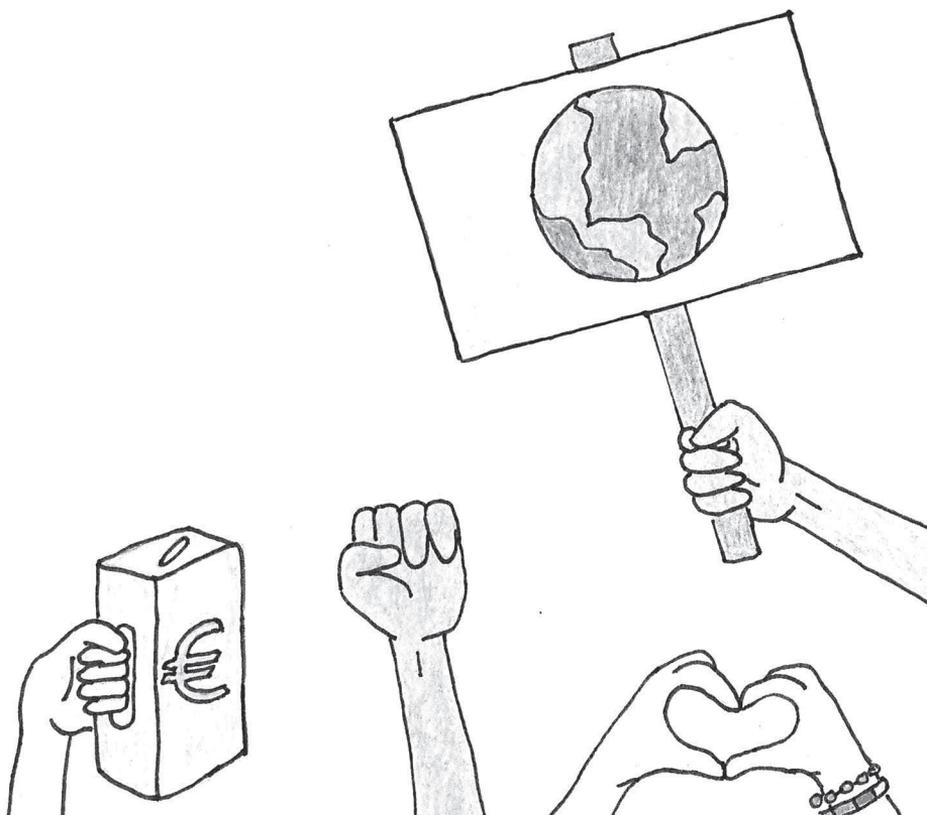


Heidi Henriksson

Educating global citizens

A study of interaction between NGOs and schools in Finland





Heidi Henriksson

Born 1988

Previous studies and degrees:

Master of Social Sciences, Sociology, Åbo Akademi 2013

Bachelor of Social Sciences, Sociology, Åbo Akademi 2012

Cover art: Heidi Henriksson

Composition: Icca Krook

Åbo Akademi University Press
Tavastgatan 13, FI-20500 Åbo, Finland
Tel. +358 (0)2 215 4793
E-mail: forlaget@abo.fi

Sales and distribution:
Åbo Akademi University Library
Domkyrkogatan 2-4, FI-20500 Åbo, Finland
Tel. +358 (0)2 -215 4190
E-mail: publikationer@abo.fi

EDUCATING GLOBAL CITIZENS



Educating global citizens

A study of interaction between NGOs and
schools in Finland

Heidi Henriksson

Åbo Akademis förlag | Åbo Akademi University Press
Åbo, Finland, 2022

CIP Cataloguing in Publication

Henriksson, Heidi.

Educating global citizens : a study of interaction between NGOs and schools in Finland / Heidi Henriksson. - Åbo : Åbo Akademi University Press, 2022.

Diss.: Åbo Akademi University.

ISBN 978-952-389-028-2

ISBN 978-952-389-028-2
ISBN 978-952-389-029-9 (digital)
Painosalama Oy
Åbo 2022

Acknowledgements

Writing a dissertation is often thought of as a lonely endeavor, but that is only partly and occasionally true. This dissertation could never have been completed without the support, contribution and company of the people surrounding me.

First and foremost, I am grateful for having two outstanding supervisors. A warm thank you to Andreas Häger for his generous support throughout the entire journey and for encouraging me to pursue doctoral studies in the first place. I thank Mikko Lagerspetz for his insightful comments and for pushing me forward in the process when it was needed. The pre-reviewers, professor Elina Lehtomäki and professor Magnus Wennerhag deserve a profound thank you for carefully reading the entire manuscript, for their valuable comments and their encouraging reports.

A special thank you goes to all my colleagues at the department of Sociology at Åbo Akademi University: Mika Helander, Dan Sundblom, Robin Lybeck, Thomas Heikell, Sabina Hadzibulic, Lise Eriksson, Jan Wickman, Oliver Saal, Annika Tuomi, Karmo Kroos, Madgalena Kosova, Iman Heinonen, Katarina Johansson, Jan-Eerik Leppänen, Ievgeniia Babenko, Johan Ekman, Thaddeus Ndukwe and others for creating a warm and dialogic atmosphere. Thank you for cultivating comradeship rather than rivalry. I also want to thank all sociology students for memorable discussions in and out of class. Additionally, I wish to thank our “neighbors” in the ASA building, the department of International Law and the Human Rights Institute with Elina Pirjatanniemi and colleagues, for your company and collaboration. For the financial support for my research, I thank Åbo Akademi University and the Åbo Akademi University Foundation.

During my doctoral studies, I had the chance to take part in various research groups and networks. I thank the interdisciplinary research group on human rights education at Åbo Akademi for welcoming me to contribute to the project in the initial stage of my research. I am grateful to the editors of the project publication Charlotta Hilli and Camilla Kronqvist, and the group as a whole for this opportunity. A special thank you to Salla Tuori, Katarina Frostell, Annika Pastuhov and Birgit Schaffar-Kronqvist for comments and encouragement. The Minority Research Profile has been an important reference point for me during my doctoral years, and for that I want to take Magdalena Kmak, Emmanuel Acquah and everyone else involved. I also want to thank Harriet Ziliacus from the University of Helsinki for cooperation and reassuring words.

Another important group for me has been the Global Education Research in Finland (GERIF) network, which we founded in order to bring together researchers with similar interests and with the aim of bridging gaps between research and practice. I thank Antti Rajala, Antti Kylänpää, Sanna Rekola and all the other talented network members I had the privilege to work with. My doctoral studies also included a two month visit to the research group Globalisation, Education and Social Policies (GEPS) at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. I wish to thank Xavier Bonal and the rest of the researchers at GEPS for enriching my knowledge of research on education and globalization and for showing enthusiasm for my work. I also want to thank my wonderful colleagues at my current job, the Regional State Administrative Office, particularly my superior Marianne West-Ståhl, for supporting me in finishing this dissertation.

My family deserves the biggest thank you. I thank Alejandro, *mi compañero de vida*, for sharing dreams, ideas and daily life with me. Although the road has sometimes been rocky, Alejandro has always firmly believed in me. *¡Gracias!* Our children Silvia and Leonardo have been my best teachers along the way. I thank them for both their patience and their impatience with their academic mother, pushing me to find a satisfactory balance between work and family time. I thank them for the best questions, the most inspirational comments and their love. *Kiitos lapset!* Our newest family member, Leia the dog, deserves a thank you for her unconditional affection and for taking me out on daily walks to the forest.

I am lucky to have wonderful siblings who have supported me in completing this thesis. My brother Svante has shared his best dissertation writing hacks with me and my sister Linda generously helped me with language editing. I want to thank my mother Kirsti for always being there, for understanding me and for supporting my decisions. My father Torbjörn deserves a thank you for the somewhat ambiguous yet useful maxim “the best you can do is to do your best”, which I have interpreted both as a call for persistence and ambition and as a reminder to be humble and merciful when writing this dissertation.

Most of my friends live and work outside of academic circles, which has enabled a healthy distance from research when spending time with them. A loving thank you goes to Aimi, Anna, Bea, Camilla, Erica, Josefin, Maja, Marie, Sonja and Taika for decades of friendship that I could not have survived without. *Tack ska ni ha!* All other friends not mentioned by name here, thank you for all the lunches, walks, sports, demonstrations, birthdays and other gatherings that we have shared together.

Last but definitely not least, I want to thank all participants who contributed to this study. The best part of the research process was undoubtedly the multiple encounters I had with NGO workers, teachers and students. Without them, this dissertation would not exist. I thank them warmly for their time and thoughts.

Turku, August 2022

Heidi Henriksson

Abstract

This dissertation explores global education in the context of interaction between non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and schools in Finland. The aim is to study how NGOs attempt to influence formal education through different kinds of advocacy. Three theoretical strands guide the analysis: governance theory, social movement theory and decolonial theory. Governance theory is used to analyze negotiations over which kind of global education is necessary and desirable in Finnish schools, and the term enactment used as an analytical lens for how global education policy is put into practice. With social movement theory, global education is studied as the educational sector of the global justice movement, consisting of heterogeneous actors and actions. Through a decolonial lens, the whole idea of global education is problematized as a potentially Eurocentric and neo-colonial project. The overarching research question is: how is global education enacted in the context of NGO school interaction in Finland?

Empirically, the study includes 24 NGOs that are all part of the Finnish Global Education Network. The primary empirical material in this multi-sited ethnographic study consists of participant observation, interviews, NGO produced educational materials and NGOs' advocacy statements. More specifically, the following forms of NGO involvement in the school world are explored: 1) NGO advocacy in curriculum reforms and textbook production, 2) teacher education, referring to NGOs as providers of both in-service and pre-service teacher training, and 3) school cooperation, entailing NGO campaigns and workshops in secondary schools.

The main conclusions are summarized in four points. First, NGOs have multiple roles in relation to formal education and they legitimize their involvement using different types of authority: professional, legal, democratic and advocacy-based authority. The study suggests that the first two types risk overshadowing the latter two. Secondly, the NGOs studied do not share a uniform political positioning but rather represent diversified resistance united by the umbrella term global education. Findings suggest that global injustices are commonly portrayed as lack of development or as representational challenges and more seldom as problems of how the global economy is organized. The third main finding is that the NGOs' critical statements appearing in, for instance, their textbook advocacy, at times tends to dilute in classroom contexts. Finally, the fourth conclusion is that fostering global citizenship in Finnish schools is often not prioritized by teachers or by students themselves, although students seem eager to discuss and engage in solving global challenges, especially if encouraged to do so in school.

Abstrakt/Sammanfattning

I avhandlingen studeras global fostran i kontexten av växelverkan mellan medborgarorganisationer och skolor i Finland. Syftet är att undersöka hur medborgarorganisationer försöker påverka den formella utbildningen genom olika typer av påverkansarbete. Analysen tar avstamp i tre teoretiska perspektiv: styrningsteori, teori om sociala rörelser och dekolonial teori. Styrningsteori används för att analysera förhandlingar om vilken typ av global fostran som är nödvändig eller önskvärd i finländska skolor, och termen förverkligande (eng. enactment) används för att studera hur policy kring global fostran genomförs i praktiken. Med hjälp av teori om sociala rörelser förstås global fostran som den globala rättviserörelsens utbildningssektor, bestående av en mångfald av aktörer och handlingar. Den dekoloniala teorin används för att problematisera global fostran som ett potentiellt eurocentriskt och nykolonialt projekt. Den övergripande forskningsfrågan lyder: hur förverkligas global fostran i interaktionen mellan medborgarorganisationer och skolor i Finland?

Empiriskt fokuserar studien på 24 medborgarorganisationer som alla hör till det finländska nätverket för global fostran. Det primära empiriska materialet för denna etnografi består av deltagande observation vid ett flertal platser, intervjuer, undervisningsmaterial producerat av medborgarorganisationer samt medborgarorganisationers utlåtanden. Mer specifikt undersöks följande former av medborgarorganisationers medverkan i skolvärlden: 1) utlåtanden gällande läroplansreformer och lärobokproduktion, 2) lärarutbildning och -fortbildning som ordnas av medborgarorganisationer, 3) skolsamarbete, där medborgarorganisationernas skolkampanjer och workshoppar ingår.

Fyra huvudsakliga slutsatser presenteras. Den första slutsatsen är att medborgarorganisationer har flera roller i relation till formell utbildning och att de legitimerar sin medverkan genom olika typer av auktoritet: professionell, juridisk, demokratisk och påverkansbaserad auktoritet. Studien antyder att de första två typerna riskerar överskugga de två senare. Det andra resultatet är att de studerade medborgarorganisationerna inte kan sägas dela någon enhällig politisk position, utan snarare uppvisar de ett diversifierat motstånd, samlade under paraplybegreppet global fostran. Analysen visar att globala orättvisor ofta framställs som brist på utveckling eller som representationsproblem och mer sällan som problem kring hur den globala ekonomin är organiserad. Den tredje slutsatsen är att medborgarorganisationernas kritiska ståndpunkter, som kan hittas till exempel i deras påverkansarbete gentemot läroboksförlag, tidvis tenderar att urvattnas i klassrumssammanhang. Slutligen, som ett fjärde resultat

visar studien att fostran till globalt medborgarskap i finländska skolor ofta inte prioriteras av lärare eller elever själva, även om eleverna verkar ivriga att diskutera och engagera sig i att åtgärda globala utmaningar, särskilt om de uppmuntras till det i skolan.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements.....	3
Abstract	7
Abstrakt/Sammanfattning.....	9
1. Introduction.....	23
1.1 Background and objective of the study	23
1.2 The Finnish NGO sector in the area of global education	26
1.3 Theoretical framework and academic positioning	28
1.4 The societal relevance of the study.....	32
1.5 Outline	34
2. The policy context.....	37
2.1 The Finnish education system and educational policy .	37
2.2 International policy frameworks for global education .	41
2.3 Global education in Finnish policy	44
3. Governance perspectives	49
3.1 Introduction	49
3.2 NGOs, states and global governance.....	51
3.3 NGOs, schools and policy enactment	55
3.4 Epistemic governance and legitimation.....	59
4. Social movement perspectives	63
4.1 Introduction	63
4.2 Politicization, de-politicization and hegemony	65
4.3 Framing and collective action frames	69
4.4 Collective identity among global educators	71
4.5 Students as citizens: audience and actors.....	73
5. Decolonial perspectives	75
5.1 Introduction.....	75
5.2 The idea of development and the division of the world	78
5.3 Multiculturalism and the management of diversity	83
5.4 The imagined global community and the human rights discourse.....	87
5.5 Soft versus critical global citizenship and beyond	90
6. Review of previous research	97

6.1	Research on global education within formal education	97
6.2	Research on global education as NGO school interaction	103
6.2.1	International research	103
6.2.2	Finnish research	107
6.3	Research on NGOs, youth and active citizenship	109
7.	Research questions	111
8.	The ethnography	113
8.1	Introduction	113
8.2	Scope and delimitations	115
8.3	Material	120
8.3.1	Presentation of the material	120
8.3.2	Collection and documentation	125
8.4	Positionality, involvement and distance	128
8.5	Approaches to the collected material	135
8.5.1	Analyzing interaction	135
8.5.2	Analyzing texts	137
8.5.3	Presenting the analysis	140
8.6	Ethical considerations	141
9.	“We are not service providers, we are a transformative force!”: NGOs as an epistemic community	145
9.1	Introduction	145
9.2	The term global education: understandings and usages	149
9.3	Cooperation and tensions within the community	152
9.4	Legitimations for NGO school interaction	158
9.4.1	Professional authority	159
9.4.2	Legal authority	162
9.4.3	Democratic authority	166
9.4.4	Advocacy-based authority	168
9.5	State funding and NGO autonomy	172
9.5.1	Accountability and the everyday work of NGO workers	173
9.5.2	Development policy, austerity measures and funding for global education	176
9.5.3	Collective defiance and unequal funding possibilities	182
9.6	Summary	185

10. “It’s good that human rights are mentioned, but...”: NGO involvement in curriculum reforms and textbook publishing	189
10.1 Introduction	189
10.2 NGOs’ educational influence – context and experiences	190
10.2.1 NGOs and national curriculum reforms	190
10.2.2 NGOs and the textbook industry	191
10.2.3 Educational influence from the NGO workers’ perspective	193
10.3 Collective action frames in NGO statements	198
10.3.1 Framing theory as an analytical tool	198
10.3.2 The human rights frame	200
10.3.3 The representational frame.....	203
10.3.4 The decolonial frame	207
10.3.5 The economic-materialist frame	212
10.4 Summary	216
11. “As long as the teacher has the right attitude”: NGOs as providers of teacher education.....	219
11.1 Introduction	219
11.2 Enacting global education in teaching practice	221
11.2.1 The teacher as a value shaper.....	221
11.2.2 Institutional tensions in enacting global education	226
11.2.3 Combining global education with other educational agendas	230
11.3 Diversity management for teachers.....	236
11.3.1 Equity work beyond tolerance	236
11.3.2 Different views on handling gender and sexual diversity in schools	241
11.3.3 Finnishness as a norm.....	246
11.4 Global development as a teacher’s concern	254
11.4.1 Volunteering and individualized action	254
11.4.2 Challenging development discourse?.....	259
11.5 Negotiating teacher positionings	265
11.5.1 Collective identity among global educators.....	265
11.5.2 Four different teacher types	271
11.5.3 The promoter.....	272
11.5.4 The pragmatist.....	274

11.5.5 The tourist.....	276
11.5.6 The sceptic.....	278
11.6 Summary	280
12. “Why does it say volunteer when I have to do this?”: NGOs’ interaction with secondary school students	283
12.1 Introduction	283
12.2 NGO agendas for global citizenship education	285
12.2.1 An analytical model: global citizenship as identification and agency.....	285
12.2.2 Five types of global citizenship	288
12.2.3 The fundraiser	288
12.2.4 The negotiator	291
12.2.5 The consumer.....	296
12.2.6 The activist	298
12.2.7 The equity promoter	302
12.2.8 Identification and agency in the five global citizenship types.....	305
12.3 Student perspectives on global citizenship education	307
12.3.1 Longing for discussions, rather than answers	307
12.3.2	
Young people’s life-worlds and pathways to global citizenship	314
12.4 Integrating NGOs’ global citizenship education into secondary schools	323
12.4.1 NGOs meet schools: expectations, ideals and adjustments	323
12.4.2 Fundraising campaigns, school culture and citizens in-the-making	330
12.4.3 Learning about privilege through the refugee crisis	340
12.5 Summary	347
13. Conclusions and discussion	349
13.1 Central results	349
13.1.1 Back to theory – situating the findings.....	349
13.1.2 The multiple roles of NGOs in formal education: grassroots participation overshadowed by professionalization.....	350

13.1.3 Diversified resistance: the political character of global education beyond the soft versus critical distinction	354
13.1.4 Selective enactments: the dilution of NGO advocacy towards classroom level.....	357
13.1.5 Educating global citizens: the challenge of fostering civic participation in Finnish schools	359
13.2 The academic significance of the study	361
13.2.1 Validity and generalizability	361
13.2.2 Theoretical and methodological contributions	363
13.2.3 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research	365
13.3 Societal proposals based on the study	367
13.3.1 Suggestions for policy makers: Towards policies for pluralistic and sustainable NGO school interaction	367
13.3.2 Suggestions for NGOs: sustaining a critical and democratic NGO sector	370
13.3.3 Suggestions for the school world: engagement with social justice pedagogies and collective action.....	372
References.....	375
Appendix 1: List of NOs' educational materials	409
Appendix 2: Interview questions – NGO interviews	411
Appendix 3: Interview questions – Teacher interviews.....	413
Appendix 4: Interview questions - Students.....	415

Tables

Table 1. Soft versus critical approaches to global citizenship education.....	93
Table 2. NGOs included in the study	118
Table 3. Overview of the material.....	120
Table 4. Material concerning the NGO network and its relation to the public sector	121
Table 5. Material concerning curriculum reforms and textbook production.....	122
Table 6. Material concerning teacher education.....	123
Table 7. Material concerning school campaigns	124
Table 8. Transcription symbols	128
Table 9. Description of the NGOs	146
Table 10. Types of authority in NGO legitimation for school interaction	186
Table 11. Example of human rights frame	202
Table 12. Example of representational frame	206
Table 13. Example of decolonial frame	210
Table 14. Example of economic-materialist frame	216
Table 15: Summary of collective action frames in NGO statements	217
Table 16. A typology of teacher positionings.....	282
Table 17. Five types of global citizenship promoted by NGOs	306

List of Figures

Figure 1. The theoretical framework.....30
Figure 2. Intersecting types of global citizenship95
Figure 3. A model for analyzing global citizenship agendas 286

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and objective of the study

There are things that all people should know [...] all this about diversity and sustainable development and global citizenship and the like, it should cut across all subjects, it doesn't¹, and I think these things are more important than that my students know how the protein synthesis works, but: the protein synthesis and this other stuff that is so concrete and that is written in the curriculum, that we have to do because the final exams are coming up. But this [global education] is not really something you can test in a written exam, so it will always be something that is easiest for a teacher to skip, I'm afraid.²

(Teacher interviewee 3)

Increased global interdependence has put pressure on educational systems to prepare students for a globalized world, but there are multiple and often contradictory views on how this should be done. Global education is one of the initiatives that have been put forward in order to handle this task. The teacher in the quote above illustrates the difficulty of putting global education into practice due to the more concrete and measurable content that teachers need to pass on to their students. Schools are faced with a variety of expectations of what to preserve, what to transform and how to interact with the society surrounding them. This research approaches these questions by studying non-governmental organizations³ (hereafter NGOs) that promote global education in Finnish secondary schools.

