been observed. The results of the first analysed curriculum offered the basis for the later analyses. Figure 3 shows the material set of the curricular analyses.

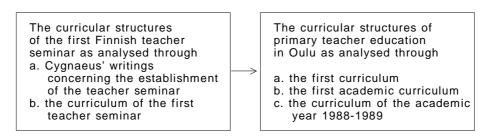


Figure 3. The material set of the curricular analyses

The minor subjects of the new primary teachers who qualified in the Department of Primary Teacher Education in Oulu in the years 1998–1995 served as a complementary material for the actual curricular analyses.

The material collected during the development project is plentiful. It consists of texts written by the students, their tape-recorded and transcribed individual and group interviews, reports they made, and observations made by me and the students. In addition, I kept a diary, and so did the students of the second and the third cycle on certain parts of the processes. But only part of that material was used in this study. As it was mentioned earlier, the material was used for the agency-based observations, which were focused through the theme "Pupils as learners" and through the students' writings about their encounters with gender and sex-related equality/equity issues.

The main sets of material for both themes were collected during the second development cycle. The data collected during the first and the third development cycle were used to validate the findings and partly also to deepen the understanding of certain issues found around it. Each of the cycles was also used in pedagogic reflections. The central issue which directed the planning of the material sets taken was the question of how to reach representative text corpuses³⁵ from the point of view of the study themes (see section 1.3).

The theme "Pupils as learners" contained the following sub-studies and sets of material:

- 1a. Analysing the pupil descriptions made by 68 student teachers of the second development cycle on the theme "Pupils as learners".
- 1b. Validating the results concerning the sex distribution of the selected pupils by checking out the sex of the pupils in the 197 pupil descriptions made by the students of the first development cycle.
- 1c. Verifying whether the division of the pupils into visible and invisible ones was congruent with their sex distribution by analysing the 14 third-cycle students'

I use the term "text corpus" in the same way as Pertti Sulkunen. He defines text corpus as a group of texts which are linked together from the point of view of the study themes and settings in a meaningful way and which form the material to be analysed (Sulkunen 1990, 272).

- answers concerning the pupils they remembered and did not remember after their first school practice period.
- 1d. Verifying the assumption that the activities of boys and girls may arouse different emotions among the students by analysing the 14 third-cycle students' descriptions of their encounters with pupils.
- 2a. Continuing the study by analysing descriptions of a successful boy and a successful girl in more detail.
- 2b. Organising two group interviews with altogether ten pupils on the theme of overconscientiousness, which had come up in the descriptions.

Figure 4 illustrates the whole of the material sets used for the research theme "Pupils as learners".

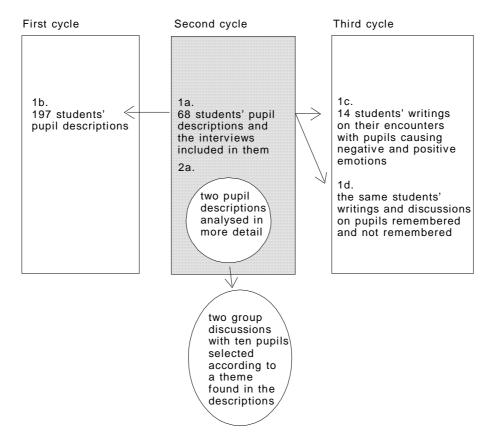


Figure 4. The material sets used for the research theme "Pupils as learners"

The material for the second agency-based perspective concerning the students' encounters with gender and sex-related equity issues was also collected from the students of the second development cycle. The material consisted of two

inquiries with open-ended questions. The first part of the material was collected when the students were approaching the end of their second study year and the second part halfway through their third study year in a situation where the students were concluding their school practice period. Figure 5 illustrates this material set.

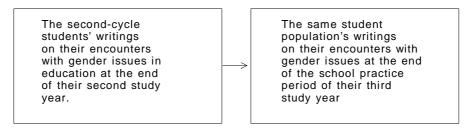


Figure 5. The material set used for the research theme "students' encounters with gender issues"

I approach the material which I have used mainly as a discursive material obtained through written or spoken texts (cf. figure 1, page 6). This fact has directed my analyses. The written discursive texts are Cygnaeus' texts concerning the first teacher seminar and the students' texts on their encounters with gender and equity issues in education. The corresponding spoken texts include the students' and pupils' discussions on pupils as learners and the students' discussions on their pupil choices. The official curricula and the data gathered from final certificates as study material are less discursive.

The study design is illustrated in figure 6.

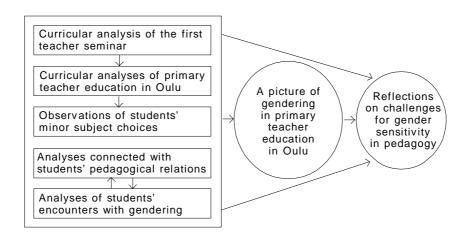


Figure 6. The study design

3. GENDER IN CURRICULAR³⁶ STRUCTURES: A STATE-LEVEL HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE³⁷

It was just over 130 years ago that public primary teacher education began in Finland. It began at the same time for women and men, although there were heated debates at the time as to whether entrance to the teacher seminar and teaching jobs should or should not be allowed for women (see e.g. Jallinoja 1979, 22; Pärssinen 1911; Raitio 1913; Wilkama 1938. See also Snellman 1928b; 1929a; Cygnaeus 1910b; c; d). Uno Cygnaeus demanded that women should have a possibility to enter the seminar and to work as primary teachers, but Johan W. Snellman and many other highly influential Finns regarded these demands as questionable. Snellman (1856) even proposed that official primary education should at first only be given to boys because of the limited financial resources (Snellman 1929a). Cygnaeus (1857), in contrast, pointed out that if the financial resources were very limited, it was better to start the girls' schools first (Cygnaeus 1910c).

In practice, it was Cygnaeus who became the central promoter of public education and primary teacher education and also a promoter of professional education of women in Finland. He began his public work in this area by a writing in 1856 in the newspaper Wiborg. Later, he was assigned the task of planning a public education system and teacher education for it. For this purpose, he was advised to acquaint himself with elementary education and elementary teacher education abroad. Cygnaeus was also the first director of the Jyväskylä seminar, i.e. the first teacher seminar in Finland, for a few years.

Because the guidelines defined for primary teacher education at that time have remained the essential guidelines even for later teacher education, an

The term curriculum in this study refers to a planned or official written curriculum. Whenever I refer to curricula that have been actually implemented I will mention it specifically.

I have discussed the same theme in two articles in 1996 (see Sunnari 1996c; d).

important question is: what were the expectations Cygnaeus set on the teacher seminar for women? It is also important what the first curriculum was like and what its gender system was like. I will consider these questions below. I will, however, first provide some pedagogical background and discuss briefly the contemporary educational situation and the pedagogical discussions under way in Finland at the time before the first stage of primary teacher education.

3.1. Pedagogical backgrounds

The Finnish school system

Various researchers (see e.g. Heikkinen 1989; Kuikka 1991) consider the emergence of the Finnish school system to have included three stages of fundamental changes. The changes appear to have followed the resolutions of societal conflicts between a number of powerful interest groups. The first period of transition took place in the 13th century. At that time, the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church both had their conflicting interests in the organisation of instruction in Finland. The second period of transition occurred in the 16th and 17th century, at the time of the emergence of the Swedish nation-state, of which Finland was a part. The third period of transition took place in the mid-19th century. It was caused by the conflicting interests of economy and the emerging industry on the one hand, and the interests of the church on the other. Finnish primary teacher education dates back to that time. (Heikkinen 1989, 19–20, 43–45, 97–99.)

At the beginning of the 19th century, Finland was part of Sweden, and the society was strictly divided into estates. The estates were represented in Parliament. The representatives were men. Moving from one social class to another was difficult. One reason for this was that the educated classes spoke Swedish, and all political activity was conducted in that language. (Iisalo 1979, 3.) The majority of people lived in the countryside and spoke Finnish. Farming was the main source of living, and the number of industrial workers was small, ³⁸ although increasing. Towns were few in number, and their population was small. (Heikkinen 1989, 98; Heikkinen 1996.)³⁹

Taimo Iisalo (1979, 11) estimates that only about 3.5 per cent of the employed population were employed in industry or handicraft.

In 1860, there were about 1 750 000 inhabitants in Finland, of whom about 3 per cent belonged to the three upper estates (Rinne 1989, 57) and 5 per cent were living in towns. The towns were few in number and their population was small. In 1850 there were 8 towns with a population of over 3 000 inhabitants in Finland, and two of them had over 10 000

Among farmers and the other occupational groups who worked at home, the division of work between the sexes does not seem to have been very strict during the first decades of the century. In the upper estates, however, the division was strict. (Wikander 1994, 127; Heikkinen 1995.) With the exception of widows it was not possible for women to work in salaried occupations until in 1864. (Manninen 1984, 48; Heikkinen 1995; 1996.) The first female occupation mentioned in the church register was that of a wet nurse. Midwifery was the first occupation for which women were trained. (Widerberg 1980, 30–31; Manninen 1984; Mustakallio 1988; Räisänen 1995.)

Education and high offices were almost exclusively the prerogative of boys born into the upper classes, although the school system comprised at least four or five different sub-systems. First, there was the state-financed secondary level grammar school system which qualified for studies at the university. For centuries, the grammar schools had been solely for the education of boys. Second, the church was the main organiser of education for common people. The education given by it was based on the principles of Lutheranism, and the actual objectives were to achieve general literacy and such knowledge of the Christian doctrine as was required for full membership of a congregation. Entrance into this education was possible for both sexes. (Iisalo 1979, 11–12; Ketonen 1977; Rinne 1988.)

Since the 17th century, some schools for the education of boys⁴¹ of poor townspeople had been established as a way between the state-financed secondary-school-type education and the popular education organised by the church. These schools were called "children's schools" or "pedagogios". They were partly financed by the government. (Wilkama 1938, 2; Pärssinen 1911; Ketonen 1977.)

When Finland was ceded by Sweden as a result of the war between Sweden and Russia (1808–1809) and became an independent Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, there emerged an actual need to make some changes in the state-financed school system. The Vyborg province, which belonged to Russia, was incorporated into Finland in 1811. Since the last decades of the 18th century, there had been lower-level secondary school education for girls in the Vyborg province, but there was no such education for girls in the other parts of Finland.⁴² (Ketonen 1977, 10; Kuikka 1991; Wilkama 1938; Pärssinen

inhabitants. (Heikkinen 1989, 98.)

In Finland, women were granted full authority over themselves and a permission to control themselves and their property at the age of 25 in the year 1864 (Manninen 1984, 48).

Some girls were occasionally also allowed entrance into these schools but only a few were accepted at a time, and they were taught only some of the subjects and contents that the boys were taught (Wilkama 1938, 2; Pärssinen 1911; Ketonen 1977).

The first two state-financed girls' schools in Sweden were

1911.) The need for a change was recognised in the school regulations of 1841 and 1843. For the first time, these regulations allowed a few girls' schools to be established in Finland as part of the official Finnish school system. (Ketonen 1977, 23; Sysiharju 1985.)

A small number of parish and village schools and schools owned by factories and iron mills had also been established (Iisalo 1979, 12).

Besides the above systems, some private education had been organised as home education and boarding-school type education. The girls of the upper social classes were mainly educated in these systems. (See Wilkama 1938; Ketonen 1977; Hakaste 1992.) Up till now, the best-known private girls' school in Finland seems to have been Odert and Fredrique Gripenberg's school for girls, which functioned in Helsinki from 1835 until the middle of the 19th century. Sara Wacklin was the best-known northern Finnish promoter of private education for girls. She also seems to have been the first Finnish woman who acquired formal qualifications as a teacher. She did this at the University of Sorbonne in France in the 1830s. (Sysiharju 1985, 118; Ketonen 1977; Pitkänen-Koli 1989.)

Vocational education was not extensive. The university gave qualifications for higher offices within the church and the government. The doctors of medicine and the masters of secondary schools were also university graduates. A cadet school had been established at the beginning of the 19th century to serve the needs of the military. Other vocational education took place mainly as apprenticeship training organised by the guilds. All these education forums were for men. (Kyöstiö 1955, 14; Raivola 1989; Heikkinen 1989; Heikkinen 1995.)

From the 1840s onwards, the demands to develop vocational education began to grow louder. The first commercial school was granted an operating permission in 1839, and an agricultural college started in Mustiala (Heikkinen 1995, 268) and a technical real-schule in Helsinki (Kangas 1992, 27). The commercial school and the technical "real school" were meant exclusively for male students, but the Mustiala agricultural college also provided education for women. The women were, however, not educated to work outside the home but on the family farm. The first women's occupation with actual vocational training and with an idea of working outside the home was that of a midwife. The education of midwives was started in the late 1850s. (Heikkinen 1995, 268; 1996; Kangas 1992, 27.)

established in 1844 (Kyle 1987, 123).

As a result of the same school regulations, the "children's schools" were changed into "lower elementary schools". These were more directly part of the secondary-school-type education, and the possibility of girls to attend these schools was cancelled (Wilkama 1938, 2).

The secondary level boys' and girls' school systems seem to have provided an important reference system for the construction of the curriculum for the teacher seminar (see e.g. Cygnaeus 1910d, 31; 1910g, 189; Snellman 1929d, 577)⁴⁴. For this reason, I will describe the curricula of these systems in more detail.

The old state-financed secondary school system included upper and lower grammar schools. In practice, both of these schools gave their students qualifications for university education. The system emphasised intellectual development, which was achieved using texts with a major emphasis on classical languages. Command of Latin was regarded as a specific means for intellectual development and as a manifestation of intellectual superiority. Little by little, natural sciences and subjects supporting the schooling of civil servants and commercial employees also emerged. Still, studies of Latin continued to play a prominent part in these schools till the middle of the 19th century. (Iisalo 1979, 12; Pärssinen 1911; Jäntere 1927; Wilkama 1938; Heikkinen 1989.)

The school regulations of 1841 and 1843 allowed, for the first time, a few girls' schools to be established in Finland as part of the official Finnish school system. But the education of boys and girls in the secondary school system included strict separation of the sexes. (Ketonen 1977, 23.)⁴⁶

The girls' schools were equal to the lower secondary schools of boys without any possibility to qualify for academic studies. Languages were emphasised in the boys' secondary schools whereas handicraft was the main subject in the girls' schools.⁴⁷ The objectives also differed. The boys' grammar schools emphasised textual intelligence, whereas the girls' schools emphasised education for household duties. It was argued that the calling of the woman was to be a mother, a wife and a homemaker, and the girls' school was to give the knowledge, skills and virtues, such as modesty, chastity, diligence, thrift and patience, needed for these tasks. (Hakaste 1992, 69; Ketonen 1977, 13; Wilkama 1938. See also Pärssinen 1911.)

In addition to the writings of Snellman and Cygnaeus, the topic can also be seen in the writings of many of their contemporaries (see e.g. Raitio 1913, 26-43).

There was one university in Finland at that time, but it was also possible to study in international universities (Iisalo 1979, 11).

The two new girls' schools were established in Helsinki and Turku in the 1840s. The next three were established in the 1850s in Vaasa, Kuopio and Oulu. (Ketonen 1977, 26–27.)

It was possible that the proportion of handicraft in the weekly school work in the girls' schools was over 40 per cent (see Ketonen 1977, 32–33).

There were also other differences in the secondary level education of girls and boys. Schooling in girls' schools was more expensive than in corresponding boys' schools. There seem to have been various reasons for this. Firstly, obviously no extra expenses were to be incurred by the state for the girls' schools. This is obvious in the reports of the various school commissions that worked on the matter. (See e.g. Pärssinen 1911, 605–608.) Secondly, high fees were imposed to prevent the entrance of girls of the lower classes into the state-financed girls' schools (Hakaste 1992, 69). The justification for this was that girls should be prevented from growing up in a wrong direction. Education which would not take place within one's own social class could result in such wrong directions. (Ketonen 1977, 24.)⁴⁸

The age limits for entrance to school were stricter for girls than for boys. The age limit for starting school was 8 years for both sexes. The girls further had an upper age limit of 12 years. The boys in corresponding secondary schools did not have any upper age limit for entrance. (Ketonen 1977, 24.) The everyday life of the girls' school also had the special feature that a female teacher had to be present during the lessons given by male teachers (ibid.).⁴⁹

From the viewpoint of teacherhood, it was significant that it became possible in the 1850s to organise an extra class in the girls' schools for the girls who wanted to prepare to become teachers (Ketonen 1977, 23).

The main tendencies in the new pedagogic orientation

The typical institutionalised style of learning was routine learning by heart, which kept the pupils passive and did not challenge them to try to understand the issues being studied (see e.g. Cygnaeus 1910b; c; d; Snellman 1928a; 1929a). The theoretical main tendencies in the discussions on contemporary needs to make changes in the pedagogy were the neohumanistic and philanthropic traditions (Iisalo 1979, 29). The question of women's education was part of both of these discussions.

⁴⁸ Ketonen has found this justification in the texts of the commission which planned the first regulations for the state-financed girls' schools. Snellman used almost the same words in the newspaper Saima when discussing the matter (Snellman 1928b, 405).

This had also been the custom in the girls' schools in Vyborg, and the studies of Tekla Hultin (1892, 540) showed it to be derived from the German girls' schools of the 18th century. According to Liisa Ketonen (1977, 25), this practice, although not included in the regulations, was continued until the 1870s.

The main pedagogical difference between the philanthropic and neohumanistic lines of thought was that the neohumanists emphasised the development of intelligence through classical sciences, whereas especially the Pestalozzian-oriented philanthropists emphasised the significance of new subjects, and the practical use and benefit of all studies. Both of these tendencies criticised the contemporary way of learning, which was considered mechanical and tended to make the learner passive. (Ibid.)

There were also some other issues which discriminated between these traditions. One of them was that the philanthropists approached human growth, first and foremost, from the point of view of individual psychology, whereas the neohumanists had a more collective perspective. (Ibid.; Iisalo 1980.)

The neohumanistic line, which acquired a predominant position in the Finnish academic circles, was based on Hegel's philosophy. Hegel's pedagogical principles rested on the assumption that philosophy has revealed and will reveal the essence of reality. The basic assumptions of philosophy could, in turn, be used to derive propositions concerning education, the truthfulness of which was determined by the impeccable logic of argumentation and the soundness of the philosophical background. (Iisalo 1980, 4.)

The first significant representative of the Hegelian educational principles in Finland was Axel A. Laurell (1801–1852). The major representative of this line was first Johan W. Snellman (1806–1881) and later Zachris J. Cleve (1820–1900). (Iisalo 1979, 16.)

Johan W. Snellman was appointed a docent of philosophy in the middle of the 1830s. A few years later he published one of his most important works, "Läran om staten", 50 and many other important papers. In the last years of the 1850s and the first years of the 1860s, he acted as a professor of education in the University of Helsinki. He was also a notable politician. (Ibid.)

As early as the 1840s, Snellman wrote in newspapers about questions pertaining to the school system, elementary education and the education of women. In 1840, he published an article on primary schools in a Swedish paper called Freja. In 1844, he published in the Saima several articles on women's education under the following titles: "On the education of women", "What women should learn", "On girls' schools" and "Finnish girls' schools". In 1856, he published an extensive article on elementary education titled "On the Finnish primary school system" in the Litteraturbladet, and in 1858 he wrote about women's education under the title "On instruction in girls' schools". He also wrote a thorough evaluation of Cygnaeus' Proposals in 1861. 52

^{50 &}quot;Doctrine of the State"

The articles were in the issues 4, 5, 9 and 10//1844 of the newspaper Saima.

⁵² Snellman's article concerning Cygnaeus' Proposals was published

One of Snellman's guiding principles was that the human "form" does not automatically make an individual a human being. On the contrary, the individual needs to be shaped continuously by process of education. In school instruction, the aim should be to make the individual think for himself both in learning and in action. The outcome of schooling is thus to make learning something more than a mere routine acceptance of tradition. However, institutional education cannot do very much. The human being is constrained by his/her birth and inherits the knowledge and customs of a particular family and nation. These matters are more important for human growth than institutional education. (Snellman 1929c, 462.)

Snellman (1844) defined civilisation as humanity's interest in higher matters and an ability to promote them (Snellman 1928b, 392). Education is a way of stimulating interest in civilisation. Snellman divided education into a moral and an intellectual subdomain, of which the latter is particularly related to institutional learning. The task of actual education is to civilise the will and the heart and to provide knowledge of what is right and wrong. The task of teaching is to promote understanding. Teaching provides information of what is true and what is not, and one of its fundamental aims is to promote the growth of self-awareness. Education is a process whereby the human being achieves rational freedom and comes to share knowledge and volition as a tradition. (Snellman 1929a, 56.)

As regards institutional education of women, Snellman claimed that women should be educated according to their social status (Snellman 1928b, 404, 405) for the home (ibid. 392, 1929b, 230), because the natural forum for women was the home and the instinctive, subjective and conventional upbringing of children that took place there. The major goal of institutional education of women was to give them enough general humanistic education to make them better understand the societal duties of men and to support them as well as to support the schooling of their children.⁵³ Apart from some rare exceptions, women would not be able to assume societal duties, because they lacked the necessary abilities. (Snellman 1929a, 65.)

An article published by Snellman in 1844 shows that he was familiar with the international public discussions on women's rights and their demands for emancipation with regard to education and work outside the home.⁵⁴ Snellman points out, however, that he is opposed to granting women rights that would seem to break up the family. He further maintained that the rights of women could only be implemented through the family. (Snellman 1928b, 392.)

According to Snellman, what should women learn? First, Snellman points out that even the education of women is subject to the general principle that

in the Litteraturbladet, issues 6, 7 and 8 in 1861.

This meant especially boys (see Snellman 1929a, 65).

For contemporary discussions on the emancipation of women, see e.g. Landes 1988; Wilkama 1938; Hultin 1892.

the school should promote knowledge. Moral education and the development of skills are tasks of the homes. (Snellman 1928b, 404.) In lower educational institutions, the education of women should be largely parallel to that of men. Women should not, however, be exposed to instruction on religious differences, because the woman's soul is too weak to fight against the doubts that might be aroused by such instruction. Nor would women need higher education. (Snellman 1928b, 349, 395, 396.)

The roots of the pedagogical orientation which shaped the educational views of Uno Cygnaeus and which is known as the philanthropic-Pestalozzian educational orientation date back to the propositions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). Rousseau emphasised natural growth in an anti-pedagogical context, the need to take into account the child's own experiences as well as childhood as a significant stage of life.

Rousseau was also significant for the subsequent generations as a source of views pertaining to the lives and civilisation of women. Rousseau's notion of the woman as a mother and a joy to her husband at home is well known, as is also his division between the public and the private spheres of life. The sphere of women was the private. Women should be denied a formal public position. Women did, however, need education to be powerful in their own sphere, the family. The woman's duty was to subordinate her independent aims and interests to a higher goal, the ethical life of people. (Landes 1988, 67, 69; Patoluoto 1986.)

Johann H. Pestalozzi (1746–1827), who was Roussaeu's student, also demanded a natural approach to education, although not in an anti-pedagogical context. According to Pestalozzi, education is natural when it is accomplished in accordance with the laws of nature and life as part of nature. (Pestalozzi 1933a, 21–22, 43.)

Pestalozzi considered intentional education the essential means of promoting human growth and demanded that all children should be allowed to have education, which he considered the key to human development. The essential aspect of education is the learner's own activity and work and his/her possibility to apply the skills he/she has learned. (Pestalozzi 1933a, 12.)

Pestalozzi emphasised the importance of observations in learning. He maintained that the development of human thinking begins from an impression based on an observation. Apart from impressions, observation also creates a need to express oneself. Observation, impression and expression together make up the core of his pedagogical thinking and the basis of his pedagogical method, where the essential aspect of learning is to get maximally accurate sensations of the surrounding world. (Pestalozzi 1933a, 44–52.)

The immediate goal of learning was to make the learner adopt unambiguous concepts and to reach perfect skills. The ultimate goal of education was true humanity, which required one to acquire knowledge, to develop one's emotional life and to learn to apply skills. Pestalozzi emphasised the equal importance of these three domains. He was opposed to excessive verbal knowledge and emphasised that only knowledge with practical utility is significant. (Pestalozzi 1933b, 24–25; 1933a, 14.)

Pestalozzi considered the education of both women and men necessary, and he himself taught both girls and boys. The education of women would significantly promote national well-being (Lehmusto 1951, 207).

Froebel (1782–1852), who was Pestalozzi's student, continued along similar lines in the discussion on women's education, but presented more radical views than his predecessor. He considered women particularly suitable for bringing up small children, because childhood, child care and the gentle disposition of women were in mutual harmony. (Lehmusto 1951, 207–208, 216.)

In Finland, ingredients of both Rousseau's and Pestalozzi's general pedagogical ideas were already visible in professor Porthan's discussions. He underlined the need to allow natural growth, the importance of science and the significance of the learner's own experiences in learning as well as the necessity to be familiar with the child being educated. Apart from developing the child, the goals of education also included the benefit and good of the nation and humanity. (Pärssinen 1911, 17.) In the 19th century, Pestalozzi's ideas of learning were propagated and also applied in practice by such persons as Odert H. Gripenberg (1788–1848) and Erik Gabriel Melartin (1780–1847) before Uno Cygnaeus (Iisalo 1979, 22, 27).

In accordance with the Pestalozzian views, the Finnish representatives of the Pestalozzian tradition also emphasised the importance of women's school education, presenting arguments similar to those of Pestalozzi. Applying the Pestalozzian principles, Melartin and Gripenberg also personally worked for the education of women. (See e.g. Wilkama 1938, 17–24, 33–34.)

A comparison of the neohumanistic and the philanthropic traditions from the perspective of women's education reveals many similarities. Both of the approaches emphasised the family as the woman's domain, although their argumentation differed. Both traditions also brought up the need for women's education, and both traditions considered that this should serve the benefit of the family. As to what girls and boys – women and men – should learn, the Pestalozzian and the neohumanistic approaches differed.

The neohumanistic tendency was based on the general view that both women and men should get a similar humanistic all-round education, but in accordance with their social status. In the Pestalozzian tradition, schooling was seen as a general tool for upward development of the whole population. This means that the authors did not emphasise the idea of schooling in accordance with people's social status, but rather emphasised that schooling and the school curriculum should vary according to sex, because of the different duties of women and men. Schools should teach girls and women especially the skills they would need as mothers. First and foremost, the school should teach the future mothers to take care of and bring up children. For this, they were also considered to need all-round education. 55

Both of the traditions also had their own school/schools in

Apart from the mainstream pedagogical thinking, the debates and battles in the religious field also contributed to the contemporary discussion of women's education. Religious and pedagogic discussions were often intertwined at that time, as the church played a prominent role in elementary education. The Christian image of the woman was characterised by a dichotomy between good and evil. The woman was seen as either a submissive and ideal Maria or a sinful and evil Eve. (Setälä 1984, 34; Koivunen 1995.) This dichotomy was clearly also present in the pedagogic discussions on the education and educational needs of women (see e.g. Wilkama 1938).

To sum it up: Most of the girls in the first half of the 19th century only got a very basic education, which consisted of reading, writing and memorising Lutheran doctrines, if their parents were unable or unwilling to provide private education. The situation was the same for most of the boys. It was mostly only the boys of the upper classes that had possibilities for higher education. This education, again, had a strong language emphasis. The pedagogy kept the pupils passive and educated them to routine learning by heart in both of the above educational lines. As regards vocational education, there were acute needs to establish and develop it.

But although the possibilities of women and girls to enter educational institutions were few, and although the question of women's education was acute in the first half of the 19th century, it was not the central reason for the reform of the general educational system, nor were the pedagogical issues as such the reason for it. Indirectly, however, both of these questions were present in the tensions which led to the change.

The main tensions in the educational field were, as it was also said before, between the interests of economy and the emerging industry on the one hand and the interests of the church on the other. The conflict concerned the content and methods of public and secondary education and the right to control it. The central questions were: whose interests should it serve and what kind of qualities it should give to the children.⁵⁶

As regards the new pedagogical ideas, the two main tensions were the need for civilisation emphasised by the humanistic ideology and the need for practical benefits and professional and vocational growth emphasised by the

Finland. The girls' school established by Odert and Fredrique Gripenberg in Helsinki in 1835 was seeking to change girls' education and applied innovative pedagogic principles based on Pestalozzian ideas (Hakaste 1992, 83–86; Ketonen 1977; Sysiharju 1985). The Helsingfors Lyceum founded in Helsinki in the 1830s by Lauantaiseura for boys' high-level education was based on the neohumanistic tradition (see Hakaste 1992, 91–93).

This discussion was not restricted to the special forums of educators, but also took place in newspapers (see Raitio 1913, 30–36; Wilkama 1938).

Pestalozzian-Froebelian ideology. But in addition to economic benefits, the Pestalozzian-Froebelian tradition also emphasised the subjectivity of the child and her/his development as a human being. This emphasis had been especially strong in Froebel's views (Krecker 1983, 25–27; Launer 1983).

The university was also involved in the tensions of educational processes. The first professorship in educational science was established in 1852. At the same time, a professorship in philosophy was closed. The professorship in educational science was first established in the theological department, but after some years it was moved to the department of history. According to Taimo Iisalo, one reason for the establishment of the professorship in educational science at that time was related to the question of who was the main authority of public education. (Iisalo 1979, 12–13; 1987.)

The arguments presented by tsar Alexander II for the demand to develop the educational system in 1856 were primarily economic and industrial (see Nurmi 1988, 62–70).

In addition to the above mentioned processes, there was also another type of tension present in Finland in the mid-19th century: the tension concerning the Finnish nation with its own language and culture on the one hand and being part of the Russian empire on the other (see e.g. Ketonen 1977, 23; Iisalo 1979; Kangas 1992; Nurmi 1988; Lilius 1950).

Uno Cygnaeus: A central person in planning primary teacher education in Finland

Uno Cygnaeus was born in Hämeenlinna in 1810. He was of rural background, although there were also clergymen in his family. Likewise, there were persons in his family who had been working or/and writing for the development of the education of common people and women (Salo 1939, 14–21). Uno Cygnaeus himself had a theological education and he had also been granted a Master's degree in humanities. The major subjects of his Master's degree were zoology and botany. Apart from these, the degree included studies in physics, history, oratory, poetry, Oriental literature, chemistry, Greek literature, theoretical and practical philosophy, history of learning, mathematics and astronomy. (Nurmi 1988, 24; Salo 1939.) Pedagogy was not among his subjects. It was not even possible to study pedagogy in a university in Finland at the time when Cygnaeus was studying there.

There has been much speculation as to where Cygnaeus' views came from, what part of them might possibly be his own ideas and what was borrowed. This speculation is obviously related to the prevailing biographical research tradition (Iisalo 1980, 2). Without participating in this speculation, it is possible to point out that there seem to have been many separate time-related and interlinking, but partly also contradictory features in Cygnaeus' life, which can be assumed to have been significant for the shaping of his views.

As to Cygnaeus' wish to develop public education and women's education as part of it, it was significant that he held various offices in the Church for over twenty years before he began to work for the teacher seminar, and that almost all of the duties also included teaching. Cygnaeus spent a major part of this period working in St. Petersburg. Before going to St. Petersburg, he worked in Vyborg and for five years on the island of Sitka on the north-western coast of North America. (Nurmi 1988, 43.)

