UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

https://helda.helsinki.fi

Reproducing inequality through ambivalence, ignorance, and innocence : Revisiting practices of equality and human rights in Finnish teacher education

Kasa, Tuija; Brunila, Kristiina; Toivanen, Reetta

2023-01
Routledge
http://hdl.handle.net/10138/578897
Kasa, T, Brunila, K & Toivanen, R 2023, 'Reproducing inequality through ambivalence, ignorance, and innocence : Revisiting practices of equality and human rights in Finnish teacher education', Educational Review, vol. 76, no. 1, pp. 145-165. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2022.2151572

Downloaded from Helda, University of Helsinki institutional repository. https://helda.helsinki.fi
This is an electronic reprint of the original article.
This reprint may differ from the original in pagination and typographic detail.
Please cite the original version.

Kasa, T., Brunila, K. & Toivanen, R. (2023). Reproducing inequality through ambivalence, ignorance, and innocence - Revisiting practices of equality and human rights in Finnish teacher education. *Educational Review*. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2022.2151572

Tuija Kasa (corresponding author)

tuija.kasa@helsinki.fi

Faculty of Educational Sciences, University of Helsinki

P.O. Box. 9, Siltavuorenpenger 1A, 00014, Helsinki, Finland

+358(0)50 556 0767

ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4185-2253

Professor Kristiina Brunila

ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2548-2897

Faculty of Educational Sciences

Professor Reetta Toivanen

ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1441-6272

Faculty of Arts

University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

Reproducing inequality through ambivalence, ignorance, and innocence - Revisiting practices of equality and human rights in Finnish teacher education

Finland has repeatedly been presented as a "success story" of equality and education, promoter of human rights and included equality and human rights as part of national curricula. However, research has shown the slow progress of integrating topics of equality and human rights in teacher education despite hundreds of project-based interventions during the past 50 years. We used historically informed discursive reading drawing from the existent literature, human rights and equality policy documents, and data from student teachers (n=311) about their perceptions. The theoretical framework in this article is grounded in critical and feminist theories. The aim is to analyse why student teachers still report receiving too little education in human rights and equality despite the improvements in human rights and equality education law and policy. We argue that Finnish teacher education has an ambivalent role of representing itself as "exceptional" while reproducing inequalities. Furthermore, this alleged "exceptionalism" does not enable a focus on equality and human rights policies goals. We constructed a general theoretical frame to re-examine critically the role of ambivalence, ignorance, and "innocence", which reproduce inequalities. Our analysis describes several discursive realities of public narratives and student teachers' experiences concerning equality and human rights education. This article provides a novel interpretation frame for the persisting inequalities in education in a country that profiles itself as a champion of human rights and equality. Based on our results, we suggest critical self-reflection for educational policy to advance continuous measures to affect structural inequalities.

Keywords: inequality/equality; policy/politics; teachers; higher education/university; human rights education; discursive practice

Introduction

Human rights education (HRE) is a universal human right itself, but its realisation continues to be a problem. HRE is increasingly important for teachers because human rights constitute an unavoidable professional responsibility for all teachers, even though in the age of counter-hegemonic distrust (Keet, 2015) human rights principles are criticised by authoritarianists, populists, even academics, and various interest groups. Teacher education has a central role in sensitising or ignoring teachers' abilities to recognise and interrupt inequalities (Klein, 1994; Davies, 1994). Despite the global recognition of the importance of HRE at the official level, HRE has been implicit, unsystematic, and implemented in small-scale initiatives nationally (Cargas & Mitoma, 2019; Mahler et al., 2009; Robinson et al., 2020) forming a discrepancy with HRE being a human right (e.g., United Nations [UN], 1948, Art. 26.2; UN, 2011).

Finland has been eager to present itself as exceptional in the global context. Thus, it has repeatedly been presented as a "success story" of equality and education,

promoter of equality and human rights. In Finland, the history of comprehensive schooling has had an important role in national identity construction bearing the promise of equality. Education is still presented as the heart of society (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016). Nevertheless, research in Finland has shown the slow progress of integrating the topics of equality and human rights in world-famous teacher education despite decades of equality work and hundreds of short-term projects (e.g., Brunila, 2009; Brunila & Kallioniemi, 2018; HRC, 2014; Kasa al., 2021; Lahelma & Tainio, 2019; Toivanen, 2009). Inequalities in education relating to differences such as gender, sexuality, race/ethnicity, disability and other differences persist (see e.g., Helakorpi, 2020; Honkasilta et al., 2016; Ikävalko 2016; Juva, 2019; Kurki, 2019; Lehtonen, 2021; Masoud et al., 2019; Ylöstalo, 2013; Zacheus et al., 2019). Finnish state authorities tend to view human rights activities positively, but passively. In general, Finnish society emphasises unity and shared commitment to equality as a guarantee of peace, so it is not easy to question this. Where power is invisible, it works effectively (Toivanen, 2015).

Our article examines the promotion of gender equality and HRE in Finland by analysing discursive practices (Foucault, 1989; Bacchi & Bonham, 2014) of educational policy documents and teacher education by analysing student teachers' experiences (n= 311). Our focus is on three main points: 1) what we know and don't know about inequality in education, 2) why educational inequalities continue to exist and develop and 3) a re-analysis of explanations by exploring new approaches to this persistent issue. We start by examining what the already researched historically-persistent neglect of equality work in teacher education in Finland teaches us about the "new" educational inequality of the emerging neglect of HRE in teacher education. To demonstrate the problem further, we have highlighted persistent inequalities in the Finnish education and shown how equality work and human rights issues are intertwined.

The research question is about the influences which have led to the situation that student teachers still report receiving too little education in human rights and equality despite the improvements and suggestions in human rights and equality education law and policy. We argue that Finnish teacher education has an ambivalent role of being presented as "exceptional" while reproducing inequalities. Furthermore, we claim that this alleged "exceptionalism" does not enable the focus on equality and human rights policies goals with outcomes related to racism, sexism, homophobia, bullying, ableism, and other forms of discrimination to continue. We not only describe the persistent ambivalences but critically re-analyse them by adopting the concepts of ignorance and "innocence" to acknowledge responsibility for teachers about inequalities in education.

Materials and methods

The data for this article comprise educational policy and project documents regarding equality and human rights, and student teachers' perceptions about HRE in teacher education (n=311). The results are presented in two ways: 1) a historical reading of

equality and human rights work in education and 2) student teachers' experiences of equality and HRE.

Answers from the questionnaire completed by student teachers were collected in 2019 Human Rights, Democracy, Values and Dialogue in Education -project about developing HRE in teacher education between 2018–2021 which Tuija Kasa coordinated. We used both questionnaire data for open-ended questions in an obligatory course (n=296) and students' essays (n=15) in an optional special course on democracy and HRE in the University of Helsinki's bachelor's programme in education. The open-ended data were collected during an interactive lecture which dealt with democracy and HRE. Students were from all levels and from all study programmes, from early childhood education to adult education. The data varies from a few words to whole-page descriptions. Despite the smaller amount, the essay data is extensive (4–9 pages each) describing the experiences of students who have completed 5 course credits on the topic. The course was web-based but it included interactive elements and self-reflection exercises about e.g., human rights, equality, and participation through diverse materials (interviews, historical documents, readings, research, law, practical dilemmas). Some of the students already had experience of working as teachers whereas others had no practical experience.

Materials are distinguished with the following remarks: "student teachers" (n=296) and "essay no. X" (n=15). Background information has been minimised according to the General Data Protection Regulation's (2016) data minimisation principle. Questionnaire data were analysed by using content analysis in previous research (Kasa et al., 2021) but in this article, we approached it with historically-informed discursive reading.