Global education can be defined in a variety of ways, but a common feature is its emphasis on global justice and sustainability. Currently, the most widespread definition of global education comes from the Council of Europe's Maastricht declaration:

Global education is education that opens people's eyes and minds to the realities of the world, and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all.

1 The underlined parts in the quote mark the interviewee's emphasis (see all transcription symbols in Table 8 in section 8.3.2).

2 I have translated all quotes from the empirical material from Finnish or Swedish to English. This particular quote is further discussed in section 11.5.4 when I discuss how teachers position themselves in relation to global education.

3 By non-governmental organizations, I refer to non-profit organizations that are formally separated from the public sector. The term non-governmental organization is discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

Global education is understood to encompass Development Education, Human rights education, Education for Sustainability, Education for Peace and Conflict Prevention and Intercultural Education; being the global dimensions of Education for Citizenship. (O'Loughlin & Wegimont, 2003, p.13)

In accordance with this definition, I understand global education in the context of this study as an umbrella term for different educational approaches relating to the global world, and as a term that encourages citizenship education that transcends national boundaries. Global education is also integrated in the United Nations' (UN) sustainable development goals Agenda 2030 target 4.7, as well as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) global competence framework, both further discussed in section 2.2.

Global education is not a new educational initiative. Although termed in different ways and with varying emphasis over the years⁴, global education has been part of educational policy for decades. The NGO sector has been among its most important advocates; since the 1960s', NGOs' have strived for the inclusion of topics such as peace, human rights and global solidarity in international policy recommendations such as UN documents as well as in national curricula in different countries (Blanchard, 2016; Bourn, 2014; Flowers, 2015). Despite continuous policy efforts, scholars have noted that the position of global education has remained marginal in most schools, overshadowed by other educational objectives (Marshall, 2011; Pudas, 2015).

A starting point for this dissertation is that global education with all of its subfields is open to different interpretations and does not have a fixed place or form in Finnish secondary schools. Neither global education nor citizenship education are subjects of their own in Finnish schools; instead, these global dimensions of citizenship education are meant to permeate education in a cross-cutting manner according to national curricula and educational policy programs (EDUFI, 2014a; 2015; Lehtomäki & Rajala, 2020; Melén-Paaso, 2011). Similar to other educational policies, the process of implementing global education is, to some extent, unpredictable and uncontrollable (Pudas, 2015). As seen in the introductory quote, global education might be perceived as something extra and easy to omit, even though it is formally not optional for schools.

This research sheds light on how NGOs are involved in putting into practice the rather abstract cornerstones of global education such as development, citizenship and human rights through their interaction with

⁴ On the emergence and evolution of the term global education and related terms, see Bourn (2020a).

Finnish schools. In this study, I refer to this as a process of enactment, meaning that the idea of global education is constantly negotiated and re-shaped as it is picked up and used by different actors (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012)⁵. In the title of this dissertation, I have chosen to use interaction as a neutral, i.e., generic term for the relation between NGOs and the school world, since I did not, in advance, want to give primacy to any interpretation of the nature of this relation. For instance, the term “cooperation” denotes a consensual and mutually responsive relation, while “advocacy” has a unidirectional and perhaps confrontational connotation. However, the terms cooperation and advocacy are used for analytical purposes later in this study⁶. For variation, I also use the terms NGO involvement and NGO engagement as synonyms to NGO interaction with schools. By using these generic terms, this dissertation explores the relation between NGOs and the school world in its different forms and manifestations.

Global education needs to be seen as a heterogeneous educational approach with regard to the political visions and objectives of the actors involved. While the OECD’s global competence framework, for instance, might be seen as closely aligned with dominant educational discourse, NGOs might offer more critical standpoints. Simultaneously, NGOs must also be regarded as a diverse group of actors within the area of global education; while some proponents promote low-threshold change-making without broader global transformation in mind, others emphasize critical self-reflection and the need for systemic change (Andreotti, 2006; Bryan, 2011; Oxley & Morris, 2013). Analyzing the dynamics between dominant and critical standpoints within the Finnish NGO sector and its interaction with schools is another important focus for this research⁷.

Empirically, I focus on altogether 24 NGOs⁸ that are part of the Finnish Global Education Network. The primary empirical material in this multi-sited ethnographic study consists of participant observation, interviews, educational materials produced by NGOs and NGOs’ advocacy statements.

5 The term enactment is further discussed in section 3.3.

6 See e.g. section 9.4, where advocacy is used to distinguish between different NGO positionalities

7 Theoretically, this question is discussed in sections 4.2 and 5.5.

8 The NGOs listed in alphabetical order: Amnesty International, Fingo (umbrella organization) The Finnish League for Human Rights, Interpedia, Finn Church Aid (Teachers without borders), Forum for Culture and Religion FOKUS, Friends of the Earth Finland, Youth Academy, Development Centre Opinkirjo, Plan International Finland, Pro Ethical Trade, The Peace Education Institute, Seta LGBTI Rights in Finland, Siemenpuu Foundation, Finnish Evangelic Lutheran Mission, Finnish Refugee Council, Finnish Red Cross, The Peace Union of Finland, Finnish Peace Committee, Finnish Committee for Unicef, UN Association of Finland, Foundation for Environmental Education Finland, Operation a Day’s Work Finland and WWF Finland.

More specifically, I explore the following forms of NGO involvement in the school world: 1) curriculum reforms and textbook production, that is, how NGOs through their advocacy statements strive at influencing curricula and textbooks; 2) teacher education, referring to NGOs as providers of both in-service and pre-service teacher training; and 3) school campaigns, entailing NGO campaigns and workshops. By including these dimensions, I provide a broad picture of the role of NGOs in the school world in the area of global education. What this kind of focus leaves out is NGOs' global educational activities for young people occurring outside of school, such as summer camps, hobby clubs or voluntary work, even though these might be advertised during school hours. My interest lies in what the NGOs want to bring in to school. My research does not systematically trace how teachers use the input from NGO teacher education in their daily work, nor does it in quantifiable terms evaluate to what extent NGO advocacy gains ground. Rather, my approach has to do with mapping and interpreting the dynamic encounters between NGOs and the school world in theoretically and contextually informed ways, with the intention of understanding but also critically interrogating what these encounters say about our society⁹.

This dissertation revolves around two broad topics: first, the negotiations over how to handle “the global” in education; and secondly, the relation between schools and non-governmental organizations. These are combined in the overarching research question: How is global education enacted in the context of NGO school interaction in Finland? More specified research questions are presented in chapter 7.

1.2 The Finnish NGO sector in the area of global education

In national educational strategies and policy documents, the Finnish state acknowledges the important role of NGOs within global education and generally encourages interaction between NGOs and schools¹⁰ (see e.g, Ministry of Education, 2007; Lampinen & Melén-Paaso, 2009). This is in line with the broader understanding of Finland as a Nordic social-democratic welfare state¹¹ where state and civil society organizations have a close, even symbiotic relationship (Siisiäinen & Blom, 2009). The reasons can be found in the country's history and geopolitical location.

Finland has a long tradition of civil society organizations engaging in educational activities. Firstly, due to the strong influence of the German

9 My methodological standpoint is clarified in chapter 8.

10 The Finnish policy context is discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

11 For a classic categorization of different types of welfare states, see Esping-Andersen (1990).

Bildung tradition¹² in Finland, education has historically been a key element of citizenship, compared to American or British conceptualizations of citizenship where political rights such as freedom of speech have been given primacy (Stenius, 2010, p.45). Secondly, citizenship education in Finland has strongly emphasized the nation, shared values and the common good because of its longstanding struggle for autonomy before independence. The area we today call Finland was first under Swedish rule roughly since the 13th century, and from 1809 a part of the Russian Empire until 1917 when Finland became an independent country. In this context, a civil society that emphasized ideas of common identity, cultural homogeneity and patriotic thinking was an important part of constructing Finland as a nation (Alapuro, 2015; Stenius, 2010, pp.50-51). The struggle for autonomy required conformity and obedience among the population. This has had consequences for the Finnish concept of citizen. As Henrik Stenius (2010, pp.43-46) puts it, while in Southern parts of Europe, people were perceived as citizens *despite* their differences, in Finland and also in other Nordic countries people were considered citizens because they were (thought to be)¹³ *similar* socially, ethnically and religiously.

In Finland, an interventionist state and an active voluntary sector have historically been characterized by cooperation rather than confrontations. While some argue that this close relationship means that NGOs are generally conformist in relation to the public sector (e.g. Seikkula, 2019; Stenius, 2010), others maintain that the relationship builds on the idea of mutual recognition, in the sense that NGOs not only follow state-driven guidelines but also expect to be able to influence the state (Laitinen, 2018b; Siisiäinen & Blom, 2009). In this study, the nature of this relationship is regarded as an empirical question, which I approach by exploring the NGOs' different positionings towards the school world¹⁴.

In Finland, there is a broad range of NGOs engaged in global education, including, for instance, development organizations, human rights organizations, peace organizations and environmental organizations. These NGOs cooperate with each other within the Finnish Global Education Network, which is comprised of over 100 organizations, of which 24 are included in this study¹⁵. All these NGOs approach global education from their own area of expertise, such as fair trade, interreligious dialogue or sexual and gender minorities, but within the network, they cooperate in

12 On the influence of the Bildung tradition on Finnish educational thought, see e.g. Saari, Salmela ja Vilkkilä (2017) and Kokko (2010).

13 Critical perspectives on the construction of the Finnish population as homogeneous are discussed in section 5.3

14 See particularly section 9.4

15 For a description of this selection, see section 8.2, see also table 9 in section 9.1.

various ways. The Global Education Network is coordinated by Fingo¹⁶, an umbrella organization for Finnish civil society organizations and an expert organization in the fields of development cooperation and global education. Fingo offers the network members different types of capacity building, training and opportunities for peer learning. As an umbrella organization, it also coordinates the NGOs joint advocacy efforts connected to, for instance, curricular reforms, textbook production and possibilities for funding. In varying constellations, the NGOs also cooperate in teacher education projects and in developing educational materials.

In addition to the Global Education Network, the NGOs cooperate through a platform called the Global School, which is administrated by the Peace Education Institute, a Finnish NGO with focusing on education and youth work. The idea of the Global school is to unite educational materials from different NGOs in one platform and to provide global educational training for teachers. With branches in different parts of Finland, the Global school works in close cooperation with municipal educational actors, with the objective of rooting global education on the local and regional level (Global school website n.d.).

Intrigued by all these forms of cooperation between the NGOs, I decided in an early stage of the research to change my initial idea of focusing on a few NGOs as separate actors and instead, explore their networked character and their multifaceted relation with the school world and the public sector.

1.3 Theoretical framework and academic positioning

In terms of disciplinary boundaries within academia, this study can be primarily situated within sociology of education, since it focuses on interaction between school and society. On the one hand, this interaction can be conceptualized as a relation between two analytically separable entities, the school world and the outside world. This conceptualization comes with the assumption that the school world has its own logics and relative autonomy that need to be taken into account in the analysis (Antikainen, 2011, p. 42). I find this conceptualization useful, since I am interested in not only how the NGOs from the outside influence the school world, but also how the school world reacts to and interprets the NGOs' initiatives. On the other hand, interaction between school and society may refer to their

¹⁶ Fingo was founded in 2018, when the two organizations Kepa and Kehys – both umbrella organizations in the field of global development – merged into one organization. This took place when in the final stages of my fieldwork, which I had conducted in close cooperation with Kepa (see chapter 6 for a more detailed description). However, to avoid confusion, I choose to use the current name Fingo throughout the dissertation when referring to the umbrella organization.

inseparable relation. This second conceptualization is equally important, since it allows for an analysis of how society is visible within the school, for instance, in reproducing values that dominate in society more broadly. From this perspective, my study also relates to research in sociology of education that conceptualizes the school as a lens through which society can be studied.

Further, both the research topic and the choice of methods and theoretical perspectives make this dissertation relevant for a broader academic audience than just sociologists of education. This study actively engages in dialogue with, for instance, citizenship studies, youth studies, development studies and studies on multiculturalism, in addition to some clear intersections with educational research. A significant part of the previous research on global education comes from the educational sciences, which makes it important for me to enter in dialogue across disciplinary boundaries even if my research approach often is somewhat different from those of pedagogues or educational philosophers. Methodologically, this dissertation is inspired by the vivid tradition of ethnographic research from the field of education (see *e.g.* Lappalainen, Hynninen, Kankkunen, Lahelma & Tolonen, 2007), although it differs from traditional school ethnographies in that it is more of a multi-sited bricolage than a long-term case study.

The focus on NGOs also locates the study within research on civil society, while the topic of global education directly relates to sociology of globalization. Globalization has commonly been characterized by increasing planetary interconnectedness and the compression of time and space. The term globalization has no fixed definition within sociology, and it is used to explore a variety of phenomena:

A number of complex and inter-linked processes are theorized under the heading “globalization”, principally economic, technological, cultural, environmental, and political processes. Globalization involves flows of goods, capital, people information, ideas, images and risks across national borders, combined with the emergence of social networks and political institutions (Nash, 2000, p.47).

The notion of globalization is relevant for this study in several ways. On the one hand, I conceptualize globalization as a background for global education; since globalization is broadly believed to be a fact, the need for global education is constructed as one type of response to it. On the other hand, I argue that global education needs to be recognized as a part of the phenomenon we call globalization. From a discursive perspective, educational practices such as global education not only react to, but also produce globalization (Macgilchrist & Christophe 2011, p.145).

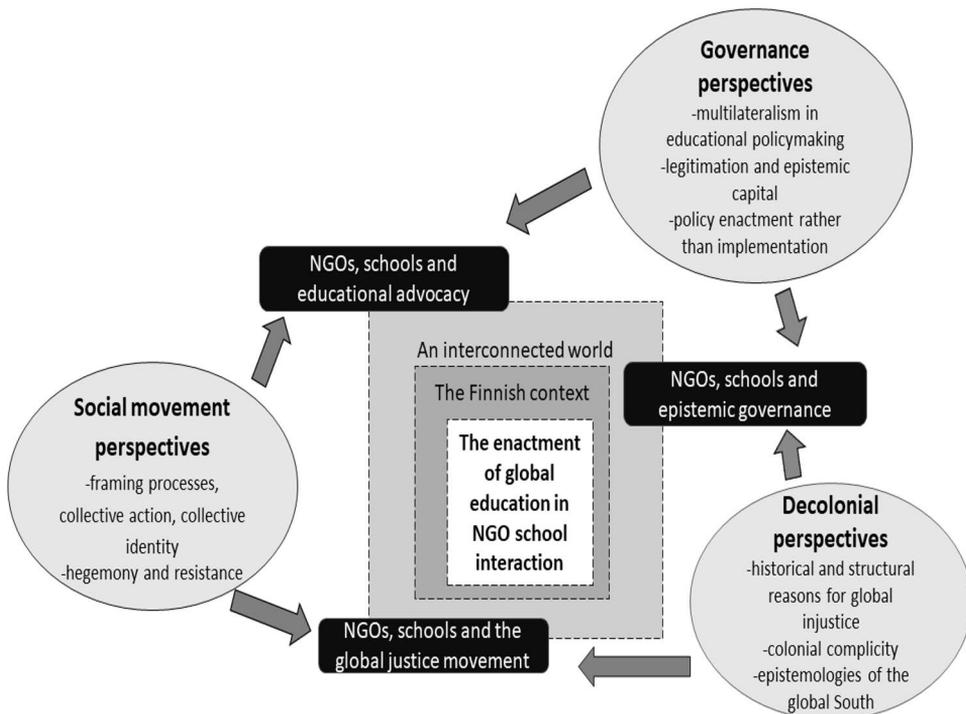


Figure 1. The theoretical framework

Concerning theoretical perspectives, this dissertation builds on three overarching schools of thought: governance theory, social movement theory and decolonial theory, and thus connects to the broad and heterogeneous bulk of research in these areas. Each of the three perspectives, as I argue below, come with their own useful tools for approaching the research question but also with their limitations, which is why I have chosen to combine these perspectives. Figure 1 depicts the theoretical framework and the contribution of each perspective in relation to the research task.

Governance theory can be used to focus on global education as an arena for public negotiations between different stakeholders over which kind of global education is necessary and desirable in Finnish schools. In this perspective, NGOs constitute one type of actor taking part in these negotiations, alongside, and in close cooperation with, for instance, intergovernmental organizations, state authorities, municipalities and private actors (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). Governance theory is here used to conceptualize the hybrid character of NGOs, meaning that they can simultaneously be both advocacy organizations and service-providers, or both

professional and volunteer-based organizations (Laitinen, 2018a; 2018b; Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). Further, the perspective of epistemic governance (see Alasuutari & Qadir, 2014; 2016; Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016) turns the analytical focus to knowledge-making practices involved in how the NGOs legitimize and convince the school world of the indispensability of their suggestions. The limitation of this perspective is that it does not, in itself, shed light on how the actors involved give meaning to, or identify with, the agendas they promote.

From a social movement perspective, the NGOs promoting global education are seen as (at least partly) in opposition to dominant structures of financial capitalism and unsustainable consumerism, and against social inequalities concerning race, class and gender as well as other types inequalities. In this sense, global education is understood as part of the continuous efforts for critical pedagogies within education – and also as more or less aligned with numerous social movements loosely connected by the aspiration for a more equitable, sustainable and just world. These are often collectively referred to as the global justice movement (della Porta, 2007; Wennerhag, 2008). In this study, I conceptualize global education as the educational sector of the global justice movement, which allows for an analysis of how heterogeneous actors and actions form a sense of unity, collective identity and a shared vision under the term global education. A social movement perspective also makes it possible to transcend the division between NGOs and schools, and instead explore the movement in terms of its inner and outer circles, or its advocates, audiences and opponents, in a less predetermined way.

Decolonial theory can be used to illustrate how the colonial past still plays a role in societies today. Even though the Nordic countries are often portrayed as anti-imperialist, innocent and peaceful when it comes to colonial history, decolonial scholars have illustrated how also Nordic countries have been shaped by colonialism, both through material benefits and mental representations (Mikander, 2016; Tuori, 2009). The concept of colonial complicity is useful to analyse, for instance, how a Finnish NGO's workshop on global development may reproduce colonial hierarchies of the civilized "us" versus "them", the primitive. Through a decolonial lens, the whole idea of global education can be problematized as a potentially Eurocentric and neo-colonial project. In this way, my research contributes to previous research on colonial complicity in the Nordic region¹⁷ (e.g. Keskinen, Irni, Tuori & Mulinari, 2012; Kuortti, Lehtonen & Löytty, 2007; Mikander, 2016; Riitaoja, 2013; Tuori, 2009).

¹⁷ The notion of colonial complicity has been used in Nordic research to study, e.g., childrens' books (Vuorela, 2012) and candy wrappers (Rossi, 2012) .

1.4 The societal relevance of the study

Societies today are faced with choices on how to educate young people in a world marked by destructive natural exploitation, predatory economic growth, enormous inequalities and armed conflicts. Within education, these atrocities are too often dealt with in a fatalistic manner, as unfortunate aspects of globalization that we can do little about (Mikander, 2016, p.70). With this research, I want to contribute to discussions how globalization is handled by Finnish schools – and I argue that the interaction between NGOs and schools provides a good window for doing so.