Both in Vyborg and in St. Petersburg, the school system had been developed further than in "New Finland". As early as the 1780s, the German Lutheran school in St. Petersburg had been appointed the model school. It held this position until a university was founded in Tarto and the schools in the Vyborg region were made subordinate to it. This took place in the early 19th century. In 1828, a teacher seminar was established in Tarto. In Valga, which is situated in Livonia, a teacher seminar was established in 1849, while Cygnaeus was working in St. Petersburg. (Nurmi 1988, 28–31; Salo 1939; Isosaari 1961.)

In Vyborg, Cygnaeus worked as a clergyman in 1837–1839 and as a teacher of confirmation classes and a private school. At that time, the following government schools were operating in Vyborg: an upper secondary school, a district school, an elementary school and two girls' schools. (Nurmi 1988, 30.) The system was under pressure to change, because Vyborg had been incorporated into Finland and there were demands and needs to build a uniform school system in Finland, as it was mentioned earlier.

In St. Petersburg, Cygnaeus worked for most of the time as headmaster of the Finnish St. Mary's parochial school. The parochial school had originally been a boys' school, but at the end of the 1840s a girls' school and in 1857 a school for small children were also established there. Besides this, he taught religion in a cadet school and even in the internationally esteemed girls' school for the upper classes. (Ibid.)

Although Cygnaeus did not work in the above mentioned German Lutheran school, he was acquainted with it. This school had been established at the beginning of the 18th century. A class for girls had been started in the school in the 1760s and a school for girls had been founded one decade later. (Nurmi 1988, 47.) Two of Cygnaeus' nieces even studied in this girls' school. Selma John studied there in the late 1840s, and Fanny John, who was to become the first headmistress of the women's department of the Jyväskylä seminar, in the early 1850s. (Ibid.)

Of the contemporary pedagogical authorities, the ones important for Cygnaeus were Pestalozzi, Froebel and Diesterweg (Salo 1939; Lilius 1950; Halila 1963; Nurmi 1979). They all considered women's education important, and in St. Petersburg and in Vyborg, where Cygnaeus became especially acquainted with women's and girls' education, the emphases of the German and the Pestalozzian pedagogic traditions were clear (e.g. Ketonen 1977; Nurmi 1988; Hakaste 1992; Pärssinen 1911). It is also important to mention that while travelling in Germany to get acquainted with the contemporary educational systems, Cygnaeus especially wanted to concentrate on Froebel's pedagogy. And it was exactly this pedagogical tradition which had first developed female teacherhood in Germany (Mayer 1996a, 32–33). 57

Cygnaeus' emphasis on women's education possibly also reflects his religious background. In addition, Uno Cygnaeus had close acquaintances dedicated to issues of women's education. Sakari Cygnaeus, who was Uno Cygnaeus' uncle and supporter, had propagated the need for women's education as early as the 1820s. (Pärssinen 1911, 330.) Axianne Diederichs, Uno's wife since the 1850s, was the daughter of Odert Henrik Gripenberg's cousin and had herself worked as a teacher in private girls' schools in the 1830s and 1840s. (Raitio 1916, 83.)

3.2. Material and methods

The central focus of the following analysis will be on the first formation of the curriculum of primary teacher education in Finland. The main data of this analysis consist of the writings of Uno Cygnaeus and the seminar part of the first statute on elementary education from the year 1866. Prior research reports and other textbooks on the issue have also been quoted.

The core questions which have directed my analysis concerning the first formation of primary teacher education have been the following: What were the expectations that Cygnaeus, the "father of primary teacher education", set on the first Finnish teacher seminar at the time of planning it and what was its first curriculum like from the perspective of women and gender? Although Finnish primary teacher education, its history and Cygnaeus as a central agent of its first formation have been studied widely (e.g. Salo 1939; Halila 1949a, b; 1963; Isosaari 1961; Nurmi 1964; 1979; 1988; 1990; Kähkönen 1979; Viljanen 1970; 1984; Kivinen 1988; Simola 1995), these perspectives have been seldom present in the studies.

The writings of Cygnaeus analysed here are from the years 1856–1861. These years were the key period during which Cygnaeus published his proposals concerning the teacher seminar and women's education (e.g. Salo 1939; Nurmi 1988).

The proposal to establish the first seminar for primary school teachers in Finland was officially presented in 1856. It was based on the challenges to improve elementary education. The preparation of the matter was entrusted to the Committee of Ecclesiastic Matters. The committee invited statements concerning elementary education from the chapters, which had been mainly responsible for elementary education up till that time. (Raitio 1913, 26–39; Halila 1963; Nurmi 1979; 1988.)

The future seminar – and Cygnaeus' position in establishing it – was significantly influenced by his article in the newspaper Wiborg 33 and 37/1857

The first teacher education college for girls was opened in the 1840s in Germany (Mayer 1996a, 33).

and the statement he delivered after this on the proposals of the cathedral chapters. The first article was titled "Några ord om Folkskoleväsendet i Finland". The title of the statement was "Strödda tankar om den tillämnade Folkskolan i Finland". (Nurmi 1979, 16–17; 1988; Halila 1963.)

In 1858, the Senate issued a proclamation concerning the arrangement of elementary education and teacher education in Finland, appointing Uno Cygnaeus to evaluate the state of elementary education in Finland and to get acquainted with elementary education in countries considered to have good educational systems. Cygnaeus travelled in 1858–1859 and submitted to the Senate a travel account titled "Reseberättelse" together with a proposal for a teacher seminar, which he had also been appointed to prepare. The proposal was published in 1861 under the title "Förslag rörande folkskoleväsendet i Finland" (Nurmi 1979, 17–19; 1988.)

The above texts by Cygnaeus and his article published in 1856 concerning the establishment of a Finnish girls' school will be analysed in detail below. The prominent public contribution of Cygnaeus to the establishment of women's education started with this article, which was published in the newspaper Wiborg 35/1856 under the title "Förslag till inrättande af en finsk uppfostringsanstalt för flickor i Finland" 62.

I will use as supplementary material the travel diary⁶³ and an article⁶⁴ written by Cygnaeus during his travels in Finland and abroad.

The texts analysed are partly different in genre. The first newspaper articles and the "Fragmentary thoughts" are markedly political and discursive texts (cf. Jokinen 1993, 191–193; Holli 1992). Through these texts, Cygnaeus tries to contribute to the establishment of a teacher seminar and its curriculum, and engages in discourse with the other interested parties. This can be seen in both the overall content of the texts and their special emphases. The same feature is present in the travel account.

The actual proposal is an integrated overall proposal for a teacher seminar and a system of elementary education, and it is more clearly characterised by an effort towards consensus. Despite their differences, all these texts are political in the sense that Cygnaeus wrote them with the explicit purpose of

[&]quot;A few words about the primary school system in Finland", as a reference, Cygnaeus 1910b.

^{59 &}quot;Fragmentary thoughts about the intended primary school in Finland", as a reference, Cygnaeus 1910c.

[&]quot;Account of the travel", as a reference, Cygnaeus 1910d.

[&]quot;A proposal concerning public education in Finland", as a reference, Cygnaeus 1910g.

[&]quot;A proposal concerning the establishment of a Finnish girls' school", as a reference, Cygnaeus 1910a.

As a reference, Cygnaeus 1910f.

As a reference, Cygnaeus 1910e.

influencing the structure of the future systems of elementary education and teacher education in Finland. I also analysed the texts from this perspective.

My textual analysis proceeded as follows. At first, I searched each text corpus for the passages of text where Cygnaeus explicitly discusses the modes of sensible learning and teaching, as well as the education of women and the seminar curriculum for women's education. Wherever Cygnaeus presents different solutions for the education of female and male teachers, I also included these sections on the education of male teachers in my analysis. After that, I drew up a summary of Cygnaeus' views on the above mentioned themes as they first appear in his texts, identified the differences and hierarchies he presents concerning the education of female and male teachers and found out how he justifies his views. Whenever Cygnaeus took up topics that he had discussed previously, I analysed the similarities and differences. (Cf. Jokinen 1993; Holli 1992; Hyvärinen 1991; Simola 1995.)

The first curriculum was analysed with the same method as Cygnaeus' previous texts.

3.3. Women in Cygnaeus' public writings for a teacher seminar in 1856–1861

3.3.1. Starting from the demand for a Finnish girls' school

Cygnaeus published a proposal for the establishment of a Finnish girls' school in the newspaper Wiborg in 1856. This article, although very short, includes Cygnaeus' central educational aims and emphases. His proposals can be formulated into the following theses:

- 1. Education can promote public civilisation and national culture.
- 2. Finnish public education is necessary for developing the Finnish nation and culture.
- 3. Education of women is a faster way of reaching the above mentioned aims than education of boys.
- 4. Education can promote social upward development and reduce social hierarchies, and there are women in the upper classes who, as teachers, are key persons in reducing hierarchies by educating the children of the lower classes.
- 5. It is important that the educational system includes the education of its teachers.
- 6. Educational learning is different from actual mechanical learning. (See Cygnaeus 1910a, 70–72.)

Cygnaeus (1910a, 71) emphasised that the establishment of a Finnish girls' school would be the most direct and most effective way of promoting the Finnish culture and nation, arguing that women educate the small children and build up their deepest values. The idea of diminishing class distinctions

was based on the assumption that the girls of the upper classes would be educated in the girls' school, and the girls of common people would be educated in the lower school, where the upper class girls would practise. The upper class girls would thus serve as models for the children of the lower classes. This would lead towards a gradual decreasing of the hierarchies. (Cygnaeus 1910a, 71–72.)

The pedagogical issues in this text are few. Cygnaeus only refers to meaningful learning a couple of times. First, he points out that the education to be provided in the Finnish girls' school should be "in all respects as up-to-date as possible" (ibid. 71). Second, he suggests that a person learning something should share the matters she/he has learnt with somebody else for the learning to be meaningful (ibid.).

3.3.2. First theses for a teacher seminar

Cygnaeus' first two writings for the establishment of a teacher seminar in Finland date from 1857. The writings are titled "A few words about the Finnish primary school system" and "A few fragmentary thoughts about the planned primary school in Finland". The former was published in the newspaper Wiborg and the latter was Cygnaeus' official contribution to the proposals of cathedral chapters concerning elementary education and teacher education. The two papers propagate largely similar views.

This was the first time that Cygnaeus in his public writings presented a demand for a public and elementary education system open to all Finnish school-aged children and an institute for primary teacher education. The seminar was to educate both female and male teachers, but this was to be done in separate departments. The seminar was to be located in the middle of the country, so that it would serve the needs of whole Finland and especially the needs of teacher education for the countryside. (Cygnaeus 1910b, 12; 1910c, 21.)

The seminar should have a model school with separate departments for boys and girls. Third-year students from both departments of the teacher seminar should work as teachers of the model school under close surveillance of the head of the seminar. (Cygnaeus 1910b, 16–17; 1910c, 23.)

The teachers should devote themselves to education instead of seeking highly valued status. They should be model citizens, "true Christians" and decent, and they should win the respect of the children. But in spite of the strict demands, Cygnaeus stated that it would not be a problem to find suitable female students to the seminar. There would be lots of women in the upper classes willing to educate themselves as teachers. Finding suitable male students would be more difficult. (Cygnaeus 1910b, 13–14; 1910c, 21.)

Cygnaeus (1910b, 13; 1910c, 21) pointed out the difficulty of finding suitable male teachers, arguing that this situation had prevailed even before. Young male students interested in becoming teachers were probably often

personal failures unsuitable for the profession. Persons who would turn out as "upstarts" or "proud fools" were not eligible, either. He suspected this would be the fate of simple rural young men with teacher education. According to Cygnaeus, suitable male teachers would be peasant men who had served in the army.

The education of children was considered by Cygnaeus to be the most demanding task. In this task, women would be needed especially to educate children aged under ten, because women would be better able to do this than men. (Cygnaeus 1910b, 13; 1910c, 25.)

The aims of educating girls and boys and educating female teachers and male teachers would be different, as can be seen from the following quotation:

"(...) In educating girls, one must try to develop the fundamental matters, and school girls must therefore be familiarised with skills concerning housekeeping, cleanliness, punctuality and sacrificing compliance at home, and, likewise, the educator must try to develop in the boy obedience to the law and real Christian courage, to make them men who do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives and blood for truth and justice, for their country and for their families (...)" (Cygnaeus 1910b, 14.)

Becoming a teacher would require versatile education. The following subjects should be taught in the seminar: Bible history and Bible studies, pedagogy, didactics, Finnish, geography, history, mathematics, geometry, science, pedagogical gymnastics, health, physical and spiritual child care, singing, gardening, beekeeping, and handicraft for women. "Science" included elementary chemistry and physics as well as botany and zoology. In addition to actual school subjects, the students should also have other tasks and practice in the seminar's school. (Cygnaeus 1910b, 15; 1910c, 22.)

School education should include subjects similar to those in teacher education. And education should not be exclusively intellectual, but aim at overall cultivation of human beings. A special instrument for this was pedagogical gymnastics, which was a tool of physical education and which would also serve to harmonise the development of the soul and the body. (Cygnaeus 1910c, 22.)

Cygnaeus described pedagogical gymnastics as follows:

Correctly accomplished pedagogical gymnastics will not only have the general benefit of rendering bodily development harmonious and nurturing the spirit, (...) but it will also help Finnish people in more visible ways: if the intrinsically slow and passive Finns are given systematic and supervised exercise in jumping, climbing, swimming, shooting and other similar physical movements ever since childhood, they may become more active, courageous and determined. (Cygnaeus 1910c, 22.)

The description of pedagogical gymnastics has a special interest from the point of view of women. A little later in the same text, Cygnaeus discussed the special skills that women should have in bringing up infants. He pointed out that because women are responsible for tending the "most delicate sprouts" of humanity, they should especially receive education on how to take care of children both physically and spiritually and how to promote their health.

For this purpose, there should be for them a short course on "popular anatomy, physiology, health and child care". (Cygnaeus 1910c, 23.)

When reviewing Cygnaeus' description of physical education along with his description of the tasks of women in the same context, one gets the impression that Cygnaeus aims his physical education primarily at boys, and that the specific duty of women was to take care of the earliest physical education of infants. Physical education in the seminar should be taught by a man (ibid. 22).

Pedagogy must not lead to mechanical learning by rote, emphasised Cygnaeus in these writings. Instead, it should be based on modern theories of learning. In both of these articles Cygnaeus (1910b, 16–17; 1910c, 22–23) proposed the Pestalozzian theory.

The following example of learning to read is from the second of the texts analysed here. It illustrates Cygnaeus' view of meaningful learning (see Cygnaeus 1910c, 19). Learning to read means that the person acquires a skill to read texts fluently and without interruptions, and to understand the meaning of what she/he reads. Learning how to read should not start with a textbook, but with the pupil's experiences, and the following stages are needed in the process: speaking and thinking exercises with objects and things familiar to the children, learning to read words from a suitable textbook based on the Pestalozzian method, and learning to read and understand textbooks dealing with science and later with Bible history.

Cygnaeus pointed out that the purpose of the observational method was to make the children first recognise accurately the contents of perceptions or pictures made for this purpose, and explain "unambiguously and consistently what they have seen". After that they could start learning to read words. A suitable textbook could be used for this purpose at first. A "suitable" textbook would be illustrated with pictures representing elements of the child's everyday environment, and the texts should explain the words. While reading, the child should use a correct accent and observe the punctuation, which shows that she/he is thinking of what she/he is reading and also understands it. (Cygnaeus 1910c, 19.) Later on, descriptions of natural objects close to the child's life could be used for reading practice (Cygnaeus 1910c, 23).

Apart from what was said above concerning his views on women's education Cygnaeus also proposed in the first of these articles that there should be separate schools for girls and boys, and that if it is not possible to start the schools for girls and boys simultaneously, the schools for girls should be started first, because girls are more useful than boys in bringing up children in the home. (Cygnaeus 1910b, 17.)

3.3.3. Shifts of focus during the excursions

Soon after publishing the papers analysed above, Cygnaeus was appointed to survey the state of elementary education in Finland and to travel in Europe to study

the elementary education and elementary teacher education abroad. During his travels and immediately afterwards, Cygnaeus wrote a travel account, titled "Reseberettelse", which will be discussed below. Cygnaeus also kept a travel diary and wrote articles. They have been used as validation and supplementary material in the analysis.

During the excursions, some of Cygnaeus' points of emphasis shifted. The shifts most significant from the perspective of women and girls were his new pedagogical notions and views on the education of small children. These pedagogical notions and ideas were derived from Froebel. While travelling abroad, Cygnaeus consciously sought for and found possibilities to observe schooling practices based on Froebel's ideas. Most of the Froebelian schools which he got acquainted with were schools for small children. The notion significant from the future female student teachers' point of view that the teacher seminar should be a boarding-school is also present in these texts. (See e.g. Cygnaeus 1910d, 55.)

While abroad, Cygnaeus concentrated intensively on questions of learning and teaching. He was interested in the Pestalozzian learning model and the ways of applying it in practice, and he also tried to learn about Froebelian "through work to work" pedagogy.

As regards the Pestalozzian learning model, Cygnaeus significantly increased his knowledge of it, and also began to emphasise the importance to take into account the learner's feelings and own actions in learning processes. The matters to be learnt must be made "alive to the child's feelings", and the learning situations must be planned so as to give the child a chance to discover the matter at hand or at least its basic idea, wrote Cygnaeus. (Cygnaeus 1910d, 30.) But Cygnaeus mentions on several occasions that he personally considered the main purpose of his travels to have been to get to know the practical ways of applying the "through work to work" pedagogy (see e.g. Cygnaeus 1910d, 40; 1910e, 75, 77).

The following extract illustrates Cygnaeus' relation towards the Pestalozzian and Froebelian pedagogies:

"Object learning, which method I strongly proposed to be adopted in one school, is not only generally used in the German schools which I visited, but has even been taken one step further by Froebel. He is not merely content with giving the child external impressions through observations, but allows the child to experiment with the laws and practices of the issues taught freely and effortlessly in play, to make way for education towards work, which is the currently predominant demand." (Cygnaeus 1910e, 82.)

Cygnaeus describes the learning of elementary natural sciences according to the Froebelian method in his Travel Account as follows:

"Natural sciences play an important role in Froebel's system, and mathematics is the key to the other sciences. It provides the logic for all natural sciences. But the children are not required to learn any definitions, facts or other abstractions. Through play, they learn the elements of these sciences, and the knowledge they acquire of shapes and forms while playing will serve as a bridge to more serious and more demanding mathematics. Drawing and painting on a

paper with a grid also promotes the development of both younger and older children. The child first learns to draw short horizontal and vertical lines within a square, and after that the teacher allows her/him to make up symmetrical patterns of horizontal and vertical lines freely, only obeying the orders that are given. This will leave scope for the child's creativity and support her/his internal operations. The child does not imitate, but creates. At the same time she/he learns to move freely within the limits of the law." (Cygnaeus 1910d, 44.)

Cygnaeus considered it a special advantage of the Froebelian pedagogy that the method does not give children whole ideas, but only ingredients which they can combine to discover the whole thing by themselves. This helps them to develop their sense of form, beauty and art as well as their inventive capacity and will power. (Cygnaeus 1910e, 82.)

During his travels, Cygnaeus began to postulate that the Pestalozzian and Froebelian methods could be used side by side in school and that especially handicraft would allow the teacher to apply the Froebelian pedagogy to older pupils and students. To fulfil the criteria set by Froebel, handicraft should be "intellectually stimulating" and "mentally satisfying". Purely mechanical handicraft could not meet these criteria. (Cygnaeus 1910d, 48.)

Cygnaeus writes very little about the actual education of women in the Travel Account. The most extensive text on this topic is the section describing elementary education in Finland. The rest contains brief references to the education of women while discussing the foreign school systems. The mentions of women's education are also few in the Travel Diary. This fact gives the impression that questions pertaining to the education of women would have been at the background during his travels. This impression is not necessarily correct, however, for Cygnaeus visited many schools for girls and women during his excursions and also met female pedagogues whom he seems to have appreciated highly. (See Cygnaeus 1910f.)

In his report in the Travel Account on the state of Finnish school education, Cygnaeus claimed that the area of education that needed most urgent improvement in Finland was the education of women and girls, and that the problem was further aggravated by the even more limited notions of the educational needs of women than of elementary education in general. (Cygnaeus 1910d, 32.)

Cygnaeus writes as follows:

In our boarding schools for girls, the girls of the upper classes learn various ornamental trivia, while the girls attending the schools for "poor" people usually learn mechanical reading, the Catechism, writing, mathematics and some types of handicraft, sewing and knitting. I have heard some people say that the children of the lower classes, who are destined to become servants, should learn at school to wash the floor and do laundry, iron, bake, make beer, etc., which skills would be appreciated by the philanthropic ladies willing to employ the future servants; but nobody seems to think that the school should educate women to take care of the children. (Cygnaeus 1910d, 32.)

After that he states that Finnish women are totally ignorant about physical and spiritual child care. He repeats his opinion that infants need holistic and

natural care and that women should necessarily learn to know the "nature of infants" and the "eternal laws that God has decreed to govern the spiritual and physical aptitudes of children and their development" (Cygnaeus 1910d, 32–33).

Cygnaeus writes that expertise in bringing up children is important for all women regardless of what social class they belong to and whether they themselves are or will be mothers, for "the spiritual motherhood of the future generation is the true calling of God for every girl". He describes this calling as quiet and modest, but sacred, and points out that a woman can only be truly happy when she responds to this calling. (Ibid. 33.)

As regards girls' schools, Cygnaeus writes that to educate women to be good mothers, suitable public schools for girls are needed. To be suitable, the school must provide girls with a possibility for child care. He outlines the matter as follows:

The oldest pupils should be given a simple description of the developmental laws of the human organism and spirit, and some practically useful physiological and psychological information. They should further be given a chance to practise the physical and mental care of children. For this purpose, each full-standard girls' school should have a nursery and a kindergarten with a few orphaned children to take care of. (Cygnaeus 1910d, 33–34.)

As was mentioned earlier, Cygnaeus' later references in the Travel Account to the education of women are few. One of the few references is connected with the need of "a motherly eye" in girls' schools, whenever a male teacher is teaching the class (Cygnaeus 1910d, 48).

3.3.4. Proposals concerning primary teacher education

"Proposals" consists of the actual proposals and an introduction which culminates in a declaration of theses concerning the establishment of a primary teacher seminar and primary schools in Finland. Especially the proposals part of the document is mostly composed of papers compiled and translated by Cygnaeus rather than his own texts. Veli Nurmi (1988, 112–115) has found ingredients of the following three documents in the "Proposals": the statute on schools issued in Finland in 1856, the 1860 curriculum for the Bern canton, and the 1854 curriculum of the Wettingen seminar.

Nevertheless, "Proposals" is a document drawn up by Cygnaeus. And as such a document, it contains Cygnaeus' proposals concerning elementary education and the education of elementary school teachers. I will therefore not make any distinction between what part of the text is Cygnaeus' personal contribution and what parts have been derived from elsewhere. This decision is supported by the fact that the outlines presented in the "Proposals" for the organisation of the seminar are largely parallel to the views put forward by Cygnaeus in his previous texts.

"Proposals" as a document is the longest of the texts analysed. It is a detailed description of the elementary school system and elementary teachers' education. My idea in reporting on it is to discuss, first and foremost, only the differences and additions which are to be found in the analysed themes of the "Proposals" compared with the thematic contents of the earlier writings. The differences are related to the organisation of the seminar, the pedagogical orientation of studies, school practice and jobs outside the class and some subjects to be studied. From the point of view of gender, the differences in the subjects to be studied are most significant in handicraft.

Additional details concerning the whole system are numerous. The most important ones pertain to the required qualifications and the control system.

The analysis of the differences which Cygnaeus laid down between the seminar programmes of female and male student teachers contained some problems. Especially the actual proposal part of the document has been written as if thinking, first and foremost, of the men's seminar. Issues concerning the women's seminar occur here and there, as mere additional details of the programme. ⁶⁵ It is not possible to estimate the extent to which this was due to the fact that Cygnaeus' model when writing the proposals was the programme of the men's seminar in Wettingen (see Nurmi 1964a, 41–42).

As concerns the organisation of the seminar, Cygnaeus continues along the same lines as earlier, but he now suggests that both the seminar and the model school should be boarding-schools. In addition, the model school should include both proper primary school classes and a kindergarten as well as a day-and-night nursery. (Cygnaeus 1910g, 203.)

Cygnaeus' overall proposal for the seminar's model school was that there should be six departments: one department for the day-and-night nursery, one for the kindergarten, one for small school children and separate departments for girls and boys aged 10–15 years. Cygnaeus emphasised the importance of teaching in separate groups and having a teacher of the same sex as the pupils at this age because of the needs to support the formation of the children's sex-related identities. (Ibid.)

The primary school should consist of departments for children aged between 10 and 15. A school for small children should be organised for children aged 7–10 years. The small children's school and the primary school together should be responsible for public primary education in Finland. The kindergarten and the day-and-night nursery in the seminar model school should give the students a chance to learn to understand children and their growth by living with them and by learning through practical long-term contacts with them. These issues were also considered necessary for providing skills in natural child care. Work in the nursery and the kindergarten was to be begun during

For example, there were mentioned entrance requirements only for male students (see Cygnaeus 1910g, 218. See also ibid. 206–207).

the first year of studies and continued throughout the time spent in the seminar. (Ibid.) From the perspective of gender, it is important that Cygnaeus only proposed the kindergarten and the day-and-night nursery as a system for educating female students, and the duty to work and live with small children was also only for female students (ibid. 186, 204).

According to the "Proposal" the students of the women's seminar were to work in the model school with fifteen girls aged 9–15 and about twenty girls and boys aged under 10. The smallest girls were even to sleep with their teachers. The older girls attending the model school would live in rooms adjacent to the rooms of the female students and under their supervision. The students of the men's seminar, on the other hand, were to work with fifteen boys aged 9–15. The boys of the model school would live in rooms next to the male students' rooms and under their supervision. (Cygnaeus 1910g, 204.)

Teaching in the model school would be different for boys and girls. The teachers in the model school for boys would consist of teachers of the seminar, who were to have an academic degree, and male students of the seminar. The teacher of educational science was to be the head teacher in the model school for boys. Teaching in the model school for girls was to be undertaken by a female teacher together with the female students, but teachers of the men's seminar were also to teach in the model school for girls. (Ibid. 207.)

During the lessons given in the men's seminar and the model school for boys, each teacher would be responsible for discipline. In the women's seminar and the model school for girls, the female teacher would be responsible for discipline together with the headmistress, and whenever a male teacher was teaching the female students of the seminar, a female teacher was to be present to prevent "any possible hints at immorality" or other lack of discipline. (Ibid. 224.) To maintain strict morality in the women's seminar, it was separately mentioned in the "Proposal" that the headmistress should take good care that not even the slightest sign of immorality, frivolity or impropriety could go unrebuked or, if necessary, unpunished (ibid. 226).

As far as pedagogical solutions are concerned, Cygnaeus proposed a system which he interpreted to be a combination of Pestalozzian and Froebelian pedagogies. The "through work to work" idea in learning would be meaningful in the seminar as a supplementary pedagogy for the Pestalozzian learning model. But according to the "Proposals", Cygnaeus considered the Froebelian method to imply the learning through work principle, and the use of previously acquired skills and knowledge in work. The following quotation illustrates Cygnaeus' later interpretation of the Froebelian method:

While teaching in a primary school, it is important to ensure that the knowledge acquired by a child is not merely something that she/he memorises mechanically, but that the child is soon given a chance to use this knowledge in actual work; therefore, the method of education to be used from the lowest to the highest level of primary school is "through work to work". (Cygnaeus 1910g, 182.)

Subject studies should be mainly accomplished by using the Pestalozzian learning method, and the students should also learn to use it in their own teaching (e.g. Cygnaeus 1910g, 236–237, 239). Froebelian influences can be found in the contents and methods of some subjects, e.g. science (Cygnaeus 1910g, 248–249) and handicraft (ibid. 257–259). Cygnaeus also added to the curriculum a further subject, learning of shapes and designs (ibid. 244–245), which had been emphasised by Froebel.

The subjects and study courses were mainly the same for male and female students. The most significant gendered differences occurred in educational science, physical education and handicraft. The different contents in educational science were based on the gendered differences in the use of Froebelian and Pestalozzian pedagogies and the fact that only female students were to educate small children. As regards physical education, there is nothing specifically new to say.

According to Cygnaeus' texts from the year 1857, handicraft was only meant for female students. Now he proposed it for both sexes. He titled his account of handicraft as "On instruction in technical work" (Cygnaeus 1910g, 257). He pointed out that the goal of handicraft is to give the students general dexterity and skills in preparing certain tools. He considered this important for everybody, but especially for manual workers. In line with the Froebelian ideas, Cygnaeus wrote that handicraft should be taught in such a way that it requires mental resources and produces mental satisfaction, stimulates the willingness to work and educates the pupil both bodily and mentally. (Ibid. 257–258.)

When presenting the contents of handicraft, Cygnaeus began by describing the handicraft of male students:

Having acquired the most essential technical skills in the use of carpenters' and turners' tools and the making of ordinary household utensils and farming tools, the male students should try to apply these skills to assignments which require thinking, for instance, the making of simple geometrical and physical devices, such as an angle measure, compasses, (...) model farming tools (...). (Ibid. 258.)

The above text can be interpreted to imply the Froebelian principles, but the essential point is that a skill is first learnt and then used.

As it was mentioned above, the section dealing with handicraft is titled "technical work", and it begins with a description of handicraft instruction intended for men. Towards the end of the section, however, the handicraft of the "women's department" is also discussed.

In the women's department, various more and less sophisticated forms of handicraft are taught, including sewing, spinning, weaving, crocheting and knitting, etc. The female students should also learn to cut out patterns for linen and simple garments and, further, to use the educational tools of the nursery and the kindergarten, such as Froebel's six toy gifts, and to organise gymnastic games. (Ibid. 258.)

From the perspective of gender, it is also important to consider the quality of work that Cygnaeus proposed to be done outside the classes. The proposals

assigned a variety of tasks to the students, which were partly related to the daily routines, such as cleaning, heating the rooms, etc. But Cygnaeus also proposed that the seminar should have facilities for agriculture, cattle raising and gardening.

The female students had to work in the kitchen and in the cowhouse from the beginning of their studies. Among other things, they also had to do the laundry, clean not only their own department, but also the men's department, at least the parts "which were not regarded as suitable for men". The male students also had to clean the parts of their quarters which were considered suitable for men. In addition to that, they had to work in the horse stables and in the fields and to bring in firewood for heating the rooms. (Cygnaeus 1910g, 259–265.)

The division of tasks reflects both the sex-related differentiation and the conflict between the sex-related hierarchy and hierarchies defined by other factors. The sex-related hierarchy surpassed the social status. On the basis of both the initial and the subsequent proposals, the male students of the seminar were to come from peasant families and the female students from upper-class families. While cleaning their rooms, however, the male students were to do "what was suitable for their status", whereas the female students were responsible for cleaning their own quarters and the parts of the men's quarters not considered suitable for the men's status.

It should also be pointed out that the tasks of the female students were, at least partly, more tied to both time and place than those of the male students. This is especially true of their work in the kindergarten, the nursery and the cowhouse. The female students were, for example, responsible for milking and tending the cows daily, while the corresponding duties of the male students consisted of seeing to the horses and their medication.

According to Cygnaeus' proposal, women were even otherwise totally bound to the seminar. Male students were also bound, but it was for male students that Cygnaeus proposed walking trips on Sundays and holidays and naturalistic excursions in the summer. (Ibid. 265.) One third of the male students were also allowed to spend part of their summer holidays with their relatives. The female students, on the other hand, were obliged to stay in the seminar throughout their studies. They were only granted holidays for special reasons. (Ibid. 209.)