Discursive reading and practices

We have presented a historical summary of equality and HRE work in Finnish teacher education and analysed our observations discursively following ideas from Michel Foucault in unveiling "discursive practices" (Foucault, 1989) providing a novel interpretation of the persistence of inequalities in education. Bacchi and Bonham (2014) suggested that discursive practice transcends symbolic-material distinction; it does not tell what is "real" but how politics is involved in the experience of "the real" (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014). We understand discursive practices as referring to material practices or operations of discourses of knowledge and power formations and production in plural and contingent practices. When teacher education is considered to be discursive practices, it helps to define what can be said (language) and done (practice) and what constitutes the means by which people become positioned in power relations (Foucault, 1989). Discourses embody meaning and social relationships; they constitute knowledge, subjectivity and power relations as well as constrain the possibilities of thoughts (Brunila, 2009; Brunila & Kallioniemi, 2018).

Accordingly, educational policies and practices including teacher education involve the production of ideas, hierarchies, regulations and what is considered normal

and abnormal (see Ball, 1990; Juva, 2019). This connects to the "sorting function" of education and problematics of social justice in education meaning that students' background predicts the outcomes of education (Villegas, 2007). Furthermore, teacher selection often produces critical disparity in relation to social justice between the diversity of students and their not-diverse teachers (e.g., Zeichner, 2009). Kumashiro describes oppression as repetition of harmful citational practices (Kumashiro, 2002). It is therefore not trivial what is promoted in teacher education and by student teachers (Brunila & Kallioniemi, 2018).

Equality in education and HRE in international context

In Finland as elsewhere, there are similarities, differences as well as competing interests in the realisation of equality in education (Bhopal & Henderson, 2021; Brunila & Edström, 2013; Ylöstalo & Brunila, 2018). One typical problem shown in research for decades has been the general lack of interest by governments to implement equality or human rights (Cardenas, 2005). Their promotion might even be dangerous or threatening for educators (see Table 1 on human rights violations against educators, Novelli, 2010).

HRE has been advanced internationally by various efforts: HRE is recognised as a human right by its own declaration (UN, 2011), included in human rights treaties (e.g., Convention on the Rights of the Child [CRC], 1989) and regional human rights treaties like the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights ("Banjul Charter"). HRE has been promoted by projects and education programmes around the world (e.g., Bajaj, 2015; Becker, 2021; Cassidy et al., 2014; Struthers, 2016; Robinson et al., 2020). The UN has launched world programmes for HRE and the Council of Europe (CoE) has promoted democracy and HRE (e.g. CoE, 2010). Despite all these measures, there is still an on-going and persistent weakness in preparing teachers for HRE (Ahmed, Martin & Uddin, 2020).

Human rights are taught in higher education undergraduate and graduate programmes on all continents of the world (Cargas, 2020). However, the realisation of *HRE* seems unsystematic globally. Countries that have explicit commitments to HRE lack the necessary promotional activities (Kasa et al., 2021; Lile, 2019). HRE tends to be implemented in small-scale initiatives and implementation in classrooms is generally weak. Children's rights inclusion is often optional and hence rarely leads to substantial education about rights. (Robinson et al., 2020.) In relation to the implementation problems, Cardenas (2005) has asked the critical question about whether governments want to advance HRE which fosters critical citizens towards government. This can be described as the paradox of HRE; it creates a responsibility for states, but at the same time, states are possible violators of rights.

Theoretical position and central concepts: towards critical HRE and re-examining inequalities through ambivalence, ignorance, and "innocence"

Human rights and equality are intertwined from the perspectives of human rights law, theory, and practice (e.g., Cole, 2018). A range of human rights documents strive for equity, gender equality and non-discrimination (e.g., the UN, 1948, Art. 2; CRC, 1990, Art. 2.1). However, as with everything political and made by humans, human rights documents include challenges in relation to power. Despite international political agreements, human rights and HRE are contested (e.g., Cruft et al., 2015).

Higher education, including teacher education, has a key role in deepening the *knowledge* and understanding of human rights: students arriving in an HRE class may assume that any matter is a human right, but this is not true (cf. Cargas, 2020). Detachment of knowledge means that people become ill-equipped to claim, criticise, or recognise disinformation on human rights. HRE has been criticised for being "declarationist" (Keet, 2015), apolitical, acritical, anthropocentric, and enforcing false universals (Zembylas & Keet, 2019), and biased for neglecting feminist and non-western point of views (Adami, 2021; Xanthaki, 2019). On the other hand, teachers have seen HRE as being too political and controversial (Struthers, 2016) and they have been afraid of teaching rights rather than duties (Cassidy et al., 2014). Our approach contributes to the emerging field of critical HRE drawing on feminist theories (e.g., Bell, 1999; Benhabib, 2004; Young, 2000). Feminist critiques of human rights have criticised the notions of abstract "universality", "sameness" or overemphasis on the formal structures which do not pay enough attention to the realisation of rights and situational power relations that are *experienced* (Parisi, 2017; Binion, 1995; Cruft et al., 2015).

Here we have presented critical HRE as an option for addressing inequalities to avoid human rights violations at school and in society at large. Understanding the complexity of HRE including moral, political, legal, and everyday life stances is relevant for teachers. Our approach to critical HRE is to be informed by legal structures without being reduced to simplifying legalism, appreciating the realisation of rights that is experienced, and drawing on critical and feminist theories acknowledging differences and forms of power. As described by Ahmed, invisible or visible power may manifest itself as "brick walls" as "hardenings of histories into barriers in the present" (Ahmed, 2017, p. 135) that are confronted by diversity and equality practitioners. Furthermore, we explored critical HRE as an opportunity to "unlearn" (Andreotti & Dowling, 2004) from reproductions of inequalities in teacher education through the concepts of ambivalence, ignorance, and "innocence".

Ambivalence

One way to understand ambivalence is to consider it as simultaneous and contradictory orientation towards an object (Merriam Webster, 2022). Bauman describes how the struggle to exterminate ambivalence is a typical substance of modern politics and we are expected to learn to live in peace with ambivalence (Bauman, 1991; cf. Brodén, 2020). Equality in the education system consists of various ambivalences. Equality is described as a central value but at the same time school has a "sorting function" having unequal consequences for students (Villegas, 2007). Teaching equality may cause ambivalences

in terms of emotions (Chubbuck & Zembylas, 2008) like the desire to do good and at the same time becoming painfully conscious of the actual unequal structures a teacher is part of. Teacher education produces student teachers who will assume positions of "knowing better" (Hakala, 2007) which causes an ambivalent relationship with ignorance.