Currently, young people have access to information in an unprecedented way, and all available knowledge can obviously not be covered by school teachers. The school has no monopoly over learning; yet, the school continues to be a central institution for knowledge transmission and the reproduction of values, which is why many actors – such as NGOs in this case – want to influence what schools prioritize. Educational advocacy is here not understood as problematic per se. A plurality of educational proposals from civil society can be seen as a sign of an open society, bearing in mind that not all educational advocacy is inherently democratic or progressive. Rather, I find it important to illustrate through research what type of initiatives NGOs bring to the educational sector and to offer theoretically informed analyses that may spark discussion among, for instance, schools, NGOs, policymakers and teacher educators.

The need for research on this topic also relates to the relative lack of media coverage on the different dimensions of global education. In Finland, the school world is generally well covered by news reports: PISA¹⁸, digitalization, bullying and inadequate school facilities are examples of topics that seem to be regularly discussed in media. From the perspective of democracy and the wellbeing of school students and staff, all of these questions are of course important to discuss. Yet, I find it problematic that the media rarely informs about, for instance, how human rights education is implemented in schools or about how schools engage in development cooperation. However, this gap was at least temporarily covered when the media gained an interest in Greta Thunberg's school strike for the climate that started in 2018. As Greta's school strike mobilized fellow students globally, also in Finland, the role of schools in relation to political activism became topical (see e.g. Jokinen & Itkonen, 2019). Schools in Finland reacted in varying ways; while some encouraged collective student action, other schools explicitly forbade their students from participating (Koskinen, 2019). The school strikes also sparked lively debates among the general public, showing that in Finland, there is significant scepticism

18

For a study on media debates around PISA in Finland, see Rautalin (2018).

towards activism endorsed by schools, which relates to a broader tradition of compliance within Finnish schooling (see also Cantell, 2005; Nieminen & Mankki, 2019).

Also, research suggests that teachers in Finland are reluctant to discuss controversial questions in class and tend to perceive their role as neutral knowledge providers (see also Fornaciari & Männistö, 2015; Suutarinen, 2006). Teacher education programs in Finland have also been described as lacking explicit ways of enhancing active citizenship in schools (Nieminen & Mankki, 2019) and youth researchers have argued that Finland has failed to make use of the school as a place to learn democracy (Feldmann-Wojtachnia, Gretschel, Helmisaari, Kiilakoski, Matthies, Meinhold-Henschel, Roth, & Tasanko, 2010, p.10). Against this background, it needs to be recognized that NGOs' interaction with Finnish schools entails both possibilities and challenges when it comes to fostering active, global citizens.

The question of school strikes relates to a more general debate on young people's civic participation and political engagement. Although Finnish students tend to show a good knowledge of politics and civil society, their interest and engagement in civic life has been among the lowest in international comparisons (see Sahlberg, 2011a, pp.128-129). Finnish students seem to trust democratic institutions, but are not too confident about their own possibilities to influence the world around them. Thus, a common discourse in Finnish society has been that young people are passive and disinterested. This discourse has been challenged, among others, by youth researchers who have argued that young people are in fact active and interested, but not necessarily in the way that is envisioned by adults (Kallio, Häkli & Bäcklund, 2015; Rytioja & Kallio, 2018) and that the forms of civic participation have undergone important changes; engagement has expanded from formal arenas such as political parties and youth councils to non-formal arenas like networks and online communities as well as to the sphere of individual lifestyle choices (Bennett, 2012; Myllyniemi & Kiilakoski, 2019). Most would agree that active and informed young citizens are central for democratic societies in a globalized world, which is why we need more discussion also on the global dimension of citizenship.

The NGOs included in this study are explicitly trying to change the world, or at least to ameliorate the negative aspects of globalization, through their interaction with schools. As a researcher, I believe that NGOs' work is important, but I also argue that it is necessary to critically reflect on the parameters of such change-making. This means that we need to recognize how our position in the global North affects our views on, for instance, race, climate or trade. It means that we also need to problematize progressive and well-meaning notions like tolerance and development

- and dare to aspire to more radical forms of equity and sustainability. Simultaneously, the current political climate where racist, anti-gender and anti-climate movements are on the rise, it is perhaps ethically and strategically a strange moment to criticize those that are striving for global solidarity. My objective is definitely not to put down the NGOs, teachers, students and others who are committed to making the world a better place, but to contribute to these ongoing efforts.

1.5 Outline

The dissertation is comprised of 13 chapters. This introductory chapter is followed by a chapter on the policy context, both national and international, in addition to which I contextualize the Finnish educational policy landscape more broadly. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are theoretical. In chapter 3 “Governance perspectives”, I discuss the role of NGOs in promoting global justice in the interface of civil society and education, with a particular focus on questions of legitimation and epistemic capital. Different educational agendas for handling globalization are also presented in this chapter. This is followed by chapter 4, “Social movement perspectives”, where questions of framing, mainstreaming and politicization are discussed alongside with more student-centered perspectives on global education. Chapter 5, “Decolonial perspectives, the last theoretical chapter, includes a discussion on development, multiculturalism, human rights and global citizenship as central ideas that shape our understanding of the global world. The purpose of the theoretical part is to present a selection of relevant theoretical debates that in different ways are reflected in the empirical material, either explicitly as topics to be dealt with in global education, or as absences that catch my attention as a scholar. Simultaneously, my choice of theoretical perspectives functions as a way to position this research in relation to the negotiations over what globalization is about.

The theoretical part is followed by chapter 6, a review of previous research, where I present relevant Finnish and international empirical studies and discuss how my dissertation relates to this bulk of research. After this, in chapter 7, I introduce the main research question together with a set of sub-questions that break the overarching question down to multiple approaches that correspond with the four empirical chapters. In chapter 8, I discuss the material and methodology of the research, alongside with questions of positionality and research ethics.

Chapters 9 to 12 are empirical, each with their own analytical focus. Chapter 9, “NGOs as an epistemic community”, serves as an introduction to the NGO sector engaged in global education. This chapter explores how the

heterogeneous group of NGOs form a coherent movement, how the NGOs legitimize their role in the school world and more broadly, how the NGOs negotiate their relation to the public sector. Chapter 10, “NGO involvement in curricular reforms and textbook production”, concerns how NGOs strive at influencing national curricula and school textbooks through the usage of different collective action frames. In chapter 11, “NGOs as providers of teacher education”, the focus is on negotiations of what global education means for the teacher profession but also, on how global education transcends the teacher profession and constitutes a source for collective identity. Chapter 12 deals with NGOs’ interaction with students and teachers at the school level. The chapter begins with an analysis of the NGOs different agendas for global citizenship, and a typology of the NGOs different constructions of global citizenship is presented. This is followed by an analysis of student perspectives on global education and finally, an exploration of how NGO workshops are integrated into school routines. All empirical chapters begin with an introduction and end with a short analytical summary.

Although the empirical part moves from educational policy towards classroom encounters, I wish to highlight that I do not see the implementation of global education as a straightforward process. On the contrary, I am analyzing the negotiations and modifications along the empirical chapters on every level where global education is put into practice – with the objective of illustrating the complexity of enacting global education. In the conclusions in chapter 13, the central results are discussed, with a particular focus on findings that cut across the empirical chapters. The contributions and limitations of the dissertation are reflected upon and ideas for further research are discussed. Finally, some societal proposals based on the findings are presented.

2. The policy context

2.1 The Finnish education system and educational policy

Before going specifically into global education policy, it is worth briefly discussing the broader educational policy context in Finland, since it helps us understand the complexity of enacting¹⁹ global education in this particular national context. In historical terms, Finland remained a predominantly agrarian country for a longer time than most other European countries (Simola, Kauko, Varjo, Kalalahti & Sahlström, 2017, p.22). After World War II, industrialization and urbanization gained momentum and a system of comprehensive education became a viable – albeit contested²⁰ – political project, as it was considered an important element in the construction of the Finnish welfare state (Simola et al., 2017). It was not until the Basic Education reform in 1968 that all children could access the same type of education²¹. Through the reform, a system of nine years of compulsory basic education²² beginning at age 7 was established.

Since 2021, compulsory education extends to the age of 18, with the aim that all young people would attain at least one post-comprehensive degree. Basic education in Finland is overwhelmingly organized by the public sector, mainly by municipalities²³ and it is free of charge (see Antikainen, 2010). The Finnish model for basic education is uniform in its contents, meaning that all schools follow the same national core curriculum. However, there are various forms of autonomy²⁴ at the local level when it comes to implementing the national framework. Since the 1990s, municipalities have significant freedom to administer state subsidies, which means, for instance, that local government can decide how much to spend

19 I deliberately use enactment instead of implementation; a choice I return to in section 3.3

20 The comprehensive education reform was supported by the Left and later also by the Centre Party (largely representing the rural population), while right-wing parties opposed it (see Antikainen, 1990, p.77)

21 Before this, compulsory education was restricted to six years and was divided into two parallel tracks mostly following class-based divisions.

22 Finnish compulsory education does not require school attendance but is based on the obligation to learn the contents required for the graduation diploma (Oppivelvollisuuslaki 2020/1214). However, only a small minority of children in Finland are being home-schooled; for instance, in 2019, 437 students were home-schooled (Statistics Finland 2019, 2)

23 In 2019, 95% of basic education was organized by municipal schools (Statistics Finland, 2019, p.2). The remaining 5% consists both of state-run schools, such as teaching schools in connection to universities' teacher education and of private schools, such as language schools, religious schools or schools with particular pedagogical orientations

24 For a discussion on different types of teacher autonomy, see Salokangas & Werme (2020) and Elo & Nygren-Landgärds (2020).

on education as long as statutory responsibilities are fulfilled (Simola, 2014). Every municipality develops its own local curriculum based on the national guidelines, in addition to which more practically oriented and detailed school-specific curricula are developed collaboratively between teachers and principals (Niemi, Javonen, Kallioniemi & Toom, 2018). Importantly, the teacher profession in Finland is broadly valued and trusted. Finnish teachers' autonomy is generally considered high both in terms of teaching practice, meaning that they are not monitored and can choose *e.g.* methods and materials in class, and in terms of status, referring to teachers' possibility to influence their salary, working hours, rights and role in society (Erss, 2018; Salokangas, Wermke & Harvey, 2020; Simola, 2014; Soini, Pietarinen & Pyhältö, 2018). Yet, it has also been argued that the rather conservative professional culture among teachers in Finland in terms of teaching methods, indirectly restricts individual teachers' autonomy (Simola, 2005; Warmke & Höstfält, 2014).

Basic education can be divided into lower level (age 7-12) and upper level basic education (age 13-15). Differentiated educational routes are only offered after completing basic education. Secondary education (age 16-18) in Finland can be divided into two main paths: general and vocational education. After a legislative reform that entered into force in 2021, also this level of education is free of charge. The two forms of secondary education differ in that general schools typically prepare students for studies in higher education, while vocational schools predominantly educate workforce for different manual or service sector jobs. Just over half of the students continue their studies in general upper secondary education, while roughly 40% continue in vocational education²⁵ (Statistics Finland, 2020). This study is delimited to secondary education, which here refers to upper level basic education and upper general secondary education, meaning students aged 13 to 18 years, leaving out students from vocational schools.²⁶

Finland's top performance in PISA – particularly in the assessments between 2000 and 2009, has given the country the reputation as a model for successful education (Sahlberg, 2011a). Finnish educational sociologist Hannu Simola (2015) has called the Finnish success in PISA a paradox, since Finland has not followed dominant reform trends²⁷ such as standard-

25 Of the remaining roughly 5%, about 3% attend either preparatory education or an extra year of comprehensive education, while about 2% percent do not attend any kind of education after comprehensive school (Statistics Finland, 2020).

26 This delimitation is discussed in section 8.2.

27 Sahlberg (2011b) calls these trends the Global Educational Reform Movement (GERM) which he conceptualizes as a combination of the following elements: 1) standardized teaching and learning, 2) focus on literacy and numeracy, 3) teaching for pre-determined results, 4) renting market-oriented reform ideas 5) test-based accountability, and 6) control.

ization and marketization, at least not quite to the extent advocated by international expert organizations such as the OECD or the World Bank (see also Hargreaves & Shirely, 2008; Sahlberg, 2011a; Sahlberg, 2011b). On the contrary, the Finnish educational system has been characterized by hesitance to change, by reluctance to tests and rankings between schools, and, as mentioned above, by a high level of autonomy given to teachers (Antikainen, 2010; Sahlberg, 2011a; Sahlberg, 2011b; Simola, 2015a; Simola et al., 2017). Students in Finland also have comparatively few school hours and a relatively small amount of homework (Reinikainen, 2012). Moreover, the Finnish success story – in terms of PISA-rankings – also needs to be understood in relation to the country’s welfare policies and relatively low socio-economic differences (Hargreaves, 2008; Sahlberg, 2011a).

Generally, Finnish educational policy has been described as having a holistic view on education with a strong emphasis on equity and a strong welfare state, in the sense that Finland makes significant public investments in e.g. housing, social services and medical care alongside with educational investments (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2008; p. 100; Sahlberg, 2011a, pp. 136-137). Yet, it would be problematic to uncritically accept the Finnish educational system as a model for educational equity. In terms of PISA, Finland’s results in reading, mathematics and science have declined since 2009, and there are signs of growing inequalities between different social groups, e.g. regarding socio-economic status, gender and ethnicity²⁸. Further, studies show that despite egalitarian objectives, Finnish schools have significant problems with racism, discrimination against sexual and gender minorities and other forms of discrimination (Souto, 2011; Huotari, Törmä & Tuokkola, 2011). Previously, it has also been shown that Finnish students view the quality of school life more negatively than the OECD average (see Yoon & Järvinen, 2016), indicating that high scores in core subjects do not necessarily equal happy students.

Although market-type educational policy reforms in Finland have been moderate in comparison to many other countries (Antikainen, 2010; Sahlberg, 2011b), there are tendencies of commodification of education in Finland as well. These reforms took place in the context of the deep economic recession in Finland in the 1990s. During this time, significant cuts were made in national budgets, at the same time as responsibility was delegated to the municipal level and the school level (Antikainen, 2010; Simola, 2015b). Market-type thinking was selectively introduced in Finnish educational policy, particularly in the form of “free choice” on different

²⁸ The gap between socio-economically advantaged and disadvantaged students has widened between 2009 and 2018 (OECD, 2019). The difference between test scores of girls and boys in Finland is bigger than the OECD average; and students with immigrant background in Finland on average score lower in reading than their peers in other OECD countries (OECD, 2019).

levels in the education system (Simola et al., 2017, pp.41-43). Although the students' right to attend the neighborhood school was preserved, school choice was introduced, and the freedom to choose was used primarily by the upper and upper-middle social strata in big cities (Antikainen, 2010, p.537; Simola et al., 2017, pp.41-43). Since the austerity measures were introduced in the 1990s, rural schools have been shut down; and young people's educational paths have become more polarized depending on their social backgrounds (Rinne & Järvinen, 2010, p.526). By favoring the already favored, these policies can thus be seen as undermining the Finnish discourse on educational equity.

Scholars have also critically discussed the individualist traits in Finnish educational policy that started to gain ground in the 1970s. According to Simola (2015b, p.6), the teacher's work shifted from "moulding the school life of a group of pupils" to "an individual-centred task" in Finland only when the upper classes had enrolled in public education, indicating that a child-centred view became politically viable only when it became relevant for the children of highly educated parents. Further, Simola (2015b, pp.12-15) argues that individualized educational policymaking has been detached from the varying, everyday realities of mass schooling, meaning that progressive child-centered pedagogical objectives are challenging to put forward in actual classroom situations, especially with limited resources.

Related to both individualization and marketization, the prevalent focus on competences in Finnish educational policy has been challenged for discursively turning education into capital²⁹ that can be used either as an individual asset or as a national competitive advantage in the global market (Dervin, 2010; 2012; Rizvi & Lingard, 2006). Competences such as entrepreneurialism and innovativeness are actively promoted in Finnish schools, reflecting the neoliberal conception of what young people should learn (Riitaoja, 2013, p.19). Further, I argue that the salience of individualized psychological perspectives in education might support and reinforce a kind of technical-economic agenda, in that they promote docility and individual survival skills as remedies for challenges in society, instead of more social justice-oriented conceptions such as resistance, collective action and structural change³⁰ (Marshall, 2011). An example of this is the positive pedagogics approach – currently popular in Finnish educational policy – that emphasizes personality development, resilience and individual adaptation (e.g Vuorinen, Erikivi & Uusitalo-Malmivaara, 2018).

29 Capital, following Pierre Bourdieu (1986; 2013), can be understood as different types of material and non-material assets that a person can accumulate, exchange and use in order to obtain certain objectives or benefits.

30 The distinction between technical-economic and social justice oriented educational approaches is also discussed in section 3.2.

It could be stated that global education, as an educational initiative, functions as a counterweight to neoliberal educational policy by promoting values such as equity, solidarity and global responsibility. Partly for this reason, global education has been politically contested since its early days in the 1970s. However, as I will demonstrate, the political character of global education is more complex than that, also when analyzing the Finnish context. During the Cold War, the political right and centre-right in Finland perceived international education as leftist and as a possible threat to patriotism (Allahwerdi, 2001, p.57; Matilainen, 2011; pp.42-43). At the same time, a part of the political left saw the promotion of human rights education merely as a propaganda against the Soviet Union, rather than a genuine aspiration for universal rights (Matilainen, 2011, p.43). Further, Finland's accession to the European Union in 1995 meant that the notion of internationalism was almost equated with European identity, and Europe was equated with the European Union (Matilainen, 2011, pp.42-43). In the 2020s, global education is rooted in Finnish global education policy (discussed in section 2.3), but I argue that its contested nature still holds, even though the questions that might cause political tensions might differ from those in the 1970s and 1980s.

2.2 International policy frameworks for global education

The roots of international global education policy are usually traced back to the founding of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organization (UNESCO) in 1945, and particularly to the organization's first recommendation for international education – as it was called at the time – in 1974 (UNESCO, 1974; see also Lampinen, 2009, pp.12-13). The recommendation promoted a broad, cross-cutting understanding of international education, expressed in the following guiding principles (UNESCO, 1974, p.145):

- a) an international dimension and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms;
- b) understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilizations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations;
- c) awareness of the increasing global interdependence between peoples and nations;
- d) abilities to communicate with others;
- e) awareness not only of the rights but also of the duties incumbent upon individuals, social groups and nations towards each other;
- f) understanding of the necessity for international solidarity

and co-operation

- g) readiness on the part of the individual to participate in solving the problems of his community, his country and the world at large.

This list illustrates that global education is far from being a new policy initiative, when compared to more recent conceptualizations below. Certainly, the United Nations' (UN) conceptual framework has gone through some modifications over the last five decades. For instance, in the guidelines for human rights education from 1995 (United Nations, 1995), the terms democracy, tolerance and sustainable development are central alongside the longstanding emphasis on human rights and peace. The UN's Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination 1993–2003, Decade for Human Rights Education 1995–2004, Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World 2001–2010 and Decade of Education for Sustainable Development 2005–2014 have also been influential in shaping global education policy (see Lampinen, 2009).

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for 2015–2030, also known as Agenda 2030, promote global education, particularly through target 4.7 which states:

[B]y 2030 ensure that all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including among others through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation for cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development. (UNESCO, 2017, p.13)

Target 4.7 constitutes an important part of the international and national policy environment of this study, as it illustrates a contemporary attempt at mainstreaming global education. By stating that global education should reach all learners, the UN's Agenda 2030 calls for all members states, including Finland, at least in principle, to enhance its implementation. However, Agenda 2030 has been described as vague and insufficient when it comes to monitoring and assessing its implementation at national level (see Donald, 2016).

As mentioned in the introduction, not only the UN but also a number of other international organizations are involved in policymaking for global education. In the European context, a central actor is the Global Education Network Europe (GENE). Founded in 2001 and funded by the European Commission, GENE brings together ministries and agencies, supports peer

learning between countries and engages in policy-related research (About GENE n.d.). The Maastricht global education conference in 2002, organized by the Council of Europe, was a foundational event in that it resulted in the Maastricht Declaration on Global Education³¹, which was the first broadly agreed-upon European policy document for global education (McLoughlin & Wegimont, 2003).