In spite of the more demanding contents and perspectives of planned female teachers' education and in spite of the fact that Cygnaeus maintained that educating small children is a more demanding task than educating bigger ones, Cygnaeus proposed the salaries of female teachers to be lower than the salaries of male teachers.

3.4. The first seminar curriculum from the perspective of gender

Many people considered Cygnaeus' proposals to be too ambitious, too expensive or otherwise questionable, for example, because of moral reasons. The moral-based protests were directed against Cygnaeus' proposal that male and female student teachers should be taught in the same seminar. And there was also opposition towards educating women to the teaching profession at all. (Raitio 1913, 89–111; Halila 1963, 18–21; Nurmi 1964a, 46–51.)

Cygnaeus' views were opposed by the part of the clergy who saw no need to change the existing educational system, and by J. V. Snellman, who represented an academic authority and, compared with the views of Cygnaeus, the other pedagogic approach predominant at that time. This contradiction was also visible in the solutions made while later discussing the proposals for a seminar. (See Raitio, 1913, 89.) Many analyses (e.g. Raitio 1913; 115–144; Halila 1963, 22–26; Nurmi 1964a, 49–51) show, however, that the seminar was established according to Cygnaeus' proposal.

Primary teacher education constituted one of the first forums of vocational education for women in Finland. What was its first organisation like from the perspective of gender and gendering? I will discuss the question through the contents of the writings analysed above and the seminar part of the Finnish statutes on primary schools. The reports of the first formation of the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminar written by Kalervo Raitio (1913), Aimo Halila (1963) and Veli Nurmi (1964a, b) will be used as additional material. The gender specificity of the structures will be analysed by using culturally produced differences and hierarchies as special tools.

The teacher seminar was started under the guidelines of a temporary statute issued in 1863. The seminar was established as permanent in 1866. The proper seminar curriculum, which is a part in the first Finnish statutes on primary schools⁶⁶ is from the same year.⁶⁷ (Nurmi 1988, 128.)

Corresponding to Cygnaeus' prior writings, the teacher seminar was coeducational. The programme was planned to cover four years. The institute was a boarding-school with separate departments for male and female students. There was also a primary school called the "model school" in the seminar. The model school included an upper primary school, a lower primary school and a kindergarten, and some children of day nursery age were also included in the model school system. The model school was mainly a boarding-school,

This was a statute dated May 11, 1866 concerning the arrangement of primary schools in the Grand Duchy of Finland.

But Veli Nurmi, for example, considers the fact that the seminar curriculum was constructed in line with Cygnaeus' proposals to be primarily due to the fact that the seminar started operating on the basis of a temporary statute issued in 1863 (Nurmi 1988, 128).

as was the seminar. (Asetus⁶⁸ 1866, § 18, 19, 20.) The parts of the model school are illustrated in figure 7.

MODEL SCHOOL FOR FEMALE STUDENTS TO PRACTICE IN	MODEL SCHOOL FOR MALE STUDENTS TO PRACTICE IN
Higher primary school for girls	Higher primary school for boys
Lower primary school for both sexes Kindergarten	
Nursery for both sexes	

Figure 7. Class structure of the model school of the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminar (cf. Kuikka 1981)

The terms "upper" and "lower" school show an important difference in the aims of Cygnaeus and in the final system. Cygnaeus had planned that the small children's school should be part of the school system and equally valued as the school for older children. The system was built so that the lower school was not part of the actual public school system, nor financed by the state. (Asetus 1866, § 83, 102, 103, 117.)

Corresponding to Cygnaeus' proposals, the lower school and the kindergarten were for children aged 5 to 9. The upper school was for children aged 10–15. Girls and boys in the primary school worked separately from each other. In the lower primary school, girls and boys could be taught together. The seminar teachers did not teach in the model school.

The statutes did not contain family background criteria for entrance (see Asetus 1866, § 50). The backgrounds of the women and men who were admitted to the seminar, however, differed: the women came from of the upper classes, while the men were country men. This meant that most of the male students were without prior schooling, whereas almost all the women had girls' school as prior education, although the general possibilities of women and girls to go to school were much more limited than the possibilities of men and boys. (Halila 1949a, 338; Raitio 1913, 219–247.)

The argumentation which Cygnaeus used for the different background requirements is interesting. It was partly connected with the question of who would be interested enough in educational issues, and partly with the questions

⁶⁸ Statutes on primary school

of societal status. These questions were present in the argumentation concerning both sexes, but the danger which he saw and the solutions which he made differed according to sex.

Cygnaeus pointed out the danger that male teachers, if not recruited from suitable societal groups, might be more interested in other than teaching jobs, or as teachers they might be more interested in their own position than in educating children. He did not mention any such danger concerning women, but suggested that women of the upper classes would be most suitable as teachers. He did not suggest that women of the lower classes would be suitable as teachers.

It should also be pointed out that Cygnaeus' descriptions of suitable male and female students included the same differences that were present in the educational goals defined for men and women and their special tasks in the field of education. Men were to grow up brave fighters for their homes and native land, and male teachers were to support boys in this growth. Women were to grow up for the home and particularly to bring up children. Their special task in upbringing was to instil basic values. The differences in the aims were clearly connected by Cygnaeus with the different gendered contracts which he put forward for women and men, creating the new modern Finnish national society based on upward development, national culture, patriotism, industrialisation, enterprise and perseverance. Women's special task in this project was to educate the new generation in the desired direction. The task was societal, presenting a new emphasis on women's duties.

The above mentioned differentiated life tasks and contracts constitute one reason why Cygnaeus considered it necessary to tie the female students more strictly than the male students to the educational institution. Female teachers were not allowed to experience freedom from the home duties and the duties connected with the basic education of children, which Cygnaeus saw to be the societal tasks of women and the tasks also demanded from them by God.

Correspondingly, it was the special educational task of the female teachers to educate small children. They were to work with boys and girls aged under ten and also with girls older than ten. This means that the female students were oriented to work in the lower and upper schools. The male students were oriented to teach especially boys in the upper schools.

There were many subjects to study in the seminar programme. The subjects were almost the same as those proposed by Cygnaeus, and the weekly contact work hours and the study contents were also relatively similar for both sexes. (Asetus 1866, § 24). This fact was in significant contradiction to the contemporary model of subjects to be studied by girls and boys, for example, in secondary schools. But although the subjects studied were relatively similar, there were also differences. The differences were most obvious in handicraft, physical education and studies concerning children and their education. Parallel to the differences in the notions of suitable male and female teachers, the differences in the contents of the study subjects were also connected with the differences in the basic aims of educating women and men.

Handicraft was included in the seminar programme. It was called *technical* work for men and *handicraft* for women and consisted of extracurricular activities outside the actual study subjects. The other work activities were gardening for both sexes, farming for male students and housekeeping for female students. (Asetus 1866, § 24.)

It had been Cygnaeus' proposal that handicraft should be included in the curricula of both male and female students. Obviously, because of their prior schooling histories, and because of the culturally shared understanding of the sex-related differences of life tasks, this posed no problem for the women, nor did the content of their handicraft studies. But the inclusion of handicraft in the curriculum of the male students aroused strong opposition, as did also its content. (E.g. Nurmi 1964b, 73–74; Raitio 1913; Cygnaeus 1910h, 346–347.) In international terms, this decision was also unprecedented (Nurmi 1964b, 73).

As to technical work, the emphasis was on the development of technical skills and on learning how to use technical equipment. In textile work, the emphasis was on making various products, which were also listed. These products were meant for family life, just as in the curriculum of the girls' school.⁶⁹

When planning the educational systems of primary education and primary teacher education, Cygnaeus talked, in connection with physical education, specifically about educational gymnastics, the purpose of which he said to be to contribute to the harmony of human growth, to eliminate sluggishness, and to stimulate bravery and fearlessness in the pupils. As to men's physical education, these objectives, together with the general aims of education, were realised through an emphasis on competitiveness, strength and speed, while among women, the emphasis was on suppleness, rhythmicity and agility. (Raitio 1913, 180–181.) The sex-related differences in the objectives and contents were similar to those in secondary schools (Koivusalo 1982, 21).

The differences in orientation between technical work and handicraft can also be seen in the resources available for the subjects. Technical handicraft was equipped from the very beginning – in the 1860s – with a wide range of tools and implements, but textile work was not. For instance, the sewing machines which were used at the Jyväskylä seminar for textile work were owned by private persons as late as the turn of the 1880s and 1890s. (Raitio 1913, 180–181; Halila 1963.)

In the original plans for physical education, which were from

In the original plans for physical education, which were from Germany from the beginning of the 19th century, rhytmicity and agility were included especially in round-dance aimed for women. A corresponding sex-related special area of men's physical education was connected with military aims. (Koivusalo 1982, 41, 107; Meinander 1994.) Military service was established in Finland in 1877–1878 (Koivusalo 1982, 107).

As regards actual pedagogical studies, the sex-related differences were also clear. Primarily, the differences did not seem to be based on different assumptions concerning learning by men and women. Instead, they seemed to be connected especially with the tasks in the model school. In principle, school practice had similar contents for both sexes and was scheduled to take place in the last seminar year. But in addition to actual primary school practice, there were also practice periods for the female student teachers in the day-and-night nursery and the kindergarten. The female students' work with children in the kindergarten was planned to begin in the first study year and to last throughout the education. The female students were also to share their living quarters with the smallest children.

The teaching of small children and the studying for this were based on a different pedagogy than the other studies and teaching. Cygnaeus' pedagogy was built, even in other respects, on the model of Pestalozzian object teaching, but when organising small children's instruction, he endeavoured to apply the Froebelian idea of learning 'through work to work'. Therefore, the teaching method which the male students were instructed to use was object teaching, and the teaching methods taught to the female students were object teaching and the 'through-work-to-work' method.

An attempt was also made to organise the studies of female and male students accordingly: The basic model in organising the studies was Pestalozzian, but the studies in the education of small children were organised differently. Ideas of the Froebelian model were present there. In addition to this, Cygnaeus thought at a certain stage that technical work studies should be organised in such a way as to promote the Froebelian pedagogical ideas.

The sex-related differences in the seminar also included differences in the moral code and control. Female and male students were taught separately from each other, and especially the female students had to be protected against immorality and actions which were in contradiction to the prevailing norms. The most obvious special arrangement to protect the morality of women was that when female students were taught by a male teacher, there had to be a female guardian present in the room. The stricter moral control applied to women is hardly justified at all in the texts that have been analysed here. Cygnaeus points out only once that he had noticed that female students tend to become frivolous, unless there is a female teacher present to supervise them. The stricter moral control of women is related to the more general contemporary gender systems.

On the basis of the curriculum, it is not possible to say much about the hierarchies between male and female students. One thing is clear, however. The stricter control system for women gave them less freedom and made them more subordinated.

The question of hierarchies and status prevailing during the education appears different, depending on what viewpoint it is approached from. If the criterion is the status based on study performance and conversational contacts, the status of female students seems to have been higher. The average study performance of the first female students was better than that of the male

students (Raitio 1913; Halila 1963), and while Cygnaeus himself acted as the head of the Jyväskylä seminar, he appeared to have spent more time in the women's department than in the men's department. The most common interpretation of this is that the female students were more sophisticated in pedagogical discourse than the male students (Raitio 1913; Halila 1963).

As regards the hierarchies concerning the teaching profession, the hierarchies of the status and salaries are most visible. The female students were educated for lower paid posts than the male students. And although Cygnaeus, among others, claimed that educating small children is a more demanding task than educating older ones, the female students were educated for a lower status also precisely because they were educated to work as teachers of small children. Teaching small children meant teaching in the lower primary school with an even lower status and salaries than in upper primary school.

A brief look into the first implemented curriculum

In 1863, 33 men and 16 women were enrolled as students in the seminar. Owing to the differences in their societal backgrounds, the male and the female students came from different geographic localities and differed in their native language and educational background. Most of the male students came from rural areas, while the female students came from towns. Most of the female students were Swedish-speaking, while the male students spoke Finnish. (Raitio 1913, 219–226; Halila 1963.)

Because of the different backgrounds, the study abilities of the male and the female students also differed. This is obvious from the first implemented study programme. Physics was studied during the first seminar year only by the female students. (Raitio 1913, 180–181.) This was not because of differently targeted programmes, but because of the different study histories and abilities of the female and male students. A further illustrative detail concerning the background competencies of the first female students in the teacher seminar is that the first female students may have studied German as an additional language. Foreign language studies were included in the regular education programme about 90 years later. (Ibid.)

It would be justified to assume that the education may have been more stressing for the male than the female students because of their lower level of background education. But this is not the case. The following themes were discussed among the teaching staff as early as the first years of primary teacher education in Finland:

- the male students progressed in their studies less well than the female students
- the examination period caused more stress on the female than the male students
- the female students succeeded in their studies better than the male students. (Raitio 1913, 190–191; Halila 1963.)

To sum up the studied issues

To sum up the issues studied here, it can be said that the factors essential for the built-in gender system of primary teacher education included the facts that there was a coeducational seminar to educate both male and female students, and that the model schools of the seminar were different for the departments of women and men. These phenomena reflected the prevailing societal gender system, but also implied efforts to change it.

The most visible elements of the gender system in the Jyväskylä seminar were the following:

- different requirements for enrolment
- different aims for personal growth
- sex- and grade-based division of prospective teachers: female teachers for girls of all ages and for small boys, male teachers for boys aged 10 or more
- differences in study subjects; especially in physical education, handicraft and pedagogy
- everyday chores and pedagogical tasks of the students
- moral code and normative control.

From the societal viewpoint, the state-level establishment of a female teaching profession and the provision of the necessary education signified a breakthrough in the prevailing notion that women were destined to stay at home. The breakthrough was, however, only partial. The education of female teachers was linked to the women's duties in the home, and the female teaching profession was not at all aimed for the women of the lower social groups.

As regards the hierarchies between male and female students, they seemed to make up a more complex whole. The female students were from higher status families, they were more educated, and they succeeded in their studies better than their male colleagues. On the other hand, the stricter control system gave them less freedom and thus made them more subordinated than the male students.

3.5. Looking further into the history

The guidelines first established for primary teacher education, remained almost unchanged for a long period (see Rinne 1986, 208; Nurmi 1979). The studies included school subject studies, pedagogical studies, school practice and tasks carried out outside the classes (Asetus 1866, § 24). The first law and statute which altered the guidelines were not issued until 1958 (L 5/58 and Asetus 324/58). After that the regulations were altered in the 1970s (L 279/1971; Asetus 530/1978). The most recent changes are from the year 1995 (Asetus 576/1995). Formally, primary teacher education has been academic graduate education in whole Finland since the 1970s.

The changes in the seminar curriculum between the years 1866 and 1958 were slow, as were also the changes in Finnish society. Finland was dominantly

an agrarian, small farmers' country until the 1950s (Heikkinen 1996, 50). As late as 1930, about 80 per cent of the population lived in the countryside. In the 1980s, this proportion was less than 40 per cent. (Rinne 1989, 46.)

Some changes, however, occurred in the seminar education during the years 1866–1958. The prior schooling needed for entrance changed several times. The starting point was that no prior schooling was required. Since 1886 the enrolment criterion was the upper primary school level qualification (Rinne 1986, 208). Lower and upper secondary education as possible enrolment criteria were mentioned first in the statutes dating from the year 1923 (L 137/1923).⁷¹

As regards the duties of women in the seminar, an important change was that the nursery and kindergarten system as part of seminar education was abandoned before the end of the 19th century (Raitio 1913, 294).

The law on compulsory education was issued in Finland in 1921. This law (L 101/1921) signified both a general responsibility for learning and an end to the aggravated conflict within primary education: by this time, the lower primary education run by the church had been taken over by the local authorities. At the same time, lower primary school teacher education financed by the state was also started. (Rinne 1988, 109.)⁷²

As it was mentioned above, the first law and statute which changed the guidelines were given in the year 1958 (L 5/1958; Asetus 324/1958). Even then, the changes in the actual programme were small. The biggest changes concerned education needed for entrance into teacher education and the possibilities to make some personal choices in school subject studies (L 5/1958; Asetus 324/1958, §9). As regards the entrance requirements, the change was not radical. Rather, it listed the changes which had occurred. The entrance requirement was now lower or upper secondary level education. The important also to notice the changes in the objectives of female and male teachers' education. The previous idea of primary teachers had been that they were model citizens with gender-specific life tasks. These emphases were no longer so clear.

Even before that, part of the student teachers were secondary school graduates (Kangas 1992, 88).

⁷² There had already been teacher education for lower schools in Finland, since the 1890s. Before the 1920s it had been organised privately. (Rinne 1988, 109.)

The question of the educational background required for entrance was discussed in the 1940s. The committee which discussed the issue did not suggest secondary school as the enrolment criterion, because there were doubts that there might not be enough men at that educational level who would be interested in the primary teacher's job (Kom. 1945, 47). In 1950, however, about one half of the students in teacher education were secondary school graduates (Rinne 1989, 130).

In the 1970s, Finland implemented a nine-year comprehensive school system, and soon afterwards primary teacher education was changed to be an academic education. As regards the objectives of university-based teacher education, the aim has been to educate individual professionals to teach individual children. (See L 280/1967; Asetus 443/1970; L 279/1971; Asetus 530/1978; L 476/1983; cf. Rinne 1986, 209; Simola 1995.) The extracurricular tasks have gradually also disappeared, and the studies are currently divided into subject studies, school practice, and studies in educational science (Asetus 324/1958, §9; Asetus 576/1995 §12).

Students now have basic studies worth 35 credits in school subjects. In addition, they choose one to three school subjects or other subjects which support school work as their minor subjects. The extent of each minor subject is 15 or 35 credits. (Asetus 576/1995; Asetus 530/1978 §19). The studies in educational science are advanced studies, and the students write their Master's theses on it. (Asetus 530/1978, §17; Asetus 576/1995 §12).

A central topic of dispute at the time the Jyväskylä Seminar started was the question of whether it was morally right to have male and female students studying in the same seminar. The subsequent history of primary teacher education in Finland has mostly been a history of separate education of female and male teachers.

A teacher seminar similar to the Jyväskylä seminar was also established in Sortavala in 1880, but the next coeducational seminar was not established until 87 years later. For instance, all the teacher seminars in Northern Finland have operated, either totally or at least for part of their existence, as segregated institutions: in 1895, a teacher seminar for women was founded in Raahe, in 1900 a seminar was started for men in Kajaani, and in 1923 a lower primary teacher seminar for women was established in Tornio. The teacher seminar founded in Kemijärvi in 1950 was a coeducational seminar. (Kemij. 1970, 21). The Kemijärvi Teacher Seminar was the first seminar in Finland to give coeducational teacher education on a seminar level. To

The different enrolment qualifications of female and male students have also been maintained for most of the time. Despite their generally higher background education, female students applying for entrance into teacher education may have had to take various additional courses to ensure their

The first separate female and male seminars for teachers were established in Tammisaari and Uusikaarlepyy in the 1870s. Swedish was used in both of them. Later, separate female teacher seminars were established in Raahe, Heinola, and Savonlinna. Corresponding male seminars were established in Kajaani and Rauma. (Rinne 1986, 90.)

⁷⁵ Coeducational elementary schools had started more than 50 years before (Hakaste 1988, 161–162).

admission. This seems to have been the case as early as the 1880s. (Sysiharju 1985, 131; Halila 1963.)

It also seems that education has produced sex-relatedly differed qualifications. Risto Rinne, who studied the cultural and social capital of Finnish primary teachers between the end of the 19th century and the last years of the 1980s, mentions that women have had better study performance than men both during teacher education and before it (Rinne 1989, 193). The same message is included in the writings of Erkki Lahdes (1987, 48–49).

As regards the internal division of tasks within schools, it has been a general practice throughout the history of teacher education that women specialise in early education, while men do not (Kauranne 1966, 40; Nurmi 1990; Rinne 1986). For example, the seminars founded for the lower forms of elementary school in the early 20th century were meant for women, ⁷⁶ and when these seminars were merged with the other primary teacher education system at the end of the 1940s, female students were actually advised to orient towards elementary teaching, so that there would not be a shortage of teachers in the lower forms (Nurmi 1990). The different categories of elementary teaching have also resulted in different levels of appreciation and different salaries (Haataja 1989, 159).

The number of educated primary teachers was about twenty in 1865. In 1935 it was about 12 000. Before the year 1986, educated primary teachers numbered 18 250 (Rinne 1986, 63; 1989). The number of educated female teachers has been higher than the number of educated male teachers throughout the history of primary teacher education. Only the very beginning of the education provided an exception to this rule. However, the difference between the numbers of educated male and female primary teachers in the teaching profession has been bigger than the difference between the graduating male and female primary teachers. This means that it has been usual for qualified male teachers to work in jobs other than primary teaching. (See Rinne 1986, 62, 103.)

Lower primary school teacher education was discontinued at the turn of the 1950s (ibid.).

The first-state financed Finnish lower teacher seminar was established in Hämeenlinna at the beginning of the 1920s. Corresponding institutions were later established in Tornio, Suistamo and Vaasa, and 25 per cent of all primary teachers in Finland in 1945 were teachers in lower primary schools (Rinne 1986, 57, 90). According to Rinne (1989, 85) a working class -background was also more common among the students in lower primary school teacher education than among the students in upper primary school teacher education.

4. GENDER IN THE CURRICULA OF PRIMARY TEACHER EDUCATION IN OULU

The purpose of this part of the study is to observe the recent curricular structures of primary teacher education in Oulu from the perspectives of gender. The special tools used are the culturally produced differences and hierarchies corresponding to the previous analyses.

I will begin with some background. Then I will continue with the curricular issues. I will focus my curricular observations on the first curriculum used in the Oulu College of Teacher Education and the curricula used in the academic years 1975–1976 and 1988–1989. The findings of the previous analyses are used to direct the recent analyses. I will also observe the realised curricula. I will do that through the minor subjects of the new primary teachers who qualified in the Oulu Department of Teacher Education during the pedagogic development project in the years 1988–1995.

4.1. Background

There has been primary teacher education in Oulu since 1953, when the Oulu College of Teacher Education admitted its first students (Nurmi 1990, 207; Rasi 1974; Isohookana 1974). The establishment of the College was connected with the post-war reconstruction period and the shortage of qualified teachers. The shortage was especially notable in the northern parts of Finland (Nurmi 1990, 199–200).

The Oulu College of Teacher Education was the third teacher education college in Finland. Corresponding institutions had previously begun operating in Helsinki and Turku. In addition, there was the College of Educational Sciences in Jyväskylä, established in 1934, which also educated primary teachers. These educational colleges and the seminar tradition served as a model for the organisation of education. (Kyöstiö 1975, 32; Kangas 1992, 119–130, 132; Nurmi 1990, 24–25, 32, 225.) In the very beginning, the regular basis of the curriculum consisted of the statutes analysed in section 3.4 (see pages 62–68).

In 1957 the Teacher Education College was granted a permanent status (L119/1955) and since the foundation of the University of Oulu in 1959 primary teacher education has been connected to it. From the year 1974 onwards, primary teacher education has been located in the Faculty of Behavioural Sciences⁷⁷ in the University of Oulu. (Nurmi 1990, 207; Rasi 1974, 32–33.)

Admission to the Teacher Education College and the Department of Teacher Education has presupposed senior secondary school education, and the male and the female students have studied in coeducational groups at all times.

Studies in the Teacher Education College first lasted for two years, although education in the seminars lasted from three to five years, depending on the level of the students' prior education. It was maintained that senior secondary school education compensated for part of the contents of the subjects to be studied. During the 1960s, the educational programme was planned to last three years, and since the late 1970s for four years.

The number of male students has been a topic of discussion from the very beginning. According to Veli Nurmi, this question was already present in state-level discussions before the decision had been made to begin primary teacher education in Oulu (Nurmi 1990, 203). Attempts have been made to guarantee a certain number of male students by using a 40 per cent quota of enrolments for male students. The quota system was in use up till the late 1980s.

As to gender and sex-related equity education, the issues had been occasionally mentioned in some lectures in the mid-1980s, but were unknown in the official curricula, with two exceptions. The exceptions consist of a plan and a proposal by prof. Oiva Kyöstiö and his colleagues in the 1970s.

In the year 1972, Oiva Kyöstiö, together with Pirkko Saarinen et al., published a plan for integrated pre-school education. According to the plan, school education should promote four main domains of development, which were called the biological, cognitive, ethical-social and aesthetic domains. Sex/gender was mentioned in the description of the developmental tasks of two domains; the biological and the ethical-social. The objectives were to provide biological knowledge about the issues through sexual education and to avoid role divisions based on sex. This task was further specified by pointing out that there need not be separate boys' tasks and girls' tasks, and that it should be asked why girls and boys have different roles in society. (Kyöstiö et al. 1972, 1, 3, 24, 32.)

In the committee report concerning the arrangement of teacher education in Oulu at the stage when teacher education in whole Finland was to be integrated into universities, Professor Kyöstiö with his colleagues proposed that the sex-based quota system should be eliminated from student enrolment

⁷⁷ The name was later changed into the Faculty of Educational Sciences.

to promote progress and sex-related equity in teacher education. (Kilpi, Kyöstiö et al. 1973, 24.)

Kyöstiö had also taken an active stand on equity issues. His emphases were mainly on equality issues concerning social position and race. As a prerequisite for the materialisation of equality Kyöstiö proposed the dissolution of social hierarchies and, concerning education, the dissolution of institutions based on hierarchic thinking. (e.g. Kyöstiö 1971, 299; 1981.) He expressed his views on the matter in the following way:

"A hierarchical system does not work on the democratic principle, but is bound to lead to a meritocratic society, which divides people into different classes on the basis of schooling. The fundamental error is that schooling and education are seen as one. The nature of school as an institution which keeps up competition, arranges examinations and causes stress will prevail." (Kyöstiö 1971, 298.)

Kyöstiö was of the opinion that a hierarchical system had little to contribute to the development of equity. On the other hand, and especially in his later writings, he also pointed out that from the point of view of equality, the school, even if its activities were carried out democratically, has no significant possibilities to promote equality. His view was that in order to be able to be realised significantly, equality should first be achieved in the judicial and economic domain as well as in the power structures. And as regards education, the promotion of equality issues sets challenges to both the structure and the contents of education and its processes. (Kyöstiö 1981, 14.)

The pursuit of equality is a multi-stage process according to Kyöstiö, who specified the following stages:

- 1. entrance to education,
- 2. removal of external obstacles,
- 3. equity of environment,
- 4. equity of results. (Kyöstiö 1981, 9.)⁷⁸

The year 1988, when my pedagogic project began, was a kind of a turning point in the pedagogic life of the Department. Professor Martti Jussila, who had been professor of educational science since the 1970s, retired, and Leena Syrjälä took the post, holding it first temporarily and later as a tenure.

Kyöstiö seems to have been even otherwise active on issues concerning females and males in educational systems. In his article published in the Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research in 1970, Kyöstiö reported his study on the school performance of boys and girls in comprehensive and segregated schools. As a conclusion of a comprehensive report, he points out that girls do better in segregated than comprehensive schools, while the situation of boys is the opposite. He pointed out in the article that the difference cannot be due to differences in the cognitive development of girls and boys. Instead, the differences can be due to differences in socially defined personality development, which may be supported in different ways in comprehensive and segregated schools. (Kyöstiö 1970, 152–153.)

Professor Martti Jussila, who had emphasised "child-centeredness", had acted as a professor in the Department of Teacher Education from 1976 till 1988. He had underlined the importance of students' own activity in learning, their natural environments and the need for non-hierarchic relations in it (Jussila 1976; 1981; 1983; 1988; Jussila & Toivonen 1979).

The part of education that Jussila had especially tried to develop was the first year of studies and the school practices. Jussila thought that meeting oneself and the pupils and becoming familiar with them is a precondition for sensible teacher education and that becoming acquainted with people takes time. He therefore proposed that students should have "permanent practice classes". The idea of permanent practice classes or "groups" meant that the students should work in the same classes with the same pupils throughout their education or at least for a long time. The students, pupils, teachers and supervisors should make up permanent groups of 10 to 20 persons. With this system, Jussila sought for possibilities to integrate the school system with the theoretical studies, the students' prior studies, their personal views, needs and expectations as well as life in general. (Jussila 1988, 53–56. See also Jussila 1976; 1983.)

In the late 1980s, Martti Jussila's ideas of the first school practice period and the educational course "Familiarisation with pupils" connected with it, were still partly in use in the Oulu Department of Teacher Education. The main purpose of the first school practice period was to make each student acquainted with one school class and with its pupils, although the period also included teaching. Jussila's idea of permanent practice classes was also in use, although "permanence" only meant the first two school practice periods.

The theory which most affected Finnish primary teacher education and especially its school practices had been proposed by F. Clarke (1970, 403–416). It was based on the idea that the teaching skill develops through the learning of various subskills, and that these subskills make up three levels of competence that emerge in a definite order. Clarke's model was modified further and applied especially in evaluating students' teaching skills (Lahdes 1976, 1, 13; 1979, 164–171; Leppilampi & Virta 1981; Karjalainen & Isohookana-Asunmaa 1984). Clarke's system of subskills oriented school work towards technical learning of the subskills of teaching and directed the main focus in the pedagogic relations towards the teacher rather than the children/pupils (Karjalainen & Isohookana-Asunmaa 1984, 23–25; Jussila & Lauriala 1989).

⁷⁹ This was the course which formed the basis for my development work. See page 18.

4.2. Curricular observations

The issues where gender was most visible in the first curriculum of the Jyväskylä seminar were

- different goals for female and male teachers' personal growth
- sex- and grade-based division of prospective teachers into female teachers for girls of all ages and small boys, and male teachers for boys aged 10 or more
- differences in the contents of the subjects studied; especially in physical education, handicraft and pedagogy
- the daily tasks of the students
- moral code and normative control.

These are the issues through which I will next observe the curricula of the Oulu College of Teacher Education and the Oulu Department of Primary Teacher Education.

The objects of the analyses are the curricula which were in use at the chosen points of time. The time points are the beginning of teacher education in the Teacher Education College, the beginning of academic teacher education in the Faculty of Educational Sciences, and the academic year 1988–1989, when I started the pedagogical project. In the first case, the curricula analysed are the curricula of the study years 1953–1954 and 1954–1955. The reason to analyse two curricula lies in the fact that at the beginning of the first of these years, only the first part of the curriculum was completed. In the second case, I will analyse the curriculum of the academic year 1975–1976, although teacher education in the Faculty of Educational Sciences began in the academic year 1974–1975. The reason for this is the same as in the first case: the new curriculum was not ready in the first of these years.

The core material used in the curricular analyses thus consists of the curricula of the Temporary Teacher College of Oulu from the years 1953–1954 and 1954–1955⁸⁰ and the curricula of the Faculty of Educational Sciences in the University of Oulu from the years 1975–1976 and 1988–1989⁸¹. As additional material, I will use the annual reports of the Finnish Colleges of Teacher Education and Seminars from the years 1953–1954 and 1954–1955.⁸²

The first curriculum of the Oulu College of Teacher Education from the perspective of gender

The aims of education at the beginning of the 1950s were still defined by the statutes of 1866. According to them, men were to grow into brave fighters for their home and native land, and male teachers were to support boys in this growth.

⁸⁰ As references OPS 1953/54 and OPS 1954/55.

As references Opinto-o. 1975/76 and Opinto-o. 1988/89.