Ignorance

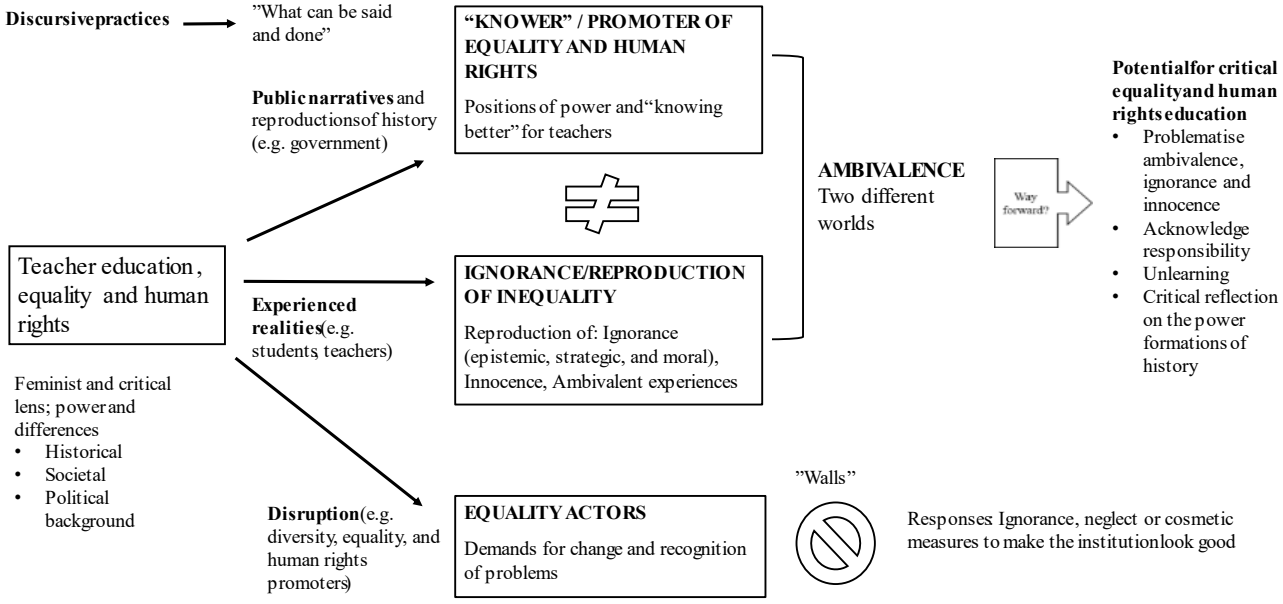
Ignorance can be analysed from strategic, epistemic, or moral perspectives. There has been a persistent atmosphere of ignorance in Finland to problems of equality (Toivanen, 2015). Finnish teachers have been categorised in relation to HRE as "ignorant teachers" (Jerome, 2018). This may be characterised as epistemic ignorance. One could ask: how can you teach something you don't know? Can human rights be realised or claimed without people knowing about them? Epistemologies of ignorance has been already theorised in relation to differences such as race (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007; Mills, 2007). We have continued this work in relation to teacher education which has a central role in epistemic reproductions of worthy and neglected knowledge. Assuming epistemic ignorance may lead to thinking that just "providing knowledge" in education prevents discrimination (Kumashiro, 2002). On the other hand, strategic ignorance has been characterised in education as resistance to equality related knowledge (e.g., Naskali & Kari, 2020; Tupper, 2011; Ylöstalo, 2013; Mills, 2007). Affected ignorance is a complex phenomenon but it can be defined as "choosing not to know what one can and should know" (Moody-Adams, 1994, p. 296).

"Innocence"

The idea of "innocence" is historically constructed for teachers. Traditionally, teachers have been characterised as model citizens of enlightened thinking and moral order. In Finland, admission to teacher education has been controlled and before the 1980s, candidates were even expected to provide certification that they were morally upright (Brunila & Kallioniemi, 2018). The morally innocent are thought to be "morally pure, incapable of wrongdoing" (Goldberg, 2015, p. 354). Helakorpi has presented ignorance and "innocence" as a privileged position. In relation to Roma policies and schooling, the role of innocence is assumed for non-Roma teachers (Helakorpi, 2020) who are described as "the ones who do not know" (p. 92) and the simple idea is that "giving knowledge" about the cultural and religious customs and conventions of Roma would eliminate discrimination. In our analysis we critically examined these assumptions.

Figure 1: Theoretical framework. Caption: Theoretical framework for analysing discursive practices of reproducing inequality in teacher education.

Figure 1: Theoretical framework for analysing discursive practices of reproducing inequality in teacher education



The Finnish context: school system, human rights, equality and HRE

The Finnish education system is based on a high level of autonomy for educational institutions such as universities and schools, but also for teachers. School legislation and national curricula provide obligatory guiding principles, but schools and teachers enjoy extensive autonomy in how they implement curricula. Teacher education in Finland is a university degree and all departments construct their own curricula connected to local research; this means that there is no one national curriculum nor strict guidelines for teacher education. This is because teacher education reform in the 1970s highlighted the research-based approach when the Teacher Education Law (1971/844) moved teacher education to universities (Rautiainen, 2012). There are structural reasons why the educational system has been able to give good basic education for a major proportion of society, such as offering free public education in principle for everyone, leading to successes in international education measurements such as PISA. These "successes" have diminished the willingness to handle criticism about the education system or teacher education in Finland (cf. Salminen & Säntti, 2012).

Finland has ratified various human rights treaties and included human rights, equality, and non-discrimination as part of domestic legislation such as the Constitution of Finland (1999/731) as fundamental rights (6–21 §) and at all levels of national curricula (Finnish National Agency for Education [FNAE], 2014; 2018; 2019). In 2014 the updated Non-discrimination Act (2014/1325) and Act on Equality between Women and Men (2014/1329) included explicit responsibilities for schools to make equality plans. Ikävalko (2016) outlined various problematics and silences in the practices of equality planning. Moreover, in 2020 FNAE conducted a monitoring survey on equality plans noting that 38% of schools had not fulfilled their duties in adopting an equality

plan that would be in line with the purpose of the Acts, although 96 % of the respondents (n=960) believed they had appropriately drawn up the plan (FNAE, 2020).

In Finnish teacher education, declaring commitment to human rights as a values basis has not been enough to advance long-term measures and explicit HRE in teacher education (Kasa et al., 2021; HRC, 2014; Rautiainen et al., 2014). Different forms of discrimination and human rights violations e.g., racism, gendering practices, homophobia, mistreatment of the Indigenous Sámi people, Roma and other minorities, and people with disabilities in the school system and beyond are not appropriately handled (Brunila & Ylöstalo, 2015; Brunila et al., 2019; Toivanen, 2007; Ikävalko, 2016; Kurki, 2019; Helakorpi, 2020; Honkasilta et al., 2016; Lehtonen, 2021). At some level Finland's normative ground can be compared to a description of realisation of HRE in Norway. Lile describes Norway's commitment to HRE as a fine-looking Ferrari: "looks strong and good on the surface, but there is no engine, no real commitment" (Lile, 2019, p. 143). Research indicates "national exceptionalism" in Finland and various other countries (Kasa et al., 2021) meaning that HRE is seen to belong "somewhere else" and as self-evident.

Historical reading of equality work and HRE in Finland

In this part we describe how have we come to the described ambivalence of "exceptionalism" and research results of persistent inequalities by presenting decades of promotion and demanding of progress. Active equality work in education started in the 1970s and the promotion of HRE in the 1990s. Finland has been regarded as one of the Nordic welfare states famous for being a model country concerning both equality and education and a strong supporter of equality work promoted through political struggles and changes in legislation, as well as through positive actions (e.g. Brunila & Ylöstalo, 2015; Holli, 2003; Ikävalko, 2016). Further, especially during the past decade, Finnish models of equality and education have been rapidly exported all over the world. Human rights are presented as leading the Finnish foreign policy and have become the slogan of Finnish law drafting and policymaking.

In education (including teacher education), equality work has been promoted as teaching, training, guidance, development initiatives and research that have involved the promotion of equality related to gender, sexuality, and other differences. A great amount of equality work has been carried out since the 1970s, involving collaboration between early childhood education, schools, universities, vocational training, individual teachers, rectors, students, researchers, ministries, FNAE, officials and various other organisations (e.g., Brunila, 2009; 2010; Brunila & Ylöstalo, 2015; Ikävalko, 2016; Ylöstalo, 2013). In other words, there has been a long history of equality work in education.