In the context of this study, it is important to note that NGOs have been actively involved in advocating for global education in both international and national level policymaking, (Allahwerdi, 2001; Bajaj, 2011; Biccum, 2015; Flowers, 2015) which I return to in chapter 3. Additionally, it is worth noting that organizations that have primarily not promoted questions of global solidarity, peace and sustainability in education have started to incorporate these questions in their agenda over the past years. The perhaps clearest example of this is the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Global Competence framework, which is included in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) since 2018. The OECD defines "a globally capable individual" as someone who:

"can examine local, global and intercultural issues, understand and appreciate different perspectives and world views, interact successfully and respectfully with others, and take responsible action toward sustainability and collective well-being". (OECD 2018, 4)

At a glance, all of these policy frameworks – the Maastricht declaration, the OECD's Global Competence and the UN's SDG's target 4.7– seem to point towards similar goals and use more or less comparable terms. However, as scholars in the field have noted, there are not only similarities but also significant differences in the values, rationalities and objectives of these conceptualizations (Marshall, 2011; Simpson & Dervin, 2019; Vaccari & Gardinier, 2019). While the aim of this research is not to compare international frameworks, they do serve as important background for exploring how global education is understood in the Finnish policy context, which I discuss next.

³¹ See the introduction (section 1.1) for the definition of global education according to the Maastricht declaration.

2.3 Global education in Finnish policy

In Finland, global education has been a part of formal education since 1972, when it was introduced in the national core curriculum as international education (Lehtomäki & Rajala, 2020), which was the commonly used term also in Finland at the time. In the 1970s, the Finnish policy for international education focused particularly on ethics and a global perspective on humanity (Allahwerdi, 2001, p.59). In the 1980s, a national guide for international education was developed, in which peace and human rights were central (Allahwerdi, 2001, p.60). The NGO sector, with the UN Association of Finland as an example that has been closely studied (see Allahwerdi, p.2001), were engaged in drawing up these policies from the beginning.

By the 1990s, environmental education got its own national strategy (see Suomen UNESCO-toimikunta, 1992) and national recommendations for human rights education were drawn up (see Matilainen, 2011, p.46). Towards the 2000s, the term global education emerged as an umbrella term in international contexts, and it gradually started gaining ground also in Finland. However, international education is still used as a parallel term, generally when referring to different types of international exchange and partnerships, but sometimes also as more or less synonymous with global education (see e.g. EDUFI, 2020).

In 2004, the status of global education was peer reviewed by the Global Education Network Europe (hereafter GENE). GENE issued a report with several recommendations for Finnish global education policy (see North-South Centre of the Council of Europe, 2004). First of all, it applauded the (then) newly founded Global Education Network³² for bringing together NGOs, enabling capacity building and strengthening links between NGOs and their constituencies (ibid. pp. 70-71). The report encouraged the Finnish state to ensure funding for the Global Education Network and other NGO initiatives also in the future, in order to maintain and further develop their capacities and different forms of educational cooperation (ibid. pp. 82-84).

Secondly, Finland was advised to enhance cooperation between ministries and state agencies, in order to avoid overlaps and support more unified policy efforts (ibid. pp. 82-84). In Finland, the most important policy actors in the area of global education are the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), the National Agency for Education (EDUFI) and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA), each of them with their own projects and platforms for enhancing global education. The Ministry of Education and

32 See also section 1.2 for a description of the Global Education Network.

Culture draws up national strategies for educational policy and prepares educational reforms. The National Agency for Education is in charge of curricular development, but it also coordinates different educational projects, organizes seminars and administers a website for global education (see Mattila, 2015). The Ministry for Foreign Affairs is connected to global education through its department for development cooperation and communication about development. For the NGOs in this study, the most important public funding sources for global education are the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs³³. While the former provides funding for NGOs in the area of educational activities in broad, mostly unspecified terms, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs provides funding specifically for global education³⁴. According to the GENE report, the dispersed state administration could benefit from clarified structures (North-South Centre of the Council of Europe, 2004, pp. 82-84).

Thirdly, the GENE report (ibid. pp. 82-84) recommended the development of a national strategy for global education. In such a strategy, GENE considered it particularly important for Finland to include perspectives from the global South and from the immigrant population in the country (ibid., p. 82). As a response to the report, the Ministry of Education started a three-year national action program for international education, which entailed the five dimensions of the Maastricht declaration³⁵ and emphasized the notion of global responsibility as its overarching aim (Lehtomäki & Rajala, 2020). Among its objectives, the program included: 1) strengthening the position of global education in formal education, 2) incorporating global education in central national frameworks for education, culture and society, 3) supporting the international work of NGOs, and 4) strengthening partnerships between public administration, business, media and civil society (Kaivola & Melén-Paaso, 2007, p.3; see also Lampinen & Melén-Paaso, 2009; Melén-Paaso, 2011).

Further, the National Agency for Education launched a national project called “As a global citizen in Finland”. In the project’s final publication (see Jääskeläinen & Repo, 2011), the transversal competences of the global citizen were defined in a flower-shaped model³⁶. The core part of the flower consists of identity and ethics of the global citizen, and the six petals include: intercultural competence, sustainable lifestyle, civic competence, global responsibility and development partnerships, economic com-

33 See Table 1 in section 9.1

34 I return to the question of funding and its impact on NGOs in chapter 9, see especially section 9.5

35 These five dimensions are human rights education, development education, intercultural education, peace education and educational for sustainable development (see also section 1.1)

36 I return to this model in section 11.4.1

petence, and finally a petal with a question mark indicating uncertainty about the future.

In the current national core curriculum for basic education (EDUFI, 2014a), the term global education is included for the first time, formulated as part of the general task of basic education and conceptualized in the following way:

The changes in the world surrounding the school inevitably affects the development and wellbeing of the students. Basic education teaches how to face the need for changes openly, how to assess these critically and how to take responsibility for choices that build the future. For its part, global education within basic education creates conditions for a just and sustainable development in line with the UN goals for development. (EDUFI, 2014a, p.18)³⁷

In addition to this segment, the curriculum for basic education includes elements of global education in several parts. For instance, the value base mentions "humanity, Bildung³⁸, equality and democracy" and "cultural diversity as a richness" (EDUFI, 2014, pp.15-16); the generic competences include "participation, influence and the construction of a sustainable future" (EDUFI 2014, 24); and the curriculum commits to respect and implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention of the Rights of the Child (EDUFI, 2014a, pp.14-15).

The national core curriculum for upper general secondary education (EDUFI, 2015) is more compact in its formulations, but it similarly conceptualizes global education as a general educational task which in different ways should permeate all school activities:

The student understands the implication of their own action and the significance of global responsibility in the sustainable use of natural resources, in containing climate change and in maintaining biodiversity. Upper general secondary education encourages international cooperation and global

37 In Finnish: Koulua ympäröivän maailman muutos vaikuttaa väistämättä oppilaiden kehitykseen ja hyvinvointiin sekä koulun toimintaan. Perusopetuksessa opitaan kohtaamaan muutostarpeita avoimesti, arvioimaan niitä kriittisesti ja ottamaan vastuuta tulevaisuutta rakentavista valinnoista. Perusopetuksen globaalikasvatus luo osaltaan edellytyksiä oikeudenmukaiselle ja kestäväälle kehitykselle YK:n asettamien kehitystavoitteiden suuntaisesti.

38 In Finnish: Sivistys

Both of the curricula tie global education closely to the United Nations sustainable development goals. In other words, the Finnish state clearly strives to implement the Agenda 2030 target 4.7 through its educational policy – and it does so partly by cooperating with the NGO sector. In the curricula for basic education and upper general secondary education, NGOs are mentioned as partners several times (see EDUFI, 2014a, p.36, p.285; EDUFI, 2015, p.36, p.178).

However, in spite of all these national and international level policy efforts, global education does not seem to be rooted in the local education in a systematic way in Finland (Lehtomäki & Rajala, 2020; Pudas, 2015). Global education activities have mostly been short-term and project-based, and the responsibility of putting global education into practice has been left to individual teachers (Lehtomäki & Rajala, 2020; Pudas, 2015). NGOs have an important role in supporting schools in putting global education into practice, yet state funding for the NGOs' global education in the last years has been decreasing (Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020).⁴⁰ Further, a recent policy evaluation report articulates that global education policy is still not successfully coordinated within state administration (Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020). Different ministries and agencies are not very well informed of each other's work that relates to global education, and an updated, cross-sectorial strategy for enhancing global education is lacking (Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020, p. 26).

This raises questions of how global education, as articulated in the Agenda 2030 target 4.7 and in the Maastricht declaration, is manifested in the context of NGO school interaction in Finland. Implementation is a common way of conceptualizing how a policy is put into practice, but the notion of policy implementation has been challenged for not offering suitable analytical tools to explore the complex process and the plurality of actors involved in enacting a policy. My choice is to use Stephen Ball, Meg Maguire and Annette Braun's (2012) term policy enactment, which I return to in section 3.3, as an alternative conceptualization that pays attention to how actors interpret, modify and challenge policies by connecting them to their own standpoints and experiences.

39 In Finnish: Opiskelija ymmärtää oman toimintansa ja globaalien vastuun merkityksen luonnonvarojen kestävässä käytössä, ilmastonmuutoksen hillinnässä ja luonnon monimuotoisuuden säilyttämisessä. Lukio-opetus kannustaa kansainväliseen yhteistyöhön ja maailmankansalaisuuteen YK:n kehitystavoitteiden suunnassa

40 Funding for NGOs is discussed more in-depth in the empirical section 9.5 and in the conclusions, section 13.3.1.

In the following chapters, I discuss different theoretical perspectives that can be seen as ways of specifying the analytical lens of policy enactment studies. Governance theory, social movement theory and decolonial theory provide mutually complementing approaches that support an analysis of the co-constructed and negotiated character of global education.

3. Governance perspectives

3.1 Introduction

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play an important role in the governance of global education, both on global and national levels. For clarity, I begin by discussing what I mean by both *NGOs* and *governance* in the context of this study. In Finland, the legal framework for NGOs – or registered associations, which in legal terms is more precise in the Finnish context – is articulated in the Associations Act (Yhdistyslaki, 1989/503). The act applies to organizations founded for collective activities concerning a specific cause, excluding organizations that seek to obtain profit (Yhdistyslaki, 1989/503 § 2). Further, the Associations Act stipulates that members can mean individual members as well as associations or foundations (Yhdistyslaki, 1989/503 § 10).

The wide-ranging legal framework and the empirical diversity among NGOs *e.g.* in terms of size, organization and funding, impedes more precise or restrictive definition of NGOs. For instance, a conception of NGOs as relying fully or mainly on voluntary donations does not apply here, since most of the NGOs in this study obtain the majority of their funding from the public sector⁴¹. Another common way of characterizing NGOs is that they represent primarily the interests of their members (see Buth, 2012). This is problematic in the context of this study for two reasons: first, because the NGOs included here are often cause-based and generally advocate for the interests of groups other than their members; and secondly, since many of the NGOs included in this study are federations and therefore consist of member organizations, the idea of representativeness differs from organizations with individual members. Hence, in this study, I use the term NGO when referring to both national and international non-state organizations, whose work is characterized by non-commercial objectives (Willetts, 2011, pp.33-34). Yet, notions such as voluntarism, donations, causes and members' interests are *to varying extent* characteristic of and relevant to the NGOs included in this study. Therefore, these elements should be taken into consideration in an analysis of NGO school interaction if and when manifested in the empirical material, as they illustrate how NGOs differ from schools as organizations.

In the Nordic countries, the predominant function of NGOs has traditionally been to create spaces for citizens to voluntarily collaborate in areas the citizens themselves find important (Laitinen, 2018a; 2018b). In this sense, NGOs have functioned as a counter-weight to the power of the public and private sectors by providing citizens ways to participate in soci-

41 The question of funding is further discussed in sections 3.3 and 9.5.

ety. However, it would be problematic to say that all NGOs are democratic or progressive per se, as NGOs might lack internal democratic organization (Rucht, 2013, pp.52-54; Willetts, 2011, p.2) or they might promote exclusionist, anti-democratic agendas (Dalton, 2014).

Also, the view of NGOs as actors of an autonomous civil society with a unique role and a particular set of dispositions or characteristics has been challenged, and the role of civil society has altered with the gradual shift from governing to governance (see e.g. Laitinen, 2018a). Governance refers to how public administration has changed from hierarchical governing, i.e., government control, to cooperation between public, private and civil society actors (Anttiroiko, Haveri, Karhu, Ryyänen & Siitonen, 2007, pp.168-170). On a national level, a governance model⁴² entails that the state shares some of its power, but also some of its responsibilities, with non-state actors, which are portrayed as partners in a network (Anttiroiko et al., 2007, pp.170-172; Julkunen, 2006). On a global level, a governance model refers to the absence of a central authority, and means that all types of organizations, including NGOs, participate in world politics alongside nation-states (Gordenker & Weiss, 1995).

These changes have led to a need for NGOs to adapt to current structures in which they operate, and to balance between closeness and autonomy vis-à-vis other types of actors in society (Laitinen, 2018b). The concept of hybrid organizations (Lind, 2020; Laitinen, 2018a; 2018b; Smith, 2014) has been used to describe and analyse the ways in which NGOs combine elements that are typically found in the public sector or the private sector with characteristics from the third sector. The hybridization of the third sector can manifest itself, for instance, in how NGOs define themselves, who they interact with and how they are organized (Lind, 2020, p. 48). A third sector organization in an ideal typical sense is run and governed by its members, but hybridization often entails that employed NGO workers have considerable influence over the organization's activities and objectives (Lind, 2020, p.52). Hybridity might also mean that the NGOs' activities are increasingly affected by market demands or public needs (Lind, 2020, p. 49). Further, the process of hybridization does not only take place at the organizational level, but also concerns the individual level, which means that NGO workers may need to juggle between different roles and identities e.g. as activists, service-providers and project managers (Skinner & Baillie-Smith, 2015).

42 It should be noted that there are significant variations in how the governance ideal is implemented - both between and within countries as well as in different areas of global governance (see e.g. Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson 2006; Julkunen, 2006).

3.2 NGOs, states and global governance

Over the past decades, NGOs have gained increased participation and influence in policymaking, including in the field of educational policy. Due to the expanding forms of global multilateralism, international NGOs are now a stable part of the agenda setting in world politics (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006; Mundy & Murphy, 2006; Willetts, 2011). Since the 1970s, international NGOs have grown dramatically both in terms of number and size (Gordenker & Weiss, 1995, p.327; Mundy & Murphy, 2006, p.993). International NGOs are also increasingly interconnected, meaning that they form transnational advocacy networks, whereby they strengthen their influence (Mundy & Murphy, 2006, p.993).

A debated question within both globalization theory and governance theory has been the changing role of the nation-state. The so-called hyperglobalists argue that the power of nation-states is overtaken by international organizations, financial institutions and multinational companies, while others maintain that nation-states still possess considerable influence in the global arena (Helander, 2004; Nash, 2000). I consider both perspectives relevant in the context of this study. On the one hand, nation-states are increasingly influenced by policy programs of e.g. the UN and the OECD, and Finland as a member of the European Union has given up some of its autonomy in policymaking to the union level (Julkunen, 2006, pp.70-72). On the other hand, global governance does not exclude the notion of active nation-states (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). Importantly, educational policy is considered to be one of the sectors of society that national governments still have relatively strong control over, compared to economic policy or labor markets (Green, 2006).

Governance must be understood in relation to the New Public Management (NPM) paradigm, which was developed in the 1970s and 1980s and characterized by the reduction of state spending and the usage of private sector models within the public sector (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006). The NPM paradigm introduced terms such as *client* and *freedom of choice* to the area of public administration, as opposed to previously dominant conceptions of the universalistic and perhaps more authoritarian state securing the social welfare of its citizens (Simola, 2017; Antikainen, 2010). The new paradigm was established on notions of cost efficiency, competitiveness and decentralized control through mechanisms of accountability (Hood, 1991; Julkunen, 2006). Accountability, in turn, refers to how actors such as NGOs are required to demonstrate to an external audience (e.g. donors or the general public) that their work meets a specific set of transparent standards (Englund & Solbrekke, 2015, p.178). The NPM model has been implemented in a variety of ways across countries as well as across fields of

governance, and this variety also depends on how NPM is combined with other, pre-existing models. For instance, the combination of NPM with the Nordic welfare state model (see Julkunen, 2006) is in many ways different from NPM in the context of a liberal welfare state such as Great Britain (see Taylor-Gooby, 2015).

At the level of global governance, there are varying and often contradictory views on how education should react to globalization. First, there is tension between national, regional and global approaches when it comes to cultivating identities and responsibilities (Marshall, 2009). Secondly, education entails preparing both the future work force and members of civil society. Thirdly, schools are expected to foster both critical minds and innovativeness, as well as docility and adaptation, while taking into account individual and collective aspects of education. I use Harriet Marshall's (2011) ideal-type distinction between the technical-economic agenda and the social justice agenda in order to describe two different agendas within educational governance that illustrate some of these tensions.

In the technical-economic agenda, educational change is driven by the needs of the economy. Education and knowledge production are perceived as means for ensuring advantage in relation to competing actors (see Ozga & Jones, 2006, p.5) whether on an individual, local, national or international level. The technical-economic agenda emphasizes individual skills and competences needed for success within the existing order (Marshall, 2011). Intergovernmental organizations, particularly the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), play a crucial role for the powerful position that the technical-economic agenda occupies in educational policy (Chung, 2017; Rizvi & Lingard, 2006). Fazal Rizvi and Bob Lingard (2006, p.251) argue that the dominance of the OECD is largely due to the organization's ability to formulate "imperatives of globalization", that is, presenting its policy programs as if they were beyond political debate.⁴³ It could be added that nation-states accept these imperatives as necessary and justified largely because they coincide with the logic of global capitalism, where the interest of national and international capitalists is imagined as the interest of humanity in general. Scholars have noted that especially since the 1980s, global educational governance has experienced a gradual yet noticeable shift from social values such as equity to economic efficiency and global competition (Papadopoulos, 1994; Rizvi & Lingard, 2006; Chung, 2017).

43 The OECD does not have any formal power over its member states, but it is understood and used as an epistemic authority (see the discussion in section 3.4, see also Rautalin & Alasuutari, 2007).

The social justice agenda, in turn, aims at altering or balancing injustices created by the economic order, or by other systems of oppression and discrimination, such as racism, sexism and heteronormativity (Marshall, 2011). The social justice agenda has its educational roots in critical pedagogics,⁴⁴ progressivism,⁴⁵ feminist⁴⁶ and queer pedagogics,⁴⁷ among others. The overarching principles of the social justice agenda include human rights, equality, sustainability and peace as well as the strive to cultivate active, critical citizens.

International NGOs have promoted the inclusion of social justice perspectives in educational policy since the 1970s (Allahwerdi, 2001). In part, the NGOs have succeeded in incorporating their educational initiatives into the strategies of the United Nations, and later also into OECD frameworks (see Bajaj, 2011; Biccum, 2015; Flowers, 2015). Largely due to pressure from NGOs, the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education was initiated in 1995 (Flowers, 2015, p.9). In 2002, NGOs played an important role in drawing up the Maastricht Declaration for Global Education together with politicians and authorities from over 50 countries (O'Loughlin & Wegimont, 2003, pp.9-10). Regarding the UN's Agenda 2030, a multitude of NGOs were actively involved in the preparation of the Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, 2013; UNDP, 2015, p.22) including advocating for the importance of target 4.7 which concerns global citizenship and education for sustainability.⁴⁸

However, although social justice-oriented approaches are visible in educational policymaking at the global level, their position is often marginal in comparison to the technical-economic agenda, which dominates educational discourse at all levels (Marshall, 2011; Tomperi & Piattoeva, 2005). This means that pursuing a social justice agenda in schools entails openly challenging the status quo and/or negotiating between the two agendas. As Marshall (2011) points out, the social justice agenda and the technical-economic agenda should not be seen as internally homogeneous nor

44 Critical pedagogics has its roots in Paulo Freire and his best-known work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968). For Freire, education was always a liberating practice, by which he envisioned that education should enable participants to gain a critical consciousness and to use their own experiences and starting points as tools to transform the world.

45 Progressivism, with John Dewey as its front figure, connected education to other forms of public policy and rejected the idea of blaming social problems on the weakness or cruelty of individuals (Suoranta, 2005, p.48).