⁸² As references OKK 1953(54 and OKK 1954/55.

Women were to grow up for the home and particularly to bring up children. Their special task in upbringing was to instil the basic values.

The division of prospective teachers into female teachers for girls of all ages and for small boys and male teachers for boys aged 10 or more did not exist in the same form as in the 1860s: the system of upper and lower primary schools did not exist any more in the same form as in the 1860s. But sex-related content differences were very visible in such subjects as home economics, handicraft, physical education, health and temperance education and school hygiene.

Home economics was a new study subject compared to the first seminar curriculum. The roots of this subject seem to be in the work activities done outside the proper study subjects of the first curriculum. One of these activities had been housekeeping, being a duty of women. Now home economics was taught to both sexes (OPS 1953/54, 11; OPS 1954/55, 12).

The content areas of home economics were homecraft, home economy and nutrition. They were the same for women and men. But although all students studied this subject and the content areas were the same, the extent of the studies varied according to the sex of the student, and so did the methods used. In addition to lectures, the male students had some demonstrations and possibly practical actions, whereas the female students had lectures, demonstrations and practical actions, which were emphasised. The extent of the subject was half a credit for men, and five and a half credits for women. (OPS 1953/54, 11; OPS 1954/55, 12; OKK, 1953/54; 1954/55, 17.)⁸³

The contents of health and temperance education and school hygiene included contents corresponding to those Cygnaeus had planned for educational gymnastics, but the content areas were wider. They were otherwise similar for both sexes, but there was an additional content area called *child care* for women (OPS 1953/54, 13; 1954/55, 14).

Corresponding to the first seminar curriculum, handicraft was divided into two different subjects. They were called *men's handicraft* and *women's handicraft* (OPS 1953/54, 19, 21; OPS 1954/55, 21, 23). The contents of men's handicraft were built upon learning to use different tools and to work with different materials in varied ways. As the final part of the studies in

An interesting question in this context is why the study methods described for home economics were different for women and men. Practising was emphasised only in the description of women's home economics. One possible explanation for the difference is in the sex-related difference in the scope of the subject. Another possible explanation is that the objectives were different in a sex-related way: men needed to know certain facts about the issues, whereas women needed to be able to work with the issues. My interpretation is that both of these two issues might have been present while deciding about that curricular difference.

handicraft, the male students had to make a model product as a proof of their abilities.

The contents of women's handicraft were more in line with making different products by using different techniques and abilities needed in textile work in school. There were several products which were named, such as clothes for babies, clothes for adults, and other textile products needed in the home. The female students also had to mend clothes and they had to make a handicraft album with work reports and models of the products. (OPS 1954/55, 21, 23.) The extent of handicraft studies was greater for male students than for female students. Home economics and handicraft together accounted for the same number of credits for both sexes (OPS 1954/55, 12, 21, 23).

In physical education, the extent of the studies was the same for both sexes. What was different was the content of the studies: In male students' curriculum tool gymnastic is not mentioned, nor rhythmics, folk dance or gymnastic play with songs, whereas in the curriculum of female students you cannot find a mention of referee and official actions, nor a need to know the rules or to participate in workouts. (OPS 1953/54, 13–15; OPS 1954/55, 14–17.)

As regards the daily tasks of male and the female students, you cannot find corresponding sex-related differences in the first curriculum of the Oulu College of Teacher Education as there were in the first curriculum of the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminar. The system of day and night care did not exist any longer, nor did the daily domestic tasks which were included in the first seminar curriculum and presupposed a boarding system. Further, you cannot find differences in moral code in the written curriculum.

It is nor possible to find issues of sex-related hierarchies in this material in the areas they were found in the first analysed curriculum. But the sex-related content differences in physical education challenge us to ask questions about their existence: refereeing and official actions in sports were only included in the description of men's curriculum, as was also knowledge of the rules of games. I interpret this to indicate a sex-related and hierarchic division of the male and female teachers' tasks in games.

The first academic teacher curriculum⁸⁴ from the perspective of gender

The law which shaped the formation of the first academic teacher curriculum dates from the year 1971 (L 279/1971). At that time, the official goals of education were

It depends on the interpretation whether the curricula of teacher education in Oulu during the years 1959–1973 are called academic or not. The special reason for calling the curriculum of the year 1974–1975 and the later curricula academic lies in the fact that since that year the curricula of primary teacher education have had academic level regulations in all of Finland.

the same for both sexes. So was mainly the curriculum. The descriptions of the studies in physical education are the same for both sexes. Home economics, health and temperance education and school hygiene as separate subjects are not included in the curriculum. There are only differences in handicraft, which is called *technical work* and *textile work*. (Opinto-o. 1975/76, 57, 73–74.)

The studies in handicraft, as in several other subjects, were divided into didactic initial-level studies and minor subject studies. The initial-level studies were mainly obligatory for everyone. In handicraft, however, this was not so. This question will be resumed later. As regards the minor subject studies, it depended, in principle, on the student which minor subjects she/he chose within the given frames.⁸⁵

The following description of the contents and objectives of technical work concerning the didactic initial level studies was given:⁸⁶

During the autumn term 1975 there will be a course (...), which includes practical training and demonstration. The basic principle is to develop one's own creativity and ability to construct ideas. The most commonly available approaches, implements, and reference materials in technical work in the six first forms of the primary school will be introduced. The maintenance of the tools will also be presented. (...) The time will be divided in the following way: woodwork 20 hours, metalwork 20 hours, general arts and crafts 20 hours, including plasticine modelling, enamel work, ceramics. Didactics of technical work as a lesson (...) (Opinto-o. 1975/76, 58.)

The following description of the contents and objectives of the corresponding part of textile work was given:

Lessons in the didactics of textile work (...). Objectives: mastery of the knowledge and abilities of textile work concerning the lower stage of comprehensive school, and the ability to use them in self-planned products. Contents: knitting and textiles, studies in material and implements, use of different arts and crafts materials. (Opinto-o. 1975/76, 58–59.)

The differences in the content descriptions of handicraft are thus mainly parallel to those seen in the curricula analysed earlier. The contents of technical work in initial-level studies, as also in minor subject level studies, were built upon learning how to use different tools and to work with different materials in varied ways. The contents of textile work were more in line with making different products by using the different techniques and abilities needed in textile work in school. In addition, creativity and personal growth of the student teacher are emphasised in the description of technical work. The emphasis in textile work is more on the students' duties to study the skills which are needed when teaching the children the skills in textile work which they are supposed to learn. (Opinto-o. 1975/76, 58–59, 66–67.)

⁸⁵ Cf. section 3.5, page 69, 70.

The parts of the descriptions have been omitted which are not illustrative of contents or objectives.

Handicraft was not defined to be obligatory, nor were there any mentions about technical work being for the male students and textile work for female students. The studies in textile or technical work were said to be obligatory for those students who wanted to get primary teacher qualifications with a right to teach textile/technical work (Opinto-o. 1975/76, 58).

In the first curriculum of the Oulu College of Teacher Education child care was included in the health studies. This subject did not exist in the first academic curriculum. Instead of child care, there was a subject called the *education of the first two forms*. The goals of this subject were defined as a study of the growth of children aged five to eight and the special features connected with the education of children in the first two forms. It was possible to study this subject as a minor subject. (Opinto-o. 1975/76, 64–65, 69–72.)

The curriculum of the academic year 1988–1989 from the perspective of gender

The curriculum of the academic year 1988–1995 was in line with the first academic curriculum. The curricula are mainly similar for both sexes. The only differences occur in handicraft, and they are parallel to those in the previous curriculum. But the subject is not said to be optional. (Opinto-o. 1988/89, 58–59, 67–68, 70–77.)

4.3. Gender in the analysed curricula

The sex-related differences in the first curriculum of the Oulu College of Teacher Education in the 1950s were surprisingly similar to the differences of the first curriculum of the Jyväskylä seminar in the 1860s. The most visible gendered differences in primary teacher education in Oulu in the 1950s were the following:

- different objectives for personal growth
- motherhood-related differences in the contents of health studies
- sex-related division within home economics and between home economics and technical/textile work⁸⁷
- contents of physical education and handicraft.

What was essential from the point of view of sex-related differences was that motherhood and domestic duties were still connected with the teacherhood of women. Corresponding divisions are not to be found in the academic

The study subject of home economics was not only a speciality of Oulu. This subject was also included in the study programmes elsewhere. The content and the scope of this subject was almost the same in Turku as it was in Oulu. In Helsinki its scope was smaller, and it was only studied by women. (Nurmi 1990, 65, 155.)

curricula, nor are there direct sex-related differences. From that point of view the curricula are neutral. But does the disappearance of sex-related differences from the curricular text signify an elimination of sex-related differences from the contents of a subject? The shift in the descriptions of physical education from separate content descriptions for women and men to common content descriptions for both sexes made it possible to approach this question.

When planning the educational systems of primary education and primary teacher education, Cygnaeus spoke, in connection with physical education, specifically about educational gymnastics. As to men's physical education, these objectives were realised through an emphasis on competitiveness, strength and speed, while among women the emphasis was on suppleness, rhythmicity and agility. In the first curriculum of the Oulu College of Teacher Education, the sex-related content differences in this subject were parallel to these. In men's curriculum, tool gymnastics was not mentioned, nor rhythmic gymnastics, folk dance or gymnastic play with songs, whereas in the curriculum of female students you cannot find mentions of refereeing and official actions, nor mentions of a need to know the rules of the games or to participate in workouts.

In the academic year 1975/76, the description of physical education was the same for both sexes. But the description is so scanty that it hardly allows conclusions to be made about the issue. (Opinto-o. 1975/76, 57, 74, 76). In the curriculum of the academic year 1988/89 (Opinto-o. 1988/89, 59, 70), the content descriptions of this subject are more extensive. But this description does not allow an answer to the question either. The reason is its abstractness. You cannot find a mention of rhythmic gymnastics, for instance, but you can interpret it to be contained in the course titled "gymnastics and other indoor activities". Correspondingly, you cannot find mentions of refereeing, but you can interpret it to be contained in the courses on "ball and ice games". (Opinto-o. 1988/89, 70.)

4.4. A look into the actual curricula through students' minor subject choices

There were 69 new primary teachers who were given their degree certificates from the degree programme in primary teacher education in the Oulu Department of Teacher Education in 1988.⁸⁸ 32 of them were women and 37 men. The new

This refers to students who studied in the regular primary teacher education programme. In addition to them, there were also student teachers taking extracurricular study programmes and students working for an academic degree after previous qualifications as a class teacher. These students are not included in the numbers.

primary teachers had, almost without exception, two minor subjects, each totalling 15 credits.

The two most popular, and equally popular, special qualifications acquired through minor subject studies were physical education and handicraft. A mention of physical education as a minor subject and a corresponding mention of handicraft are to be found in 33 degree certificates. This means that about 48 per cent of the new primary teachers who got their degree certificates in 1988 had specialised in these subjects. Then came biology, expressive art, music, English and the education of the first two forms of pupils.

If we analyse the minor subjects studied by dividing them according to the students' sex, you can see that the most popular subjects of male and female students are different. The six most popular minor subjects of the female and male primary teachers who graduated in Oulu in 1988 can be seen in Table 1 in appendix 1. To permit a comparison between the female and male students, the numbers given in the table are percentages. The percentages refer to the proportions of choices in each minor subject out of all minor subject choices of the sex in question.

Male students especially favoured physical education and handicraft. These subjects accounted for 64 per cent of their minor subject choices. It was typical that these two subjects appeared together in the degree certificates. ⁸⁹ In addition to physical education and technical work, there was only one more minor subject that had almost a 10 per cent share of the minor subject choices made by male students. The subject was biology. The choices of female students were divided more evenly between several different subjects. None of the subjects in their degree certificates was especially favoured, but there were seven subjects which accounted for more than 10 per cent of all the minor subject choices. These were expressive art, biology, education of the first two forms, textile work, physical education, English and music. The two most favoured minor subjects of the new female primary teachers were education of the first two forms and expressive art. ⁹⁰

In almost all of the subjects included in the humanities, women had more choices than men, both relatively and absolutely. There was, however, one exception. It was history. One man had history as his minor subject, whereas none of the women had. There was also another subject chosen by men, but not by any women. It was technical work. On the other hand, there were three subjects chosen by women, which none of the men had chosen. They were textile work, education of the first two forms and mathematics. The first two of these three subjects were quite popular among the female students,

In about 72 per cent of the cases where one of the male teacher's minor subjects was physical education, the other was technical work.

^{90 14} per cent of the female teachers who qualified in that year had studied education of the first two forms.

but only one woman had studied mathematics as her minor subject. (Cf. Lahelma 1992, 99–100.)

If you analyse the most popular minor subject choices as a whole, you can see that there were three minor subjects where gendering was obvious. These subjects were physical education, technical work vs. textile work and the education of the first two forms. In addition to being most strongly characterised by gendering, technical work, physical education and education of the first two forms were, along with expressive art, the five most popular minor subjects.

The above differences also persisted in the minor subject choices during 1988–1995. But there were also important changes.

There were 391 new female and 233 male primary teachers⁹¹ graduating from the Department of Primary Teacher Education in Oulu in 1988–1995. Each of them usually had two minor subjects, although, during the years 1988–1995, it gradually became more common to have three minor subjects. The number of different minor subject choices and the possibilities to make different minor subject choices also increased radically during the years in question. This occurred because of the curricular changes and the change in the physical location of the Department.⁹²

The six most popular minor subjects of the female and the male primary teachers who graduated in Oulu in 1988–1995 were physical education, technical work, special education, expressive art, music and education of the two first forms. The most popular minor subjects can be seen in Table 2 in Appendix 1. Physical education and technical work continued to be the most popular minor subjects. Their proportion out of all minor subjects had, however, decreased. The greatest increase had taken place in special education.

When we look at these minor subjects classified according to sex, it can be seen that physical education and technical work continued to be the subjects in which male teachers had acquired most special qualifications, while women had preferred education of the first two forms. The share of music and expressive art had remained more or less the same among men. ⁹³ But there was also to be seen a significant change in that five male students had taken up education of the first two forms as their 15-credit special subject, while one female student had acquired minor subject qualifications in technical work. Further, non-traditional choices by female students and

The figures only include the regular class teacher qualifications. In addition to these, degree certificates were also granted to people who had acquired their class teacher qualifications through extracurricular programmes.

The number of different minor subject choices in the degree certificates of the students who graduated in 1988 was 11 out of the 13-15 minor subjects available (see Opinto-o. 1984/85-1987/88). In 1995, the number of different minor subjects in the degree certificates was 23 and the study guide listed 50 different minor subjects which were available (Opinto-o. 1994/95, 91-92). 13 female students and eight male students had specialised in mathematics.

also by male students were quite usual in initial-level studies in textile and technical work.⁹⁴

4.5. Further conclusions

The analysis of the formal curricula showed that they have been almost similar for both sexes since the 1970s, and that from this point of view they allow an interpretation of gender-neutral structures. But the sex-related differences in the minor subject choices show that in spite of the formal similarities, the curricula have actually been gendered, and that there is a clear analogy between the historical and current gendered phenomena in primary teacher education. Analogously to the orientation of their colleagues in the 1860s, the female students of the present day also seem to orient more typically than male students to be teachers of small children. On the other hand, they have characteristically attempted to acquire qualifications in more varied subjects taught at school than men typically have. Male students have oriented to teach especially boys. The typical minor subjects which they have studied are technical work and physical education which are precisely the subjects usually taught in segregated groups. (Cf. e.g. Rinne 1986; Lahdes 1987; Haataja 1989; Evetts 1989; Casey & Apple 1989; Acker S 1990.)

There have also been certain gender-related disturbances in the divisions of the minor subject choices among both the female and the male students during the recent years. I connect the disturbances with the pedagogic development project and the curricular and cultural changes in the whole Department. They might be further connected with more general societal gender-related disturbances in horizontal segregation (cf. Sörensen 1991, 149).

Several researchers have found corresponding results: formal educational similarity does not mean the same as gender-free education (Riddell 1989;

According to the official study register, fourteen of the female students who began their studies at the Department in the years 1991, 1992 and 1993 had completed the initial level studies in technical work by the end of 1995. 33 of the female students had done individual courses in the subject. None of the male students had studied the entire course in textile work. Individual parts of it had been studied by four male students. The total number of new female students was 67 in 1991, 64 in 1992 and 61 in 1993, while the numbers of new male students were 13, 16 and 19, respectively.

Sörensen discusses horizontal and vertical segregation, claiming that vertical segregation represents a form of segregation where actual status differences are obvious. In horizontal segregation they are less obvious. She emphasises that technology is the subject which recently represents the form of vertical segregation and is most central from the perspective of gendering. (Sörensen 1991, 149–150.)

1992; Arnesen & Ní Chàrthaigh 1992; Halvari 1996; Lynch 1996). There are hidden curricula in the school system (see Jackson 1968, 16; Rinne 1986; Broady 1986; Lynch 1989). One of them concerns gender (cf. Lahelma 1992; Arnesen & Ní Chárthaigh 1992; Harding 1993; Rodenburg & Dolle 1993).

5. GENDER IN PEDAGOGICAL PROCESSES AS ANALYSED THROUGH THE THEME "PUPILS AS LEARNERS" 96

Several international studies show sex-related and systematic tendencies among teachers to interpret pupils' class room behaviour and to support their growth. (Wernersson 1977; Einarsson & Hultman 1984; Stanworth 1981; 1987; Brophy 1985; Licht & Dweck 1985; 1987; Wolpe 1988; Acker S 1989; Tarmo 1989; 1991; Riddell 1992; Dolle et al. 1993; Thorne 1993; Sadker & Sadker 1994; Lampela 1995). It has for example been found that teachers consider girls to be appreciative, calm, co-operative and sensitive but less independent, creative and autonomous than boys (e.g. Sadker & Sadker 1992, 66; 1994; Spender 1992; Harris et al. 1993). It has further been studied that teachers are more inclined to listen to and to give room when a boy is speaking (e.g. Einarsson & Hultman 1984, 82, 210; Lindroos 1995), that girls are more often interrupted (e.g. ibid.; Spender 1992) that teachers less often call a girl by her name (ibid.; Stanworth 1987, 199-200) that they are inclined to ask girls factual and boys analytical questions and regard active verbal participation of girls as less important than their being attentive and ready to listen. (e.g. Einarsson & Hultman 1984; Licht & Dweck 1985; 1987; Sadker et al. 1991; Corson 1992; Harris et al. 1993).

It has further been studied that teachers spend more time with boys than with girls (Einarsson & Hultman 1984; Wolpe 1988; Riddell 1992; Thorne 1993), and that they consider boys, their behaviour and their future more challenging (Gilbert & Taylor 1991, 4; Tarmo 1991; Kruse 1992; Riddell 1992; Lampela 1995. See also Pye 1988). Several researches also show that surpassing actual behavioural norms is seen as relative normal among boys and more abnormal and negative among girls and that boys receive more praise and more criticism than girls. (Stanworth 1981; 1987, 205–206; 208; Kelly 1988; Wolpe 1988; Riddell 1992; Mattson 1992; Kruse 1992; Harris et al 1993; Thorne 1993; Bø 1995).

I have discussed the same theme in three articles; see Sunnari 1995a; 1996a; b.

On the other hand, it has also been studied that it is usual to have girls in school classes who are more responsible, more co-operative and more careful than boys. This kind of a result was found for example by Lilja Jónsdóttir (1993, 8) while studying pupils aged from 9 to 14 years in Island. (See also e.g. Syrjäläinen 1990; Kruse 1992; Riddell 1992; Harris et al. 1993.) Further, girls seem to succeed better than boys in schools in most of the subjects studied (see e.g. Kom. 1988; Lahelma 1992; Brunnell 1996; Kupari 1996; Linnakylä & Kankaanranta 1996; Saari 1996) and the links between giftedness and the social environment have also been proved (Reis 1987, 85; Määttänen 1988; Raehalme 1996. See also e.g. Kuusinen 1986; 1992; Uusikylä 1994).

But it has also been studied that the divisions and differences are not dichotomy. In addition to the sex, differences in teachers' assumptions about and relations with pupils are caused also for example by social class and ethnicity. (e.g. Kessler et al. 1985; Middleton 1987; Crump 1990; Davies 1993.) And as to teachers' assumptions about and attitudes towards children, also the learning subjects are studied to influence them (Randall 1987; Harris et al. 1993).

It is further important to notice that teachers seem to believe commonly that they treat all children without any systematic sex-related differences (Skelton & Hanson 1989, 114; Tarmo 1989; 1991; Isojoki 1992; Lampela 1995; Lampela & Lahelma 1996). The perceived differences are assumed to be caused by pupils' individual properties (Randall 1987, 169; Tarmo 1991; Gordon et al. 1991; Harris et al. 1993. See also e.g. Liston & Zeichner 1990, 621)

The following agency-based study perspective, "Pupils as learners", derived its challenge from the issues described above. From the perspective of student teachers' professional growth as supporters of pupils' growth, an important question is how students see girls and boys as pupils and as learners and that they develop their professional skills in that area. Data for this part of the study were collected from the corresponding part of the pedagogic development project. As was mentioned on page 25, I chose a common theme for the course "Familiarisation with pupils" during the second cycle. The theme was "Pupils as learners". During their first school practice, the students were introduced to become acquainted with the pupils of the class where they practised and to report on the class and on a selected pupil.

The students' individual descriptions on their selected pupils, and their individual interviews connected with them offered the first set of material analysed under the theme. Certain findings of the descriptions challenged me to continue with the issues. For that purpose I first took two descriptions, a description of a girl interpreted to be successful and overconscientious and a description of a boy interpreted to be successful and scientifically oriented in school, for a more detailed analysis. I then discussed the issues with ten pupils in two group interviews. One of the pupils in the first interview group was the girl who had been interpreted to be successful in school and to be overconscientious, and whose description will be analysed in more detail.

The material set used was illustrated earlier (see figure 4, page 34). Figure 8 shows the study design.

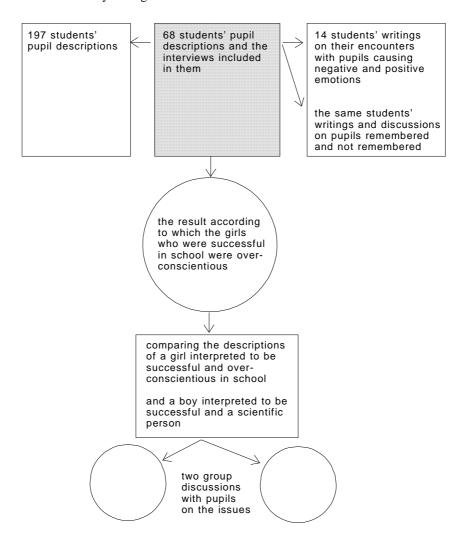


Figure 8. The study design for the theme "Pupils as learners"

5.1. Pupils as learners in students' pupil descriptions

5.1.1. The materials used and the themes for analysing them

The material of the first sub-study of the theme consisted of the individual pupil descriptions made by the students of the second cycle after their first school practice period and the students' individual interviews. The pupil descriptions were oral. The interviews were conducted immediately after each student had made her/his pupil description. There were two items common to all interviews. The students were asked to specify more closely some of the issues they had brought up in the pupil descriptions and to specify their grounds for the pupil selection.

The research material consisted of the pupil descriptions and interviews which were made during the spring term 1992. There were altogether 68 of them. 97 10 of them had been made by male and 58 by female students and 43 of the descriptions were of boys, while 25 were of girls. The pupil descriptions were tape-recorded and transcribed before analysing them.

The material was analysed for the following aspects:

- 1. what was the selection of pupils like from the perspective of the theme "Pupils as learners",
- 2. how did the students justify their pupil choices,
- 3. did the selections and interpretations differ according to the sex of the pupils and the students.

5.1.2. The types of pupils described

There were two distinct major groups of children who had been taken as targets of description: pupils interpreted to be aggressive or otherwise disturbing, and pupils interpreted to be superior to others in intelligence. Gradually, the number of different characterisation alternatives came up to six. They are the following:

A)pupils interpreted to be silent and retiring and having difficulties in learning

B)pupils interpreted to be silent and shy or timid, but having no special problems in learning

The number of the students who were enrolled in the second development cycle was 80. Some of the students, however, did not hand in descriptions until the next autumn term. These descriptions are not included in the research material. The reason for that lay in the validation of the material used. The transcribed descriptions and the summary of the descriptions were returned to the students at the very beginning of the autumn term 1992, before the students had their second practice period in the classes of the pupils they had described. (See page 27. See also Sunnari 1997.)

- C) pupils who were described as "representing neither extreme" in their social relations or in their studies
- D)pupils who were described as fast learners and energetic pupils without any problems
- E) pupils who were interpreted as having difficulties in concentration, aching for attention, being aggressive, etc.
- F) pupils who were described as being somehow superior to others in their development, as particularly eager to learn, etc., and who were not described as having problems in their social relations. (Sunnari 1995a, 178–179.)

The last category to emerge was category D. I first classified the descriptions of category D and category F together. All the children in these descriptions were interpreted to be successful and energetic. Yet, there were two obvious differences between the pupil descriptions in question. Some of the pupils were reported to be superior to others in development, while some were not. In addition, some of the pupils were interpreted to be scientific/academic in orientation and some more like fast learners and energetic persons.

Table 1 shows examples of the cases in each category.

Table 1. Examples of cases in each category of the theme "Pupils as learners" (Sunnari 1995a, 179–180)

A. The quiet, retiring ones with learning difficulties	Maija was very quiet in class and never came up in any way. If something was asked in class, she never raised her hand, but if she was asked personally, she might answer or remain silent () She always tried to do her homework, though, but particularly in math, in which she had difficulties, one could notice () that she would start, but could not necessarily finish it. (a girl, 5th form, described by a female student)
B. The quiet, shy and /or timid ones who appeared to have no learning difficulties on the basis of the descriptions	() The general view of Heli's behaviour in class was that she seemed to be very timid. She often hunched her shoulders and also spoke very quietly. But she was very conscientious in all assignments. She always did her homework () (a girl, 3rd form, described by a female student)
C. Those who were described as normal average pupils	() I wanted to observe a pupil who was "normal", in other words, one who didn't have any major problems but was not very talented either () (a boy, 5th form, described by a female student)
D. Those described to be fast learners, extrovert, etc., of whom no mention was made as having exceptional ability	() A sympathetic girl. She is a diligent and unreserved pupil () but she also takes notice of others () full of enterprise () determined () The teacher said she was a verbalist () (a girl, 1st form, described by a female student)

E. Those who were described as aggressive and having difficulty in concentration	() Pekka appears to be a troublemaker, a sort of troublemaker and he seems to have some reason for it () He was making trouble because of the mates () he had to be the king of the class () (a boy, 4th form, described by a female student)
F. Those described as doing well, being talented and having a special thirst for knowledge	Ismo was a scientific person, he was interested in all strange things and terribly interested in everything new that was discussed in class () (a boy, 1st form, described by a female student)

The numbers of boys and girls in each category have been presented in table 1 in appendix 1.

The pupil descriptions were mostly written of children who were interpreted as conspicuous, aggressive or having difficulties with concentration in terms of behaviour. 18 of the students made selections of this kind. Pupils interpreted to be exceptionally eager to learn accounted for 12 of the selections. The total percentage of pupils who, for the above reasons, can be typified as extreme cases thus accounted for 44 per cent of all the selections. ⁹⁸ 17 of the selected pupils were interpreted to be quiet, frequently withdrawn pupils with problems in learning or social relations. ⁹⁹ 100 21 of the selections were pupils interpreted to be average or ordinary. ¹⁰¹ 102

As mentioned before, 43 of the 68 pupil descriptions were of boys, while 25 were of girls. There were no categories which would have been particularly popular in the descriptions of girls. Three of the categories, namely the categories B, C and D, which were the most popular as to the descriptions of girls, had approximately an equal number of cases and all the pupils in category D were girls. Most of the selected girls were described as relatively quiet, ordinary, hard-working pupils. On the other hand, not a single girl

The pupils in these two "extreme frames" appeared to be in such extremes in terms of family descriptions, too. In most of the cases in frame E the home was described as broken or having other problems, whereas no mention of broken or difficult family conditions was made in the descriptions in frame F. In most of the cases in frame F it was reported that at least one of the parents had university education. (Cf. e.g. Kivirauma & Kivinen 1986, 393.)

⁹⁹ categories A and B

In this research, the total percentage of the pupils interpreted to have difficulties (the categories A, B and E) is about 50. The percentage of corresponding cases in D.M. Kagan's and D. Tippins' (1991) study was even greater.

¹⁰¹ categories C and D

The categorisation was validated by the students who had made the selections and the descriptions. In almost all the cases the student agreed with the categorisation. There were three cases in which she/he did not. But in all of the cases the student agreed with me that, on the basis of the description, the category was or might be right.

was described as having problems with concentration, as aggressive, etc. It was, however, noted that two girls in category D would whine occasionally, and one of them was suspected to be possibly a hidden troublemaker.

The most typical boy in the descriptions was a boy interpreted to be aggressive, a troublemaker or otherwise disturbing. This was the case in 42 per cent of the selections of boys. The second most typical boy category was category F, i.e. scientifically oriented boys. 23 per cent of the selected boys were interpreted to be like that. 65 per cent of the selected boys were thus interpreted to be among the most visible pupils in their classes. One reason for this appeared to be the fact that it may be easier to find something to report on a "visible" pupil. This factor probably only provides a partial explanation. It also seemed, as one of the students pointed out, that boys were experienced as more challenging targets for selection and, more often than girls, as pupils in need of help or support. Girls seemed to remain more invisible. (Cf. Kruse 1992; Riddell 1992; Thorne 1993.)

It is also important to notice that even the number of the selected boys interpreted to be normal and not belonging to the extremes 104 was higher than the number of girls in any category. On the other hand, among the selected pupils there were more girls than boys interpreted to have learning difficulties and all the cases in which a pupil was described as exceptionally clever, eager to learn, etc., were boys, irrespective of whether they were described by male or female students. The adjectives diligent, conscientious and overconscientious were typical of the descriptions of girls who did well at school and typically, and almost in all cases, these interpretations were given by female students.

5.1.3. Justification of pupil selections

The students were asked to justify their pupil selections. If the student had difficulties to do so, she/he was asked to try to remember the situation in which she/he had first paid attention to the pupil she/he had selected. The students usually presented one or two reasons for their selections. The following were typical. The number of cases with each type of justification has been given in the footnotes.

- 1. the pupil caught the student's attention because of features interpreted as concentration problems, aggressiveness, etc. 105
- 2. the pupil began to seem interesting because of some other characteristic of her/his way of working 106

Over 90 per cent of the selected girls.

the boys of category C

in 11 selections

in 11 selections

- 3. the pupil was working in the student's group 107
- 4. the pupil got in touch with the student 108
- 5. the pupil made the student remember something of her/his own past, either in terms of something experienced to be a problem¹⁰⁹ or in terms of something experienced not as a problem, but as connected with the student's earlier occupation, etc.¹¹⁰ (Sunnari 1995a, 181–182.)

In almost all of the cases in category 5, the students remarked that they did not see the children as connected to their own history when they made the choice. They began to think about the connection when their choices were discussed after the submission of the descriptions.

As far as the explanations for pupil selections are concerned, I paid special attention to the cases in which the pupil was interpreted to be invisible. How did the students perceive a child whom they described as not being easy to notice? There were two categories of pupils interpreted in the descriptions to be invisible: five pupils in category A¹¹¹ and eleven pupils in category B¹¹². Seven of them were boys and nine were girls. All the student teachers who selected them were female.