Political and governmental programmes have called for equality work to promote the political interests of the welfare state, but in the end, this type of work has not achieved similar legitimisation compared to other public sector professions. This has also been evident in education. Government programmes, equality and non-

discrimination acts as well as the latest national curricula have incorporated ambitious objectives for the promotion of equality. However, this has been implemented only peripherally into teaching and research for teacher education, as short-term publicly-funded projects with limited resources (Lahelma & Tainio, 2019).

Accordingly, what is typical for Finland is that equality has been promoted by short-term publicly funded and rather market and business-oriented projects. The project itself has become a new governing mechanism of equality emphasising market interest, employability, field of technology and behaviourism (Brunila, Heikkinen & Hynninen, 2005; Brunila, 2009). In teacher education, the promotion of equality began in the 1980s with nationwide experimental projects. However, despite hundreds of influential and highly recognised publicly funded short-term equality projects with various research-based outcomes for promoting equality, the very same problems have remained (Brunila & Kallioniemi, 2018). One explanation has been the "personification" of projects meaning that the work has been dependent on and assumed active and fully committed individuals. As a result, there have been no significant structural changes and the expertise created has not been widely utilised by educators or political decision makers. Furthermore, the short-term projects have caused a historical "amnesia" in which the same goals are initiated repeatedly.

Still, in the 1980s, human rights were a swearword and no respectable politician dared to mention human rights in their speeches. Human rights were connected to the same kind of propaganda as Soviet solidarity (personal communication, September 16, 2006). Finland joined the CoE and the European Convention on Human Rights in 1989. Ever since, the Finnish law and politics have been slowly but firmly changing to follow the human rights standards. However, the arrival of human rights has been slow and the number of people who have understood the human rights treaties' contents has remained small.

During the UN Decade for HRE (1995–2004), Finland revised the national core curricula for basic and upper secondary education, and HRE was included in both as an explicitly mentioned value in 2004. This means that every teacher in every subject should be able to incorporate HRE in their teaching (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004, p. 12; 2003, p. 12). This was further confirmed in 2010 when the explicit obligation to teach CRC and give holocaust -teaching were added to both curricula. The idea was that human rights should not be a separate subject matter but one that crosscuts the whole of education.

The second Government report to the Parliament of Finland on Finnish Human rights policy was published in 2009. For the first time in Finnish history, it also dealt with the realisation of human rights *in* Finland. The government introduced its goals in human rights policy in that report and also its goals with HRE. The report states that the government is responsible for the organisation of HRE according to its international duties and that HRE "extends to all places in society, in day care centres and schools and to the need for secure all professionals' human rights knowledge" (Finnish Government, 2009, p. 90). The report acknowledges the fact that "despite their limited

resources", the NGOs have been the main stakeholders in HRE and that they now wish that the state would take stronger responsibility.

When the Government published Finland's first National action plan for human rights policy in 2012, obviously the human rights activists were eager to read the section in the action plan for HRE. In the final phase of the drafting, the section on HRE had been completely removed and replaced by a section that dealt with voluntary afternoon tolerance clubs in lower secondary school classes.

In 2012 and 2017, Finland received the UN Universal Peer Review recommendations to include HRE in teacher education. In 2012, it was specifically recommended that HRE should be made a compulsory part of teacher education. Finland declined this because of the autonomy of universities guaranteed in the Constitution of Finland (1999/731, 16.3 §). In 2014, the Ministry of Education and Culture initiated a survey (Rautiainen et al., 2014) following project for pilots in teacher education (Männistö et al., 2017). Afterwards, it seemed as though these measures were seen as "enough" to advance HRE. In 2018 Human Rights Centre, Ministry of Justice and University of Helsinki initiated a teacher education project 2018–2021 so that the work would not be discontinued (Kasa, 2019). The project made clear the ongoing unsystematic nature of HRE in teacher education (Kasa et al., 2021) and the Government initiated a national steering group for Democracy and HRE (2020–2023). In this group, the focus on teacher education has been at the margins and a short-term project to organise a seminar was initiated. HRE was included in the newest National action plan for human rights (2020–2023) but teacher education was not included despite all the recommendations and research results. The Human Rights Centre has promoted systematic approaches to HRE (cf. HRC, 2014; Human Rights Delegation, 2021) but it does not have the necessary resources to promote national changes in education field (in schools or other educational institutions).

In conclusion, educational and equality policies have remained separate fields and educational policy reforms have systematically disregarded equality policies goals (Brunila & Kallioniemi, 2018). The same separation seems to be emerging with human rights policy when looking at HRE and teacher education. Both equality work and HRE in education have been undertaken through short-term projects.

The persistent ambivalences in Finnish teacher education

Ambivalences of public discourses and lived reality

In this part we describe ambivalences through two lines of discourse that constitute a discrepancy between public discourses and experiences in educational institutions (see Table 1). The Government has launched several programmes and brochures promoting equality like "Finnish basic education: Excellence through equality for all" (Ministry of Education and Culture & FNAE, 2018) and "The Right to Learn" development programmes to improve equality in education (Ministry of Education, 2019a; 2019b). Often education is described in the following manner:

> We believe education creates wellbeing, builds democracy and reduces inequalities between regions and social groups. Education in Finland focuses on fostering equal educational opportunities (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016, p. 2).

The discursive production of the Finnish education system as "exceptional" is not only produced by the Ministry (cf. Säntti et al., 2021), but also by corporations:

> **Training the best: How Finnish teachers are trained**
> In the late 1960s, Finland's government decided to rebuild the country and economy by reforming education, and one of the main components they focused on was teacher training. The result was a rigorous teacher education program that produced excellent educators […]. Since then, Finland has earned an exceptional reputation for its education system, particularly its high-quality teachers (HEI Schools webpage, 24.11.2021)

The normative ground in Finland is relatively explicit with equality and human rights contents (e.g., curricula FNAE, 2014; 2018; 2019). Nevertheless, the experiences of student teachers and project workers in equality and HRE describes a different reality, as the following citations show:

> I have some thinking to do with the issue of how to deal with the speaking style of colleagues, which at times is racist and chauvinistic. Conflict is very big between two pressures: on the other hand, it is not permissible to listen to this kind of language from a person in this position, but on the other hand, it feels very hard to intervene, because of the decades of older age and career status of the speaker (essay no. 10, special education student teacher)

> I feel like there is an invisible wall in the administration of education when discussing human rights or equality. There is a happy agreement of their importance, but real commitment to action is missing. When action is required, projects or official documents are listed. How can these [documents and agreement on importance] have had so little impact in the everyday experiences of teacher education? (research diary of project worker, 2021)

> People don't have enough knowledge of human rights problems in Finland. Often problems are seen as "somewhere else". (student teacher)

The idea of "national exceptionalism" (Kasa et al., 2021) relating to equality and HRE shape and enable various conditions in educational institutions that may place students in ambivalent positions when moving to working communities. These ambivalences were present in our data. Some students described a pressure to align with existing discursive practices to become heard and expressed the difficulty of both recognising and interrupting the inequalities they experience while teaching. Some were more critical and ready to challenge existing practices.

The project worker's description of an "invisible wall" is in line with Ahmed's research with equality work and the "brick walls" practitioners face (Ahmed, 2017, p.