46 Feminist pedagogics, with notable scholars such as bell hooks, have stressed the multiple forms of oppression that students might face, particularly related to gender and race (Weiler, 1991; hooks, 1994).

47 Queer pedagogics engage with interrogating social norms that contribute to oppressive structures and practice. A central notion in queer pedagogics is to question and deconstruct binary, hierarchical categorizations such as normal and deviant, man and woman, gay or straight (Kumashiro, 2010; Bromseth & Darj, 2010).

48 Target 4.7 is presented in section 2.1.

necessarily as mutually exclusive. The two agendas borrow elements from each other and are becoming increasingly similar. In other words, although I place the NGOs in this study within the social justice agenda, my interest lies in exploring the heterogeneity of this agenda and its interfaces with the technical-economic one.

Moreover, the increased influence of NGOs in educational policy raises questions regarding their role in democratizing and possibly transforming the global order. These questions are connected to a long-standing debate on the character and function of civil society within social theory (see e.g. Arato & Cohen, 1988; Cohen & Arato, 1995; Burnell & Calvert, 2004). In a liberal understanding, the role of civil society is to balance pluralism and consensus so that society can function democratically and the social order can be maintained without radical alterations. From a Marxist – or particularly Gramscian – view, civil society⁴⁹ is a space where the legitimacy of the capitalist order is (re)produced and therefore, civil society is also a space of conflict and struggle through which alternative social orders can be created (Mundy & Murphy 2006, p.994). My theoretical standpoint is that NGOs cannot be understood as simply either revolutionary or reproductive of the dominant order (Biccum, 2015, pp.336-337; Wennerhag, 2010, p.2) – rather, their role in social change needs to be seen as multifaceted and at times, controversial.

In a global context, the role of NGOs has sometimes been conceptualized as governance from below, in contrast to top-down governance by actors such as the UN or the OECD, but this neglects the enormous heterogeneity among NGOs (Nash, 2015). Indeed, the most influential NGOs globally speaking are often large, hierarchical and bureaucratic organizations, which function very differently compared to small and less formal grass roots organizations (ibid, 19-20). While this is an important point, I maintain that perhaps not only size itself is important but also the NGOs' own understanding of their relation to the authorities. Foucault's concept of governmentality is helpful in illustrating this. Governmentality, in my usage of the term in this context, is about how actors such as NGOs internalize a rationality of (state) control through a range of technologies of government, such as complying with certain procedures, routines and discourses (Foucault, 2001; Ofstad & Marin, 2019). Yet, Foucault (1980, p.142) has also stressed that every power relation involves the possibil-

49 In Gramsci's work, the term civil society is used in various ways, sometimes referring to everything outside of the state, but it often also includes e.g. the sphere of education. The important point, in my understanding, is that Gramsci analytically distinguishes between the coercive State, which exercise power through domination, and civil society, which functions through hegemony, i.e., includes an element of consent by "the masses" (see Gramsci, 1999, p.145, pp.445-449).

ity of resistance⁵⁰ against some form of power, but that resistance, in turn, also entails (a different kind of) power.

One aspect of these technologies in governance is the pressure for NGOs to professionalize in order to be influential, or even in order to survive (Buth, 2012). The professionalization of NGOs is related to the broader process of bureaucratization and entails e.g. hierarchical organizational structures, quality assurance mechanisms, employment of educated staff with specialized skills as well as the distinction between professional and voluntary work (Eberwein & Saurugger, 2013; Laitinen, 2018, p.39; Skinner & Baillie-Smith, 2015). Professionalization has also been connected to increased competition for funding, which potentially might lead NGOs to adjust their political ambitions and orientations according to donor interests (Eberwein & Saurugger, 2013). In this view, professional NGOs are ultimately more focused on organizational survival than realizing their political visions (Buth, 2011, p.6). Another viewpoint is that professionalization does not necessarily lead to democratic deficiency or political conformity, if NGOs self-critically reflect on their positions within global governance as well as remain connected to grassroots movements (Carroll & Sapinski, 2015).

3.3 NGOs, schools and policy enactment

In general terms, Finnish NGOs' relation to the state has been characterized as conformist rather than oppositional (Alapuro, 2010). Historically, civil society associations in Finland have been aligned with the public sector and they have played an important part in the project of building a strong, interventionist state (Stenius, 2010). An explanation for this close relationship is that cohesion between state and non-state actors was necessary for the nationalist project at the time that Finland was an autonomous part of Russia (Stenius, 2010, pp.50-51).

The term quasi-nongovernmental organizations (QUANGOs) has been used to describe NGOs in Finland and in other Nordic countries, referring to the fact that many of them receive a major part of their funding from the state (Gordenker & Weiss, 1995, p.361). I choose not to use this term, since the question of NGO autonomy vis-à-vis the state is more multifaceted than simply a matter of the source of funding. Certainly, state funding entails that NGOs need to comply with public funding conditions, which

50 For a discussion on the notion of resistance in Foucault's work, see Chokr (2004). I also return to the question of resistance in section 4.2.

might restrict their independence or guide the focus of their activities (Gordenker & Weiss, 1995). Further, it has been suggested that due to New Public Management elements in Finnish governance, NGOs need to operate according to market logics that can be seen as “alien” to their sector (Laitinen, 2018a, p.31, Smith 2014, p.1496). However, some funding instruments might involve more explicit political steering while others only entail basic, overarching principles. In other words, different types of state funding vary considerably in terms of how much freedom they give NGOs in planning and implementing their work (Ofstad & Marin, 2019). Also, NGOs might have varying *subjective* conceptions of their autonomy vis-à-vis the state, regardless of the formal funding requirements (Gordenker & Weiss, 1995, p.361), meaning that different NGOs as well as different NGO workers or volunteers within them can differ in their views on the same funding instrument. Further, it is plausible that some NGOs, for different reasons, might embrace a perception of themselves as a quasi-continuation of the state, while others might prefer a more autonomous image.

When NGOs are mentioned as educational actors, they are often placed within the field of non-formal education⁵¹, commonly understood as out-of-institution, non-compulsory and non-curriculum based (see Coombs & Ahmed, 1973; Sahlberg, 2001; Smith, 2001). This study can serve as an example of how the distinction between formal and non-formal is not always clear-cut⁵². As NGOs organize campaigns or workshops in schools during school hours, their educational activities blend with the characteristics of formal education to some extent. For instance, NGOs’ school visits are compulsory for students and serve certain functions in relation to the curriculum, while they might simultaneously portray an educational approach that differs from formal education (see also Ibrahim, 2005). In other cases, the NGOs’ contact with students is more indirect, such as when teachers attend NGOs’ seminars or use educational material produced by NGOs. In these cases, it could be stated that the NGOs operate within the framework of non-formal education but with formal education as a target and a constant frame of reference. Further, when NGOs seek to influence the curriculum or school textbooks through statements, their role is perhaps not best described in educational terms, but rather as advocacy and governance.

51 A commonly used definition of non-formal education comes from Coombs & Ahmed (1973): “We define non-formal education as any organized educational activity outside the established formal system —whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity— that is intended to serve identifiable learning clientele and learning objective”

52 For another example from the context of extra-curricular activities, see Mok (2011)

The school constitutes an important arena for socialization and reproduction of values as well as an institution for legitimate knowledge (Salo, 2002; Berg, 2003). Hence, different actors in society wish to influence it according to their specific interests and ideologies as well as the perceived needs in a changing society. The NGOs' use of the institutional space of the school is here seen both as a strategic way of effectively reaching the younger generations and as a way of claiming societal relevance for their specific agendas. Thus, formal education functions as a significant platform for NGOs to pursue their work⁵³.

In Finland, NGOs are often perceived as important partners for schools (Matilainen 2011; Lehtomäki & Rajala, 2020; Sahlberg, 2001). From a neo-institutional perspective (see Meyer & Rowan, 1977), interaction between NGOs and schools can be understood as a way to maintain legitimacy of the school as an institution in a constantly changing society. I am not claiming that the school is in risk of losing its position in Finnish society – on the contrary, the school still seems to be broadly trusted⁵⁴ and respected (Simola et al., 2017). Yet, changes in society put pressure on the school to update and reform itself. For schools, cooperation with NGOs can thus be seen as a way to enrich their education and to anchor it in the surrounding society.

In contemporary information society⁵⁵, young people in Finland grow up surrounded by information technology and different types of media. This generates a challenge for the knowledge offered by school teachers and text books (Sahlberg, 2001). The school has no monopoly over young people's learning when education is increasingly understood as continuous and multi-sited, rather than restricted to the traditional pathways of formal education (Sahlberg, 2001). Notions of lifelong learning and life-wide education as educational ideals challenge the status of formal education to some extent and enable a plurality of educational actors and contexts. Also, globalization and national policies for managing "the global" challenge schools to situate their education in a global framework and look to NGOs for ways of putting these policies into practice.

53 I use the terms "agenda" and "platform" in an analytical rather than a normative sense.

54 Simola et al. (2017) describe the trust in Finnish schooling as a complex and somewhat contradictory phenomenon; partly, it relates to a consensus around certain educational questions, such as the antipathy towards testing and ranking; partly, it relates to Finland's success in PISA which "proves" that the system can be trusted and finally, it relates to the de-centralization of educational administration from national to local levels, since this kind of delegation necessarily involves a degree of trust.

55 On the term information society, see Webster (2014).

As mentioned in section 1.3, the term *policy enactment* (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012) has been used in educational policy studies when referring to how policies are mediated, further developed and sometimes ignored depending on context and the actors involved. In Finland, the enactment of global education needs to be understood in relation to local level educational autonomy in Finland. The national core curriculum provides an overarching framework, which municipal education providers use to develop a local curriculum, which in turn functions as a base for school-specific curricula. Thus, local level global education policies may vary depending on a range of factors, such as demographics, partnerships or school ethos (Pudas, 2015).

Further, teachers in Finland enjoy a significant degree of professional autonomy, which means that global education can be manifested in a number of ways depending on the interests and expertise of particular teachers (see North-South Centre of the Council of Europe, 2004; Simola, 2015b; Soini, Pietarinen & Pyhältö, 2018, p.112). This applies also in relation to interaction with NGOs; while some teachers might actively make use of NGO materials and regularly invite NGOs to their class, others might omit this possibility and rely on other resources for global education. Also, classroom encounters and pedagogical projects always entail some degree of openness and unpredictability, which makes the enactment of global education policy a complex process (see e.g. Pykett et al., 2010).

According to enactment scholars, the notion of policy implementation is simply too straightforward:

Policies rarely tell you exactly what to do, they rarely dictate or determine practice, but some more than others narrow the range of creative responses. This is in part because policy texts are typically written in relation to the best of all possible schools, schools that only exist in the fevered imaginations of politicians, civil servants and advisers and in relation to fantastical contexts. These texts cannot simply be *implemented!* (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012, p.3, italics in original)

As Ball, Maguire & Braun (2012, p.2) argue, the term implementation does not cover all the complex links between texts and practice, nor to the range of actors who are outside the policymaking machinery and yet contribute to how policies are played out. By applying a Foucauldian view on power as dispersed and relational, the enactment framework challenges the idea of linear, top-down policy implementation (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012, p.3). Power, in this sense, is used in/through discursive practices⁵⁶ in which all kinds of actors participate. In this view, policies are not just something that actors straightforwardly pass on or reject, but they also

56 For my use of discourse in this study, see the methodology chapter.

actively co-construct what these policies mean in practice (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012, p.3). Importantly, the analytical focus in policy enactment studies is not whether a policy is successfully implemented or not, but how it is negotiated in different contexts, including how it is combined with other policies or how some parts of the policy receive much attention while others might be ignored (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012, p.5).

3.4 Epistemic governance and legitimation

The possession and usage of different types of knowledge are central for actors taking part in governance. The importance of knowledge construction in policymaking has been studied, for instance, by Peter Haas (1992) through his conceptualization of epistemic communities. According to Haas (*ibid.*, 2), an epistemic community is a network of knowledge-based experts with recognized competence in a particular domain and with a shared set of practices for “framing the issues for collective debate, proposing specific policies and identifying salient points for negotiation” (Haas, 1992, p.2). Further, Haas (1992, p.3) argues that epistemic communities share “a set of normative and principled beliefs, which provide a value-based rationale for the social action of community members”.

In the case of this research, I maintain that NGOs are not automatically, *i.e.*, through their position as NGOs, recognized as legitimate stakeholders in education; rather, they become regarded as such through their usage of epistemic resources (see also Buth, 2011, p.10). In other words, the Finnish NGO Network for global education is here tentatively called an epistemic community, but the analytical attention is given to the NGOs’ ways of deploying their normative beliefs and constructing their credibility as experts.

The epistemic governance approach⁵⁷, developed by Pertti Alasuutari and Ali Qadir (2014; 2016, see also Alasuutari, Syväterä & Rautalin, 2016) provides an analytical framework for empirically analyzing how NGOs justify their claims as well as their position as claims-makers. In order to be influential, NGOs need to build *authority*. Within the epistemic governance approach, authority is conceptualized as cumulative and therefore comparable to capital in the Bourdieusian sense (see Bourdieu, 1986; 2013). Thus, NGOs strive at accumulating *epistemic capital*, which can be achieved in at least two (often related) ways: by striving to appear as experts themselves or by referring to organizations, documents or frameworks that are

⁵⁷ The epistemic governance approach can be seen as a continuation of several theoretical strands and concepts such as neo-institutional theory (Meyer & Rowan 1977; Meyer, Boli, Thomas & Ramirez 1997), diffusion theory (Elkins & Simmons 2005) framing theory (Goffman 1969) and Foucault’s governmentality (Foucault 2002).

perceived as possessing authority; for instance, the UN, the national curriculum or the human rights discourse⁵⁸ (Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016). A central argument in the epistemic governance approach is that epistemic capital functions as a source of power alongside economic, social and cultural capital (Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016). In this sense, epistemic governance is not seen as a mere rhetorical performance, but as embedded in power relations. Epistemic capital is also intertwined with the other forms of capital; for instance, economic or cultural capital may facilitate the accumulation of epistemic capital. Professional NGOs with larger budgets might for example more easily appear as experts than small, voluntary-based NGOs, or an NGO worker with a teacher background might have more credibility within teacher education, in comparison with someone with an activist background.

Further, building and maintaining authority requires legitimation, which can be constructed in different ways. Epistemic communities combine, or shift between, different types of authority in order to persuade their target groups. The argument here is that exploring the NGOs' usages of varying types of authority allows me to illustrate the complexity of NGO school interaction as activity where compulsory education meets civic participation and activism meets professionalism.

The foundation for sociological theory on authority comes from Max Weber (see Weber 1983, pp.144-188). Weber's presents three ideal types of authority: traditional, rational-legal and charismatic authority. Traditional authority, briefly defined, rests on old customs of power distribution between lords and their subjects, operating on the basis of loyalty and habit. In contrast, rational-legal authority represents the predominant source of legitimation in modern bureaucratic states. Rational-legal authority is built on rules and regulations that concern everyone within a specific organization as well as those controlled by its power. This type of authority is detached from the individual using it; instead, it stems from a (supposedly) rational and impartial system of surveillance, where the threat of pre-defined sanctions is used as motivations for compliance. Further, the basis for rational-legal authority relies on, for instance, educational and professional merits rather than heritage or personal characteristics. In turn, charismatic authority as defined by Weber (1983, p.166) stems from extraordinary personal qualities, such as they are perceived by the people who – voluntarily and through their own interpretations – adhere to this source of authority. Hence, charisma is relational, rather than

58 Similarly, Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash (1998, 114-115) conceptualize the human rights framework as a "moral currency", comparing its value with other "hard" currencies such as the British pound or the American dollar, arguing that these currencies devalue the "soft" currencies of local communities, such as indigenous understandings of justice.

merely manipulative (see Laclau, 2007, p.99; Österlund, 2001, p.132). According to Weber, charismatic authority operates in situations of unusual needs, which can be of religious, moral or political nature. Charismatic authority may be used by NGOs, for instance, in order to portray their courage and passion in relation to a specific cause (Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016). However, due to the instability of charisma, the charismatic authority inevitably gets dispersed over time, usually either by gradually evaporating or by becoming institutionalized and thus resembling the rational-legal type (Madsen & Snow, 1983).

From the perspective of NGOs as an epistemic community, the rational-legal authority as well as the charismatic authority are useful as analytical tools, but Weber's ideal types are also in need of further exploration and refinement in the context of hybridization of civil society⁵⁹. The NGOs' interaction with schools is multifaceted and thus in need of different grounds for legitimation for varying audiences, such as policy makers, textbook publishers, teachers and students. On the one hand, the notion of expert authority (see Nash, 2000, p.15) is especially valued in times of intensified division of labor with more and more specialized professions. In relation to the school world, the NGOs are able to draw on their particular expertise and frame this expertise as qualitatively different to teacher expertise, but yet indispensable for teachers' professional development. On the other hand, NGOs build their legitimation on serving the interest of the general public or the common good, which Hanna Laitinen (2018b) labels civic authority (for a similar conceptualization, see Nash 2000, p.15). Civic authority is constructed through the separation of NGOs from the public and private sphere, and by highlighting the importance of enhancing participatory democracy from the grassroots (Laitinen, 2018b).

Several scholars also distinguish moral authority as a separate type (see Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016; Laitinen, 2018b; Nash, 2000). The argument is that moral authority is not primarily derived from a rational-legal system of rules, but from being the guardians and promoters of certain values such as social justice or equality per se. The NGOs' usage of moral arguments, for instance, by simply emphasizing "the right thing to do", could therefore be understood as a way of challenging the rational-legal framework and thus positioning themselves above politics (Nash, 2000, p.15). However, I find it more useful to conceptualize this type of positioning as deeply political, in the sense that it involves taking a stand and confronting the rational-legal system, which could simply be called advocacy. Advocacy, in turn, to some extent resembles the charismatic authority as it involves highlighting the NGOs' extraordinary political commitment and ability to mobilize people. Hence, building all-encompassing and

59 Hybridization of NGOs is discussed in section 3.1

clearly distinguishable ideal types of authority is challenging. In this study, my solution has been to construct a typology that is strongly influenced by the theoretical discussion above, but also informed by my empirical readings. This typology is presented in chapter 9.

4. Social movement perspectives

4.1 Introduction

In both historical and contemporary terms, global education is closely connected to a variety of social movements, such as the peace movement, the environmental movement and the feminist movement. In very general terms, I accommodate these heterogeneous movements under *the global justice movement* (see Wennerhag, 2008; 2010; della Porta, 2007; Trewby, 2014). The global justice movement is here understood as an umbrella term for diverse interrelated and overlapping social movements that oppose the injustices of current globalization and that with varying emphasis promote, for instance, global solidarity, peace, human rights, equity, anti-racism, LGBTIQ-rights, indigenous rights, fair trade, financial justice, environmental protection and sustainability. All of the NGOs included in this study are working closely with one or several of these questions. For many of them, interaction with schools is only one part of their work, in addition to which they are engaged in different types of campaign work, fundraising and advocacy. These activities are often reflected in the content of their school cooperation. In this sense, global education could be conceptualized as the educational sector of the global justice movement.

Within sociology, there are numerous conceptualizations of social movements, which despite their differences commonly share the following elements: collective action, network-like forms of organization including different types of actors, (more or less) shared beliefs and objectives, collective identity construction, as well as resistance to or protests against the establishment (see della Porta & Diani, 1999, pp.14-15; Goodwin & Jasper, 2003; Wettergren & Jamison, 2006, p.10). What might be questioned is whether global education is indeed in conflict with the establishment or if it is institutionalized to the degree that it should be conceptualized as part of the dominant system (see Biccum, 2015; Bryan, 2011). In line with the classic typology of David Aberle (1966)⁶⁰, I maintain that the changes that social movements promote can range from reformist to revolutionary - and I return to this question in section 4.2. For now, I argue that global education - while acknowledging the heterogeneity within the movement - does at some level strive at challenging the dominant system by making claims about solidarity, justice and sustainability in a global order marked by competitiveness and exploitation.

60 Aberle's typology consists of 4 types in a quadrant, where he distinguishes change as "limited" or "radical" on the one hand, the target group as either "everyone" or "specific individuals", on the other hand.