In three of the five cases of category A, the students said that they selected the pupil because she/he was a member of the group in which the student worked. When they helped these pupils in their work, they became acquainted with them. In two cases the selection was the "second alternative", meaning that the student did not get the pupil she/he wanted to get. Somebody had selected her/him before, or the pupil was absent from school for a long time during the students' practising period.

The explanations given for the selections of the pupils in category B differed intrinsically from those in category A. There were no mentions of "second alternatives", but deep connections with the students' feelings. This group of pupils had the largest number of connections with the students' own history. A student who had been timid at school might choose a pupil whom she/he interpreted to be timid and, similarly to the student, might have difficulty in speaking or some other area. But although these issues made the students remember themselves as pupils, being a girl or a boy in a school class did not have the same effect. None of the students said anything special about it.

in 10 selections

in 9 selections

in 9 selections explicitly

in 7 selections

pupils interpreted to be quiet, retiring and having difficulty in learning

pupils interpreted to be quiet and shy or timid, but not having any special problems with learning

5.1.4. Sex of the students making selections

Pupils selected by female students are to be found in all the categories, although proportion of the cases thought to be problematic in one way or another is emphasised. The cases which were interpreted to be problematic seemed, on the basis of the interviews, often to involve the student's desire to help or support the pupil. Such a mention was made by 12 female students in their descriptions. The female students chose a girl in 43 per cent of the cases and a boy in 57 per cent of the cases.

When a female student chose a girl, she would typically be described as a fast learner and an energetic pupil who had no problems at school. The description was like this in 7 cases. This type was not exceptionally common, though, meaning that the selections varied from quiet ones to ones interpreted to be somehow superior to others in their development. When a female student selected a boy, it was most typical to choose one who was described as aggressive or having difficulty in concentration.

Almost all of the male students selected a boy. In most cases they chose a boy whom they interpreted to be one of the most visible pupils in the class. When a male student described a pupil whom he interpreted to have difficulties, he did not say anything about a desire to help or support the pupil. In three cases a male student chose a child whom he interpreted to be "ordinary". And in all of these cases the issue was emphasised, as if an "ordinary" child as a pupil choice would have been out of the ordinary. Only one male student selected a girl.

The tables 4 and 5 in appendix 2 show the numbers of girls and boys selected by female and male students.

5.1.5. Validations

Pupil selections

In order to verify whether it was by chance that a boy was a more typical target of pupil descriptions than a girl, I checked out the sex of the pupils in the pupil descriptions which had been made during the three years of the first cycle.

I got 197 pupil descriptions during the first cycle. The pupil in the description was a boy in 103 and a girl in 94 cases, although the students who wrote the descriptions were female in 138 cases and male in 59 cases. The tendency was thus the same that was found earlier: boys were more typical targets of description. Table 6 in appendix 2 shows the proportions

113

⁶⁶ per cent of the descriptions

of boys and girls chosen as targets of description during the first cycle and the second cycle.

The checking of the pupil selections, however, also introduced a surprise. Namely, when comparing the academic year 1988–1989 and the latter years in table 4 in appendix 1, it is possible to see quite a clear difference in the proportions of girls and boys selected: in the academic year 1988–1989, girls were more commonly selected than boys. During the next years, boys were more numerous. The contrast was biggest between the first and the last of these years.

It is not possible to give a precise reason for the difference. One thing, however, is clear: only in the first of these four years was there a separate section on gender issues included in the "Familiarisation with pupils" lectures before the practice period. During the following years, the gender perspective was included in the other contents of the lectures as an integral part or not at all, and the lectures were only partly, if at all, given before the first school practice period. 114

Division of pupils into visible and invisible ones

The pupils in the pupil descriptions were more frequently boys than girls. It was, however, discussed to what extent the pupil selections reflect which children are noticed in the class and which remain unnoticed. I therefore felt it necessary, from the viewpoint of both child-oriented professional growth and gender issues, to penetrate the problem of being noticed and remaining unnoticed. I thus asked the 14 students of the third development cycle after their first school practice week¹¹⁵ to write down the names of the first five to ten pupils they remembered from the class they had worked with. I asked them then to continue the list by naming all the pupils in the class. After that task, I asked the students who had worked in the same class to compare their results and to check if there were pupils whom nobody had mentioned. I had class pictures available to help the students to remember.

There were four class groups of students in the student group involved in the cycle. The learning cultures in the classes where they had practised were different, the students' tasks given by the class teachers during the practice week differed, and there were differences between the groups and the individual students in whom they remembered. But in every group there were one to three pupils whom no student remembered spontaneously and whom the group was not able to remember when trying to do it together. In this case, these invisible pupils numbered seven altogether: five boys and two girls. (Sunnari 1995a, 188–189.)

¹¹⁴ See page 20.

Only 14 of the 17 students of the third development cycle had their first

Emotional connections in sex-related interpretations

In order to verify the assumptions about sex-related variations in the emotions which pupils' actions seemed to arouse, I also analysed the texts which the students of the third cycle wrote about the issues connected with their encounters with the pupils during their first practice week. I had asked the students to write about one encounter which had aroused positive feelings and one encounter which had aroused confused feelings. There were altogether 14 students who wrote about such encounters.

According to the texts, it was easier – in general and at an unofficial level – for the students to make contacts with girls than with boys, and the girls were generally more interested in becoming acquainted with the students than the boys. In seven cases, however, the pupil described as arousing positive emotions was a boy and in three cases a girl, and in seven cases the pupil arousing negative emotions was a girl and in four cases a boy. 118

The situations or reasons for positive emotions in the encounters with boys were the following:

- 1. The boy came and asked the student to do something for him.
- 2. It was interesting to discuss with the boy.
- 3. The student teacher described having first had difficulties with the boy, and the difficulties had made the student work on the matter, and/or the boy had made the student feel herself/himself uncertain. When the pupil came on the next day or a couple of days later and asked the student something or showed confidence in the student, this aroused positive feelings. (Sunnari 1995a, 189.)

The situations where a girl had aroused positive feelings were the following:

- 1. The student had somehow succeeded when teaching something to the girl.
- 2. The girl began to tell the student about her home or her pet. (Ibid.)

There were two types of negative emotions which the students described: emotions aroused mainly by dissatisfaction with the pupil's behaviour, and emotions aroused by dissatisfaction or uncertainty about the student's own behaviour. In each of the four descriptions of negative emotions connected with a boy, the student described emotions of the second type, i.e. the student reflected on her/his own actions when analysing her/his negative emotions. In two cases the student also wrote about emotions of the first type. In three of the seven cases where the child in a description of negative emotions was a girl, the student only described emotions of the first type.

school practice week during the autumn 1993.

The original set of material and its analyses are preserved in my personal archives.

Some students wrote about contacts with only positive feelings or with only negative feelings.

The situations/reasons for negative emotions in contact with boys were the following: in two cases the boy had said something offensive to the student, in one case negative emotions were aroused in a situation where the student felt she might have done something wrong. In the last case the reason given for negative emotions was that the student felt himself uncertain about how to act with a "shy" boy. The situations/reasons for negative emotions in the contacts with girls were different. In two cases the reason for negative feelings was said to be that the student felt the girl to be too interested in making contact with the student. (Cf. e.g. Randall 1987, 169; Tarmo 1989; 1991.) In four cases the reason was that the girl did not act according to the norms or according to the student's request (cf. e.g. p. 86). In one case the reason was that the student was uncertain about how to act with a girl who was crying because of her difficulties outside the school.

As a summary, a girl aroused negative emotions mainly if she did not behave according to the norms or if she was "too eager" to make contact with the student. At the same time, a boy aroused positive emotions if he did not at first behave according to the norms or did not want to make contact, and if the situation later – typically after efforts – changed.¹¹⁹

5.1.6. Presence of gender in the students' pupil descriptions

The results of the sub-study can be summarised as follows:

- 1. Most of the student teachers of the second cycle who wrote pupil descriptions in the academic year 1991–1992 were female students, and most of the descriptions concerned boys, as had also been the case in the years of the first cycle.
- 2. It was much less usual for male students to choose a girl than for female students to choose a boy.
- 3. The two most typical explicit reasons for the pupil selection were that the pupil began to appear interesting because of his aggressiveness or her/his way of studying, and, almost equally typically, the student worked in the pupil's group and it was the pupil who got in touch with the student or the pupil caused the student to remember something of her/his own past.
- 4. It was usual to choose a boy interpreted to be a troublemaker or otherwise aggressive or a boy interpreted to be a scientific personality.
- 5. In most cases the selected pupils interpreted to be superior in their development were boys.
- 6. It was usual to choose a girl interpreted to be a hard-working, ordinary child.

The original set of material and its analyses are preserved in my personal archives.

- 7. Almost all of the pupils described as exceptionally clever, scientifically oriented, etc. were boys, irrespective of whether they were described by male or female students. The adjectives *diligent*, *conscientious* and *overconscientious* seemed to be typical descriptions of girls who did well at school.
- 8. In spite of the fact that the students chose more often a boy than a girl for their description, the division between the noticed and not-noticed pupils did not follow entirely the sex division.
- 9. Girls and boys provided different challenges for the student teachers, and the students seemed to consider boys more challenging targets for description than girls.
- 10. The different challenges seemed to be connected with different assumptions and expectations applied to boys than to girls. The girls, or some of them, seemed to be expected to work according to the norms. The boys, or some of them, seemed to offer some kind of threats in that respect. They were not expected to behave according to the norms, though there might have been a challenge to try to make them do so.

As regards separately the theme "Pupils as learners", this picture of the selected pupils varied also considerably according to sex. The selected girls were interpreted to be hard-working and ordinary, and in some cases fast learners or having difficulties in learning abilities. The percentage of selected girls who were interpreted to be superior to the others was 8 of all selected girls, whereas the percentage of girls interpreted to have difficulties in learning abilities was 16. Especially the selected girls who were interpreted to be successful in school were said to work hard.

The selected boys were mainly interpreted to be scientifically oriented or pupils for whom learning was not a central topic in their school life. The percentage of selected boys interpreted to be superior to the others was 23 per cent of all selected boys, whereas the percentage of boys interpreted to have difficulties in learning was 5 per cent. The selected and successful boys were said to be of a specific type in their abilities. The selected boys who were interpreted to have difficulties in school were interpreted to have difficulties with social relations, but typically not with proper learning abilities.

The results show a clear sex-related difference in the students' pupil selections and in their interpretations on pupils. As to the interpretations, the results are in accordance with several other studies (see pages 86–87).

5.2. Descriptions of a boy and a girl as successful learners

As it was mentioned at the end of the previous section, it appeared that the descriptions of the selected boys and girls as learners differed. I considered it important to continue with this topic.

There were different possibilities for the continuation. My decision was to choose first the description of a girl and a boy of one type category and

the corresponding interviews for a detailed analysis, and then continue by interviewing pupils. I considered it important to select the pupils from some of the type categories which presented the "extreme" cases. The reason for this was based on my assumption that the possible gendered components in the interpretations would be most visible there. The categories A, E and F represented certain extreme cases, but the possible categories available for selection were the categories A and F because, there were no girls in category E. I chose the pupils from category F, because there were cases in this category whose descriptions concentrated on the topic studied without any special additional components being obviously influential in the students' interpretations.

5.2.1. The material used and the idea of analysing it

I chose two pupil descriptions of category F and the corresponding interviews for a more detailed analysis. The descriptions were of a girl, Anna, interpreted to be successful and overconscientious, and a boy, Ismo, interpreted to be successful and scientific. At the time the descriptions were written, Anna was in the fifth and Ismo in the first form. Both descriptions were made by female student teachers. And both descriptions included considerable similarities in their themes. I regarded these two issues to be important from the point of view of the study theme and its analysis.

The idea in analysing the pupil descriptions and the corresponding interviews was to find first out the contents of the interpretations of successfulness in both cases, and then the interpretation of overconscientiousness in Anna's case and scientificality in Ismo's case. After that I sought for differences and similarities and their valuation in the contents.

5.2.2. Descriptions of Anna and Ismo, two successful pupils

The student teacher began her story of Anna in the following way:

"I chose Anna as the pupil whom I wanted to become acquainted with, because I found so many features in Anna which I had myself when I was in school. Anna is (a pause, VS) a terribly conscientious girl and a girl who has various hobbies."

The student teacher then went on to describe in more detail her own school years, her hobbies at that time, her success in school and her difficulties in social relations with her classmates. After that she continued the report.

"Anna was the kind of a person who dares to be herself. She had a very special way of dressing, 120 and she seemed to be very thoughtful, a really thinking person. I started to have discussions with Anna, and I noticed that she knew very many things. When we had a pupil introduction with the teachers in charge,

I think they said very much to the point that Anna is an overconscientious girl interested in various things.

(...) From many points of view she seems to be terribly gifted. She is good at gymnastics and at playing the piano and really good at crafts. (...) When we were dealing with human biology, for instance, Anna had gone to the library (...) and she had found a very good book about the human being for young school children. And every day when we had lessons on human beings (...) Anna would come to the front of the class voluntarily and say that she would read out some facts about humans (...) She really wanted to know things. (...) I think the other pupils also understood what it is to get additional details like this. (...)" (Student 27.)

The description of Ismo contained partly similar elements as that of Anna.

"(...) Ismo is a twin. His sister was in the same class. ¹²¹ Ismo was a scientific type. He was interested in all kinds of strange things and everything new that was discussed in class. (...) We once had a story time. The children would suggest which book we should read. Ismo produced a children's encyclopaedia, one in which there was information about ancient Egyptians. It was quite a difficult text. He said that he wanted the teacher to read it to him. It was his own book. (...)

Ismo was a kind of a genius and very good. When we had one group work about planets, we told Ismo to study together with children from the second form. It was a group project, and the pupils had to find out about matters by reading books. Ismo was not so terribly good at reading. But he managed, although he needed more help than the pupils from the second form. Ismo did not boast about the matter. However, the other pupils seemed to be a little jealous.

Ismo was the kind of a person who reflected (...) and (...) discovered different things. (...) He said, for example, that the break supervisor should stay in a watchtower to see all the children and (...) that there should be traffic signs in the school corridors to prevent the children from running there. (...)

It was nice to see that Ismo sometimes got quite carried away during music lessons. When they were singing a song, he decided with another boy that they should sing in earnest. And so they sang in a very loud voice because they liked it. (...) They would be so enthusiastic now and then. (...) I saw a case where I noticed that he was a really honest boy. He had borrowed one girl's (...) scissors

I did not ask what kind of speciality the student teacher meant. However, she had one comment on the issue in her practice diary. According to that comment, Anna was one day dressed in a skirt. The student teacher commented on this in her diary by noting that Anna was as if from the beginning of the century. It is not possible to say that her tone would have been positive, rather on the contrary.

Another female student teacher made a report about Ismo's twin sister. As a surprise for me, the sister was interpreted to be "a verbalist". This interpretation difference introduced a challenge to study the case from gender perspective (cf. e.g. Einarsson & Hultman 1984; Spender 1992). There were, however, no resources to do so.

and cut with them. The girl got angry about it. (...) The other pupils said that Ismo had asked for a permission. (...) I asked Ismo about the matter, and he said that he only took them. (...)" (Student 29.)

I asked the student if Ismo's status in the class was special and if he got special challenges compared with the others. The student teacher said that she had noticed no situations of special challenges or children with special status in that class.

5.2.3. Gendering in the contents of the descriptions

There were to be found many similarities in the descriptions of Anna and Ismo. They were both interpreted to be successful in school. Both of them were also said to be interested in various things. But Ismo was said to be especially interested in various new things and findings. Both of the children had brought to school a book which the students considered to be scientific and interesting. Both of them wanted to share their knowledge of the books with their classmates or at least with the teacher. And both of them were also described as being able to surpass the currently valued norms.

The descriptions of the books the children brought to school included some significant points. According to the texts, Anna had done so without any request to do so, whereas Ismo had brought the book when the children had been asked to bring one. In addition, Ismo's book was his "own", while Anna had "borrowed" hers. As regards norm surpassing, Ismo was said to surpass norms in the area of classroom behaviour – in a music lesson – and Anna in her way of dressing. In Ismo's case the norm surpassing evoked pleasure in the student teacher who reported on the child.

From the viewpoint of gender and, at the same time, success, an important detail was connected with the illustration of Ismo's honesty. According to the text, it was Ismo who took the girl her scissors, and it was Ismo who got the student teacher's respect because of the episode.

The differences between the partly similar stories are important from the perspective of cleverness, but at the same time from the perspective of gender. On the basis of the stories, it is possible to interpret that the quality of Ismo's cleverness was higher than the cleverness of Anna, because Ismo was said to be interested in different new things, whereas Anna was not. But the images differ when the contents of the different qualities are analysed in more detail. The examples of Ismo's innovative ideas were his proposal concerning traffic rules in the corridor and a watchtower for successful break time supervision. About Anna's intellectuality it was said that

- she was interested in "various things"
- she was "terribly gifted" in various skill areas
- she knew many things and was eager to discuss them with the student teacher
- every day when they were discussing the human being, Anna would "out of her own will" read interesting facts from a book she had brought to the class. And

according to the report, Anna's "facts" introduced new and interesting knowledge to the class. (Sunnari 1996b, 54.)

My interpretation is that it is not possible to make any valid interpretations on the basis of the two stories of whether one or the other of these two children had more new ideas. The question of courage in norm surpassing is even more problematic, and so is the question of honesty.

Instead of having the possibility to claim, on the basis of the descriptions and interviews, that one of the two children is cleverer than the other, it is possible to claim that there were differences among the matters which seemed to arouse the student teachers' attention and their emotions towards these children, and that these differences are typically gendered. It is considered important how a girl dresses herself. This is not so important for boys. On the other hand, surpassing actual behavioural norms is seen as normal among boys, but abnormal and negative among girls (see pages 86–87). It is another thing to ask when norm surpassing by boys causes pleasure and when displeasure.

We should also look at the student's argumentation concerning Anna's overconscientiousness. The argument which the student gave about the matter was connected with a biology project. The logic of the argumentation seemed to be that Anna was overconscientious, because she worked so hard for school. An example of it was that while the pupils had studied the biology of humans, Anna had gone to the library, borrowed a book, read it to the other pupils, etc. I asked the student teacher if such actions were exceptional or usual for Anna. The student teacher said that they were usual.

But it was not only the student who interpreted Anna to be overconscientious. According to the description, the class teacher had said Anna to be overconscientious. There is reason to believe in the text. The student teachers kept practice diaries during their first school practice. The comments on Anna's overconscientiousness could be found in almost exactly the same form in a couple of diaries. 122 123

There were eight student teachers in Anna's class in that year. Some of the students' diaries contained exactly the same words "Anna is an overconscientious girl interested in various things".

I have observed Ismo and Anna during lessons afterwards. During the few hours I stayed in their classes, I met situations where both of the two children got a special task who had described Ismo, which was meant only for them. In Ismo's case it was the student teacher who asked Ismo a special intellectual question during a mathematics lesson. Anna's special task was connected with a moral problem. It was Anna who was asked to make the final interpretation about what had happened.

5.3. Pupils as learners according to pupils' group interviews

5.3.1. The study setting and the material and methods used

The next data set consists of two group interviews with pupils of Anna's class. Anna was a member in the first of the groups. The others were Anna's classmates, ten pupils altogether. At the time of the pupil interviews, Anna and her classmates were in the sixth form.

The reason to use group interviews was associated with the sensitivity of the theme and with the special hierarchy-based problems in the relations of the researcher and the researched when they are children (Chisholm 1990b, 254). I thought that children may discuss matters more freely in a peer group than in individual interviews with the researcher (cf. Sulkunen 1990, 264).

I placed Anna in the first interview group and Pauliina who was also interpreted to be overconscientious by the student teachers, in the second. To get the other group members, I asked the class teacher first to name four children whom she interpreted to be successful in school, but maybe not overconscientious, and then four children whom she interpreted to be successful in school and maybe having problems of overconscientiousness.

The persons I got for the first group were all boys: Ana, Juho, Jaska and Jake. 124 The fact that Anna was in the first group was my choice. However, I asked the teacher if she interpreted Anna to be overconscientious or not. The teacher said that she did not interpret Anna to be overconscientious. For the second interview group I first got the names Eeva, Jena and Kati. They are all girls. Then I asked to have one boy, too. I got the name Pertti. The teacher interpreted Pertti as possibly being or not being overconscientious. Pauliina was in this group as my choice. The teacher interpreted Pauliina not to be overconscientious. The interview groups are illustrated in figure 9.

The questions for which I sought answers were the following:

- 1. How do Anna and her classmates describe the phenomenon of overconscientiousness?
- 2. Whom do Anna and her classmates interpret to be overconscientious in their class?
- 3. How do the children who are themselves interpreted to have an inclination to work "overconscientiously" describe their study activity compared with the descriptions by the children who do not make that interpretation of their work?
- 4. How do Anna and her classmates interpret, on a more general level, the boys and the girls in their class from the perspective of overconscientiousness?

¹²⁴ All names are pseudonyms.

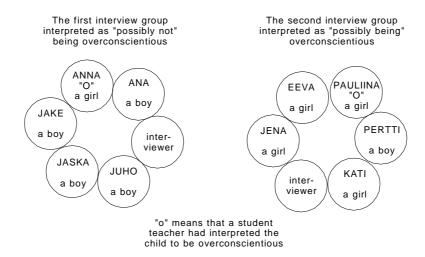


Figure 9. The participants of the group interviews (Sunnari 1996a, 238)

The group interviews were partly structured. This means that I had decided about some themes which I introduced for discussion. I partly allowed the discussions to be oriented by the pupils. The original themes differed in the two groups. My aim with the first group was to find out the pupils' notions about the theme of overconscientiousness and to try to find out how Anna and her classmates interpreted Anna from that perspective. The aim with the second group was to get some more and possibly experienced information about the phenomenon of overconscientiousness and the issues connected with it.

The discussions in the two groups progressed as follows:

First group:

- amount of schoolwork and homework and the question of whether they produce stress and when
- 2. phenomenon of overconscientiousness
- 3. who are overconscientious pupils
- 4. what are the reasons for claiming somebody to be overconscientious
- 5. is Anna overconscientious and why
- 6. the phenomenon of overconscientiousness among boys

Second group:

- amount of schoolwork and homework and the question of whether they produce stress and when
- 2. goals of schoolwork and homework
- 3. evaluation of overconsciousness by the persons themselves

4. how to surpass the problem of being overconscientious. 125 (Sunnari 1996a, 241.)

The ways of conducting the interview also partly differed in the two groups. In the first group, I at first tried to direct the discussion to be on quite a general level, but then oriented it strongly to some specific items originating from the pupils' claims and I also returned several times to some of the claims. In the second group, we discussed the phenomenon of overconscientiousness only shortly and on a general level and I asked everybody to tell whether she or he interpreted her- or himself to have or to have earlier had some inclination to work overconscientiously. I did not return to the pupils' answers, unless I had problems hearing them. The reason for the differences in the techniques of interviewing was, first of all, ethical. On the other hand, it was based on the fact that in the first group I especially tried to find out the ideological components of the phenomenon and in the second group more personally experienced components.

I analysed the interpretations as different "voices" (cf. Wertsch 1991), which means that I did not assume the interpretations to be "truthful" or accordant with what the interpreter her- or himself actually thought about the matter. This starting-point gave room to see the interpretations as constellations as originating from different domains.

When analysing the interviews, I first collected the content areas which the pupils of the two groups introduced to the discussion about homework and stress and the theme "overconscientiousness". As regards the question of "who is overconscientious", I analysed how the pupils who did not interpret themselves to be overconscientious, but claimed somebody else to be like that described their home- and schoolwork and the question of overconscientiousness, and how the group members who themselves said they had or had had an inclination to work overconscientiously described the same matters. Then I analysed how the pupils who claimed not to be overconscientious differentially characterised their own work and the work of those whom they interpreted to be overconscientious. Finally, I analysed how the groups discussed: Who had room for his or her voice, who was interrupted and in what kind of situations, and what were the content changes during the discussions.

The group interviews have been reported in two articles (see Sunnari 1996a; b). Here I will discuss three themes: homework, the phenomenon of overconscientiousness and the question of overconscientious pupils in the class.

This theme was chosen because of ethical-pedagogical reasons.

The question of truth is, on the whole, very problematic because it is impossible to analyse it without ideal mediation.

5.3.2. Anna's and her classmates' discussions on overconscientiousness

5.3.2.1. Homework

The common answer in both groups to the question of the amount of homework was that you must do something for the school at home every day, and that the amount of homework occasionally causes stress. I asked the pupils to estimate how much time they daily spent on homework. In the first group the answer was that you must do something every day. But especially the boys seemed to be of the opinion that the less time you spend on your home work, the better, precisely as also Susan Harris and her co-researchers, for example, have found (Harris et al. 1993, 7).

In the second group, I tried to get more precise answers to this question. Pauliina said that it was not possible to estimate the amount of homework because the tasks were divided so "unequally". Eeva, Jena and Kati said they spent approximately one hour daily. Pertti, too, first mentioned one hour. I did not hear his answer in the interview situation and I asked again. Then he answered 45 minutes. I asked if this was the time he daily spends doing his homework. Instead of answering the question he said "half an hour".

I continued the theme with the second group by asking who sets goals for their studies. I further asked how the pupils studied for tests.

Interviewer: I think the phenomenon of overconscientiousness is connected with the phenomenon of setting goals. If we think of your history test, for example, how did you set your goals when you studied for it?

Pauliina: I don't set any goals. I read as much as I have time for and then I do (the tests, VS) as well as I can, but it does not matter what I get in tests.

Eeva: I want to get a good mark.

Kati: When I study, I do so that if we have 40 pages to read, I read 10 pages in an evening, and then I try to repeat it. I always try my best in the tests.

Jena: I try to do well in tests, too. It is not all the same to me what I get. I want to do well. But I do not read too much.

Pertti: I read once through, that's enough.

Interviewer: But if we think of your goals?

Pertti: I have no goals. Only to get entrance to senior secondary school.

Interviewer: Do your parents set goals for you or do you feel that way?

Kati: Not for me anyway. Mom and Dad say "Try your best."

Interviewer: What about you, Eeva?

Eeva: Well, I don't know. My Dad may do. He asks something every day.

Jena: My Mom and Dad say: "Whatever happens, it does not matter so very much, but try your best." (...)

Pertti: They ask about the school reports.

Eeva, Jena and Kati said that they set goals for the tests and used strategies when preparing for them. The argumented goal was a good mark, and the strategies were typical strategies also recommended by teachers for preparation: strategies based on time, pages and repetition. All these three girls also said that their parents are interested in their school.

The time which Pauliina and Pertti said they spent on their homework was less definite, as were also their answers concerning goal setting and their styles of preparing for tests. Obviously, Pertti's goal setting was the most diffuse. He claimed his only goal to be to get entrance into senior secondary school. Concerning the preparation for tests, Pertti seemed to comment on Kati's answer by stating that reading once through is enough. Pauliina obviously tried to say that her orientation towards studying is not based on fixed strategies.

Kati's, Eeva's and Jena's school life seemed to be characterised by the idea of "doing one's best". The idea was shared by them and their parents, and the parents were aware of the pupils "doing their best". The biggest differences in that sense seemed to be between Pertti and Eeva. According to Pertti, his school work was discussed very seldom at home. Eeva said that the issues were discussed daily. 127

5.3.2.2. Overconscientiousness

The question of overconscientiousness was the next theme in the first interview group. The first important issue was that the term "overconscientious" was not in active use among the pupils. I gave the group and also the second group the same baseline definition for the term "overconscientious". I said that I understood it as an inclination to work harder than it would be sensible. The second important issue was that, from the very beginning, the discussion on overconscientiousness turned to the question of overconscientious pupils.

An overconscientious person is – according to the pupils in the first discussion group – a pupil

• who always gets the mark 10 or full points in tests. This was the main argument.

The pupils continued their discussion after the interview discussion. Their claim was that teachers treat and especially control pupils differently, depending on the pupils' success at school. They gave some examples. One of them was connected with Pauliina. She said that she had once made trouble together with two other girls. The teacher had rebuked the two other girls, but not Pauliina. Afterwards, Pauliina went to the teacher to say that she, too, had made trouble. What had happened? Next morning the teacher had told the whole class what an honest pupil Pauliina was. This case has considerable similarities with the interpretation of Ismo's honesty (see pages 100-101).

- who does schoolwork all the time
- who has no time for hobbies and friends
- who answers with the words of textbooks
- who gets better test marks than the others
- who has study products which are superior to the others, estimated especially for quantity, such as the duration of presentations.

The later parts of the discussion introduced some other attributes of overconscientiousness. An overconscientious pupil is a person

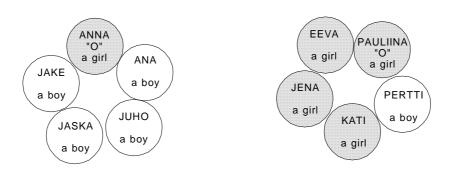
- who always gets good marks in test
- who considers it to be obligatory always to get good marks
- who works hard particularly to get good marks
 In addition to this, she or he works too hard
- to please other people.

This feature was connected with the claim that she or he always does voluntary schoolwork. The person who spoke most during the discussion was Jaska. On the other hand, Anna was often interrupted.

5.3.2.3. "Overconscientious pupils" in group discussion I

Boys' opinions of overconscientious pupils in the class

The first pupil the boys named to be overconscientious was Anna. After naming Anna, the boys named Eeva, Pauliina, Kati and Jena, all the girls of the two



Grey colour shows the persons the first group said to be overconscientious.

Figure 10. The children of the two interview groups whom the boys of the first group named to be overconscientious (Sunnari 1996a, 244)

interview groups. (See Sunnari 1996a, 243.) Figure 10 illustrates the overconscientiously named pupils.

In addition, some of the boys stated that all girls are somehow overconscientious. I continued from that claim.

Interviewer: Somebody said that all girls are overconscientious.

Two of the boys: Yes... (was interrupted, VS).

Jake: It depends on the group. 128

Interviewer: Anna, is it so?

Anna: No, it is not. Not all girls are over... (was interrupted, VS).

Ana: Most of them are... (was interrupted, VS).

Jake: Well, we boys, too, want to get good marks, but we do not always read so much.

Jaska: There is something more interesting to do.

The change during the discussion was interesting. The first comment was: yes, all girls are overconscientious. But there were Jake and Anna who did not agree with the claim. They both tried to get their voices heard. Anna was interrupted. Jake got room for his voice, and it was he who turned the direction of the discussion.

Interpretations of Anna's overconscientiousness

As it was mentioned above, Anna was the first person whom the boys of the first discussion group named to be overconscientious. Anna's first and immediate reaction to the claim was to deny it.

 (\ldots)

Interviewer: (...) do you have such cases that somebody is very conscientious, overconscientious?

Jaska: Well, some like Anna.

Interviewer: Anna, are you overconscientious?

Anna: No, (a pause, VS) I hate this theme.

I continued a little later with this theme.

Interviewer: Boys, you said Anna is overconscientious?

Jaska: Well, maybe not.

Interviewer: But you said so.

Jaska: Well, sometimes she may be, but (he did not continue, VS).

This refers to the fact that the pupils were divided into different groups in some subjects, including mathematics.

Ana: Well, it is so.

In the context where the pupils were discussing their two classmates' habit to do extra homework, I asked Anna to compare her style of doing homework with the group's interpretations of the two classmates' styles. "I never study so much for any test", she said.