135; cf. Figure 1). Also, it describes the "disappearing" suggestions of human rights advocates in the previous part. Ahmed describes how the diversity worker needs to remind others from existing laws and still become ignored (ibid.). A project worker may be hired for cosmetic reasons to make the institution look good and make it seem to be respecting the regulations.

Table 1. Discrepancies between public discourses and student teachers' experiences.

Law and policy	**Descriptions from the data**
National curriculum: "Basic education is built on respect for life and human rights. […] The development of basic education is guided by the goals and extensive principles of equality and equity" (FNAE, 2014, Section 2.2.).	*"I feel like I'm not yet ready to teach these issues although the curriculum supposes I should be able to."* (student teacher)
Constitution of Finland (1999/731) Section 22: "The public authorities shall guarantee the observance of basic rights and liberties and human rights".	*"It is frightening how little people know about these laws."* (student teacher)
International human rights recommendations: (e.g., gender equality, minorities etc.) Promote Sami culture and its significance in education (ECRI, 2019). Remove gender stereotypes and segregation in education (CEDAW, 2014).	*"I thought that I was very aware of inequalities. However, the Sámi people and the discrimination they face were completely strange issues for me and I learned in this course enormously."* (essay no. 10, special education student teacher) *"I was working in day care and 'girls and boys' thinking and segregation is <u>strong</u>"* (student teacher)

In teaching social justice, ambivalence is present at an emotional level (Chubbuck & Zembylas, 2008). In our data with student teachers this ambivalence of one's own positionality and knowledge and discrepancy with the existing inequalities is present:

> Our own society has structural discrimination and unequal practices e.g., towards some minorities. How should we address this in primary school? (student teacher)

The examples of the student teacher data collected in 2019 reminds us of similar results from the past 50 years of equality work (Brunila, 2009; Lahelma & Tainio, 2019). The continuing self-satisfied attitude indicates a lack of critical HRE.

Teachers' ambivalence between ignorance and "knowing better"

We not only want to describe the ambivalence, but also suggest a critical positioning towards it (cf. Brodén, 2020). For this part we re-analysed the problem and data through the concepts of ignorance, and innocence, suggesting that they take part in reproducing the problem. Recognising these tendencies of teachers may enhance acknowledging responsibility and hence, break inequalities.

When reading the student teacher data in detail, there are ambivalent experiences, descriptions of ignorance, and breakings of the alleged "innocence" in a sense of acknowledging responsibility. In the data, we found a similar positioning of students to HRE that has been interpreted in other studies as "strategic ignorance" an attitude, that students are unaware of things because teacher education has not provided enough knowledge (Tupper, 2011).

Ignorance can be a good thing when it is connected to the idea of equality of every human intelligence – following Jacques Rancière's idea – and invention in a sense, that "ignored" others (ideas, imagination etc.) may arrive (Omar Kohan, Santi & Wozniak, 2016). However, a problematic position historically constructed for teachers is the idea of the need to "know better" in relation to students (cf. Hakala, 2007). When ignorance and "knowing better" are counterparts, it may produce a form of "strategic ignorance". Tupper argues that the neglect of teaching treaties in Canada forms ignorance as an epistemological position in students' experiences (Tupper 2011). Strategic ignorance is connected to the resistance to certain inconvenient knowledge, e.g., about equality (Naskali & Kari, 2020; Ylöstalo, 2013; Mills, 2007).

From ignorance and innocence to acknowledging responsibility

Some students described how their understanding changed quite explicitly during the course and reflected their experiences in the work force. The following extract describes the breaking of ignorance and transformed understanding:

> I admit that I chose this course in the face of compulsion, and I would never have chosen this course independently just because of its wide and challenging name. Now I have changed my mind, and I'm grateful that I could participate in the course […] [I]f I had received education about human rights and democracy in earlier years, I could have verbalised the problems I saw in day care centres, and I could have appealed to certain documents. […] On the other hand, it bothers me, that if I have seen a whole working community to drift into this kind of qualityless education together, it is clear, that today's early childhood education training programmes there should be democracy and HRE as its own course. (essay no. 12, early childhood education student teacher)

Ignorance might be especially hard for teachers to acknowledge because of the position of "need to know better" (Hakala, 2007). We interpret an orientation that teachers may perceive that they are neutral and "doing their best" in relation to equality and that is enough as alleged "innocence". As said, innocence and ignorance are privileged positions (Helakorpi, 2020). Based on our data, providing enough education and time

for reflection on equality and human rights issues can deepen understanding. One student describes change:

> I have been a classroom teacher for over 15 years at various stages of my life. I have thought of myself as understanding, tolerant and broad-minded in my work. […] I realise painfully well how little I have known. […] At the moment, I think it is *my duty* [emphasis added] to promote a good and equal world by all possible means.
>
> Until now, I have been pleased that I do not discriminate against anyone or contribute to the polarisation of society. I did not consider it my duty to participate actively. My goal has been to teach in a neutral way and without causing much harm. I have respected human rights to the best of my ability and knowledge, but I have not been a human rights educator […] Can anything really be more important than having an active, critical, functioning society that respects human rights in Finland in the coming years? (essay no. 14, class student teacher)

Although some of the results are encouraging, it should not be too naively interpreted that just providing more education would change everything; simple romanticisation of "schooling" should be questioned (Ball & Collet-Sabé, 2021). Educational institutions have a two-way role in society; they affect it but on the other hand, they are affected by policies and societal happenings (Novelli, 2010). However, the results can be interpreted in a way, that attaining intellectual humility in relation to equality and human rights by distance to the "knowing better" position (Hakala, 2007) and overcoming the narrative of "national exceptionalism" (Kasa et al., 2021) may enhance change. The most common form of affected ignorance is the tendency to avoid acknowledging our human fallibility: as finite and fallible beings, even our most deeply held convictions may be wrong. But it is also common for human beings to avoid or deny this possibility (Moody-Adams, 1994). Moral ignorance does not exculpate (cf. Harman, 2011). Affected ignorance is problematic from a moral point of view but especially suspicious for teachers from the perspective of legal responsibility. Assuming responsibility and "unlearning" (Andreotti & Dowling, 2004) are central for moving towards a different order.

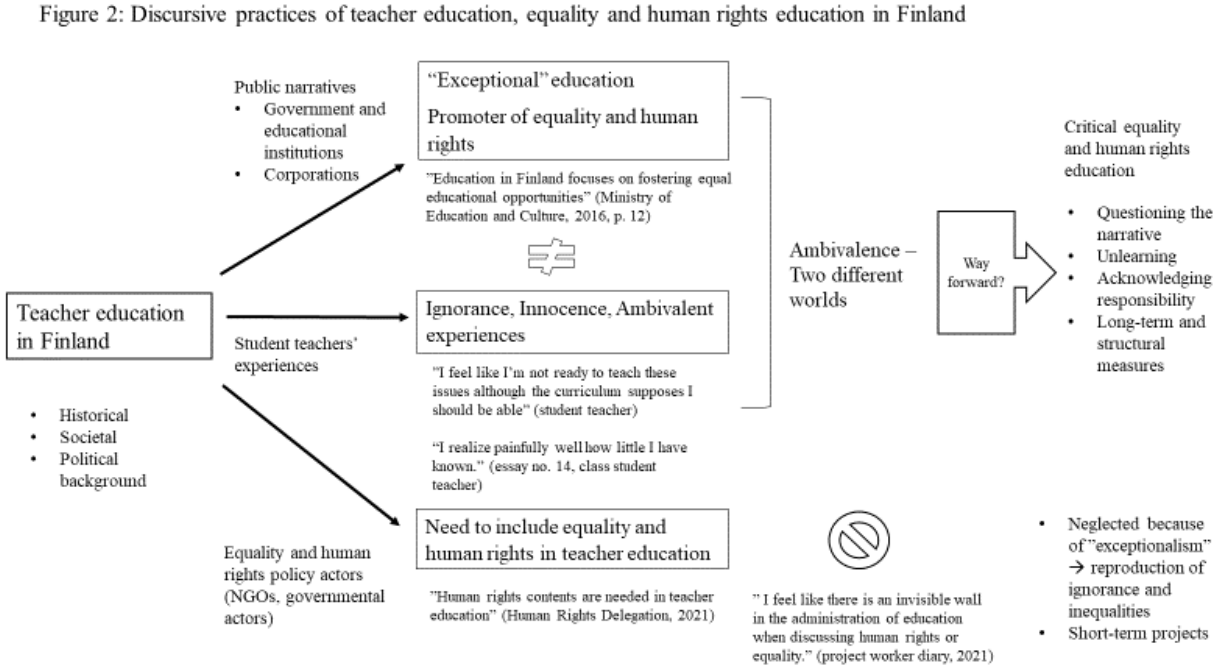
Concluding remarks: Discursive practices of teacher education, HRE and equality constituting different realities