The point here, however, is not to discuss whether or not global education *is* a social movement, but how social movement theory can help us understand how global education is constructed in different practices and discourses. The range of theoretical approaches to social movements in sociology is abundant⁶¹. In the context of this study, I mainly make use of framing theory, collective identity theory as well as Gramscian theory of hegemony, which I discuss in the following sections of this chapter.

The value of a social movement perspective is thus that it pays attention to the various forms of practices through which social movement actors express their claims (della Porta & Diani, 2015, p.3). In my view, NGOs advocacy-oriented work should be seen as entangled with their educational role, where the latter also could be included in the repertoire of social movement demands (see della Porta & Diani, 2015, pp.3-4). An example of this is how NGO workers promote similar issues in their varying roles as campaign leaders at a demonstration, as stakeholders in educational policymaking and as school visitors in a classroom.

It can also be argued that social movements are always in some ways embedded in the dominant order (see e.g. Carroll & Sapinski, 2015). When movement actors such as NGOs build alliances with actors in power positions, for instance, by producing certain services for the public sector, they are engaged in mainstreaming the movement. At other times, NGOs might refrain from alliances or question the conditions of cooperation with the public sector. The balance between cooperation and critical opposition is thus not fixed but a question of constant negotiations.

Moreover, although the focus in this dissertation is on what the NGOs want to bring in to school, it is important to emphasize that I do not see these NGOs as the only actors promoting global social justice within schools. Factions of policymakers, principals, teachers and students are in different ways involved and allied with the NGOs. Following Charles Tilly (2004, p.179), a social movement cannot be reduced to the organizations or groups involved, but it also entails the dimensions of collective action and collective identity that cut across professional and other sectors (see section 4.3). A social movement perspective is thus relevant in order to explore these dimensions – as well as possible adversarial actions and identities.

61 Some of the main approaches that are not explicitly discussed here are resource mobilization approach, the political opportunity approach and the emotions approach (see e.g. Goodwin & Jaspers, 2000).

4.2 Politicization, de-politicization and hegemony

Within social movement theory, a central question is how collective actors challenge the status quo and what kind of change they promote. In the context of global education, scholars have different views on whether NGOs should be seen as offering transformative alternatives or if they are complicit in reproducing the hegemonic social order (Bryan, 2011; McCloskey, 2011; Skinner & Baillie-Smith, 2016). Critics have warned that global education is becoming de-politicized as it is brought into the mainstream of formal education (see *e.g.* Biccum, 2015). Vanessa Andreotti's (2006) conceptualization of "soft" vs. "critical" global education⁶² has been a particularly influential theoretical contribution to this debate, pushing for a more political type of global education. Similarly, governance theorists have portrayed NGOs as complicit in the de-politicization of the global justice agenda due to their close relations to the hegemonic bloc of international organizations, foundations and corporations. Carroll & Sapinski (2015, p. 877) describe this as a process of "selective political inclusion", meaning that only NGOs with "soft" agendas compatible with – or at least tolerated by – the hegemonic bloc, are funded and included in the global agenda setting. My contribution to this debate is to problematize the concept of hegemony and relate it to the contested notions of politicization and de-politicization.

Hegemony, as articulated by Antonio Gramsci (1999, p. 212), is understood as a state of intellectual and moral leadership. With the concept of hegemony, Gramsci emphasized the importance of cultural and ideological power alongside with struggles for economic and political power (Gramsci, 1999; Ramos, 1982). Gramsci distinguishes hegemony from domination, because hegemony is based on people's "spontaneous consent", in contrast to domination which is maintained primarily through coercion (Gramsci, 1999, p. 145). Consent, according to Marxist scholar Louis Althusser (2014), is to an important degree produced and reproduced by ideological state apparatuses such as school and civil society organizations. However, as later Marxist scholars have emphasized, these are also arenas where hegemony can be challenged (Mayo, 2015; Suoranta, 2005).

Movements that promote a different kind of social order are often referred to as counter-hegemonic (see *e.g.* Zembylas, 2013), which is a term not used by Gramsci himself. In my view, it would be problematic to portray NGO advocacy for global education as counterhegemonic, because the term supposes a binary distinction between the powerful and powerless which is not consistent with the idea of hegemony as distinct from dominance. Gramsci does not, however, deny the existence of social antago-

62 Andreotti's (2006) typology is further discussed in section 5.5.

nisms nor does he deny the possibility of challenging hegemony, but he conceptualizes this activity in terms of *passive revolution* and *resistance* (Gramsci, 1999, pp.194-195, pp.289-300). What these terms highlight is that hegemony is not fixed but an “unstable equilibrium” (Fairclough, 1992, p.2) – and that the struggle for hegemony involves constant negotiations (Mayo, 2015, pp.1124-1125).

From the viewpoint of the ruling class(es), social movements’ claims that challenge the hegemonic order need to be either repressed or somehow incorporated without substantially altering power relations (Fairclough, 1992). Now, NGOs that interact with schools in the Finnish context are not repressed in a coercive or formal sense; on the contrary, official policy encourages this collaboration. Yet, the NGOs’ advocacy towards schools is controlled on different levels, entailing, for instance, decisions over what type of global education is funded, or teachers’ assessments of what NGO initiatives are appropriate for their teaching. Also, an important development of Gramsci’s theory is that antagonisms are not only seen as class-based but involving a range of social struggles and therefore, resistance is diverse (see Laclau & Mouffe, 2008). This understanding supports the idea of analyzing global education as a movement consisting of heterogeneous protests and objectives – but it also makes it difficult to grip what the struggle for hegemony is about.

In the face of this theoretical complexity, one way of conceptualizing hegemony is to turn the analytical focus towards processes of politicization and de-politicization. These two concepts are not necessarily opposites, but can also be seen as accusations from different perspectives on education, generally both used in pejorative terms. If education is understood as politically neutral, then politicization means distorting this neutrality, and it is often equated with indoctrination⁶³ (see e.g. Skinner & Baillie-Smith, 2016). Even scholars sympathetic to critical pedagogies have accused critical educators of entering the classroom with pre-formulated political objectives and of impeding students’ independent thinking (Freedman, 2007, p.444).

Conversely, if education is understood as inherently political, de-politicization means concealing this political character (see e.g. Freire, 1969; Althusser, 2014). In this dissertation, I rely on the latter understanding, but I also argue that these two concepts can be further clarified in terms of their analytical usage. From a social movement perspective, politiciza-

63 For theoretical work on indoctrination in educational contexts, see e.g. Copp (2016); Lopez (2013); Momanu (2012); and Huttunen (2009).

tion entails a discursive process, where questions that were previously viewed as apolitical, private or somehow under-politicized by the general public, are opened up for critical debate, multiple viewpoints and different types of claims-making (see e.g. Bernstein, 2005). To politicize, in this sense, does not mean offering a singular political perspective on the topic at hand, but to demonstrate alternatives and importantly, to make explicit the power structures that uphold the current order. In terms of hegemony, this view suggests that whenever a particular question is dismissed as politically inappropriate for school, the hegemonic order is being defended.

However, it is important to note that politicization can – in this purely analytical sense – entail both so called progressive and reactionary/conservative claims. This is not to say that there is a politically neutral middle ground with progressive and conservative forces in symmetrical power relations advocating for their views on each side. What it means is that the hegemonic order is unstable particularly concerning some questions and it can thus be politicized from different ideological standpoints. An example of such a question could be sex education, which progressives wish to update and diversify, while conservatives strive to challenge it as a task for schools altogether (see e.g. Vaggione, 2018).

De-politicization, in turn, can be conceptualized as a range of mechanisms through which certain questions are framed as beyond political debate and/or beyond political responsibility (see de Nardis, 2017). These two interrelated meanings of de-politicization are both relevant for analyzing the role of NGOs in global education. The first understanding refers to the process of constructing some social condition as given, as common sense or as a fact. An example of this could be a statement such as “there is no gender inequality in Finland” (for this example, see e.g. Tuori, 2009). The second understanding, which I borrow from political science (see de Nardis, 2017), refers to how political institutions or decision-makers are stripped of their responsibility by treating problems in society as individual problems, problems of the market or problems in the private sphere. For instance, poverty might be presented as a personal failure or misfortune, without connecting it to employment policies, welfare services or global trade.

Politicization and de-politicization are here seen as parallel processes related to the mainstreaming of global education in the Finnish educational context. By mainstreaming, I refer to how global education has been increasingly incorporated in national educational strategies and curricula⁶⁴, as well as to how NGOs are increasingly engaged in educational advocacy not only through their school campaigns but also through textbook advocacy and teacher education. Different views co-exist among scholars re-

64 See section 1.3.

garding what kind of political direction the process of mainstreaming entails. Some scholars defend mainstreaming as an indispensable first step to get schools informed and involved (Blanchard 2016), while others argue that this process is highly problematic as it leads to radical claims of global social justice being *co-opted* by powerful actors such as state agencies, thereby domesticating resistance (Biccum, 2015; Bryan, 2011). For instance, the incorporation of global competence in the PISA-test (OECD, 2018) might be seen as an example of how the OECD co-opts the critical potential of global education by turning global competence into an object for standardized measurements and international rankings. This way, a particular version of global education becomes hegemonic, which may (further) marginalize alternative versions that explicitly or implicitly resist the OECD framework.

The process of mainstreaming should be seen as open-ended, in the sense that co-optation is not necessarily the only mechanism at play. Another possibility, stemming from Gramsci's notion of passive revolution⁶⁵, is to understand mainstreaming as a gradual, long-term social transformation, in which dominant groups and institutions take part (see Tansel, 2018). In this sense, global education might contribute to de-constructing the hegemonic order, albeit selectively, rather than merely being co-opted by it. Yet another way of challenging the notion of co-optation is to let empirically grounded understandings of resistance guide the analysis⁶⁶. Challenging hegemony does not necessarily mean the same thing for all movement actors; for instance, an environmental NGO might view social power relations in a different way than a religious NGO, or an NGO worker and a teacher might disagree on what kind of social change schools should promote. Further, the term co-optation suggests that global education would essentially be critical or revolutionary if it was not for the actors who "betray" this essence, while I maintain that the multitude of "soft" and "critical" approaches to global education (Andreotti, 2006) could also be described as a feature of any social movement.

Further, I find Nina Eliasoph's (1997) study on volunteer work and particularly her notion of "the work of avoiding politics" as a useful analytical tool for exploring empirical expressions of politicization and de-politicization. She argues that avoiding to discuss politics, or avoiding to treat something as a political question, does not simply mean disengagement, but requires a lot of "cultural work" in the form of collective negotiations over what is un-doable or out of one's control. However, Eliasoph (1997) underlines that while the volunteers in her study actively dismissed some

65 My usage of passive revolution as a path for struggle is only one way to interpret the term passive revolution; for a discussion on different interpretations and usages, see Thomas (2018).

66 See also my discussion on methods of analysis in section 8.5.

questions as distant or impossible to affect, they understood other questions as “closer to home” and thus doable, controllable and empowering. In Eliasoph’s study, “the political” is thus deemed as difficult and abstract; and conversely, “the close to home” volunteering is actively stripped of political connotations by the participants themselves.

From this perspective, both de-politicization and politicization are conceptualized as empirical expressions that are manifested in the meaning-making practices between different movement actors and settings. In the case of NGOs’ interaction with schools, my interest lies in exploring when and how politics is avoided, and reversely, when and how politics is foregrounded and how it becomes doable.

4.3 Framing and collective action frames

Building on the discussion on hegemonic struggles in the previous section, I argue that it is central to empirically explore how NGOs understand and enact social change. Frame analysis provides useful analytical tools for such explorations. Frames have been conceptualized in a variety of ways in sociological research (see *e.g.* Polletta & Kai Ho, 2009). In Erving Goffman’s (1974, p.8) use of the term, frames are about actors defining answers to the question: “what is it that is going on here?”. For Goffman, frames are about identifying, labelling and giving meaning to occurrences in life, emphasizing that the things we encounter are given meaning through culturally mediated processes (Snow, Vliegenthart & Ketelaars, 2019). This means that frames should not merely be understood as individual constructs, but there is a collective side to framing that is highly relevant in the context of this study.

Not only does framing function to organize our experiences, it also guides our action (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). Transferred to social movement research, scholars using framing theory have studied how collective action is generated (Benford & Snow, 2000). Robert Benford and David Snow use the term collective action frame to denote a collectively recognized problem and a negotiated understanding of the action needed to resolve it (Benford & Snow, 1988; 2000). Following Benford and Snow (2000), collective action frames can be divided into the following three dimensions: *diagnostical* framing, which involves identifying the problem at hand and the reasons behind it, *prognostic* framing, which means

proposing a solution to the diagnosed problem and finally, the *motivational* frame, articulating why actors need to engage in the collective action⁶⁷. These dimensions are here used as analytical tools that illustrate different ways of politicizing the status quo within education, which connects to the complex notion of hegemony, discussed in the previous section.

Framing within social movement organizations can be understood as purely strategic or as a more or less preconscious activity. My understanding is perhaps best described by Polletta & Kai Ho (2009, p.3) who argue that “frames are both strategic, and set the terms of strategic action”. By this understanding, I want to highlight that actors are always embedded in a specific discursive environment, which shapes and limits what is possible to say (or think!), yet always leaving room for strategic choices (for a similar understanding, see e.g. Laclau & Mouffe, 2008, p.153). Further, frame analysis entails both the notion of framing, that is, the processual and changing activity of interpreting reality, and the notion of frames, which are understood as structures or products, characterized by relative stability and coherence (Benford & Snow, 2000; Polletta & Kai Ho, 2009). Due to this dual meaning, social movement theorists have described collective frames as “adaptive developing structures” (della Porta, 2006, p.65).

Social movement actors such as NGOs often imitate frames that are broadly accepted or that have proved successful in other contexts, which is why similar kind of collective action frames can be found throughout diverse, even antagonistic movements (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). Thus, although collective action frames are related to the ideology of a movement, it makes sense to separate them analytically (see Oliver & Johnston, 2000, p.2). While ideologies denote a system of values and beliefs, collective action frames mark how a particular issue is connected to specific discursive strategies aimed at generating credibility, resonance, and motivation among target groups (Benford & Snow, 2000; Pereira & Bernete, 2017).

Further, social movement theorists often focus on master frames, i.e., the overarching frame that underlines the expression of social conflict in a particular movement (della Porta, 2006). In this study, the assumption is that the NGOs included here share the master frame of opposing global injustice, but the point is that under this all-encompassing master frame, a variety of injustice frames can be discerned (see also Gamson, 1992). Fi-

⁶⁷ This theoretical framework is similar to Carol Bacchi’s (2009) What is the problem represented to be? approach, which has been widely used in policy studies. However, for this particular study, I find the framing approach to combine better with the notion of policy enactment as well as with the epistemic governance approach (discussed in sections 3.3 and 3.4 respectively).

nally, studying frames can only offer a limited understanding of collective action, if we do not also pay attention to identifications and meaning-making among its actors. For this, I turn to the concept of collective identity.

4.4 Collective identity among global educators

Collective identity formation has been given significant attention in studies on social movements (see Bernstein, 2005; Melucci 1995; Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Snow & Corrigall-Brown, 2015). The identity-oriented paradigm within social movement research involves studying the processes through which collective identifications and a sense of “us” is constructed and boundaries between insiders and outsiders are drawn. On the one hand, this allows for an understanding of how a multitude of seemingly dispersed actions form part of the same movement (Wettergren & Jamison, 2006, p.22; Melucci, 1991, p.45). On the other hand, it illustrates how participants gain confidence and meaning from the collective identity. The argument that I develop below is that collective identity is a central aspect to take into account when analyzing how global education is *enacted* – rather than simply implemented⁶⁸.

Here, my approach to collective identity builds on the idea of global educational teacher education as an arena where the idea of *being a global educator* is collectively shaped. In my conceptualization, this negotiated idea encompasses the sociological concepts of status, role and identity, as it refers to a) a recognized and durable social position within a larger social structure, (i.e., status); b) certain expectations that go with the status, which may vary from setting to setting; (i.e., role) and c) variations in how individuals give meaning to their status and how they (choose to) perform their role (i.e. identity) (see e.g. McCall & Simmons, 1966; Owens, Robinson & Smith-Lovin, 2010). By exploring the collective level of identity formation, I want to bring together individual and structural perspectives on being an educator, which is particularly important in the case of global education, as this approach allows me to analyse how educators negotiate between personal and institutional ideals as well as conflicting expectations (Lopes, 2016, p.6).

Global educators differ from the category of teachers in that the former concerns the construction of a particular kind of identity that transcends professional boundaries while it might simultaneously divide the teacher profession internally. In other words, this collective identity neither presupposes the inclusion of all teachers nor is it restricted to teachers alone, but importantly, includes also NGO workers and other actors engaged in the movement. Indeed, from a collective identity perspective, if NGO work-

⁶⁸ For this discussion, see section 3.3

ers and teachers are categorically studied as separate groups of actors, an important dimension of global education is overlooked⁶⁹.

Similar to the global justice movement in a broad sense, studying collective identity in the context of global education is challenging, since it encompasses a broad range of issues, frames and forms of action (Flesher Fominaya, 2010; della Porta, 2006). The process of collective identity formation of global educators assumingly differs from so called identitarian movements (such as many minority movements), which use particular aspects of people's personal identities as unifiers and political tools (Bernstein, 2005). In Tilly's (2002) terms, the collective identity among global educators could be described as *detached*, rather than *embedded*, meaning that no one is defined as a global educator only because of their *ascribed* status (Linton 1945)⁷⁰, such as gender, sexuality, ethnicity.

Rather, the notion of global educator can be seen as analogous with that of global citizen⁷¹. Both terms involve *positioning* rather than – or in addition to – formally recognized *positions*⁷². Being a global educator entails combining professional roles with political convictions and civic identities. As with global citizenship, the idea of being a global educator is here understood as something that one can promote, perform, identify with, disregard or be sceptical about. In other words, a sense of collective identity is not assumed to be straightforwardly passed on by NGO workers to teachers at global educational seminars, but rather, these seminars involve negotiations and re-interpretations. Due to the broadness of global education, the unifying elements are assumed to be constructed in an elastic, inclusive way (Flesher Fominaya, 2010, p.379). However, this assumption raises questions of how such an inclusive type of collective identity is formed and maintained and how dis-identifications or conflicts are manifested (see Melucci, 1991). On the one hand, I approach these questions by studying discourses and practices that bind global educators together; on the other hand, I focus on the boundary work of global educators, involving how participants handle tensions or what they understand as irrelevant, inappropriate or problematic (Flesher Fominaya, 2010, p.380). By sketching collective identity in these terms, we can gain a better understanding of how educators make sense of their autonomy versus obligations in relation to global education.

69 When conceptualizing global educators as a collective rather than as separate groups of NGO workers versus teachers, I was loosely inspired by the work of Paul Lichterman & Nina Eliasoph (2014), although their conceptual focus is on civic action rather than collective identity.

70 For a problematization of the terms ascribed versus achieved status, see Foladare (2016).

71 For a discussion on global citizenship, see section 5.5

72 NGO workers and some teachers might have professional titles or explicit functions as global educators, but for the majority school teachers in Finland, it is a question of positioning.

4.5 Students as citizens: audience and actors

There is a growing field of research on how young people's citizenship could be conceptualized. Several scholars emphasize the tensions that characterize young people as citizens (see Rytioja & Kallio, 2018; Kallio, Häkli & Bäcklund, 2015; Gordon, Holland & Lahelma, 2000). On the one hand, young people are often, particularly in the school world, portrayed as *citizens-to-be*, meaning that they need to be educated in how to exercise their citizenship in desirable ways; only then can they become "proper" citizens (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma 2000, p.12). On the other hand, they are formally recognized as *already citizens* that – with some exceptions – are entitled to citizen rights, such as participation in questions that concern them (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma, 2000, p.12).

From a social movement perspective, these two understandings can be expressed as *students as audience* and *students as actors*. When students are understood as audience, the conceptual focus is placed on agendas for global citizenship, which refers to how different actors - here with the example of NGOs - strive at influencing the students' conceptions of what global citizens do, think or identify with (see Henriksson, 2019). In turn, understanding students as actors with their own interests and forms of participation is connected to the concept of lived global citizenship, which denotes people's personal, everyday experiences and identifications (on the term lived citizenship, see e.g. Kallio, Häkli & Bäcklund, 2015).