I also opened the discussion on the biology project, which was mentioned by the student teacher who made a pupil description on Anna. 129 At first Anna did not remember the project at all. The pupils discussed the additional materials they sometimes bring to school and the additional knowledge which they may have and which they may be eager to tell each other. The pupils' shared opinion was that if you have some knowledge, you will tell it and share it and that it is normal.

Then I asked Anna if it is usual for her to bring additional study material to school. She answered that it depends on whether she is interested in the theme which they are studying and if she has some additional material for it. After that discussion she remembered something about the case with biology.

Anna: "When we were learning the human being (...) (a pause, as if trying to remember, VS). We had a book about the human being. There was all kinds of information about the matter. It must have been that book I read (...)"

In the student teacher's story, the textbook had been borrowed, while Anna said nothing about having borrowed the book.

Successful boys interpreted from the perspective of overconscientiousness

I asked the next question in a situation where Jaska had said he sometimes got better test marks than Anna (see Sunnari 1996b, 57).

Interviewer: Well, well, but we were discussing overconscientiousness. What do you think, boys, could we say that Jaska, too, is a little overconscientious?

Jaska: (laughing as if self-consciously, VS) Well, you can do it, you can say anything.

Ana: Well, it must be so.

Interviewer: I am only interested in whether it is true or something else.

Ana: It is true.

Interviewer: But is it true in Jaska's case?

Jaska: (laughing, VS). Well, I really don't (stressing the word, VS) think so.

Jake: Neither do I.

129 See page 99–100.

Later I asked Anna if there were some boys in their class whom she interpreted to work overconscientiously for school. But although I asked Anna the question, it was not Anna who answered first. Two or three of the boys said quickly that there are none. I had to remind the boys that it was not their turn to answer in order to give Anna an opportunity to answer. Anna first named one. But it was not possible to hear whom she named because the boys spoke loudly at the same time. Anna continued by mentioning that there might be sometimes, but not usually. She interpreted that girls are usually "a little more conscientious than boys". She also mentioned that some boys behave in tests so that they only try to do them quickly and then leave.

I also asked who are the boys who get good marks and how they interpret them. The boys named some.

Jaska: Well, Eero, Jake. Jake understands. He gets such marks as 8-9,5.

Ana: Well, Jaska, too, gets good marks sometimes.

Jaska: Well, in maths.

Interviewer: You don't consider Jake to be overconscientious, do you?

Boys: Well, no.

Interviewer: What do you consider him to be like?

Jaska: He swims, too. It takes many hours a day.

Interviewer: Well, how do you call him instead of calling him overconscientious, because he gets good marks?

Jaska: He is good. He understands. He tries to remember everything that is said.

A boy, Jake was interpreted to get good marks and he was interpreted to be "good" by his male classmates.

5.3.2.4. "Overconscientious pupils" in group discussion II

(...)

Interviewer: One target of my interest is the question of overconscientiousness. What do you think, do you have any inclination to try to work harder than you feel yourself to be able to do?

Jena: It can sometimes happen that I wonder if I have done my homework well enough or if I should read better. But then I may realise that it would not have been necessary. It happens that I do too much.

Kati: I did, at least when I first came to this class. I had a terrible stress all the time, because I was not able to divide my homework. I tried to do everything at once.

Pertti: Not me.

Eeva: Yes, sometimes.

Pauliina: I haven't. I do as I do.

There were Eeva, Jena and Kati who interpreted themselves to have or to have had an inclination to work overconscientiously. These were the same three girls who said they spent one hour daily on their homework, set goals for their tests and wanted to get good marks. Their school life seemed to be also otherwise characterised by the principle of "doing one's best". The idea seemed to be shared by them and their parents. Figure 11 illustrates

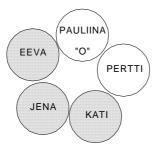


Figure 11. The pupils of the second interview group interpreting themselves to have an inclination to work too hard (Sunnari 1996a, 245)

the pupils who interpreted themselves to have an inclination to work too hard.

5.3.3. Summarising the discussions

I will summarise the pupils' discussions of overconscientious pupils by constructing three pictures of them. The pictures will be constructed from three perspectives; from the perspective of the pupils who claimed themselves not to be overconscientious, from the perspective of the ones who reported themselves to have or to have had an inclination to work overconscientiously, and from the perspective of Anna.

There were the boys and one girl, Pauliina, in the interview groups who spoke most when discussing the phenomenon of overconscientiousness. Together with Anna, they were also the pupils who claimed themselves not to be overconscientious. The discussions of these pupils, excluding Anna, make up the first perspective. The pupils who reported themselves to have or to have had an inclination to work overconscientiously were Eeva, Jena and Kati. Their discussions provided the second perspective. And the third perspective is that of Anna's. The pupils in the first category are from both of the discussion groups, those in the second category are from the second discussion group, and Anna is from the first group.

When analysing the issues, I first looked at how the pupils of the three categories described their homework. Then I looked at the kind of components

the three groups contributed to the picture of overconscientiousness and sought for similarities and differences between the pictures.

The following picture of an overconscientious pupil was provided by the pupils of the first group.

An overconscientious pupil

- always gets 10 or full points in tests. This was the main argument.
- feels it to be obligatory always to get good marks
- does schoolwork all the time and has no time for hobbies or friends
- answers with the words of books
- works hard to get full marks
- always does voluntary schoolwork. (Sunnari 1996a, 247.)

On the basis of their own accounts, the pupils in this category had variable studying strategies. All of them, however, reported doing homework daily, pointing out that they especially had to do the reading at home. They said they made prospective plans only when they had to, if even then. On the whole, these pupils seemed to appreciate a minimal amount of time spent on homework.

The discussions of the persons who interpreted themselves to have or to have had an inclination to work overconscientiously also emphasised the persons' desire to get good marks, and the feature that they sometimes spend lots of time, or even too much time, on their homework. In addition, a child who interpreted herself to have/to have had an inclination to work overconscientiously seemed

- to do her/his homework and to study for tests more systematically than her/his classmates
- to use a time-, page- and repetition-based strategy in her/his study system
- to be occasionally uncertain about having done one's best and being good enough
- to be inquired by her/his family about schoolwork more often than the pupils who did less well in school.

Anna, in turn, also reported doing her reading at home, and said she spent daily some time on her homework. While studying for a test, she said she tried to understand what she was reading. Talking about good test marks, she said she sometimes had a feeling after having done really well in a test that she should not do much worse in the next test. She did not consider herself overconscientious. She justified this by pointing out that she never spent so much time on homework as the person she considered to be overconscientious.

While describing the way of working of a pupil she considered overconscientious, Anna mentioned some additional attributes of overconscientiousness. According to her, an overconscientious pupil

- may do extra tasks just to please the teacher
- responds to the slightest stimulus by the teacher. (Sunnari 1996a, 247.)

On the other hand, Anna pointed out, contradicting her classmates, that not all pupils who get good marks are necessarily overconscientious.

5.3.4. Gendering in the pupils' discussions

I will look at gendering in the pupils' discussions through Anna.

According to the boys of the first discussion group all or most of the girls were overconscientious. The overconscientious girls named by them all did well in school. The boys named successful boys, too. They were not interpreted by the boys to be overconscientious. In the same line with the students' interpretations (see pages 89–92, 99–101) and with other research results concerning teachers' attitudes towards the issues (see pages 86–87) also the boys themselves interpreted the boy who do well in the school to be good.

The distinction between successful boys and girls seemed to be clear for the boys. In accordance with e.g. Susan Harris' (1993, 9) research results the boys of the discussion groups did a clear distinction between their school tasks and hobbies. The important thing was not to spend lots of time with school tasks. Hence, successful boys have time for hobbies. They do not read too much, they nor get always full marks, and if they are successful, they understand the matters, whereas the successful girls work too much for high marks, they have no time for hobbies, they study to memorise things. And according to the boys, the successful boys' ways of studying were more valuable than those of successful girls. However, although these distinctions dominated, not all the boys seemed to share them as such. Jake seemed to be more analytical in his interpretations.

According to the pupils in Anna's discussion group, an overconscientious pupil is a person who always gets and wants to get full marks in tests, and who feels it to be obligatory, who works hard to please the teacher, who answers with the words of books, and who always does voluntary schoolwork. According to the same discourse, non-overconscientious cleverness consists of

- "being good"
- knowing/understanding things
- learning without memorising things by heart
- getting good marks, but not always
- having time for friends and hobbies.
- did not always get "full marks",
- had lots of friends in and outside school,
- had according to the student teacher's description time for her friends
- had lots of hobbies. (Sunnari 1996a, 247.)

In addition, it was Anna, not the boys, who said that overconscientiousness was connected with the habit to work hard to please other people, especially the teacher. There is thus reason to interpret this to be Anna's attempt to make a distinction between herself and overconscientious persons. In spite of all these discrepancies, the first person the boys said to be overconscientious was Anna.

The boys, or most of them in the interview groups, had a dual orientation towards the question of overconscientiousness and towards discussing it. The first of them was somehow "ready": Anna and Pauliina get full points and good marks, and they are therefore overconscientious. I interpret that "ready"

claims of this kind are typically ideology-based. They require no deeper

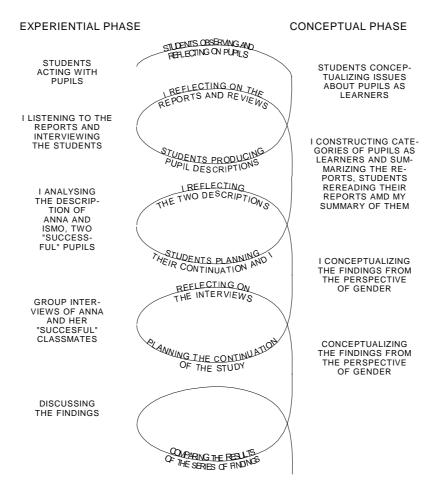


Figure 12. An illustration of the process of collecting and analysing the study material based originally on the novice student teachers' pupil descriptions

thinking. The second orientation was more analytical, and it opened up through the discussion. However, the opening of a new perspective seemed to require courage to surpass the actual "atmosphere" of the discussion and an adequate status to get oneself heard. The orientation of most of the girls towards the discussion on overconscientiousness seemed to be different from the visible orientations of most of the boys. It seemed to be consistently more analytical.

The question of different statuses was also present in the discussion. Anna, as interrupted several times and as having difficulties to get her voice heard, did not had a high status in the first discussion group. Jaska, a boy, was

the central person in that group. Jake also was better heard in the group than Anna. But it was not Pertti, the boy, but Pauliina, a girl, who was the central and the most voiced person in the discussions of the second group.

If you compare the student teachers' and the pupils' argumentation, you can see that it was not only most of the boys who showed a very ready, gender-specific argumentation. These opinions were more widely shared. The specific content of the interpretation varied, but the trend was the same: there are scientific boys in school, but successful girls are hard-working. It was possible to break this argumentation, but it required a context-specific and deeper discussion.

In the description of Anna, the student teacher points out: "When we had the pupil introduction with the teachers in charge, I think they said very much to the point that Anna is an overconscientious girl interested in various things." It was obvious that the teacher had said so. It was possible to confirm this by looking at the student teachers' school practice diaries. In my opinion, the class teacher interpreted Anna as not being overconscientious. It is possible to interpret that, according to the teacher, Anna had changed during the months between the description and the interviews. I confirmed the question about Anna's possible change by asking the student teacher who had written the description of Anna to tell, after her second school practice in Anna's class, if Anna had changed. I did this before the group interviews. The student's interpretation was that Anna was quieter, but as hard-working as earlier. The same was said by the class teacher. 130

5.4. Reflections on the theme "Pupils as learners"

The study process connected with the theme 'Pupils as learners' is illustrated in figure 12 above.

The starting point consisted of the second cycle students' pupil descriptions. There were 58 female student teachers and 10 male student teachers who reported on their pupils. The first important, and surprising result was that

In the spring 1995, Anna and her classmates finished their eighth form. They had got numeral school reports on the seventh and eighth form. As it was mentioned earlier, they were all children whom the class teacher interpreted to be successful in school. Their average marks at the end of the 8th form were between 8.6 and 9.8. The average marks of the pupils who participated in the second group were slightly higher than those of the pupils in the first group. Eeva's, Jena's, Kati's and Pauliina's average marks were 9.4 or more.

43 of the descriptions were of boys¹³¹ while 25 were of girls, although most of the students who made the descriptions were female. In order to verify whether the result was a chance, I checked out the sexes of the pupils in the 197 pupil descriptions made during the previous cycle. Even in them boys were more typical targets of description than girls.

The next question concerned the pupil selections from the perspective of the theme "Pupils as learners". There appeared to be two distinct major groups of children in the descriptions: pupil interpreted to be aggressive or otherwise disturbing and pupils interpreted to be superior in intelligence. The pupils in both of these groups were mainly boys. The second typical alternative was that a boy described to be superior to the others in intelligence. But even the number of selected boys interpreted not to belong to the "extreme categories" was higher than the number of the girls in any of the categories.

The girls described fell in between the extremes. They were most typically described to be ordinary, hard-working and possibly energetic and quiet for various reasons. Some of the girls were interpreted to be fast learners, too, but there were only girls who were interpreted to be fast learners without any mention of their being superior to the others.

It was also important to notice that among the selected pupils there were more girls than boys interpreted to have learning difficulties, while all the cases in which a pupil was described as exceptionally clever, eager to learn, etc., were boys. The adjectives *diligent*, *conscientious* and *overconscientious* were typical of the descriptions of girls who did well at school.

The latter observation actually suggested a need to conduct further research. The core questions to which answers were then sought were the following: What is the difference between the cleverness of a scientific person and a good school performance attributed to overconscientiousness in students' pupil descriptions, and how is a girl described as overconscientious by the student characterised by her classmates and herself?

The detailed analyses of the two children interpreted as successful, the girl, Anna, who was interpreted to be overconscientious, and the boy, Ismo, who was interpreted to be scientifically oriented, did not produce any unambiguous picture of the differences between these two attributes applied to successfulness. The result was parallel to the results of the analysis of Anna's classmates' discussion on Anna's overconscientiousness and to their discussions about the issues on a more general level.

Most of the boys in the interview groups showed a dual orientation towards the question of overconscientiousness and towards discussing it. The first of them was somehow "ready": there are overconscientious girls in the class and they are the girls who get full points and good marks, and boys who get good marks must be good. The second orientation was more analytical, and it opened up through the discussion which was directed towards rethinking

the issues. The orientation of most of the girls seemed to be consistently more analytical. Different statuses were also present in the discussions.

On the whole, overconsciousness as a feature seemed to be a value-diminishing evaluation of girls' learning abilities, but at the same time a component of some girls' learning orientation in contexts where the orientation can be justifiably assumed to be socially learned (cf. Harris et al. 1993, 12; Riddell 1992; Stanworth 1987).

The results are in line with the research results presented at the beginning of this section. In accordance with Sadker and Sadker (1992; 1994), the students tended to consider girls to be less independent, creative and autonomous than boys in the classroom. And there was a tendency to consider the surpassing of actual behavioural norms more normal among boys, but abnormal and negative among girls, just as Dale Spender (1992), Sheila Riddell (1992) and Barrie Thorne (1993) found, among others.

The central topic concerning gendering as analysed from the point of view of pedagogic relations can be conceptualised with the term of *noticing*. The essential points are: who is noticed and what is noticed and how that which is noticed is valued and interpreted. This is the issue which, through pedagogic processes, brings us to the question of gendering and the processes of creating and maintaining differences and divisions, valuing them hierarchically and creating symbolic meanings for them.

But it is important to perceive that the division between noticed and not-noticed children was not exactly identical with the sex division. The children whom the students of the third cycle did not remember after their first school practice week were boys and girls (cf. Bousted 1989.) The most noticed pupils, however, were boys (cf. Riddell 1992; Kruse 1992; Harris et al. 1993).

It also appeared that similar actions by pupils occasionally aroused opposite emotional reactions and clearly contradictory interpretations among the students, depending on whether the pupil was a boy or a girl. A girl could arouse problematic feelings if she did not behave according to the norms or if she was "too eager" to establish contacts with the student. At the same time, a boy could arouse positive feelings if he first did not behave according to the norms or did not want to make contact and if the situation later – with effort – changed. I interpret this to be connected with the different expectations and practices of women's and men's normal areas of activity and, thus, with the phenomenon of gender contract.

On the other hand, the phenomenon mentioned above might be connected with the quality of the more fundamental relations which the teachers and student teachers have towards the pupils. Anne Mette Kruse (1992, 89) points out that teachers are more ambivalent in their opinions of girls than of boys and she also claims that although teachers have more problems with boys, they have more positive emotions towards them. Kruse's opinion is interesting, although, on the basis of the present findings, it is not possible to agree with her as such. The students' pupil descriptions and their descriptions on their emotional experiences indicated sex-related differences in the encounters.

But the findings do not exclude the possibility that there had also been in the classes boys with whom no positive emotions were established.

6. STUDENTS' ENCOUNTERS WITH GENDER AND SEX-RELATED EQUALITY/EQUITY ISSUES

Working on the prior agency-based study material, I intended to analyse gendering in the students' pedagogical relations as connected with the central task of comprehensive education, which is to support children's learning and growth. The analyses showed that novice students directed their attention more usually towards boys than girls and that they tended to interpret children's study activities in gendered ways. The following agency-based material was used to analyse whether the students were aware of issues connected with gender and sex-related equity/equality in educational environments.

6.1. The material used and the purpose of analysing it

The material consists of two inquiries with open-ended questions. The inquiries were presented to the same student population whose pupil descriptions were analysed. The reasons for this were pedagogical and methodological.

Pedagogically, the questionnaires were connected with the second cycle of the development project. The first inquiry was presented to the students just before the end of their second study year. The original reason for presenting the questionnaire was the need to check whether the students were willing to participate in an optional course on gender and equity issues the next study year.

The second inquiry was presented to the students in the middle of their third study year. The original plan was to get feedback from the students about the practice period which they were finishing at that time. The reason for including questions of gender issues in this inquiry was twofold. Although about 70 per cent of the 52 students who had answered the previous questionnaire had mentioned a course on gender and equity issues to be important in teacher education, only three of them participated in the optional course that was organised. It was hence interesting to check how the students themselves interpreted this. (See Sunnari 1997.)

The second reason was pedagogical. I considered it important to continue with these students with the issues although they did not participate in the course. I also wanted to check whether the students' awareness of gender had changed as compared with their previous year's answers and with my findings concerning the previous practice period. As to the methodological reasons for the study the decision was connected with the question of how to get the relevant data from a relatively large student population.

I consider questionnaires problematic sources of research material. I think, however, that it is possible to obtain relative relevant research material by using questionnaires with certain reservations. One of them is whether the questions asked about are relevant from the perspective of the respondent's actual situation. Another reservation concerns the question of whether the respondent takes the issues asked about seriously. It is also important that the respondent can openly express her/his own views. The reservations were relatively well fulfilled as to the second cycle. The contexts of the questionnaires were discussed earlier. My relations with the students were mutually respectful and confident and we knew each other quite well because of the project. But, as it was mentioned earlier, I had not lectured on the issues to the students. I only had tried to support them to start reflecting on the issues by themselves. ¹³²

I used the material to find out which themes the students wrote about gender and equity issues and what were the contents of their replies.

The first questionnaire included an open-ended question about whether the students had encountered issues connected with gender and equity in the school world. The precise formulation of the question was the following: "Have you met in school or teaching situations/things which it would be necessary to study in respect of equity?" The questionnaire was given to the students at the beginning of a lecture, and they answered the questions at once.

As was mentioned earlier, the second half of the material was collected during the students' third study year, in a situation where they were concluding their school practice period. The students were asked to evaluate the school practice period. The question of encounters with gender was the last item on the questionnaire. The precise formulation of this question was as follows: "Have you, during this school practice period, encountered anything connected

For this purpose, I had, however, had situated discussions with the students about the issues and I had written a summary about their pupil descriptions (for more details, see Sunnari 1997).

The other questions were the following: "What kind of action should be taken in order to realise sex-related equity in school?" "Do you think that equity education would be a necessary course in the Department of Teacher Education? Reasons?

with equity between the sexes or differences/similarities between the sexes that has somehow occupied your mind?"¹³⁴

The first step in the analysis of the collected material was to check the themes of the texts and to set up the categories needed. After that the similarities and differences in and between the themes, and between the texts of the female and the male students were identified. The study then continued with an analysis of the theme contents and with a comparison of the answer contents on the two occasions. The comparison was made first on the level of the whole text corpuses produced on the two occasions (cf. e.g. Holli 1992; Räisänen 1995) and then on the level of individual answers. The last part of the analysis was made in order to check the constancy and possible changes in the students' replies.

There were 52 students altogether who participated in the lecture and also answered the first questionnaire; 43 of them were female and 9 male. The second questionnaire was also answered by 52 students, of whom 44 were female and 8 male. 37 of the respondents were the same on both occasions. The respondents were numbered 1–65, because the two questionnaires were answered by a total of 65 students.

6.2. Answers to the first inquiry

There were 52 students who answered the first questionnaire. Nineteen of them¹³⁵ either answered that they had not encountered gendered features and sex-related equity problems or left the question unanswered. Some students wrote that they had encountered such issues, but did not remember any concrete cases. 28¹³⁶ of the students wrote that they had encountered gendered features and/or problems connected with sex-related equality.

The other questions were the following: a. Tell about your experiences of the practice period. What was good, what was not? Which parts of your work, your possibilities to study the teacher's profession and your own work satisfied you, which parts did not? b. What did you get, in your opinion, and what important things do you think you missed during the school practices periods you have had up till now? Describe as you yourself experienced the issues. c. Which issues of the teacher's work and your professional development would you like to be emphasised during the practice periods which you will have in the future? d. What kind of arrangements concerning the next practice period would take your wishes into account in the best possible way? e. Do you have new ideas about how to develop the practice periods, their organisation and supervision?

About 36 per cent of the students who answered the inquiry.

About 54 per cent of the students.

I constructed the following categories of the encounters: 1. Exceptional choices / cases; 2. Topics of discussion due to characteristics / developmental stage / behaviour of boys and girls; 3. Teacher-pupil relations; and 4. Other.

The female students' answers

23 female students wrote that they had encountered issues of gender and equity, whereas six of the female students wrote that they had not. Some students wrote about having encountered or possibly having encountered such issues, but did not remember any concrete cases. There were also 9 students who did not answer this question.

Most typically, the encounters were connected with sex-related treatment. Fourteen of the students wrote about these issues. Six students wrote about exceptional handicraft choices. The categories, their sub-categories and some typical answers of each category are shown in table 2. Table 7 in appendix 3 shows the division of the answers into the different categories.

Table 2. The categories of the encounters reported in the first answers

1. EXCEPTIONAL CHOICES/CASES	"In my practice class in the fourth form of the training school, one boy had chosen textile work instead of technical work. The boy argued for his choice in view of its usefulness. I think it was a fine choice and showed courage." (Respondent 42.)
2. TOPICS OF DISCUSSION DUE TO CHARACTERISTICS/ DEVELOPMENTAL STAGE / BEHAVIOUR OF BOYS AND GIRLS	"The increasingly disturbing behaviour of girls" (Respondent 44). "During the practice period in a city school one girl threatened with suicide: she climbed after a sports lesson to the roof of the school and threatened to jump down. ()" (Respondent 34).
3. TEACHER - PUPIL RELATIONS 3a. Favouring treatment of girls / unfair treatment of boys	"Disturbing behaviour of boys is dealt with more briskly than that of girls, to whom "a blind eye is turned." (Respondent 56).

There is reason to assume that the form of the question which was put to the students had influenced the number of replies to this theme.

Tables of type categories have only been constructed of the female students' encounters. The reason for this was the small number of men and men's encounters in the study.

3b. Favouring treatment of boys / unfair treatment of girls	"During lessons, for example, the answers of boys and girls are accepted in different ways. A boy's indefinite answer can be praised, whereas girls have to specify their answers once and again." (Respondent 48).
3c. Favouring/unfair treatment of boys or girls	"Yes, there are cases where the teacher favours girls or boys. For example, my primary school teacher in domestic science clearly favoured boys in her speech, in her actions and in giving marks for final reports. Her only child was a boy and she talked about her son a lot." (Respondent 7.)
3d. Gendered treatment of girls and boys by a class teacher	"I have noticed this thing during each practice period: The teacher notices the lively and noisy ones (usually boys) and fails to notice the quiet (both girls and boys)." (Respondent 42.)
4. OTHER	"There have been cases which have given rise to questions, but I don't understand why they should be especially dealt with." (Respondent 6.)

When the replies were on exceptional choices, the respondent mostly seemed to advocate the need to widen the perspectives concerning the choices of subjects or vocations studied. None of the students wrote contrary to this. The other thing which was connected with these answers concerned the courage needed to make exceptional choices. The following text illustrates these answers:

"In my practice class in the fourth form of the training school, one boy had chosen textile work instead of technical work. The boy argued for his choice in view of its usefulness. I think it was a fine choice and showed courage." ¹⁴⁰

In some of these texts, the point of the matter was that in spite of a wish for a personal and exceptional choice, this wish could not be fulfilled because of pressure by other persons.¹⁴¹

There were two answers that I placed into the category of characteristics/developmental stage/behaviour of boys or girls. Both of these cases concerned a girl's behaviour/characteristics. The first comment was of girls being too kind and smiling and using this as a way of getting favours. The second answer pertained to a very exceptional and dangerous situation involving a girl.

The encounters of unequal treatment in school concentrated on the teacher-pupil relation. They were cases of teachers' favouring or disfavouring pupils. The

respondents 4, 9, 10, 14, 36, 42

respondent 42

respondents 9, 14, 36

pupils said to be favoured were mainly either girls or boys. In some cases the student said that there can be girls or boys who are favoured/disfavoured.

The statements concerning explicit favouring of girls or explicit favouring of boys differed clearly from each other as to their contents. The cases where the respondent wrote about having encountered particular favouring of boys mainly concerned learning activity. The respondents said that it was possible for boys to answer more vaguely in class¹⁴² or that boys got more easily good marks than girls. They said further that boys were given special privileges, that they were encouraged to be different, and that more initiative and activity were expected from boys than from girls. Active girls were said to become easily regarded as aggressive and impertinent.

The cases where the respondent reported having noticed girls to be favoured mainly concerned disturbing behaviour in class and its consequences. The typical assumption included in this claim was that boys and girls are different and that boys need more activity.

In addition, one respondent¹⁴⁸ pointed out that girls are favoured when given study assignments. ¹⁴⁹

The male students' answers

There were eight male students who answered the question. Their most typical answer was a mention of not having encountered any cases of sex-related inequality. Four male students wrote about such encounters. Two of them wrote about exceptional choices in handicraft. In both cases the point of the matter was that in spite of a wish to choose exceptionally, the wish could not be fulfilled.

The encounters of the last two male students concerned girls and their behaviour. The first of them wrote that "the increased disturbing behaviour

respondent 48

respondent 15

respondent 15 respondent 49.

respondent 49, 50

respondent 63

respondent 2, 9, 56

respondent 47

The same questionnaire also included a question of how to improve sex-related equality/equity. This question has been analysed elsewhere (see Sunnari et al. 1997). The suggestions of how to improve equality/equity differed according to whether boys or girls were considered to be treated unequally. If school was considered to be unequal towards boys, it was suggested that activities interesting for boys should be increased. If the starting-point was the opposite, suggestions were given for measures concerning the quality of pedagogical relationships or opportunities of increased activities for all the pupils.

¹⁵⁰ five answers

respondents 12 and 53

of girls" puzzled him. 152 The other only mentioned that "an adolescent girl" to be puzzling. 153

Summary

There were two typical themes in the students' writings on their encounters with gender issues. They were exceptional choices and unequal treatment. As regard unfair treatment, its agents were said to be teachers and its targets either girls or boys. The contents of the descriptions differed depending on whether the target was a girl or a boy in the same way as Licht and Dweck (1987), for example, have found. In the cases where the student wrote about having encountered particular unfair treatment targeted towards girls, the student wrote about study activities. The cases where the writer reported having noticed boys to be the targets of unfair treatment concentrated on social relations, i.e. on boys' disturbing behaviour and its consequences.

The emphases of the female and male students' answers differed from each other. The answers of the female students mainly concerned aspects of pedagogical and other human relations and hence the learning activities. Owing to the scarcity of the answers of male students, it is relatively difficult to generalise the orientation present in their answers, but their answers did not concentrate especially on these topic areas. The male students wrote about exceptional handicraft choices or, according to my interpretation, about some girls, and especially adolescence girls, making them feel puzzled. The latter of the male students' themes was also present in this female students' answers. Regardless of whether the respondent in these cases was male or female, the topic seemed to be an adolescence girl surpassing the given norms or behaving with a way which appeared unacceptable to the student. Nobody wrote about adolescence boys making the students similarly puzzled.

The results are interesting compared to some other research results on the corresponding topic area. Many other research results have also shown (see e.g. Tarmo 1989; Riddell 1992; Meisfjord 1994; Bø 1995; Lampela 1995) that it is typical for teachers to think that boys need more activities than girls in school and that girls behave according to the given norms while boys more often surpass them. These themes were also present in the students' pupil descriptions¹⁵⁴ and in the pupils' group discussions.¹⁵⁵ Sheila Riddell (1992) showed that these opinions were also shared by parents. According to her, the rhetoric utterance that "boys must be allowed to be boys" meant

respondent 44

respondent 5

¹⁵⁴ See section 5.1. and 5.2.

See section 5.3.

almost the same as "you have little possibilities to educate boys" for some of parents.

From the perspective that girls are assumed to behave according to the given norms, it is understandable that adolescent girls who somehow protest against the given norms, make the students feel perplexed as was shown by their replies.

6.3. Answers to the second inquiry

The theme categories of the students' previous encounters made up the basis for the analyses of the second encounters. The categories were the following: exceptional choices/cases; topics of discussion due to characteristics/developmental stage/behaviour of boys and girls; teacher-pupil relations and other. These categories, however, proved not to be sufficient. The first of the categories was not needed. Instead I had to add the following categories: student-student relations, pupil-pupil relations, pupil-student relations, reflections on one's own actions, pupils' location in the class and there is equality. These categories together made up the structure for the analysis of the second-time encounters.

Corresponding to the previous occasion, this questionnaire was also answered by 52 students, of whom 44 were women and 8 men. Of the 52 students who answered the second inquiry, 20 wrote about the issues, 9 wrote that they had not encountered any, and 16 did not answer the question. Four students wrote that there is equality in school, and one student only wrote about having discussed the issues during an optional course on gender and sex-related issues. Two students wrote that they did not have time for the issues. None of the students who now wrote that they had not noticed anything, had written about having noticed such matters on the previous occasion.

The female students' answers

There were 18 female students who wrote about encounters of inequality. According to 3 of the students, there is equality in the school environment. Seven students wrote that they had not identified issues of inequality. 13 students did not answer the question and two students mentioned that there was no time to think about these issues during the school practice. ¹⁵⁶

Most of the 18 female students who wrote about having encountered gendered features, reported issues connected with the teacher-pupil relations.

The problems connected with time were discussed in detail in another part of the questionnaire (see Sunnari 1997).

But student-student relations, pupil-pupil relations and pupil-student relations were also discussed. Five students wrote about the characteristics, development stage or behaviour of pupils.

Table 3 shows the categories of encounters and some typical answers of the female students on the second occasion. The number of cases in each answer category is presented in table 8 in appendix 3.