This article contributes to analysis of the inadequate implementation of educational and international policies, and problematics in scrutinising inequalities. We have summarised our theoretical framework in Figure 1 and empirical observations in Figure 2 on the discursive practices concerning teacher education, equality, and HRE in Finland. Our theoretical frame re-analysed explanations for persistent inequalities by widening the analysis of ambivalence, ignorance, and innocence in the context of

teacher education. These concepts form an interaction of sustaining power (Figure 1).

In conclusion, there are discursively produced different realities in relation to teacher education, equality, and HRE. We have explained how (Figure 2) there are mainly two lines of discursive practices in Finland: 1) the public narratives constituting "exceptionalism" and 2) students' experiences, which describe a different reality. The third line of discourse is the recognition of problems by international and national human rights and equality stakeholders, but their strivings are neglected because the "exceptionalism" narrative, or then short-term projects are initiated. In general, internationally, our results highlight the problematics of short-term project-based management policies as a measure to affect societal and structural inequalities. For policy and practice of education we suggest that recognising and addressing ignorance, innocence and ambivalence are vital part of critical analysis of the sustaining of power and dismantling inequalities. Additionally, policymakers need education in these topics so they will not just reproduce the status quo.

Figure 2. Discursive practices of teacher education, equality, and human rights education in Finland. Caption: Description of discursively produced different realities of equality and human rights work by public stance, students' experiences and equality and human rights policies.



Our focus was 1) what we know about inequality in education, 2) why inequalities continue, and 3) to do re-analysis of explanations. First, as educational policy has a history in neglecting equality policy goals and initiatives (Brunila, 2009; Brunila & Kallioniemi, 2018), we claim that the same neglect is emerging about human rights policy. The response to recommendations is either neglect, ignorance, or short-term projects. These responses allow inequalities to continue. In our results, the description of "invisible wall" as historically formed power structures explains the continuation of

inequalities. Our results suggest critical self-reflection for educational policies and practices. Furthermore, third, our re-analysis of educational inequalities through ambivalence, ignorance, and "innocence" presents a renewed approach for analysing (teacher) education in various contexts. The orientations of innocence and ignorance should be critically assessed to acknowledge responsibility. Especially critical HRE may assist in handling the professional and ethical responsibilities of teachers and promote the unlearning of discrimination and critical reflection thereof.

This article not only describes the ambivalence but suggests a critical position to it (Brodén, 2020) and the schooling and education themselves; in the midst of the ambivalences of education, there is a need for profound critical reflection, unlearning, and seeking creative outcomes. Context-specific natures of oppression do not favour any "single strategy" that would work for all teachers and students (Kumashiro, 2002). However, the critical HRE we have presented in this article has the potential to decrease inequalities; when approaching equality and human rights issues with questioning dominant power-relations, and acknowledging responsibility individually and collectively, inequalities may become visible and handled appropriately. Otherwise, we may end up reproducing inequalities in an atmosphere of championing equality and human rights without even seeing the problems. Our results highlight the call for profound critical reflection on historically formed power formations in teacher education and educational policies regarding HRE to advance structures deconstructing inequalities.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Critical Sociology and Philosophy of Education (CRISP) research seminar at the University of Helsinki for comments on our work.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by grants from the Kone Foundation (grant no. 202010849) and Otto A. Malm's Foundation and the Academy of Finland funded Centre of Excellence in Law, Identity and the European Narratives funding decisions no. 312431 & 336678, without any involvement in the content.

References

Adami, R. (2021). Revisiting the past: Human rights education and epistemic justice. *Human Rights Education Review*, 4(3), 5–23. https://doi.org/10.7577/hrer.4486

Ahmed, K., Martin, P. & Uddin, S. (2020). Human Rights Education 1995–2017: Wrestling with Ideology, Universality, and Agency. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 42(1), 195–216.

Ahmed, S. (2017). Living a Feminist Life. Durham: Duke University Press.

Andreotti, V., & Dowling, E. (2004). *WSF, Ethics and Pedagogy*. UNESCO, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 605–613.

Bacchi, C., & Bonham, J. (2014). Reclaiming discursive practices as an analytic focus: Political implications. *Foucault Studies*, 17, 173–192. https://doi.org/10.22439/fs.v0i17.4298

Bajaj, M. (2015). *Human Rights Education: Imaginative Possibilities for Creating Change*. Teachers College Record: The Voice of Scholarship in Education, 117(10), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811511701005

Ball, S. (1990). *Politics and Policymaking in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology*. London: Routledge.

Ball, S., & Collet-Sabé, J. (2021). Against school: An epistemological critique. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2021.1947780

Bauman, Z. (1991). *Modernity and ambivalence*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Becker, A. (2021). Decolonial human rights education: Changing the terms and content of conversations on human rights. *Human Rights Education Review*, 4(2), 49–68. https://doi.org/10.7577/hrer.3989

Bell, V. (1999). Mimesis as Cultural Survival: Judith Butler and Anti-Semitism. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 16(2), 133–61.

Benhabib, S. (2004). *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens* (The Seeley Lectures). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511790799.

Bhopal, K., & Henderson, H. (2021). Competing inequalities: Gender versus race in higher education institutions in the UK. *Educational Review*, 73(2), 153–169. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2019.1642305

Binion, G. (1995). Human Rights: A Feminist Perspective. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 17(3), 509–526.

Brodén, D. (2020). Acknowledging Ambivalence in Teaching about Art and Aesthetics. *Educational Theory*, 70(1), 31–42. https://doi.org/10.1111/edth.12404

Brunila, K. (2009). *PARASTA ENNEN. Tasa-arvotyön projektitapaistuminen* [BEST BEFORE. The Projectisation of Gender Equality]. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki]. HELDA - Digital Repository of the University of Helsinki. https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/19785

Brunila, K. (2010). *Sukupuolten tasa-arvo korkeakoulutuksessa ja tutkimuksessa* [Gender equality in higher education and research]. Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriön Selvityksiä. 2009:51. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Brunila, K., & Edström, C. (2013). The famous Nordic Equality and what's Nordic about it? Gender equality in Finnish and Swedish education. *Nordic Studies in Education*, 33(4), 300–313.

Brunila, K. & Ylöstalo, H. (2015). Challenging Gender Inequalities in Education and in Working Life – A Mission Possible? *Journal of Education and Work*, 28(5), 443–460.