Making a clear empirical distinction between social movement actors and audiences is difficult, as social movements are characterized by fluid ties and varying forms of participation. Similarly, I argue that a dual conceptualization is fitting in the context of NGO school interaction; and that students need to be seen both as a central audience for NGO advocacy and as actors that contribute to the construction of global education. As for the audience perspective, I argue that it is useful to distinguish between the students who participate in NGO school cooperation as part of their compulsory education, the NGOs that intentionally bring global education to schools, and the teachers who possess the authority to decide how to implement global education in the classroom (see also Freedman, 2007). Especially in the context of formal education, the hierarchy between educators and students needs to be taken into account, which means that it would be problematic to flatten the power relations and conceptualize the students as actors on equal terms with adult professionals.

However, an understanding of students as a passive audience that merely receives the input of their educators would of course be equally problematic (see e.g. Pykett et. al., 2010; Blee & McDowell, 2012). Schol-

ars working with ethnographic approaches have criticized the assumption that particular interventions in schools would result in intended outcomes. Instead, they argue that researchers should pay more attention to the contingency and open-endedness that characterize educational practice (Pykett et al., 2010; Piipponen & Karlsson, 2019). This is not to undermine the power of formal education or NGO education as producers of frames that students react and respond to. Rather, it is important to note that these frames do not necessarily account for the variety of expressions of student agency and for the ways in which students make sense of their place in the world.

Considering the various ways in which young people are engaged in questions of global justice, students need to be viewed as actors in their own right; and bearing in mind examples such as climate strikes, students could even be portrayed as protagonists. An important argument is that the type of citizenship education generally offered to young people through school or other adult-driven institutions tends to focus on formal political structures of participation, which either tend to postpone the realization of full citizenship until adulthood or appear as distant or unattractive in the eyes of many young people (see Rytioja & Kallio, 2018). This type of citizenship education risks overlooking young people as *citizens today*, who participate from their own starting points in ways that are relevant and meaningful for them (Rytioja & Kallio 2018, p.8; Kallio, Häkli & Bäcklund, 2015; see also Mannion, 2003).

It has also been argued that research on young people's citizenship focuses on the abstract citizen, with supposedly equal opportunities and universal characteristics. Such a viewpoint fails to take into account the diversity among students and the multi-layered social contexts they grow up in (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma, 2000, p.21). For instance, class, ethnicity or gender and the intersections of these might affect how students understand their possibilities to participate in society.

My understanding of a student-centered perspective on global citizenship is inspired by the notion of processes of *becoming citizens* (see Gordon, Holland & Lahelma, 2000, p.12). Studying these processes of becoming involves focusing on how students portray themselves in relation to the plurality of agendas for global citizenship as well as how students negotiate between expectations and experiences, regulation and agency (see Gordon, Holland & Lahelma, 2000, p.21). Due to the multi-sited fieldwork in my study, I have not been able to follow specific students or student groups over long periods of time. However, my observations during NGOs' school visits and my subsequent group interviews illustrate different ways in which students align with, re-interpret or defy the NGO's agendas for global citizenship.

5. Decolonial perspectives

5.1 Introduction

The sociological debate on globalization⁷³ can be seen as a successor to that on modernity (Featherstone, Lash & Robertson, 1995). Within mainstream sociology⁷⁴, there are differing views on whether globalization represents a qualitatively new era, or whether it should be seen as a continuation of the inherently expansionist capitalist order originating from modernity (Nash, 2000, pp.56-57). In this chapter, my approach to this debate builds on decolonial theory, which I bring into dialogue with sociological and educational frameworks relevant to each subchapter. In this study, I use decolonial theory as an umbrella term for the diverse range of literature of scholars from both decolonial and postcolonial traditions⁷⁵.

There is a growing body of literature on the topic of decolonizing global citizenship education (see *e.g.* Andreotti, 2006; 2011; 2014; Andreotti & Souza, 2012; Andreotti, Biesta & Ahenakew, 2015; Pashby & Sund, 2020; Pashby, 2015). A central point in decolonial theorization on global education is that history is treated as “a problem of the present” (Pashby, 2012, p. 17), which means that education needs to start with acknowledging historical and structural reasons behind global injustice. Decolonial theory provides opportunities to revise dominating, Eurocentric ideas about the global world and offers tools for analyzing whose perspectives and voices are included in global education in Finland. Choosing a decolonial framework also functions as a way to position this research in relation to negotiations over what globalization is about. The theoretical debates I discuss in this chapter are in different ways reflected in my empirical material, either explicitly as topics to be dealt with in global education, or as omissions that catch my attention as a scholar.

Historical narratives generally link modernity to the Protestant Reformation, the American Declaration of Independence and the French and industrial revolutions. These narratives locate the initiation of modernity in the Northern hemisphere, more specifically in Western Europe and North

73 For sociological theorizations of globalization, see *e.g.* Beck (1999), Urry (2003) or Robertson (1992). For an overview of these theories, see Nash (2000)

74 In this context, I use the somewhat vague term mainstream sociology when referring to Eurocentric theorizations of globalization, in contrast to decolonial approaches that highlight Southern perspectives and the role of colonial relations in shaping global relations (see *e.g.* Bhabra 2014; Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel 2007).

75 For a discussion on the differences and similarities between decolonial and post-colonial theory, see Bhabra (2014).

America, from where it is considered to be diffused to other parts of the world. Decolonial theorists question these narratives for systematically silencing, ignoring or downplaying the constitutive role of colonialism in the making of the modernity (Bhambra, 2016; Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007). By referring to modernity/coloniality⁷⁶ as an inseparable pair of words, these scholars highlight that modernity would be unthinkable without its darker side (Mignolo, 2008). As Gurminder Bhambra (2016) exemplifies, the industrial development in England was only possible due to colonial relations with India, where the cotton and the weaving and dying technology came from. Or as Ramón Grosfoguel (2007) argues, the European's self-identification as modern, civilized and benevolent was only possible through the construction of the colonized as primitive, barbaric and violent. Rather than being a derivative of modernity, colonialism is seen as a constitutive part of it (Mignolo, 2008).

In terms of the development of philosophy and knowledge, mainstream sociologists regularly portray the Enlightenment as a starting point for modernization, beginning with the Renaissance and Descartes and continuing with the works of, among many others, Kant, Hegel and Marx (Turner, 1990). The main theoretical approaches developed in Europe at this time were rationalism and empiricism, which were to displace both authoritarianism and religion as the foundations of human knowledge (Furtado, 1983, p.71). A central point in the decolonial critique is that these classic theorists were in different ways inclined to claim universal validity for their thoughts and categories, even though they excluded non-white, non-Western and non-male experiences from their epistemologies (Grosfoguel, 2007, pp.63-68). The exclusionist character of dominant theorization is conceptualized as “epistemic racism” or “epistemic violence” within a decolonial framework (Castro-Gómez, 2000; Grosfoguel, 2007; Mignolo, 2008). This also relates to how mainstream historical narratives tend to portray democracy, peace and human rights as Western inventions. By illustrating progressive examples of how equality and political self-determination have developed in societies in the Global South, for instance, the case of the Haitian revolution 1791-1804⁷⁷, decolonial scholars problematize the superiority of Western knowledge or moral standards (see *e.g.* Bhambra, 2016; Ziai, 2016, p. 60).

⁷⁶ For the term coloniality, see Quijano (2000)

⁷⁷ The Haitian Revolution was carried out by the enslaved black population and its constitution was radically democratic in abolishing slavery and proclaiming equality regardless of race at a time when enslavement and racial discrimination were still common practices (Bhambra 2016). The consequences of the Haitian revolution - a 20 year long economic blockade posed by France and the compensation payed to the colonizers who had “lost their property” (i.e., their slaves) - are illustrating examples of the logic of colonial relations.

Decolonial perspectives have also been used to analyze the Finnish context⁷⁸ (see Keskinen, Tuori, Irni & Mulinari 2009; Kuortti, Lehtonen & Löytty 2007; Rastas 2007; Tuori 2009). Finland has been connected with the history of colonialism in different ways; the Finnish state's control over the Sámi in Lapland has been conceptualized as a form of internal colonisation (Kallio & Länsman, 2018; Keskitalo, Määttä & Uusiautti, 2011; Kuokkanen, 2007), Finnish Evangelic-Lutheran missionary work has been portrayed as a continuation of the colonial project (Löytty, 2006, pp. 178-179) and Finland's role in Namibia has been discussed in terms of colonial aspirations, although these aspirations were never realized (Enge Bertelsen, 2014, p. 12). In more contemporary terms, Finland is also understood to benefit economically from former colonial relations, and the relation between Finnish companies and their factories in formerly colonized countries have been conceptualized as neo-colonial (see Tuori, 2009, p. 67).

The concept of colonial complicity⁷⁹ (Vuorela, 2009) has been used as an analytical tool to explore the variety of ways in which people in Finland are connected to colonial practices by tacitly accepting them and/or by internalizing a colonial mind-set. Colonial complicity has been studied, for instance, in the context of children's literature with colonial representations (Vuorela, 2009) and in the case of racist candy wrappers (Rossi, 2009). These examples illustrate the seemingly mundane, everyday character of colonial practices. From the point of view of education, the term complicity has been used to analyse how coloniality is reproduced within textbooks, curricula or student-teacher relations (see e.g. Riitaoja, 2013; Mikander, 2016; Mikander & Holm, 2014).

In the context of my study, decolonial perspectives are used as tools for asking new questions and opening up new viewpoints, rather than for providing definite answers or manuals of best practices (see also Andreotti & Souza, 2012). Further, I understand decolonial theory not only as reserved for the critical researcher to apply in the analysis, but also as a framework that educators in different ways use in their everyday work. In this sense, my analyses can at times be seen as thinking together with the participants of this study⁸⁰.

78 The position of Finland in relation to colonialism is a complex and disputed topic, which I only briefly address here. For further reading, see e.g. Lahti & Kullaa (2020) and Kuortti, Lehtonen & Löytty (2007)

79 In a decolonial context, the term complicity has been used by Gayatri Spivak (1988) with reference to how Western intellectuals, often unconsciously or with benevolent intentions, participate in othering non-Western subjects.

80 I return to the question of my positionality as a researcher in chapter 8.

5.2 The idea of development and the division of the world

Development is often portrayed as the cure for all sorts of global challenges (Ziai, 2016). This view is also frequently deployed within global education, for instance, in fundraising campaigns or volunteering programs (Jefferess, 2012; Tallon, Milligan & Wood, 2016). Although it needs to be recognized that development discourse⁸¹ entails heterogeneous approaches and projects, Aram Ziai (2016, pp.57-58) argues that four commonly shared assumptions can be discerned: 1) the existential assumption: development exists, as it functions as an conceptual frame, allowing us to interpret certain things as manifestations of development (or underdevelopment) and to link diverse phenomena to this broader process we call development, 2) the normative assumption: development means good change and indicates the process leading to a good society, 3) the practical assumption: development is possible to achieve everywhere in the world and 4) the methodological assumption: development is measurable and different units (e.g. nations or regions) can be compared to each other according to their development.

These assumptions have been subjected to lively debate among development theorists. According to the work of decolonial and critical development scholars, the gradual shift from the colonial order to the era of development includes important continuities (Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007, pp.19-20; Ziai, 2016, p.27), discursively based on “the division of the world into a progressive superior part and a backward, inferior part” (Ziai, 2016, p.33). Following this perspective, the argument in this section is that there is a need to question how and why we use the term development, particularly when educating students about global interconnectedness.

The seemingly self-evident dominance of the development discourse as a way of conceptualizing global relations can be traced back to the concept of modernity/coloniality⁸². Modernity has since its emergence been strongly linked to the thought of humanity as possessing infinite potential for progress (Garcés, 2007, p.217). The idea of progress, marked by a number of dichotomies such as, modern/traditional, rational/irrational or civilized/barbarian served as legitimation for colonial expansion and exploitation. It was used to justify, on the one hand, the acquisition of land, natural resources and labor, and on the other hand, the mission of “civilizing” the indigenous peoples of the colonies (Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007). After World War II and the second wave of decolonization, the ideas of inferiority and backwardness were no longer – in the same outspoken

81 By development discourse, I mean a system of language, representations and power relations through which we construct the meaning of development (I also discuss my understanding of discourse in section 8.5.2).

82 Discussed in section 4.1.

way – acceptable as a basis for progress-oriented action. Instead, the idea of development emerged as a promise not only to “civilize” but also to improve the material conditions of the people in the peripheries. This discursive shift was partly driven by the anticolonial movements and the aftermath of Nazi Germany, but also importantly by the industrialized West’s continuous material and geopolitical interest in the former colonies (Ziai, 2016, p.30).

When the development discourse emerged in the West, it mostly neglected historical experiences of oppression in different regions. Instead, the proposal was a universal and “rational” model that was to be diffused to those parts of the world that were labeled as “underdeveloped” (Kothari & Pillai, 1991; Furtado, 1983). In this model, development was inseparably related to the accumulation of capital and the dominant Western economic theory on comparative advantages, here explained by Celso Furtado:

The prevailing doctrine was that interregional or international specialization provided the shortest road to the enrichment of a region or country. To enter the system of international division of labour was the most “rational” way to eliminate backwardness [...], to advance into the front line of *civilized* nations”. (Furtado, 1983, p. 77, italics in original text)

The rationale of the theory was that economic growth would eventually reduce poverty and inequality on a global scale (Kay, 1989; Furtado, 1983). Many scholars from former colonies, particularly dependency theorists from Latin America (see *e.g.* Prebisch, 1948), have pointed out how the model for development was constituted by relations of dependence between the West and the rest. These scholars sustain that the main obstacle for development is not the lack of capital or skills, but the system of international division of labor (Kothari & Pillai, 1991, p.25). Development, in the Western sense, has more to do with attracting foreign investments and speeding up the accumulation of capital, than with satisfying the basic needs of the population or with changing the local social structures in the peripheries (Kothari & Pillai, 1991, Furtado 1983, p.78).

Nevertheless, the idea of development served as a legitimating base for international industrial expansion. Dominant local groups in dependent regions also broadly accepted this model and contributed to its consolidation (Ferguson, 1994; Spivak, 1988, p.83). Ziai (2016, p.31) argues that not only the elites, but large parts of the populations in the “peripheries” internalized the development discourse, since it placed them as actors capable of reaching the ideals of the West, if they only followed the Western recipe for development. As the imperative of industrial development gained hegemonic status, it also “affected the revolutionary thinking that

emerged from the class struggle directed towards the destruction of the capitalist order” (Furtado 1983, 73). In other words, also socialist countries shared the ideals of progress/development/accumulation and thus contributed to the spreading of “industrial civilization” globally⁸³.

How, then, might a decolonial response to development discourse be conceptualized? Post-development scholars (see e.g. Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994; Esteva & Prakash, 1998) argue for a rejection of the development paradigm altogether. These scholars maintain that the development paradigm is inherently (neo)colonial and destructive, as it oppresses or dismisses ways of life that differ from Western ideals. However, the post-development perspective has been fiercely criticized for generalizing the heterogeneous range of development theories and practices, for overlooking its progressive aspects as well as for romanticizing poverty and contributing to the legitimation of oppressive structures within “underdeveloped” cultures (Ziai, 2016, p.60). These critics question the right of white, Western scholars to disapprove of poorer countries’ attempts to raise their standard of living and modernize their societies. A more moderate version of the post-development school as proposed by Ahorro (2008) and Ziai (2016), which I am inclined to side with, is to preserve a critical but nuanced stance towards development discourse and to maintain that societies and communities should have the right to decide for themselves⁸⁴ on the meaning of a “good society”. The Western model of development needs to be recognized as imposed and contested, rather than as a universal process of improvement, as illustrated below:

[T]he normative assumption that these [processes have led to better, developed societies neglects the downside of the historical processes of colonial industrial capitalism as well as the possibility that some cul-

83 These ideals stem from Karl Marx’s theory which was based on the belief in progress, in the sense of a historical development involving several stages, each new stage being superior to, but also derived from, the previous one. However, in Marx’s later writings, progress does not follow any preordained logic but is caused by social action in specific contexts. Contrary to capitalist theorizations of progress, the ultimate stage in Marx’s culminating in the socialization of private property (for a study on progress in Marxism, see Pachter 1974)

84 Deciding for oneself, as well as concepts like autonomy and self-determination, are undoubtedly tricky, especially within a decolonial framework. My ambition here is mainly to recognize the challenges in my standpoint of encouraging the right for communities to decide for themselves. In doing so, I turn to the essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?*, where Gayatri Spivak (1988) engages in the problematics of Western scholars or activists trying to represent the voice of the marginalized. First of all, Spivak emphasizes the heterogeneity and the diverging interests within the subaltern category. Secondly, she problematizes all attempts at representing the subaltern (whether in the sense of “speaking for”, as a politician or an activist, or in the sense of “re-presenting” as a story, a painting or a textbook) in any “pure” form, since representations always entail translating subaltern voices across specific contexts and power structures. The question of who ultimately can speak or decide for themselves is complex.

tures or some people in general might object to the assumption that highly individualized consumer societies based on competition, infinite human needs and unimpaired exploitation of nature constitute the best of all worlds. (Ziai, 2016, p.59)

Further, the authoritative, prescriptive character of development discourse is problematic because of its de-politicizing implications⁸⁵. When certain problems are framed as “development problems”, the proposed solutions are often focused on the (lack of) resources, such as clean water, technology or education, rather than on politics and power relations (see Ferguson, 1994, 180; Ziai 2016, p.61). This critical view can be used to challenge the ways in which problems in the global South are framed within global education; for instance, whether a country’s low gross domestic product (GDP) is attributed to a lack of local knowhow or to a consequence of neo-liberal debt arrangements.

Scholars from both decolonial and Marxist orientations have suggested that the United Nations, a central actor in the area of global development, is complicit in de-politicizing questions of poverty and global inequality. The UN’s Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which were to be achieved by 2015 have been subjected to broad criticism. For instance, concerning the process of creating the MDGs, the UN has been criticized for short-term planning and for not consulting developing countries and civil society. The MDGs have also been problematized for offering simplistic, technical solutions to complex challenges and for overlooking political causes behind unequal power relations and “underdevelopment” (see e.g. Fehling, Nelson & Venkatapuram, 2013; McCloskey, 2015; Telleria, 2017). The UN’s Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), also known as Agenda 2030, have been described by many scholars as more progressive than the MDGs (see e.g. Donald, 2016; Fukuda-Parr, 2016), while others maintain that the Agenda 2030 in many ways represents a continuation of the neo-liberal version of capitalist development expressed in the MDGs (Demaria & Kothari, 2017; Weber, 2017).

In line with these latter scholars, I maintain that it is problematic that international development policy often straightforwardly labels ways of life outside the West as deficient (see also Ziai, 2016, p.31). Indeed, Ziai (2016, pp.31-33) questions the logic of development measurements that focus primarily on per-capita income or gross national product, whereas hospitality, social networks or relationship to nature are not considered indicators for development. However, it must be recognized that alternative ways of measuring development have been introduced. For instance,

85 On de-politicization, see section 4.2

the Human Development Index⁸⁶ has been used as an indicator for development beyond the economic dimension for decades; and more recently the Happy Planet Index⁸⁷ has become a recognized measurement for sustainable wellbeing.

Within a decolonial framework, there is a growing dialogue on conceptual alternatives to development, of which I will briefly discuss a few from different parts of the world. Swaraj from India can be described as self-governance, popularized by Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for freedom from British rule, but its meaning can also be expanded to “the democracy of all life” (see e.g. Shiva, 2017). Ujamaa, often translated from Swahili as “extended family” or “familyhood”, was implemented in Tanzania as a policy program aiming at establishing a socialist agricultural society (Ergas, 1980). Ubuntu from South Africa is known for the expression “I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am”; it highlights co-dependency as central for humanity. It was popularized by Nelson Mandela in the struggle against apartheid and in the post-apartheid construction of democracy (see Letseka, 2012). Buen vivir, or *sumak kawsay* in Quechua, is usually translated into English as “good living”. The concept can be defined as “a relationship of belonging rather than domination or exploitation between people and Nature” (see Caria & Dominguez, 2016, p.20). *Sumak kawsay* has been used in political discourse especially in Ecuador, and its Aymara equivalent *suma qamaña* was central to politics in Bolivia under Evo Morales (Caria & Dominguez, 2016). *Degrowth*, mainly from Europe, is about “an equitable and democratic transition to a smaller economy with less production and consumption” (Martínez-Alier, Pascual, Vivien & Zaccari, 2010, p.1741). Unlike the term sustainable development, degrowth builds on the idea that reducing GDP is necessary in order to stay within ecological limits of the planet (Kallis, 2011). What is interesting from the point of view of my study is how the NGOs position themselves in relation to the development discourse or alternatives to it.