Table 3. The categories and typical answers on the second occasion

1. TOPICS OF DISCUSSION AND REFLECTIONS DUE TO CHARACTERISTICS/ DEVELOPMENTAL STAGE / BEHAVIOUR OF BOYS AND GIRLS	"Especially the pupils of the 6th form are at an age where the differences between the sexes are visible. Girls are relatively mature. They are interested in discos and make-up. It was surprising that the girls kept looking at themselves in mirrors and putting on makeup () even during the lessons. The boys were still fully 'in the world of children'" (Respondent 2.) "Girls were considerably more active in school than boys, whereas boys were more lively." (Respondent 25).
2. TEACHER - PUPIL RELATIONS 2. Unfair treatment of some boys by the class teacher	"The teacher in the classroom next to mine would yell at the pupils all the time. A group of some four boys were continuously 'thrown out' of the class during these three weeks, either individually or as a group. I think nothing is gained by throwing them out of the class in a case like that. () To me, the boys seemed quite normal, not at all "cheeky", as I heard their teacher say." (Respondent 8.)
2b. Unfair treatment of girls by the class teacher	"Our class teacher (a middle-aged man) clearly favoured boys over girls. He liked to emphasise how important a male figure he was for the boys. The shy and timid girls, of whom there were a few in the class, remained without attention and encouragement. Even the seating plan was clearly boy-centred. In addition, one of the boys was clearly the teacher's favourite. When this boy insulted a timid girl in class (who also had problems at home) and made her cry, this was passed over smoothly with silence. When we took up the matter with the class teacher, he gave the following comment: 'Well, N is like that. You cannot say anything to her, it is always the same result.' There you have an example of equity between pupils in practical school work." (Respondent 49.).

2d. Gendered treatment of girls and boys by the class teacher	"The role stereotypes and expectations of teachers." (Respondent 37). "I have noticed this thing during each practice period: The teacher notices the lively and the
	noisy pupils (usually boys) and fails to notice the quiet ones (both girls and boys)." (Respondent 42.)
2e. Gendered attitudes of the Department's staff towards students	"I constantly bump into the fact that men in our student groups are in a somehow more central position than women. There may be room for improvement in the attitudes of the female students towards the male students, who are fewer in number. But even many lecturers at the Department of Teacher Education show their attitudes very clearly. They speak, for instance, about Matti's group, even if there are seven female students in the group. Is the man in a group some kind of an Einstein? This is only a small example and similar things happen every day. The female students seem to accept this custom, so we can partly blame ourselves if the attitudes will remain the same in the future." (Respondent 15.)
3. STUDENT - STUDENT RELATIONS	"() my partner in the practice period was a man. In principle, there is nothing bad in that, but the attitudes or working habits of female and male students are often very different. I experienced that practising was very hard because I had to work much harder especially in music lessons. (This can be due to other factors, too.)" (Respondent 30.)
4. PUPIL - PUPIL RELATIONS	"It was very surprising in the class that the boys and the girls could not stand each other. This was especially obvious for the boys. Some of the boys simply refused to work with a girl even for a short time." (Respondent 31.)
	"It was nice to notice that in my practice class (1st form) girls and boys were treated in the same way. ()" (Respondent 9).
5. PUPIL - STUDENT RELATIONS	"At first I was wondering what the attitude of the pupils would be towards us, a group of four female student teachers, as the teacher of the class was male. I think it was in no way exceptional. I noticed that whenever their own teacher was away from the classroom, some of the boys tried to introduce sexual matters, names, vulgar language, etc." (Respondent 24.)

6. REFLECTIONS ON ONE'S OWN ACTIONS	"I have noticed that I am more puzzled by the disturbing behaviour of a girl (especially in the lower forms) than of a boy" (Respondent 13).
7. PUPILS' LOCATION IN THE CLASS	See citation 2c.
8. THERE IS EQUALITY	"My opinion is that we have tried to be equal towards the boys and the girls. We have, for example, tried to divide the special tasks equally (the drama roles for example)." (Respondent 50.)

I placed five cases in the first category concerning the characteristics of pupils and the discussions on their development stage and behaviour. Two of these replies concentrated on a theme which was found in the male students' previous answers: adolescent girls, making the student puzzled. In both of these cases the girls had protested against the given norms. One of the respondents was angry about that. The other respondent was more neutral in her reply.

One student mentioned that girls and boys are different by their mentality, ¹⁵⁸ and the other two commented on girls' and boys' different classroom behaviour, pointing out that the most restless pupils had been boys, while girls had been more active in class than boys. ¹⁵⁹

Nine students wrote about cases where the student interpreted the teacher to have favoured boys or girls. In two of these cases, the student reported the teacher having favoured boys. The descriptions were from one and the same class. According to the students, the class teacher, a man, had emphasised the importance of being a male role model for the boys, and the boys had been in a central position in his class, as can be seen from the following citation:

"Our class teacher (a middle-aged man) clearly favoured boys over girls. He liked to emphasise how important a male figure he was for the boys. The shy and timid girls, of whom there were a few in the class, remained without attention and encouragement. Even the seating plan was clearly boy-centred. In addition, one of the boys was clearly the teacher's pet. When this boy insulted a timid girl in class (who also had problems at home) and made her cry, this was passed over smoothly with silence. When we took up the matter with the class teacher, he gave the following comment: 'Well, N is like that. You cannot say anything to her, it is always the same result.' There you have an example of equity between pupils in practical school work."

respondents 25 and 39

respondent 50

respondents 25, 39

respondents 48, 49

respondent 49

The other student who wrote about the same case presented some additional information. She wrote:

"(...) even in the seating plan most of the girls are put on the sides and the boys in the middle of the class. During the lessons one generally notices the central position of the boys." 162

In two cases the statement was that the teacher was disfavouring boys. ¹⁶³ But differing from the previous answers, none of the respondents now claimed that the teacher was disfavouring all boys.

"(...) A group of some four boys were continuously "thrown out" of the class during these three weeks, either individually or as a group. I think nothing is gained by throwing them out of the class in a case like that. (...) To me, the boys seemed quite normal, not at all "cheeky", as I heard their teacher say." 164 165

One student wrote about the theme of unequal treatment of the students by the staff. The text concentrated on the female and male students' position at the Department. The student wrote in the following way:

"I constantly bump into the fact that the men in our student groups are in a somehow more central position than the women. There may be room for improvement in the attitudes of the female students towards the male students, who are fewer in number. But even many lecturers at the Department of Teacher Education show their attitudes very clearly. They speak, for instance, about "Matti's 166 group", even if there are seven female students in the group. Is the man in a group some kind of an Einstein? This is only a small example and similar things happen every day. The female students seem to accept this custom, so we can partly blame ourselves if the attitudes will remain the same in the future." 167

In the other replies on teachers favouring or disfavouring some pupils, it was said that the teacher had stereotypic attitudes towards girls and boys. 168

Gender issues in the context of students' mutual relations were mentioned in two cases. In the first of them, the question was about the gap which the student interpreted to exist between female and male teachers, and which she interpreted to possibly have been present even between male and female student teachers. She was of the opinion that teachers of different sex work very seldom closely together. The other case was connected with the division of work in school practice. And in the same way as in the case of failure the central question was about the division of work (see pages 15–17). The student wrote:

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respondent 48
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respondents 8, 29

respondent 8

Respondent 29 wrote about the same case and in the same way.

Matti is a man's name in the Finnish language.

respondent 15

respondents 7, 35, 37, 42

respondent 7

"...my partner in the practice period was a man. As far as I know, there were no other girl/boy pairs. In principle, there is really nothing bad in that, but often the attitudes and working habits of women and men are very different. I found practising very hard, because I had to work much harder, especially on music lessons. (...) "170

Two students wrote about pupil-pupil relations. One of the texts concerned problematic relations between the boys and girls in a school class, whereas the other was on positive experiences in the same area.

"It was very surprising in the class that the boys and the girls could not stand each other. This was especially obvious of the boys. Some of the boys simply refused to work with a girl even for a short paired task." ¹⁷¹

"It was nice to notice that in my practice class (1st class) girls and boys were treated in the same way. There was no talk like "boys will be boys", etc. The girls and the boys were friends with each other. We often thought with my partner how the teacher can contribute to this, so that the friendship between the boys and the girls will continue when the children grow and advance to new stages in their development. The point of comparison was a 3rd grade where I had previously worked as a substitute teacher. In that class the girls and the boys seemed to be the worst "enemies". A classmate of the other sex was approached more or less with clenched fists. It is important that the teacher emphasises the significance of friendship and that one can be friends with everybody, even if this everybody is of the opposite sex." 172

Pupil-student relations were mentioned in two replies. In the first of them, the student wrote about having found that a group of boys had wanted a male student to teach them. ¹⁷³ The second concerned sexism, and it was the only reply about this problem.

"At first I wondered what the attitude of the pupils would be towards us, a group of four female student teachers, as the teacher of the class was male. I think it was in no way exceptional. I noticed that whenever their own teacher was away from the classroom, some of the boys always tried to introduce sexual matters, names, vulgar language, etc." 174

What is important in the reply is that the student considers the situation to have been normal. The students were afraid of some problems while the male teacher was out of the class, but they related, because they interpreted the boys' behaviour as not exceptional in those situations, although the boys had tried to introduce sexual matters and used vulgar language. The utterance seems to include a similar message as was reported by Sheila Riddell (1992, 159): sexual joking and allusions by boys can be taken as normal (see also e.g. Jones 1985; Wood 1987; Squirrell 1990; Salminen 1992; Spender 1992).

respondent 30

respondent 31

respondent 9

¹⁷³ respondent 1

¹⁷⁴ respondent 24

Dale Spender (1992, 63) who found corresponding phenomena in boys' behaviour towards female teachers, asked some of the teachers why it was that such abuse was allowed to persist. 'All boys behave like that at their age', 'it's a stage they go through' and 'it's best not to pay attention to it, they grow out of it you know' were typical answers. The answers did not include reflections on the behaviour from the girls' point of view. I found the same when discussing the topic with student teachers. (Interviews April 4th and 11th, 1996. See also Mahony 1995).

One student explicitly reflected on her own pedagogical actions as a teacher or student teacher. She wrote about an issue which was also present in the summary of the answers of the previous questionnaire: being more puzzled by a girl's behaviour problems than a boy's problems."¹⁷⁵

Two female students wondered about the existence of sex-related inequality in the school world. One of them was of the opinion that equity is realised in school, while the other pointed out that the core problem of equity is not in sex-based relations, but in human relations as such.¹⁷⁶

The male students' answers

There were eight male students who answered the second questionnaire. Two of them wrote about encounters with gender issues, three stated that they had not encountered anything concerning the matter, one wrote that there is equality and one did not answer the question.

Two of the three encounter replies concerned the attitude of the Department staff towards the students. The message in the first of them was that there is sex-related inequality in the Department because of its feminist atmosphere. The person himself did not belong to the population of the second cycle. He only had one practice period with the students of the second cycle. The message in the second of these answers was that all students have been treated equally. The third answer concerned the pupils' physical location in the school class from the gender point of view.

respondent 13

respondents 18 and 33

respondent 23

¹⁷⁸ respondent 44

6.4. Changes in the contents of the two inquiries

6.4.1. Changes in the focus of the two text corpuses

Certain changes appeared in the contents of the replies. The following two were the most obvious: the number of different types of encounters increased radically and the encounters now revealed the complexity of the issues observed instead of presenting a dichotomous view. The changes characterised predominantly the female students answers.

The topics mainly concentrated on social relations in the female students' replies. The replies concerning unfair treatment in the first text corpus were mainly divided in an "either-or" fashion: according to the students, either girls or boys were treated unfairly. The focus in the second text corpus shifted towards a more versatile way of looking at the issues. A similar change was observable in the replies which belonged to the category "some girls or boys, or groups of girls or boys, or individual girls or boys are treated unequally".

The changes in the male students answers were few, and the contents of the second answers concerning encounters with gender and sex-related equity issues were even more modest than in the first answers. The only mention concerning work in school was connected with the placing of the pupils in the physical classroom, which is actually an important topic for discussion (see e.g. Shilling 1991).

The following major differences in the discourse contents were identifiable between the male and the female students:

- The discourse of male students was more often based on the claim that there is no sex-related unfair treatment, or that the student has never personally encountered such treatment. The discourses of female students, in turn, were both absolutely and relatively more often based on the claim that gendering and sex-related unfairness are present in the school world and teacher education. Arna Meisfjord got a similar result (Meisfjord 1994, 18–20. Cf. also Kelly et al. 1987; Cooper et al. 1996).
- Whenever the discourses of female students included an interpretation of the presence of gendering/sex-related unfairness, they tended to pertain to problems in social relationships, whereas male students typically did not write about these issues.
- Between the two occasions of answering, there were fewer shifts in the contents of the discourses of the male students than the female students.
- Gendering in the students' mutual relations was only commented on by female students. None of the male students who participated in the second development cycle made such remarks. One male student wrote, however, that there is no sex-related inequality in teacher education or the students' mutual relations.

In addition to the above mentioned differences, a comparison of the answers by female and male students also shows, some special features. Concerning the treatment of the students themselves and the students' mutual relations, it was the female students on both occasions who brought up matters which they interpreted as indicating gendering/inequality between the sexes. There were also contents classifiable into this category in the answers of the male students, but these contents were more contradictory. One of the male students claimed that the Department of Teacher Education is feminist, which, for the respondent, seemed to imply unfairness towards men, while another respondent maintained that there are no problems related to equality. The first of these respondents was not a member of the project.

Another special feature is recognisable in the texts concerning the developmental stages of boys and girls in both text corpuses and regardless of whether the respondent was a man or a woman: all of these texts pertained to girls, their puberty and the possible confusion caused by this in the student. The result is in accordance with the findings of Christine Skelton and Joan Hanson (1989, 112). The issues which also the students in their research found from their school times as connected with gender issues were subject choices and adolescent sexuality.

The fact that the question of school subjects was not present in the answers of the students on the second occasion is important from the viewpoint that the students had been working in school and teaching various subjects. In the answers of the first inquiry these issues were more often present, although not in the answers to the question which was analysed here. (See Sunnari 1997.) I interpret this difference to be associated with the problems of reflecting on one's own actual organising-oriented actions.

6.4.2. Individual changes in focus

There were 37 students among the respondents who answered on both occasions. 30 of them were female and seven male. I looked separately at the answers by men and women, and excluded such answers to the first inquiry which concerned exceptional choices, because this theme was no longer present on the second occasion. I proceeded according to the following grouping:

- 1. texts where the respondent said on both occasions that she/he had encountered issues concerning gender and equity between the sexes, reporting
 - a. disfavouring of boys
 - b. disfavouring of girls
 - c. gendered treatment of both girls and boys.
- 2. cases where the respondent said on the first occasion that she/he had not encountered any gender issues, and on the second occasion that she/he had encountered issues of this kind
- 3. cases where the student left the question unanswered at the first time, but answered at the second time.

What did those female students write about the gender theme who wrote about disfavouring of boys over girls on the first occasion? They were six

altogether on the first occasion. The second time, none of them wrote about disfavouring of boys. Instead, two of them left this question unanswered, one wrote about girls' adolescence, one said that she was attending the course "Role-breaking education", and one wrote that it would be important that the teacher would emphasise friendship with everybody regardless of their sex. Those who initially wrote about disfavouring of girls usually wrote about the same theme on the second occasion, too, as also did the persons who first wrote about gendered treatment of boys and girls.

One of the female students who initially wrote that they had not encountered sex-related problems later wrote about encounters. She brought up the issue of girls and boys not tolerating each other. Another of these cases continued with the same line as in the previous occasion. She was of the opinion that equity is fairly well realised in school.

There were three female students who did not answer this question on the first occasion, but later wrote about their encounters. One of these respondents wrote about sexist remarks by boys directed at her, while another wrote about a case where the teacher blamed some boys without any reason. The third student wrote that she had not had possibilities to stay in the class long enough to notice any such cases.

As regards the male students' answers, it is difficult to compare the answers given on the two occasions. But if the male students wrote about the themes, they usually only wrote on the first or on the second occasion. The answers usually concerned individual girls.

When looking at the male students' texts from the viewpoint of the shifting of focus, there is only one case to deal with. This student initially wrote that he had not encountered any issues concerning gender. The second time he wrote in a way that implied that he had noticed the issue in his practising environment:

"In one class the girls and the boys were seated quite separately. The seating plan and the assignments were divided according to sex. Is this sensible or what? 179

6.5. Reflections on the answers

I will not repeat the results discussed earlier. Instead I will briefly discuss some other issues of this part of the study. The first important finding was that about 20 per cent of the respondents to the first questionnaire and about 30 per cent of the respondents to the second questionnaire did not answer the question. The number of students who did not answer the questionnaire on the second occasion had thus increased. My interpretation is that this fact should not be considered as the

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respondents' more negative attitude towards gender issues, although such interpretation is possible. On the first occasion, the questionnaire consisted of one page. The second questionnaire included open-ended questions on four pages. They mainly concerned the students' experiences and evaluations of their school practice on a more general level. The question of gender issues was the last item.

Secondly, on both occasions, the number of persons who wrote about not having encountered gender issues was about 17 per cent. The number of these students was quite small compared to some international findings. For example, Christine Skelton and Joan Hanson (1989, 114) found in their study that gender issues were not perceived as a feature of primary school by student teachers. Marit Grøterud (1992, 64) found the same. Further, Arna Meisfjord (1994, 18–19) found that about 50 to 70 per cent of the first-year student teachers were of the opinion that men and women are equal in most societal areas if they only want it, and corresponding results have been reported by an international research group on teachers' careers (WCT 1995, 213–214).

The results of the international research group mentioned above also included an interesting detail which was clearly in contrast with the contents of the replies analysed here. The Danish students who participated in the international research felt that women were more dominant than men in their college. Their argument for this was that men were in a minority and that the female students were more active than the males. ¹⁸⁰ (WCT 1995, 211.)

The contents of the replies showed a widely discussed phenomenon which was also mentioned in the earlier parts of this study: there seemed to be differences in the basic presuppositions concerning boys and girls as pupils (cf. e.g. Riddell 1992; Thorne 1993; Lampela & Lahelma 1996). This phenomenon characterised especially the first answers. The contents of the second replies were more extensive and less dichotomic which I interpret to present progress in conscientiousness rising project about the phenomenon of gendering (cf. Arnesen & Ní Chárthaigh 1992; Arnesen 1995b.) The quality of the individual changes and the fact that the changes in the replies were not in any way arbitrary support the interpretation.

The result also fits well with the findings concerning the students' interpretations of pupils as learners. If you assume that girls and boys are different and that you can expect girls to work harder and more in keeping with the given norms than you can expect boys to do, and you find that a boy is doing well in school, the interpretation that he must be of scientifically oriented sounds logical. And correspondingly, if you expect girls to work hard, the interpretation that a well-doing girl is overconscientious is understandable.

As regards gendering in the Department of Teacher Education, unfair treatment by the staff was mentioned on both occasions. The gendered division

²³ Danish student teachers participated in this study. 16 of them were female.

of tasks between the students and differences in the statuses were also discussed.

7. GENDERED STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES - CHALLENGES FOR GENDER-SENSITIVE PEDAGOGY

7.1. Gendered structures and processes in primary teacher education

There were two challenges combined with this study and the development project: the challenge to support student teachers to orient themselves towards children from the beginning of their studies, and the challenge connected with gendering and gender-sensitive and equity-promoting pedagogy.

The topic of gender was studied from structural and processual perspectives. The structural perspective was focused through curricular analysis, including the curricular analysis of the first Finnish teacher seminar and the analysis of three annual curricula of primary teacher education in Oulu: the first curriculum, the first academic curriculum and the curriculum of the academic year 1988/89. Certain curricular issues of the years 1988–1995 were also observed. Additionally, agency-based observations of students' minor subject choices in 1988–1995 were made to complement the observations.

Two other agency-based sub-perspectives were also taken: a perspective connected with the students' pedagogical relations and another connected with their awareness of gender issues. Both of the agency-based perspectives were focused through the material collected during a pedagogic development project in 1988–1996 at the Department of Primary Teacher Education in the University of Oulu. The special tools used in the analyses were the culturally produced differences and hierarchies/asymmetry. I also analysed the symbolic meanings connected with the differences and divisions.

As regards the history of primary teacher education in Finland, it was just over 130 years ago that teacher education began. It began at the same time for women and men and constituted one of the first forums of vocational education for women. As such, it signified an important breakthrough in the prevailing notion that women were destined to stay at home, although the decision to educate oneself to become a teacher also meant contradictions to these women's personal futures (Sulkunen 1995, 33, 37; Eskelinen 1982).

The education of female teachers was linked to women's duties to work at home and to raise new citizens for the new bourgeois society. The notions of enterprise, upward development and common education as important means of achieving this development were emphasised in the project.

Women's special task in the upbringing of children was to instil the basic values needed for the new societal orientation, and to give the children a strong and healthy start for their future, as especially Cygnaeus emphasised. The fact that the future female teachers were envisioned to be women of the upper classes was compatible with these aims. Cygnaeus' suggestion concerning suitable male teachers was connected with the special societal task to educate brave fighters for the homes and the native land and to shape the boys' identities in this direction.

The teacher education programme was planned to cover four years. The institute was made a boarding-school, and separate departments for male and female students were established. There was also a primary school, called "a model school", in the seminar. The model school included an upper primary school, a lower primary school and a kindergarten. Some children of day nursery age were included in the model school system, too. The lower school and the kindergarten were for children aged 5–9. The upper school was for children aged 10–15.

In addition to the different personal growth objectives, the most visible sex-related curricular differences which emerged in primary teacher education at its initial stage were the following:

- contents of subjects studied; especially physical education, handicraft and pedagogy
- division of female and male student teachers into teachers for small children and teachers for older children
- everyday chores of the students
- norm control.

The female student teachers were oriented to work in the lower and upper schools and the kindergarten. The male students were oriented to teach especially boys in the upper schools. In the school institution outside the seminar, the lower schools were not part of the proper public school system. Lower education was also less valued.

Cygnaeus had wanted the teaching of handicraft to be included in the curricula of both male and female students. During his excursion Cygnaeus began to argue that handicraft in particular would allow a teacher to apply the Froebelian pedagogy. To fulfil the criteria set by Froebel for meaningful learning, handicraft was to be "intellectually stimulating" and "mentally satisfying". As to technical work, the ideas were realised by emphasising the development of technical skills and the learning of how to use technical equipment. In textile work, the emphasis was on making various products, which were also listed. These products were meant for family life. This emphasis was the same as in the girls' schools.

In connection with physical education, Cygnaeus talked specifically about educational gymnastics, the purpose of which he said to be to contribute to

the harmony of human growth, to eliminate sluggishness, and to stimulate bravery and fearlessness in the pupils. As to men's physical education, these objectives, together with the general aims of education, were realised through an emphasis on competitiveness, strength and speed, while among women, the emphasis was on suppleness, rhythmicity and agility. The differences were related to the differences in the contemporary gender contracts of women and men. (Koivusalo, 1982, 107; Meinander 1994.)¹⁸¹

As regards the moral code and control, the students' lives in the seminar were strictly controlled. A special field of moral control was manifested by the fact that female and male students studied in the same seminar, although in separate buildings. Especially female students had to be protected against situations which were considered to imply immorality. A special arrangement for this purpose was that when female students were taught by a male teacher, there had to be a female guardian present in the room. Why this was so, is a complex question. The material used here gives three different sources of explanation. First, in certain contemporarily influential philosophical constructions, women were regarded as more limited in their abilities for moral development than men (see pages 43–44). Second, similar emphases were to be found in religious thinking (see page 46). And third, the contemporary Finnish girls' schools (see page 41) and also international practices provided a model for that.

The findings of the historical gendered structures of Finnish primary teacher education are in many respects in line with the findings concerning other Finnish educational fields and the international findings on primary teacher education. For example, the basic goal in educating girls even in the Finnish girls' schools was to educate them for motherhood (see page 40), and the same basic orientation was visible in vocational education at the time of its establishment and also throughout the first half of the 20th century (Kaarninen 1994, 177; Nikkinen 1993).

International findings also show that the special societal task included in women's teacherhood at the time of its establishment was connected with societal motherhood and domestic duties (see Delamont 1978b; Korppi-Tommola 1984; Kyle 1987; Maguire & Weiner 1996; Mayer 1996a; b; Oram 1989; Florin 1994; Pinar et al. 1995). The differences in the contents of study subjects and the question of whether it is morally acceptable to educate female and male teachers in the same seminars or whether there should be single-sex colleges also seem to have been international (Delamont 1978a, 134; 1978b; Oram 1989; Mayer 1996a; Maguire & Weiner 1996). It has also been an international phenomenon that female students have oriented towards educating small boys and girls and male students educating older boys (Oram 1989, 23; Florin 1994; Mayer 1996a; Maguire & Weiner 1996). And it has

The subject was taken in the curriculum of the secondary schools in 1843 (cf. Koivusalo 1982, 21; Meinander 1994).

been an international phenomenon that the first educated female teachers have been members of the upper social classes (Delamont 1978b, 165; Oram 1989, 22; Florin 1994; Maguire & Weiner 1996).

The fact that primary teacher education in Finland began at the same time for both sexes had no typical historical counterparts abroad (see e.g. Maguire & Weiner 1996, 714–715; Mayer 1996a. See also Cygnaeus 1910f).

Some components of the gender system of the first Finnish teacher seminar have assumed even stricter manifestations later. One example is that seminar education was mainly segregated up till the 1950s. Secondly, there was a period of separate lower school teacher education in the history of Finnish elementary teacher education. This education was almost purely education of female teachers.

The sex-related differences in the first curriculum of the Oulu College of Teacher Education in the 1950s were surprisingly similar to the differences of the first curriculum of the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminar in the 1860s. The most visible differences were the following:

- different objectives for personal growth
- motherhood-related differences and divisions in certain subjects studied, especially home economics and health studies
- content and orientation differences in physical education and handicraft.

The first curriculum of the Oulu College of Teacher Education included the following sex-related content differences in physical education: men's curriculum did not mention tool gymnastics, rhythmic gymnastics, folk dance or gymnastic play with music. The curriculum of female students did not include referee and official actions, nor a need to know the rules of games or to participate in workouts.

The content differences in the descriptions of technical work and textile work continued to be similar to those in the curriculum of the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminar. The contents of men's handicraft were built upon learning to use different means/tools and to work with different materials in varied ways. The contents of women's handicraft consisted more of making different products by using the different techniques and abilities needed in school textile work.

The academic curricula have been almost similar for both sexes. The only differences were present in handicraft, and they were parallel to those seen earlier, although the terms used about the subject were no longer *men's handicraft* and *women's handicraft* but *textile work* and *technical work*. It is remarkable that the creativity and personal growth of the student teachers were emphasised especially in the description of technical work. The emphasis in the description of textile work was more on the students' duties to study the skills which were regarded as necessary for teaching children textile work. But as it was mentioned earlier, handicraft was no longer called women's and men's handicraft, but there were two different subjects, as if both available for everybody. 182

The description of physical education was the same for both sexes, although this subject was studied in segregated groups. 183 This fact challenged me to

check what had happened to the content areas, which had earlier been sex-specific. On the basis of the curriculum, it was not possible to answer this question. The content descriptions were on a more abstract level, and although it was not possible to find mentions of such contents, it was possible that they were included in the curriculum.

As a whole, the academic curricula proved to be ostensibly gender-neutral. But as many other research results and results of several development projects have also shown, formal neutrality does not eliminate gendered institutionalised features, nor gendered perspectives for personal and/or professional development (Houston 1985; Arnesen, & Ní Chárthaigh, 1992; Lahelma 1992; Riddell 1992; Weiler 1994; 1995. Cf. Woods 1976; Kyöstiö 1981; Lynch 1996; Halvari 1996). The checking of the degree certificates of new primary teachers graduating from the Oulu Department of Teacher Education showed that, analogously to the orientating of their colleagues in the 1860s, the female students of the present day also seem to orient themselves more typically than male students to be teachers of small children. They also characteristically attempt to acquire qualifications in more varied subjects taught at school than men. Male students typically orient themselves to teach boys, and their typical minor subjects are technical work and physical education, precisely the subjects which are most usually taught in single-sex groups.

There have been certain changes in the minor subject choices during the years of the pedagogic project, which can be interpreted to present certain horizontal disturbances in traditional images of teachers' sex-related contracts.

The agency-based study material showed that sex-related differences did not only characterise the special qualifications which students gain through minor subject studies during their education. There were also sex-related differences in the students' pedagogical relations with pupils, and their encounters with gender issues included gendered components and differed in a sex-related way.

First, a summary of the novice students' choices for their pupil descriptions showed that a boy was a more typical target of description for both male and female students. The descriptions also showed that girls were mostly described as hard-working and conscientious, whereas boys were notably more often described as restless or the smartest pupils in their class parallel to

On the other hand, it is also important to notice that the differences in the curricula do not necessarily mean corresponding differences in the realised curricula. Creativity, for example, is emphasised in textile work in other texts. (See e.g. Anttila 1993; Heikkinen & Salmi 1993; Suojanen 1996. Cf. Berge 1992.)

There is reason to mention that coeducational components have been included in physical education in increased numbers in the recent years in the Oulu Department of Teacher Education.

the descriptions of teachers. (e.g. Sadker & Sadker 1994; Riddell 1992; Tarmo 1989).

The pupil descriptions further showed that, especially in the cases where a female student had chosen a boy whom she interpreted to have difficulties or to be aggressive in school, she felt a desire to help (cf. Mc Call 1989, 39). Corresponding features were present in the female students' descriptions of their emotionally positive encounters with pupils. Why the desire to help was especially connected with boys, was not visible. One possible explanation is that boys and their difficulties were more visible than girls and their possible difficulties. This explanation may be true, but is not sufficient, because girls' and boys' unexpected behaviour also aroused different emotions in students.

It is also possible to seek for an explanation for the above-mentioned issue in the different assumptions applied by the students to boys and girls. The girls, or some of them, seemed to be expected to work according to the norms. The boys, or some of them, seemed to offer threats in that respect. They were not expected to behave according to the norms, but there might have been a challenge to try to make them do so. Ingerid Bø (1995) and Sheila Riddell (1992) have proposed parallel explanations for the phenomenon.

Ingerid Bø (1995, 83) postulates that teachers may also have different notions of the possibilities of changing boys' and girls' problematic behaviour. Boys' problematic behaviour may be regarded as hardly changeable, and for this reason in some cases also more challenging. Sheila Riddell (1992) also talks about educators' different images concerning the possibilities to educate girls and boys. Her research showed that this difference was also shared by the parents.

The differences in the theme "Pupils as learners" were analysed and compared in more detail in the cases where a girl or a boy was interpreted to be successful in school. A good school performance by a girl was interpreted as a sign of overconscientiousness, "awful conscientiousness" or at least diligence. Successful boys, on the other hand, were labelled as "scientific persons". A detailed analysis of the description of a girl, Anna, and a boy, Ismo, interpreted as successful showed that on the basis of the descriptions, no unambiguous picture emerged about the differences between the learning abilities of Ismo and Anna, although Ismo was interpreted to be a "scientific type", whereas Anna was interpreted to be "overconscientious".

The group discussions with ten pupils, of whom Anna was one, and who were interpreted to be successful in school by the class teacher, complemented the picture: the interpretation of successful girls being overconscientious was shared by both students and fellow pupils, and parallel views were also expressed by the teacher. Another important point connected with the question of overconscientiousness among the pupils also emerged: some of the girls also interpreted themselves to have or to have had an inclination to work overconscientiously for school. And it also appeared that the principle of "doing one's best" was emphasised by them. (Cf. Harris et al. 1993.)