Brunila, K. & Kallioniemi, A. (2018). Equality work in teacher education in Finland. *Policy Futures in Education*, 16(5), 539–552. https://doi.org/10.1177/1478210317725674

Brunila, K., Mertanen, K., Tiainen, K., Kurki, T., Masoud, A., Mäkelä, K. & Ikävalko, E. (2019). Vulnerabilizing Young People: Interrupting the ethos of vulnerability, the neoliberal rationality, and the precision education governance. *Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society*, 43(3), 113–120.

Brunila, K., Heikkinen, M. & Hynninen, P. (2005). *Difficult but Doable – Good Practices for Equality Work*. Kajaani: Kainuun Sanomat Oy.

Cardenas, S. (2005). Constructing rights? Human Rights Education and the State. *International Political Science Review*, 26(4), 363–379.

Cargas, S. (2020). The State of HRE in Higher Education Worldwide. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *Human Rights Education Globally* (Vol. 22, pp. 75–89). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1913-9_4

Cargas, S., & Mitoma, G. (2019). Introduction to the special issue on human rights in higher education. *Journal of Human Rights*, 18(3), 275–279. https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2019.1617122

Cassidy, C., Brunner, R. & Webster, E. (2014). Teaching human rights? 'All hell will break loose!'. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 9(1), 19–33. https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197913475768

CEDAW 2014: *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: recommendations for Finland 2014*. CEDAW/C/FIN/CO/7.

Chubbuck, S. M., & Zembylas, M. (2008). The Emotional Ambivalence of Socially Just Teaching: A Case Study of a Novice Urban Schoolteacher. *American Educational Research Journal*, 45(2), 274–318. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831207311586

Cole, M. (Ed.) 2018. *Education, Equality and Human Rights: Issues of Gender, 'Race', Sexuality, Disability and Social Class*. Routledge.

Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989). Treaty Series, 1577, 3. General Assembly resolution 44/25, November 20, 1989. https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx

Council of Europe [CoE] (2010). *Charter for Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (EDC/HRE).* CM/Rec(2010)7.

Cruft, R., Liao, S. M., & Renzo, M. (Eds.). (2015). *Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199688623.001.0001

Davies, L. (1994). Focussing on Equal Rights in Teacher Education. *Educational Review*, 46(2), 109–120. https://doi.org/10.1080/0013191940460202.

ECRI (2019). *European Commission against Racism and Intolerance: Fifth report on Finland*. 18.6.2019.

Finnish Government (2009). *Valtioneuvoston selonteko Suomen ihmisoikeuspolitiikasta* 7/2009 [Government's report on Finnish human rights policy]. Helsinki. 150.

Finnish National Board of Education (2003). *National core curriculum for upper secondary schools*. Opetushallitus, Helsinki.

Finnish National Board of Education (2004). *National core curriculum for basic education*. Opetushallitus, Helsinki.

Finnish National Agency for Education [FNAE] (2014). *National Core Curriculum for Basic Education*. Finnish National Agency for Education.

FNAE (2018). *National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care*. Finnish National Agency for Education.

FNAE (2019). *National Core Curriculum for General Upper Secondary Schools*. Finnish National Agency for Education.

FNAE (2020). *Tasa-arvosuunnitelmien seuranta 2019. Perusopetuksen oppilaitosten tasa-arvo- ja yhdenvertaisuussuunnittelu* [Monitoring of equality plans in 2019. Equality and non-discrimination planning in basic education]. Raportit ja selvitykset 2020:23. https://www.oph.fi/sites/default/files/documents/tasa_arvosuunnitelmien_seuranta_2019.pdf

Foucault, M. (1989): *The Archeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Goldberg, Z. (2015). Moral Innocence as Illusion and Inability. *Philosophia*, 43, 355–366.

Hakala, K. (2007). *Paremmin tietäjän paikka ja toisin tietämisen tila: Opettajuus (ja tutkijuus) pedagogisena suhteena* [The position of knowing better and the space for knowing otherwise: Pedagogical mode of address in teaching (and in research)]. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki]. HELDA - Digital Repository of the University of Helsinki. https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/19737

Harman, E. (2011). Does moral ignorance exculpate? *Ratio*, 24(4), 443–468. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9329.2011.00511.x

HEI schools (2021, November 24). *Training the best: How Finnish teachers are trained.* https://www.heischools.com/resources/articles/how-finnish-teachers-are-trained/

Helakorpi, J. (2020). *Innocence, privilege and responsibility: Power relations in policies and practices on Roma, Travellers and basic education in three Nordic countries*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki]. HELDA - Digital Repository of the University of Helsinki. https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/317940

Holli, A. M. (2003). *Discourse and Politics for Gender Equality in Late Twentieth Century Finland*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki]. HELDA - Digital Repository of the University of Helsinki. https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/10448

Honkasilta, J., Vehkakoski, T., & Vehmas, S. (2016). 'The teacher almost made me cry' Narrative analysis of teachers' reactive classroom management strategies as reported by students diagnosed with ADHD. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 55, 100–109. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2015.12.009

Human Rights Centre [HRC] (2014). *Human Rights Education in Finland*. Helsinki: Human Rights Centre.

Human Rights Delegation (2021). *Ihmisoikeuskasvatusta vahvistettava hallitusohjelman mukaisesti - opettajankoulutukseen tarvitaan ihmisoikeussisältöä*. [Human rights education must be strengthened according to government programme – Human rights contents are needed in teacher education]. 15.4.2021. Statement. Human Rights Centre: Helsinki.

Ikävalko, E. (2016). *Vaikenemisia ja vastarintaa: Valtasuhteet ja toiminnan mahdollisuudet oppilaitosten tasa-arvosuunnittelussa* [Silences and resistance: Power relations and possibilities of agency in gender equality planning in educational institutions]. Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki. HELDA - Digital Repository of the University of Helsinki. https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/165728

Jerome, L. (2018). Hypocrites or heroes? Thinking about the role of the teacher in human rights education. Human Rights Education Review, 1(2), 46–64. https://doi.org/10.7577/hrer.2873

Juva, I. (2019). *Who can be 'normal'?: Constructions of normality and processes of exclusion in two Finnish comprehensive schools*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki]. HELDA - Digital Repository of the University of Helsinki. https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/306212

Kasa, T. (2019). Ihmisoikeudet, demokratia, arvot ja dialogi kasvatuksessa - Demokratia- ja ihmisoikeuskasvatuksen opettajankoulutuksen kehittämishankkeen (2018-2019) loppuraportti [Human rights, democracy, values and dialogue in education – Final report of the project for the development of education for democratic citizenship and human rights education in teacher education]. University of Helsinki. HELDA -

Digital Repository of the University of Helsinki. https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/309493

Kasa, T., Rautiainen, M., Malama, M., & Kallioniemi, A. (2021). 'Human rights and democracy are not self-evident': Finnish student teachers' perceptions on democracy and human rights education. *Human Rights Education Review*, *4*(2), 69–84. https://doi.org/10.7577/hrer.3937

Keet, A. (2015). It is time: Critical Human Rights Education in an age of counter-hegemonic distrust. *Education as Change*, 19(3), 46–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/16823206.2015.1085621

Klein, G. (1994). Equal Rights in the Classroom? The role of teacher education in ensuring equality of educational opportunities. *Educational Review*, 46(2), 167–177.

Kumashiro, K. (2002). *Troubling Education: "Queer" Activism and Anti-Oppressive Pedagogy*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203819753

Kurki, T. (2019). Immigrant-ness as (mis)fortune?: Immigrantisation through integration policies and practices in education. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki]. HELDA - Digital Repository of the University of Helsinki. https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/294719

Lahelma, E. & Tainio, L. (2019). The long mission towards gender equality in teacher education: Reflections from a national project in Finland. *Nordic Studies in Education*, vol. 39(1), 69–84. https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1891-2019-01-06

Lehtonen, J. (2021). Heteronormative Violence in Schools: Focus on Homophobia, Transphobia and the Experiences of Trans and Non-heterosexual Youth in Finland. In Y. Odenbring & T. Johansson (Eds.), *Violence, Victimisation and Young People* (Vol. 4, pp. 155–172). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-75319-1_10

Lile, H. S. (2019). The Realisation of Human Rights Education in Norway. *Nordic Journal of Human Rights*, 37(2), 143–161. https://doi.org/10.1080/18918131.2019.1674007

Mahler, C., Mihr, A., & Toivanen, R. (2009). The United Nations decade for human rights education and the inclusion of national minorities. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Männistö, P., Rautiainen, M., & Vanhanen-Nuutinen, L. (Eds.) (2017). *Hyvän lähteillä – Demokratia- ja ihmisoikeuskasvatus opetustyössä* [On the source of good – Democracy and human rights education as a part of the teaching profession]. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopistopaino.

Masoud, A., Holm, G., & Brunila, K. (2021). Becoming Integrateable: Hidden Realities of Integration Policies and Training in Finland. International Journal of Inclusive Education, 25(1), 52-65. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2019.1678725

Merriam Webster Dictionary (2022, January 12). Ambivalence. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ambivalence

Mills, C. W. (2007). White Ignorance. In Sullivan, S. & Tuana, N. *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance* (pp. 11–39). State University of New York Press.

Ministry of Education and Culture (2016). Education Lies at the Heart of Society. Education in Finland. Helsinki. https://okm.fi/documents/1410845/4150027/Education+lies+at+the+heart+of+Society/5c22a89c-de25-4bfd-b903-03ec9e317fe6/Education+lies+at+the+heart+of+Society.pdf?t=1487759022000

Ministry of Education and Culture & FNAE (2018). Finnish basic education: Excellence through equity for all. https://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/handle/10024/160846

Ministry of Education and Culture (2019a). The right to learn – An equal start on the learning path; Early childhood education and care programme for quality and equality 2020–2022. https://okm.fi/julkaisu?pubid=URN:ISBN:978-952-263-693-5

Ministry of Education and Culture (2019b). The Right to learn – An equal start on the learning path; Comprehensive school education programme for quality and equality 2020–2022. https://okm.fi/julkaisu?pubid=URN:ISBN:978-952-263-691-1

Moody-Adams, M. (1994). Culture, Responsibility, and Affected Ignorance. *Ethics*, 104(2), 291–309.

Naskali, P., & Kari, S. (2020). Teachers-to-be studying gender and sexual diversity. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 80, 102360. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2020.102360

Novelli, M. (2010). Education, conflict and social (in)justice: Insights from Colombia. *Educational Review*, 62(3), 271–285. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2010.503598

Omar Kohan, W., Santi, M., & Wozniak, T. (2016). Philosophy for teachers: Between ignorance, invention and improvisation. In M. Gregory & J. Haynes (Eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Philosophy for Children* (pp. 286–292). Taylor & Francis Group.

Parisi, L. (2017). Feminist Perspectives on Human Rights. In L. Parisi, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.48

Rautiainen, M. (2012). Pysähtyneisyyden aika – Aineenopettajakoulutuksen akateeminen taival [Time of stagnation – Academical journey of subject teacher education]. *Kasvatus & Aika*, 6(2), 37–51. https://journal.fi/kasvatusjaaika/article/view/68323

Rautiainen, M., Vanhanen-Nuutinen, L., & Virta, A. (2014). *Democracy and human rights: objectives and content in teacher education*. Ministry of Education and Culture. Report and Appendices 2014:8. https://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/handle/10024/75251

Robinson, C., Phillips, L., & Quennerstedt, A. (2020). Human rights education: Developing a theoretical understanding of teachers' responsibilities. *Educational Review*, 72(2), 220–241. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2018.1495182

Salminen, J., & Säntti, J. (2012). Kansallisesta selvitystilasta kansainvälisiin parrasvaloihin [From national condition of surveying to international success]. *Kasvatus & Aika*, 6(2), 3–4. https://journal.fi/kasvatusjaaika/article/view/68319

Struthers, A. (2016). Human rights: A topic too controversial for mainstream education? *Human Rights Law Review*, 16(1), 131–162. https://doi.org/10.1093/hrlr/ngv040

Sullivan, S. & Tuana, N. (2007). *Race and epistemologies of ignorance*. State University of New York Press.

Säntti, J., Hansen, P., & Saari, A. (2021). Future jamming: Rhetoric of new knowledge in Finnish educational policy texts. *Policy Futures in Education*, 19(7), 859–876. https://doi.org/10.1177/1478210320985705

Toivanen, R. (2007). Education on Human Rights - a Method of Including Global Critical Thinking. In Kaivola, T. & Melén-Paaso, M. (Eds.). *Education for Global Responsibility - Finnish Perspectives* (pp. 33–44). Helsinki: Ministry of Education.

Toivanen, R. (2009). Sustainability of human rights and minority education. In Mahler, C., Mihr, A. & Toivanen, R. (Eds.), *The United Nations decade for human rights education and the inclusion of national minorities* (pp. 133–153). Lang.

Toivanen, R. (2015). From Ignorance to Effective Inclusion: The Role of National Minorities within the Finnish Consensus Culture. In P. A. Kraus & P Kivisto (Eds). *The Challenge of Minority Integration: Politics and Policies in the Nordic Nations* (pp. 110–140), 7, DeGruyter.

Tupper, J. (2013). Disrupting Ignorance and Settler Identities: The Challenges of Preparing Beginning Teachers for Treaty Education. *In Education*, 17(3). https://doi.org/10.37119/ojs2011.v17i3.71

United Nations (1948). *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights.* A/RES/217 (III).

United Nations (2011). *The United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training*. A/RES/66/137.

Villegas, A. M. (2007). Dispositions in Teacher Education: A Look at Social Justice. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 58, 370–380.

Xanthaki, A. (2019). When Universalism Becomes a Bully: Revisiting the Interplay Between Cultural Rights and Women's Rights. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 41(3), 701–724. https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq.2019.0049

Ylöstalo, H. (2013). Feministisestä teoriasta käytäntöön [From feminist theory to practice]. *Aikuiskasvatus*, 33(2), 118–127. https://doi.org/10.33336/aik.94033

Ylöstalo, H., & Brunila, K. (2018). Exploring the possibilities of gender equality pedagogy in an era of marketization. *Gender and Education*, 30(7), 917–933. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2017.1376042

Young, I.M. (2000). *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford University Press.

Zacheus, T., Kalalahti, M., Varjo, J., Saarinen, M., Jahnukainen, M., Mäkelä, M.-L., & Kivirauma, J. (2019). Discrimination, Harassment and Racism in Finnish Lower Secondary Schools. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *9*(1), 81. https://doi.org/10.2478/njmr-2019-0004

Zeichner, K. M. (2009). Teacher education and the struggle for social justice. Routledge.

Zembylas, M., & Keet, A. (2019). *Critical human rights education: Advancing social-justice-oriented educational praxes*. Cham: Springer International. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-27198-5