The pupils' discussions on overconscientiousness showed their, and especially most of the boys', dual orientation towards the issue. The first orientation seemed to be based on an assumption that the girls who get full points and good marks must be overconscientious. I interpret this to present a kind of an abstract and ideological-discursively emphasised orientation to the question (see figure 1. Cf. Sulkunen 1990, 268). The second orientation, which was more theoretical in the sense of being more context-bound and seeking for real connections, was revealed through a situated discussion, just as it occurred in the case of the failure (cf. pages 16–17).

"Women are too strict about things" was an interpretation parallel to that made about girls who did well in school. It was applied to the two female students working on the puppet show (see page 16). But in the same way as in the working contexts of the girls interpreted to be overconscientious, the working contexts of the two students working on the puppet show do not warrant an approach to their excessive workload primarily on the basis of their personal characteristics. The excessive workload of women and girls in both the above cases was connected with more or less open expectations as to what is done by whom, what should be done by whom, what should be the quality of the activity and its products in general and for each agent separately. The different expectations were set by the teachers, the family, the fellow students and the persons themselves, depending on the case.

The same theme of "female students working with stress" was already discussed during the first years of the existence of primary teacher education in Finland. Even then, the working conditions of female and male students differed.

The results showed a second and, from the educational perspective, equally important gendered phenomenon in the students' pedagogical relations with the pupils: there was a tendency to interpret boys and girls as learners and their school success in different ways. There also appeared to be a tendency to require girls to work hard and a tendency to estimate them to work too hard. I interpret this to be connected with the dual and tensional tasks of basic education: the task to reproduce social order, and the task to (re)produce qualities as connected with the societal gender system and its ideologies (cf. Taylor 1995).

As regards students' answers concerning their own encounters with gender and sex-related equity problems in the educational world, the first important thing was that about one half of the respondents on the first occasion and less than one half on the second occasion reported having encountered these issues. ¹⁸⁴ The result showed a considerable lack of consciousness of the issues, although results which show greater unawareness have been obtained

This number includes the respondents who did not answer the question, who said that there is equality and who wrote about not having encountered gender issues or not having had time to think about them.

by, for example, Arna Meisfjord (1994), Maxine Cooper with her co-researchers (1996) and an international project team working on women's careers in teaching (WCT 1996).

It appeared, especially on the first occasion of answering, that if the students spoke about unequal treatment of girls or, alternatively, unequal treatment of boys, the contents of their observations differed. On the other hand, it appeared that the content areas of the discourses on gender issues were clearly more extensive on the second than the first occasion. There is reason to assume that the development project with its consciousness-raising emphasis was influential in this.

In the cases where it was possible to find a transition in the focuses, the directions of the transitions were from unconsciousness of the issues to awareness of them and from dualistic interpretations towards situated observations revealing the complexity of the issues. There was also a transition from characteristic-based interpretations towards more relational observations.

As text corpuses, the replies also illustrated the complexity of the phenomenon. The features that were discussed covered the mutual relations between the students and pupils, the students among themselves and the students and the staff. They further covered subjects studied and the question of gender concerning one's physical location in the classroom. None of the encounters written about were surprising (cf. Einarsson & Hultman 1984; Riddell 1992; Shilling 1991; Thorne 1993), but rather showed that the learning environments of student teachers are characterised by gendered features similar to those present in the educational world more generally.

The replies were divided according to sex in such a way that women mostly wrote about social phenomena. Owing to the scarcity of answers by male students, it is not possible to generalise the orientation present in their answers. Their answers, however, did not concentrate especially on inequality in pedagogical relations. Male students typically wrote about exceptional handicraft choices or, according to my interpretation, about some girls making them feel confused.

On the basis of the findings, the following issues of the gender system and gender contracts can be identified in recent primary teacher education in Oulu:

- Most of the students who are female orient to be teachers of small children, girls and boys, while male students to be teachers of older pupils and especially boys. (cf. e.g. Acker 1989; Brookhart & Loadman 1996; Evetts 1989).
- Female students orient to be qualified in various subjects taught in primary school. Male students orient rather to develop their qualifications according to their more personal orientation (see pages 82–83; Interview April 3, 1996; Sunnari 1994e. Cf. Mickelson 1989). Signs of corresponding different emphases are also detectable in the curricular structures: in the descriptions of technical and textile handicraft (see pages 60, 65, 77–78, 79, 80).
- There was a tendency among student teachers to notice boys differently from girls and to experience boys as more challenging and to interpret pupils' school success in sex-related ways.

• As far as the material suggested sex-related differences in norm control, they concerned learning actions.

In addition, the material suggested that there was a tendency by student teachers to define and evaluate a boy on the basis of his person and a girl on the basis of her position as a pupil, and that everyday study processes cause more stress to female students and girls than to male students and boys.

It is also important to notice that the gendered contracts of teacherhood are not so sharp at the present as they have been historically. Along the tendencies described above, it was also possible to see different tendencies and contracts. (cf. Thorne 1993, 103–107).

As to hierarchies and asymmetry, their gendered existence was obvious in students' estimations of pupils as learners and in the pupils' mutual discussion on the same theme. It was further possible to find sings of the more central position of male students and boys in the students' encounters with gendering. And it was possible to find signs of the otherness of girls and female student teachers for example in the first group discussion of the pupils and in the case of the failure.

Contradictory messages could also be found. It was a girl who was the most voiced in the second discussion group, and it is possible to interpret that in the case of the failure both parties regarded the other party as the other and less valued. The female student teachers represented the otherness from the perspective that the male student teachers chose first the parts of the project which they wanted to do. And it was regarded as the female student teachers' duty to do the rest of the project. But in the actual processes, the female student teachers had more power as regards the accepted quality of the project and its components.

The results confirm the conception of the position of gender as one component in determining one's status and position in education (see pages 8–9). And if we look, on the basis of the curricular documents, at the change of the special societal tasks included in female teacherhood from the 1860s to the present day, the change seems to be from the task of the societal mother of a modern nation state towards a professionally qualified educator free from a gendered division of tasks. But when the processes of everyday studies are included in the observation, the picture changes. The idea of motherhood seems to be included in female teacherhood even at the present (cf. Weiner & Maguire 1996, 729; Taylor 1995; Mayer 1996a; Gordon 1992). It is, however, rather institutionalised motherhood: a commitment to serve other people as teachers, in as qualified a way as possible, without a special emphasis on educating mothers for the home.

7.2. Gendering in primary teacher education as a challenge for developing gender-sensitive pedagogy

The following change took place in my approach to gender issues and the pedagogical solutions connected with them during the development project:

- 1. During the first cycle, the core goal was to give the students information and to try to help them, through this information to become conscious of the phenomenon of gendering.
- 2. During the second cycle, a further central goal was to try to support the students to become conscious of gender and sex-related equity issues in school life and as a socially shared phenomenon. I tried to encourage the students to learn to observe the phenomena in real pedagogical actions and to give them some idea about the issues as individual and social phenomena.
- 3. During the third cycle, the starting-point was to support the students to have power over their own studies and to support them to learn to reflect on and to question the grounds for their actions in the context of the actions of the pupils. Attempts were also made to try to make the issues visible not only in the students' relations with the pupils, but also in their relations with other students and the staff.

In the pedagogical sense, my development project involved a shift from a teacher-oriented, yet student-activating way of working, towards student-centred working, and later to a partnership and inquiry-oriented approach, where I, as one member of a co-operative partnership, put myself in as equal a position as possible with the students.

The pedagogical projects of all the three development cycles shared the central goal of trying to make the students conscious of gender-related problems in general. From the second cycle onwards, the main tools in promoting this consciousness were critical reflection on one's personal experiences of the practice periods, discussions on these experiences and conceptualisation of concrete events. These tools have been relatively common in projects aiming at enhanced consciousness of gender-related phenomena. (Clandinin & Connelly 1991, 259; Dolle-Willemsen & Rodenburg-Smit 1992; Harding 1992; Dolle et al. 1993; Taylor 1993; Arnesen 1995b.)

It has been central in different consciousness-raising projects to articulate perceptions of one's experiences. The projects of naming and describing one's experiences using one's own terms also appears important from the point of view of one's subjectivity (Harding 1992, 186), and it is justifiable to assume that the same special significance was also present in this project. But from the point of view of learning, the relationship between experience and knowledge can also be troublesome, possibly because of the fact that the self and its experiences are part of the culturally constituted entity (Wolf 1995, 29), and the fact that the positions of people influence their possibilities to make interpretations and to tell about them (Harding 1992, 189). These questions were present in this study, for example, in the students' discussion

concerning the failure and especially in the pupils' discussion on overconscientiousness.

The development project produced, however, results in the aimed direction. As it was shown by the curricular analysis, gendering culminated in handicraft and the teaching of younger and older pupils. There have also been interesting curricular changes in these subjects in recent years, which could be characterised as cautious attempts to break down the traditional sex-related differences and self-evidences. Since 1992/93, the minor subject studies in technical work have included a course in textile work worth half a credit unit, and the minor subject studies in textile work have correspondingly included a similar period of technical work (Opinto-o. 1992/93, 140–141; 1994/95, 145; cf. Opinto-o, 1988/89–1991/92.) Changes can also be seen in the students' minor subject choices. The greatest increase took place in special education. A significant change could also be seen in that some male students took up the education of the two first forms as their minor subject, while some female students acquired minor subject qualifications in technical work.

Curricular changes also occurred in the contents of educational science from the point of view of gender and sex-related equity/equality issues. My first attempt to arrange an optional course on equity education in the primary teacher programme took place in 1990. There was no money to do it at that time, but it was allowed to be organised in 1992. After the year 1990, equity education is mentioned in the aims of teacher education, and gender issues are included in the studies of educational science.

Gender issues were first included in educational science studies in the academic year 1993/94. At that time, the first educational science course entitled "Human growth and development" included a textbook concerning gender and/or girls'/boys' identities (Opinto-o. 1993/94, 92). This theme has also been included in the contents of educational science afterwards (Opinto-o. 1994/95, 99; 1995/96, 90).

In addition to the above course, the gender theme was included in the course related to the ethical dimensions of education in the following year (Opinto-o. 1994/95, 100). In the same year, a Master's thesis group was also started on the theme of gender and equity issues. Starting from the academic year 1994/95, the optional literature for advanced studies included a set of books titled "Education and equity" (Opinto-o. 1995/96, 101).

To sum up the pedagogical project: The development of gender sensitivity in pedagogy, which for me means a higher-order and flexible perspective which challenges one to pay attention to gender in order to prevent sexual bias and to promote equality/equity in supporting human growth as an everyday pedagogical and context-bound praxis (cf. Houston 1985, 367–368), seems to presuppose:

This was the first optional course in gender issues in the Department (see Sunnari et al. 1997).

- Situated knowledge and a theoretical framework of gender and sex-related equality/equity issues. As the beginning of the second cycle showed, it is not possible to observe issues whose existence one is not aware of. (See also e.g. Arnesen 1992; Hultinger 1995; Wolf 1995.)
- Linking of social structures, cultural issues and individual and group experiences and considerations in the observations (cf. pages 30–32; Taylor 1993; 1995).
- A serious and respectful attitude towards each person's experiences and feelings on both an individual and a group level, projects of analysing them for raising consciousness of the issues, and an orientation towards critical awareness as a form of consciousness (cf. pages 25–28, 28–31; Taylor 1995; Weiler 1995; James 1996; Sunnari 1997). 186
- An atmosphere of empowerment, caring and respect characterising the mutual pedagogical and other personal relations and the institutional culture (Noddings 1992; Arnesen 1992; Riddell 1992; see also Shor & Freire 1987; Kekkonen 1993; Webb & Blond 1995; Weiler 1995). 187
- Intellectuality and, as a presupposition for it, a research and inquiry orientation, openness and possibilities to test and change perspectives (cf. e.g. Greene 1988; Johansson 1995; Maquire & Weiner 1996; Cooper et al. 1996; Winter 1995) and, as part of intellectuality, a search for and analysis of the studied issues instead of trying to transmit knowledge or to use ready models to solve problems.¹⁸⁸
- Courage to encounter uncertainty and complexity in pedagogical relations and processes, and courage to deal with complexities (cf. Taylor 1995), to seek for ethically meaningful and flexible perspectives to deal and live with, and also to overcome them (Shor & Freire 1987). As regards inquiry, it is important that the processes are inquiry processes for all the participants in the process (Winter 1995). 189
- Orientation to reflect critically on and in action (Riddell 1992; Hatton & Smith 1995; Maquire & Weiner 1996) and, connected with it, an ability to make explicit one's own position and the beliefs and impacts associated with it. One's own actions need to be examined in one's own social context and in the contexts of the partners in the pedagogical relations.

As, for example, Sandra Taylor (1995, 20) argues, critical awareness of the social construction of ideologies of being a man or a woman is among the essential first stages in the processes of becoming aware of gendering and constructing gender sensitivity in one's pedagogy.

¹⁸⁷ It is interesting that Oiva Kyöstiö and Martti Jussila also emphasised empowering the students and their respect (see section 4.2., pages 74–75).

This need is linked with the fact that we are part of the reality which we study while observing gender structures and processes.

Attempts to develop processes which would be shared by the students and myself as a staff member and which would be progressive were included especially in the third development cycle.

- Critical reflection on one's future (cf. Taylor 1995). This theme was not properly dealt with in the pedagogical project, but it proved to be important through the research themes.
- Critical reflection on the objectives of public education of boys and girls, and their teachers' education on institutional, cultural and individual levels. And included therein, reflection on the images and future orientations which each of us bears concerning female and male students' intellectuality and professionality and their development.
- Critical observation of the contents of the study subjects from the perspective of gender (cf. e.g. Kontturi & Laasonen 1994. See also e.g. Palmu 1992; Luikku 1994). In addition, there seem to be certain subjects which historically bear particular importance as regards gendered directions in human growth and which, for that reason, deserve special attention. In Finnish teacher education, they seem to have been handicraft, physical education and the pedagogy of small children. (Cf. Houston 1985; Scraton 1995; Trier Fredriksen & Hvid 1995.) A serious question connected with the above is: why are we still dividing children into those who develop their technical skills and those who develop their skills in textile work, although skills in both areas are needed in everyday life.
- More general osbervations of what subjects children study in comprehensive school and what subjects are studied in their teachers' education. As regards the subjects studied, the Finnish comprehensive school system and the corresponding system of teacher education have no special subject which would orient people towards human life as citizens, including caring for oneself and the others, health education, sexual and family issues and the ideologies connected with them, although the need for such education is obvious (cf. Kyöstiö et al. 1972. See also e.g. Noddings 1992; Freire 1993; UN 1996; Rose 1994; Räisänen 1995).
- Instead of maintaining 'true not true' dichotomies in discussions, students should be taught to understand the rhetoric and discursive-ideological and context-specific character of the language (Plehan et al. 1996; Sunnari 1996e) and also the fact that the language used is influential in constructing certain social settings (Wertsch 1991; Peräkylä 1990; Sunnari 1996e).
- The integration of the child and societal perspectives in the context of caring for oneself, the others, the life and the issues dealt with together. And connected with these, we can also see the importance of long-term pedagogical relations. 190
- There is further the question of the organisation of studies and, related to this, the resources and other structural components in and outside the system (cf. Kyöstiö 1981; Lynch 1996; Acker 1991; Lahelma 1992; UN 1996) and the important question of the time (cf. Freire 1993; Hohr 1995; Jónsdóttir 1995) that need to be observed.
- Gender and gender sensitivity in pedagogy should be included as a theme in the whole educational programme, and gender sensitivity should be observed in all

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environments of the study processes. The observation of and reflection upon school practices is important (cf. Cooper et al. 1996; Green 1992) but insufficient, because the whole system is characterised by gendering. On the other hand, it seems that, because of the status and power questions, it is more meaningful to start the studies on gender and sex-related equity issues in environments other than that where one acts as a teacher.

• Situated projects of developing teacher education, its structures and cultures (Rodenburg & Dolle 1993; Arnesen 1995b; Berge 1995; Bjarnadóttir 1995. Cf. Liston & Zeichner 1990; Hargreaves 1994).

I see most of the abovementioned issues as also important from the more general perspective of developing pedagogy in teacher education.

The number of male students seems to have been a special theme of teacher education throughout its history. As concerns teacher education in Oulu, this discussion seems to have started before the establishment of the educational institution. This discussion does not seem to address the question of what special qualifications female and male students have and what qualifications they acquire in teacher education for their work as a teacher. Men seem to be needed because they are men and as male role models in the same way as Cygnaeus said they were needed. Cygnaeus, however, explicated what kind of men were needed. Because boys were to become brave and sacrificing defenders of the native country, teacher education needed men who would have something to give to boys especially in these areas.

On the ideological level, the emphasis mentioned above may imply binary oppositions in the valuation of male and female teacherhood and institutions with or without men. According to this, teacher education, and correspondingly the school, would appear "incomplete" without men. One has to make this interpretation, because throughout the history of teacher education, the women admitted to teacher education seem to have been better educated than their male colleagues. Judging by their success in studies as measured in grades, they also seem to have acquired during their education better and more extensive qualifications for teaching than their male colleagues, which factors, however, seem to have been ignored in the discussions. From the perspective of the present school, its development, and the esteem of female teachers' work, this limitation is damaging. The present discourses on "incompleteness" contain a devaluation of the strengths that female teachers bring to the profession (cf. Bullough & Gitlin 1989), and also a devaluation of the men who are genuinely interested in the world of children and their education instead of being content to act as male role models. Instead of discourses on "incompleteness", teacherhood and teachers' work as well as the school should be developed with help of the strengths that women and men interested in teaching can give to this profession and to its future.

7.3. Reflections on the research

The basic objective of the research was to study gendered structures and processes in primary teacher education. The topic was studied both from historical and contemporary perspectives. The historical analysis focused on the first formation of primary teacher education in Finland and on the history of primary teacher education in Oulu. The perspective in the historical analysis was structural.

Gendering in contemporary primary teacher education was approached from the perspectives of curricular structures and agencies. The first of the agency-based perspectives was connected with the basic task of the educational institutions, the task of producing qualities. The second perspective concerned the students' encounters with gender and sex-related equity issues.

As regards actual agency-based observations, the research was connected with a pedagogic development project, which was characterised by a cyclic process of integrating efforts to analyse reality and to change it. It was also characterised by reflectivity and an empowerment orientation. The core reasons for the solutions lay in the methodological presupposition. But there was also a particular aspect in the topic that necessitated the inclusion of a development project in the study. The reason was ethical. The 'revealing' of hidden constructions which direct the day-to-day life of people ethically and pedagogically presupposes projects to live with and to work on the issues together with the people in question.

The developmental work aimed at making gendering visible in teacher education and at developing a child- and gender-sensitive pedagogical culture and promoting corresponding professional development. As regards the professional development in the aimed direction, it was assumed to result in learning environments that would help the students to begin to reflect on their own pedagogical actions in relation to the children and their actions. It was further assumed to require the students to become conscious of gendered phenomena in educational environments and pedagogical processes.

The development project was carried out in the Oulu Department of Teacher Education. It consisted of three cycles, starting in 1988 and ending in 1996. In each stage, the students who participated in the project were novice student teachers.

The data collected during the second cycle served as the core material when analysing actual gendering in primary teacher education. The data of the first cycle were only used for validation. The data of the third cycle were also used for validation. In addition, these data were used to deepen the understanding of certain issues found in the previous materials. The most important material used consisted of texts written by students, their tape-recorded and transcribed interviews, reports they made and observations made by me and the students. The curriculum, statistics and students' degree certificates were also used.

Reflection on the adequacy and credibility of the research included two central components: the justification of the adequacy and credibility of the data and the justification of the analyses and the interpretations made. Both of these questions have been discussed throughout the research. I will therefore only discuss the issues briefly here.

My main references in the analysis of the first teacher seminar in Finland were certain writings of Cygnaeus and the first statutes on primary teacher education. Prior research reports about the first teacher seminar, the epoch and the history of teacher education in Finland were used as additional material. The main principle in selecting this material was to find reports which would include authentic illustrations of the issues studied. This part of the study hence includes relatively new reports, but also old texts by Minna Canth, Tekla Hultin, Jaakko Pärssinen, Kalervo Raitio and Sisko Wilkama. The main references in the analysis of the history of primary teacher education in Oulu, were the curricula.

As regards the actual process material, the principle of ecological validity and situatedness were mostly observed in validating the material. This meant that the main principle concerning data collection was that the students did not produce the material particularly for the research, but as part of their own study processes.

The cyclic process orientation and the longitudinal project carried out with the same students were important issues that helped to avoid the gathering of inadequate data. The cyclic and longitudinal process orientation allowed long-term follow-up processes and the collection of data on matters that emerged during the study process and events that took place in their natural contexts. It also made it possible to compare the identified phenomena and to conduct further studies in new contexts whenever necessary. (Cf. Altheide & Johnson 1994, 492.)

There were, however, different hazards present in the collection of data, especially because a development project with an emphasis on sex-related equity education was part of the research design. The most obvious danger was to subordinate the selection of data to predetermined results. (See Harding 1987a, 8–9; 1992, 175–191; Altheide & Johnson 1994.) To avoid the problem, three decisions were important. The first of them was that the development project was carried out in unselected student groups. Secondly, the second cycle of the development project served as the main study context. The local goal of the cycle was not in equity policies. Instead, the goal was to help the students to identify gender and equity issues and problems in pedagogical relationships.

The third precaution against tendentiousness was the quality of the relationship between myself as the author and the students. The relationships were built to be co-operative, long-term, confidential, democratic and based on mutual respect. (Cf. Harding 1992, 188–190; Davies 1993.) The presence of a historical perspective was also aimed at diminishing tendentious and unwarranted conclusions (Acker et al. 1991, 135; Scott 1986; Setälä 1988; Mies 1994; Denzin 1994).

The separate techniques used to check the adequacy of the data and the interpretations can be summarised as follows: the use of different and alternative data sources, settings and approaches, the use of different voices and the

integration of the researcher's and the respondents' voices. Depending on the data, validation was also made by means of data collected later from the same group or, alternatively, different groups of persons, by reviewing the textual material against its context and by having it interpreted by the persons themselves. (Cf. Olesen 1994, 165; Altheide & Johnson 1994; Cohen & Manion 1980; Knafl & Breitmayer 1991.) I have also tried to describe the context and process of data collection in sufficient detail to allow the reader to make interpretations on the validity of the data (Altheide & Johnsson 1994, 488).

As to my own role as a researcher, I tried to adopt multiple subjectivity as an orientation in collecting and interpreting the data and also in participating in the processes. The principle of *multiple subjectivity* meant that I as a researcher attempted consciously to be aware of being a meaningful part of the study context and of my own subjectivity in the research, but also of the subjectivities of the persons whose experiences, interpretations and notions I was studying. In addition, I tried not to assimilate myself into the world of the students and pupils or to keep only my own perspective, but to develop an ability to change perspectives. (See e.g. Harding 1992, 175–191; Davies 1993.)

To sum it up, the following tools were used in this study to collect valid data in ethically relevant contexts:

- 1. attempts to develop democratic relationships with the students and other informants and, to use a term of Patti Lather (1995, 293), to empower the researched subjects,
- 2. attempts to create abilities to observe the studied issues from varied perspectives in varied contexts and at different times,
- 3. attempts to develop multiple subjectivity as an orientation in collecting and interpreting data,
- 4. longitudinal relationships with the students and other informants,
- 5. an action and praxis orientation and ecological validity connected with them,
- 6. textual reflectivity and reflectivity as a researcher in the students' world,
- 7. grounding in actual situations, in addition to the planned projects.

The use of quantitative material has been a target of contradictory debates in feminist research. ¹⁹¹ I used qualitative and quantitative material in this research. Qualitative material was used when the aim was to promote the understanding of particular viewpoints of the topics studied from the subjects' perspectives, as, for example when studying the pupils' discussions on overconsciousness. Quantitative material was used to document particular relationships between variables, such as sex and the minor subjects choices. I regarded the use of different materials useful for developing an understanding of the

About the debates, see e.g. Epstein Jayaratne & Stewart 1995.

studied issues. (Cf. Kelly et al. 1995, 246; Epstein Jayaratne & Stewart 1995, 231; Kemmis 1995.)

Special tools used to analyse gendering in this study were culturally produced differences and their symbolic meanings and asymmetrical valuation. As regards the tool of differences, it showed both its fruitfulness and its limitations especially in the curricular analyses. Sex-related differences in the curriculum were highly visible historically. Currently they are not. But the disappearance of the sex-related differences in the text of the curriculum does not mean a disappearance of gendering in the curriculum. For example, the fact that the curricular differences in the descriptions of physical education disappeared indicates nothing about possible gendering in the contents selected. And gendering in the realised curricula is naturally a question of its own.

As regards hierarchies/asymmetry, this tool was problematic in the curricular analyses. It seemed to be more useful in analysing agency-based processes, such as the students' interpretations of pupils as learners and pupils' discussions.

Multidisciplinary discussions were included in this study. This was partly due to the nature of the phenomenon of gender. Partly it was due to the fact that the issues of gender and gendering addressed in the educational research field in Finland have been few (cf. e.g. Naskali 1993). But in spite of the multidisciplinary character of the discussions used, I locate this study in the field of educational sciences and see it as offering a challenge to the contemporary Finnish pedagogical constructions, where gender continues to be a mere marginal theme, or not present at all.

The findings have so far suggested several challenges for further research, and some further research projects have already been started. One of them deals with the study processes of female students in the different faculties in the University of Oulu and, as connected with this, the question of whether the processes are overburdening and whether there are gendered reasons for it. This project is a subproject within a research project which focuses on stress and the ways of dealing with it in academic studies. My second project pertains to the effectiveness of teacher education from the viewpoint of gender. This project is a subproject in a state-wide research programme financed by the Academy of Finland.

In addition to my own projects, some students have worked and some are still working on themes that emerged during the course of the present project, such as gendering mechanisms in school practice and gendering mechanisms in mathematical studies. The division of power and status among the students and pupils in school and in teacher education, the choices of textile and technical work and the actual discussion of quota system are also being studied.

The findings of this research further challenge us to research the cultural study environments of different school subjects. And they especially challenge us to study the cultures of the subjects where gendering has been most obvious historically; I mean handicraft, physical education and the pedagogy of small pupils. The same group of subjects also includes technology, which

in Finland has been historically included in technical work, but which can currently be a separate subject in teacher education and in schools.

Further important issues that would need to be taken up are sexuality and sexual harassment in pedagogical relationships (cf. e.g. Wood 1987; Riddell 1992, 156–157; Rodenburg & Dolle 1993; Holland et al. 1995). The issue of caring as a component in human relations and in pedagogical relations, and its development as a component in teachers' professional development is also an important topic to study. It would also be necessary to study the division of the resources of education and the changes in the resources in the contemporary societal change from the viewpoint of gender.

The study showed that the sex of children and students is one component influencing social divisions and interpretations in educational environments. But it also turned out that there are other important issues operating simultaneously. In further research, the issues of social class, ethnicity and different world views should be included in the observations. (Cf. e.g. Evans 1995; Blair 1995; Davies 1993; Moore 1993; Weber Cannon et al 1991; Crump 1990; Rinne 1989; Middleton 1987.)

Anna and her classmates are attending in senior secondary school. It would be interesting to study their educational presence and history against their backgrounds. Most of the children in the two group interviews were from academic middle-class families. Anna's family was not academic.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Statistics of the most popular minor subjects in primary teacher education in Oulu in 1988–1995

Appendix 2. Statistics of the theme 'pupils as learners'

Appendix 3. The number of female and male students' encounters with gender issues, arranged in categories

Statistics of the most popular minor subjects in primary teacher education in Oulu in 1988–1995

Table 1. The most popular minor subjects of the new female and male primary teachers who graduated from the Oulu Department of Teacher Education in 1988. (N means the total number of the minor subjects of each sex, and the calculation has been made as per cents of them.)

	Gender		
	Women	Men	
Minor subject	%	%	
Physical education	12	32	
Textile/technical work *	12	32	
Biology	14	9	
Education of the first two forms	14	-	
Expressive art	15	6	
Music	13	8	
TOTAL	80 %	87 %	
(N)	(65)	(77)	

^{*} All the persons who had chosen textile work were female teachers and all the persons who had chosen technical work were male teachers.

Table 2. The most popular minor subjects of the new primary teachers who graduated from the Oulu Department of Primary Teacher Education in 1988–1995. (N means the total number of the minor subjects of each sex, and the calculation has been made as per cents of them.)

	Gender		
	Women	Men	
Minor subject	%	%	
Physical education	13	26	
Technical work	*	20	
Textile work	11	-	
Special education	10	10	
Education of the first two forms	17	1	
Expressive art	11	9	
Music	11	8	
English	7	4	
TOTAL	80 %	78 %	
(N)	(850)	(480)	

^{*} One female student had completed the 15-credit minor subject studies in technical work. Additionally, some female students had studied some individual parts of it.

Statistics of the theme 'pupils as learners'

Table 3. The girls and the boys chosen for description, arranged in categories.

	Gender			
	Girls	Boys	TOTAL	
Category	f	f	f	
A	4	2	6	
В	6	5	11	
C	6	8	14	
D	7	-	7	
Е	-	18	18	
F	2	10	12	
TOTAL	25	43	68	

Table 4. Pupil selections by female students, arranged by categories.

	Gender		
	Girls	Boys	TOTAL
Category	f	f	f
A	4	2	6
В	6	5	11
С	5	5	10
D	7	-	7
Е	-	15	15
F	2	7	9
TOTAL	24	34	58

Table 5. Pupil selections by male students, arranged by categories.

	Gender			
	Girls	Boys	TOTAL	
Category	f	f	f	
A	-	-	-	
В	-	-	-	
C	1	3	4	
D	-	-	-	
E	-	3	3	
F	-	3	3	
TOTAL	1	9	10	

Table 6. The proportions of girls and boys in the pupil descriptions in the years 1988–1991.

Gender				
	Girls	Boys	TOTAL	
Academic year	%	%	%	(N)
1988/89	59	41	100	(61)
1989/90	43	57	100	(65)
1990/91	42	58	100	(71)
1991/92	37	63	100	(68)
TOTAL	45 %	55 %	100	(265)

The number of female and male students' encounters with gender issues, arranged in categories.

Table 7. The encounters of the female and the male students with gender issues at the first time of answering.

	Gender		
	Women	Men	TOTAL
Category	f	f	f
Exceptional choices/cases	6	2	8
Topics of discussion due to the characteristics/developmental stage/behaviour of boys and girls	2	2	4
Teacher-pupil relations	14	-	14
Did not remember	5	-	5
Did not find	6	3	9
No answers	9	1	10
Other	3	-	3
TOTAL	45 ¹⁾	8	53

¹⁾ Includes one answer with two theme categories.

Table 8. The encounters of the female and the male students with gender issues at the second time of answering.

	Gender		
	Women	Men	TOTAL
Category	f	f	f
Topics of discussion due to the characteristics/developmental stage/behaviour of boys and girls	5	-	5
Teacher-pupil relations	9	1	10
Student-student relations	2	-	2
Pupil-pupil relations	2	-	2
Pupil-student relations	2	-	2
Reflections on one's own actions	1	-	1
Pupils' location in the class	2	1	3
Did not find	7	2	9
No time to think about the issues	2	-	2
There is equality	3	1	4
No answers	13	3	16
Other	1	-	1
TOTAL	49 ¹⁾	8	57

¹⁾ Includes five answers with two theme categories.