The question of how and whether to divide the world in overarching categories such as “developing countries” or “Third World countries” is an ongoing debate, which is visible also within global education in Finland, where no single categorization dominates⁸⁸. Alternative terms have been proposed, especially by decolonial theorists and activists, not as

86 The Human Development Index, developed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in the 1990s, combines per capita income with life expectancy and education (see UNDP 2019). Note that this index has also been criticized for forgetting its roots as a critical alternative to GDP-centered measurements (see Sagar & Najam, 1997)

87 The Happy Planet Index, developed in 2006 by the New Economics Foundation, considers subjective wellbeing, life expectancy and inequality of outcomes in relation to each country’s ecological footprint (see Abdallah, Thompson, Michaelson, Marcs & Steuer, 2009; New Economics Foundation 2016)

88 See the empirical sections 10.3.4, 11.4.2 and 12.2.6.

mere replacements, but as reconceptualizations that both dismantle and resist the current global order (Dados & Connell, 2012; Mahler, 2018). The perhaps best-known and most widely used alternative categorization⁸⁹ is the global South and the global North. On the one hand, this categorization emphasizes colonial history and neo-colonial relations that produce inequality between the North and the South (Dados & Connell, 2012; Hollington, Tappe, Salverda & Schwartz, 2015). On the other hand, the term global South is considered to be loaded with emancipatory potential; it connotes a subject with agency rather than an object in need of help (Hollington, Tappe, Salverda & Schwartz, 2015). The term global South also highlights South-South relations as potential for political change, rather than seeing them as competitors in a global development race. Indeed, the global South is used in a post-national or transnational sense as a critical category that underlines the shared experience of oppression as a driving force for changing the direction of globalization (see Mahler, 2018; Dados & Connell, 2012).

This and other alternative categorizations are not unproblematic either, as all types of sweeping categorizations fail to illustrate the heterogeneity and complexity within the categories. They also risk becoming co-opted and reduced to replacements within the dominant development discourse. However, from a political and analytical perspective, alternative terms that illustrate unequal global power relations are needed, which is why I use the categories global North and global South in this dissertation. In the analytical sense, I need these categories to discuss manifestations of the development discourse – and contestations to it – in my empirical material, while the political significance for me as a researcher lies in distancing myself from categorizations that I find problematic.

5.3 Multiculturalism and the management of diversity

Multiculturalism is often used to denote how globalization is manifested in classrooms as increased diversity that schools need to address and manage. In this section, I discuss a selection of critical perspectives on multiculturalism, which are relevant for analyzing how multiculturalism is conceptualized and enacted in the context of NGO school interaction.

89 Others include Majority and Minority World, Two-Thirds and One-Third world, The West and the rest.

The term multicultural is heavily debated⁹⁰ among both social and educational theorists, and it is used in a variety of ways. One way of categorizing the usages of multiculturalism is to distinguish between 1) descriptive multiculturalism, meaning that a place such as a nation, a neighborhood or a classroom is referred to as multicultural, 2) normative multiculturalism, which entails a standpoint in relation to the desirability of multiculturalism, understood in whatever way and 3) cultural politics, referring to how multiculturalism is handled and accommodated through a broad range of policies (Vitikainen, 2013; for similar conceptualizations, see also Kivisto & Wahlbeck, 2013; and Saukkonen, 2012). I see these three usages as interrelated and infused with internal ambiguities; for instance, the way we describe the multicultural is connected to how and towards whom policies should be implemented; policies are related to our normative assessments of multiculturalism – and policies often (intentionally or unintentionally) change the descriptive and/or normative dimensions of multiculturalism (see also Ålund & Schierup, 1991). The three usages are also highly context-dependent and therefore I provide some examples from the Finnish context below.

A broadly debated question is whether and how liberalism, which emphasizes individual freedom and equality between individuals, is compatible with multiculturalism, which comes with the notion of cultural (group-based) claims and differentiated rights for minorities⁹¹ (Vitikainen 2013). Multiculturalism is widely accepted as a political vision by liberals, but scholars have shown that the liberal ideal of equal recognition is far from an everyday reality (see Thompson, 2014; Saukkonen, 2012). From a Finnish perspective, Pasi Saukkonen (2012) discusses how multicultural policies do not necessarily lead to open-minded and pluralistic societies; and how progressive legislation might not be implemented in practice due to a lack of resources and/or political will. Nation-states are not neutral in relation to “culture”; they reproduce particular sets of cultural symbols, narratives and practices which are given more recognition than others (Thompson, 2014). In other words, liberal multiculturalism fails to take into account the power relations between dominant and non-dominant forms of culture.

From a decolonial perspective, the dominant Finnish understanding of multiculturalism is problematic, since it builds on the idea of Finland as disconnected from historical forms of systemic oppression such as colonialism and racism. Anna Rastas (2007) has used the term “Finnish excep-

90 For an overview of the debate on liberal multiculturalism, see Vitikainen (2013); for a decolonial approach to multiculturalism, especially in education, see Sprecher (2011). In educational studies, the term intercultural is often used alongside or as an alternative to multicultural, and it has been described as equally “vague and polysemic” (see Mikander, Zilliacus & Holm, 2018)

91 For an influential theorization of this topic, see Kymlicka (1995).

tionalism” to describe the construction of Finland as an outsider; a construction that enables discriminatory practices or racist representations such as using the n-word to be portrayed as innocent in the Finnish context. The notion of Finnish exceptionalism completely overlooks the racist experiences of non-white people in Finland; for instance, a report by the European Union from 2018 shows that people with African descent in Finland report the highest rates of perceived racist harassment and violence out of all the countries included in the study (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018).

Another problematic aspect about the dominant Finnish conceptualization of multiculturalism is that it is understood as something “coming from the outside”, regardless of whether it is valued or resisted (Tuori, 2009, p.30). Finnishness is portrayed as the norm, from which the multicultural deviates (Riitaoja, 2013, p.14). This way, multiculturalism provokes a perceived need for educational and other public policies on how to handle the “new” situation within education as well as in society more broadly. The problem with connecting multiculturalism automatically and almost exclusively to immigration is the underlying assumption that Finland used to be a monocultural nation. Indeed, a common understanding in Finland is that the country was culturally homogenous before the 1990s, when immigration rates started to grow, although it needs to be noted that the percentage of the immigrant population (counted in whatever way⁹²) is still low compared to many other European countries (Eurostat, 2020; Miettinen n.d.). The assumption of multiculturalism as something new overlooks the existence of its indigenous people the Sámi as well as its historical minorities the Roma, the Tatars and the Swedish-speakers – not to mention other differences such as class, gender or sexuality (Riitaoja, 2013, p.13; Tuori 2009, p.19).

Indeed, scholars have questioned the narrow understanding of “culture” in Finnish multicultural discourse, where ethnicity, religion and/or language are thought to determine cultural identities, e.g. that students of foreign-born parents are categorically referred to as “multicultural youth” (see Harinen, Honkasalo, Souto & Suurpää, 2009; Mikander, Holm & Zilliacus, 2018). Notably, the term multicultural is often used when referring to “ethnicized, racialized and religionized”⁹³ (Riitaoja, 2013, p.14) students, who are labeled as “particularly different” in relation to Finnish, white, secular Lutheran peers. The term othering has been used to describe the discursive construction of “the other” as different from, and inferior to, an imagined normal self (Bromseth & Darj, 2010).

This type of multicultural discourse obscures other types cultural di-

92 Statistics can be based on, for instance, citizenship, country of birth or mother tongue.

93 In Finnish: etnistetty, rodullistettu ja uskonnollistettu

versity and further, presents “cultures” as neatly separated and self-contained (Bhabha, 1999; 53-54; Tuori 2009, p.19). As an alternative to this understanding, Homi Bhabha (1996) introduces the concept of cultural hybridity, by which he means a space for negotiation that rejects binary notions of identities and communities (e.g. either Finnish or Russian; native or foreigner). Hybridity, in Bhabha’s understanding, does not denote a stable mix of two or more cultures, but a dynamic and multi-layered negotiation of identity and community.

The concept of intersectionality⁹⁴ is also central to a broader and more dynamic understanding of multiculturalism. Intersectionality was introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) as a critique of single-axis frameworks in antidiscrimination law or antiracist politics that focus either on gender, ethnicity, or class one-dimensionally. Crenshaw’s (1989, 1994) contribution is the emphasis on how these social categories intersect, showing a more complex picture of people’s identities and importantly, their relation to power structures in society. From an intersectional perspective, particular combinations of social categories might either reinforce structures of oppression or strengthen privileges, depending on context and prevailing norms (Klinkmann, Henriksson & Häger, 2017, pp.14-15). What I also find useful with an intersectional approach to multiculturalism, is that it encompasses a range of aspects such as health, (dis)ability or body shape as relevant to the dynamics of cultural hierarchies (see *e.g.* Bromseth & Darj, 2010).

By conceptualizing cultural difference as diversity within all populations (Mikander, Holm & Zilliacus, 2018), culture is neither essentialized nor erased, but used as a starting point for understanding ourselves and others. As Mikander, Holm & Zilliacus (2018) argue, the problem is not necessarily the conceptualization of culture as difference per se. The problem is that cultural difference is often conceptualized in terms of inferiority and superiority, which creates and upholds discriminating structures that favor the privileged (Bhabha, 1996; Mikander, Holm & Zilliacus, 2018). In this sense, multicultural discourse not only reacts to cultural diversity but produces differences and reinforces conceptions of “us” and “them”. With this background, my interest lies in mapping how NGOs address cultural diversity in their school campaigns and how schools understand their role in managing this diversity.

94 The concept of intersectionality was introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), originally in order to analyze the experiences of black women.

5.4 The imagined global community and the human rights discourse

In this section, I discuss a central notion for global education, which is that of a shared global community. This idea is generally not understood as a replacement for nation-based or any other place-based identities, but rather, as a parallel construction, which deserves its own attention, especially in the context of my study.

The theoretical background for this discussion stems from Benedict Anderson's (2006) concept of imagined communities, which he developed in order to understand the emergence and diffusion of nationalism. Anderson (2006, p.4) conceptualizes nationalism as a cultural artefact and his focus lies on how the nation-state is constructed and imagined as a community⁹⁵. My argument is that Anderson's conceptualization can, with some hesitations that are discussed below, be applied also to the imagined global community, and particularly to how this community is constructed within global education (see also Jefferess, 2012; Marshall, 2011). This is an important theoretical discussion, since the way in which global interconnectedness is perceived and displayed within education has implications for the kinds of identities and political subjectivities that are made possible for secondary students (which I return to in the discussion on global citizenship in the next section).

In Anderson's definition (2006, pp.6-7), the national community is imagined since the individual members of a nation will never personally get to know more than a minority of all the members, yet they are connected by a sense of community. Further, it is a community, since its basis relies on a sense of deep, horizontal comradeship, despite inequalities and exploitation that take place within it (ibid. 1991, p.7). Yet, whereas Anderson (2006, p.7) defines the imagined community of the nation as restricted, i.e., having borders that separate it from other communities, the global community is understood as borderless. This raises the question of how a sense of a global community can be established without an exclusionary element, those who do not belong, and consequently, questions of whether all people are imagined as equally belonging to the community. Finally, Anderson (2006, p.7) describes the national community as sovereign, by which he refers to an imagined freedom from religion and hierarchy (inspired by the ideas of enlightenment), a freedom which is provided by the

95 Here, Anderson makes an important epistemological distinction to Gellner, who states that "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist". Anderson (2006, p.6) positions himself as a constructivist by stating that his interest is not to prove the "falseness" of nations or portray them as "inventions", but to explore how they are imagined (as real).

sovereign community. These aspects connect the idea of a global community to what I refer to as the human rights discourse.

In a similar manner to the development discourse (discussed in section 2.2), the human rights discourse is generally framed as a benevolent and progressive framework striving for a better world. It constitutes an important, albeit complex and contested, basis for the imagined global community, which is actively deployed within global education. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 1 states that “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.” (United Nations 1948). This famous part of the declaration echoes Anderson’s definition of an imagined community, in two ways: first, it constructs humans as sovereign, by describing them as free and endowed with reason and conscience. Secondly, it frames all of humanity as a community of horizontal comradeship, by defining people as equal and by commanding people to treat each other as brothers.

There are different approaches to human rights; from a legal perspective, human rights deal with the responsibilities of states and the rights of individuals, the transformation of human rights conventions into national legislation as well as with the exploring potential cases of human rights violations in courtrooms (Frostell, 2017). From an ethical perspective, human rights are understood to concern all people and all kinds of actors, regardless of their position in relation to human rights law. In this latter view, they are seen as principles for peaceful and respectful coexistence (Slotte, 2005, p.72; Matilainen, 2011, see also Bajaj, 2011). From a social justice perspective, human rights can be understood as a framework for transformative action, particularly when it comes to vulnerable or marginalized groups (see Bajaj, 2011). In other words, approaches to human rights may vary between legal and convivial aspects, as well as between confirming existing rights versus claiming new ones (Slotte, 2005, p.40).

Different criticisms have been raised towards the human rights discourse, notably from Marxist, feminist and decolonial perspectives. A common basis for these critiques is that the human rights discourse is not radical or powerful enough to alter global structures of capitalism, patriarchy and imperialism (see Nash, 2015, p.11) and can thus, at best, ameliorate some of the problems created by these structures. From a Marxist perspective, the human rights discourse is problematic especially when combined with a neoliberal economic paradigm. The problem is that neoliberals promote human rights only within a *laissez-faire* state which “does not interfere with people’s freedoms – especially the freedom to buy and sell property, skills and labour” (Nash, 2015, p.91). Some Marxists reject the human

rights discourse altogether as a hindrance for revolutionary politics, while others maintain that despite its connections to liberalism, it contains important tools for resistance and radical action, if revised and strategically reframed (see McLoughlin, 2016).

The feminist critique highlights that the foundational human rights documents are in many ways written from a masculine perspective, listing “what men fear will happen to them” (Edwards 2011, 51-64). A central argument in this critique is that these documents do not sufficiently acknowledge the control of and the violence against women that often takes place outside of the public sphere (Nash, 2015, pp.115-117)⁹⁶.

Finally, the decolonial critique sees the human rights discourse as grounded in a Eurocentric and imperialist worldview (Barretto, 2014; Santos, 2016; Maldonado-Torres, 2017; Esteva & Prakash, 1998). Importantly, these scholars point out how the human rights discourse overlooks colonial histories of violence, which weakens the credibility of claiming an abstract universality of humanity (see Cesaire, 2000)⁹⁷. Gustavo Esteva and Mudhi Suri Prakash (1998, pp.110-151) call human rights “the Trojan horse of recolonization”, referring to how the human rights discourse is used by the global North for purposes of regulation and domination. Barretto illustrates this critique in the following quote:

[T]he Third World has been considered a territory in which human rights are violated, and the North is portrayed as the region of the world from where the standards are developed and where judgements about compliance and responsibilities are made. (Barretto, 2014, p. 407)

Further, decolonial scholars question the way in which the human rights discourse revolves around the individual as opposed to the community and how it qualitatively separates human from non-human nature (see Santos, 2016, p. 20-21).

96 Even though women’s rights have been mainstreamed within the UN during the last decades, Edwards (2011) argues that it is very challenging to address violence against women (e.g. domestic violence, sexual violence) in the framework of human rights law, since it was developed with state agents’ violations (e.g. prison guards, soldiers or police) in mind (see also Nash, 2015, pp.118-119).

97 Aimé Cesaire was an early critic of the human rights discourse, which he called pseudo-humanism, meaning that from a Western perspective, human rights were predominantly conceived as the white man’s rights. In the following quote, he describes how the human rights framework was developed only when systematic violence took place within Europe: “[A]t bottom, what he [the twentieth century Christian bourgeois] cannot forgive Hitler for is not the crime itself, the crime against man, it is not the humiliation of man as such, it is the crime against the white man, the humiliation of the white man, and the fact that he applied to Europe colonialist procedures which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs of Algeria, the “coolies” of India, and the “niggers” of Africa” (Cesaire, 2000, p.36, italics in original text).

Again, not all decolonial scholars are against the human rights framework. Some view the human rights discourse as suitable for promoting counterhegemonic understandings stemming from the global South. A central claim in the decolonial reconceptualization of the human rights discourse is to center the various movements within the global South that fight against injustices and devastation created not only by states, but notably also by corporations and financial institutions (Barretto, 2014; Santos, 2016). For instance, Santos describes human rights as a strategic tool:

We will ask the help of human rights in order to render them unnecessary. They turned us into a global multitude of objects of human rights discourses. When we all become subjects of human rights, who will remember the concept of human rights? (Santos, 2016, p. 14)

To summarize, the human rights discourse plays an ambiguous and open-ended role in shaping a sense of a global community. Kate Nash (2015, p.4) argues that as researchers, we need to address both progressive and problematic dimensions of human rights. Rather than by uncritically praising the human rights discourse or by condemning it altogether, my interest is to empirically explore the various ways in which the NGOs incorporate human rights as a way of constructing the imagined global community in their school activities and to relate these constructions to the theories presented above. A foundational element related to the construction of a global community is to expand the notion of citizenship from a nation-state context to the global level. I discuss this idea in the next section.

5.5 Soft versus critical global citizenship and beyond

In this section, I discuss the notion of global citizenship, which is central to global education and functions as continuation to the discussion on the imagined global community. Again, I do not see global citizenship as a replacement of national citizenship or any other sense of membership, but rather, I conceptualize global citizenship as a complementary social identity that interacts with other forms of identification and belonging (see Kamens, 2012, p.205; Nivala, 2008, pp.187-188). A starting point for this discussion is that global citizenship is not only related to the process of globalization but also to that of individualization.

Individualization is a multifaceted process, sparked by structural societal changes such as industrialization and urbanization, the weakening of social institutions and the neoliberal idea of the free-market individual

(Beck & Beck Gernsheim, 2002; Bennett, 2012)⁹⁸. David Kamens (2012, pp.55-64) points out that individualization encompasses two seemingly contradictory but mutually constitutive sides that cause tensions for the formation of global citizens. On the one hand, the process entails the growth of selfishness; a kind of social narcissism connected to the cult of the Self at the expense of the collective. This is manifested, for instance, in presentations of self in social media and reality TV-shows, in the use of self-help and self-improvement techniques and importantly, in the ever-growing consumerism that neglects its negative social and environmental consequences.

On the other hand, individualization involves the delegation of (global) responsibility from institutions to individuals. Kamens (2012, p.63) calls this “a governing principle of modern socialization”, meaning that the individual citizen is expected to be capable of making decisions that make the world a better place (however defined). Lance Bennett (2012) importantly notes that despite significant differences, the notion of the active and responsible citizen is constructed from both the political Left and Right. While leftist agendas encourage sustainable lifestyle choices that focus on donations for development cooperation, the consumption of fair-trade products or campaigns against multinational companies, right-wing agendas promote protests against what is framed as restrictions against personal freedom and “earned” privileges as well as the freedom of markets.

The process of individualization is reflected in changing forms of civic participation. Even though conventional political parties and social movements based on collective causes or identities still exist, they are challenged by, and increasingly mixed with, new forms of personalized participation (see Bennett, 2012). Personalized participation refers to how civic action becomes increasingly independent of leaders or organizations and instead, is structured as individualized pathways of engagement through loose networks involving, for instance, media, information technology and consumer identifications (Bennett, 2012, p.12).

Alongside personalization and individualization, global citizenship involves new ways of social inclusion and exclusion. Citizenship, as a Western construct inherently bound to the idea of the modern nation-state, denotes a separation between insiders and outsiders, those who have rights and those who do not (Jefferess, 2012, pp.30-31). Decolonial theorists have argued that global citizenship inherits the exclusionary elements of national citizenship albeit in a slightly different form (Andreotti, 2006; Jefferess, 2012). In the global version of citizenship, the mechanisms of exclusion primarily concern the differentiation between those who are capable

⁹⁸ For a classic sociological work on individualization and its relation to social capital, see Putnam (2000).

and resourced versus those who are incapable and lacking (Pashby, 2012). A (neo)colonial discourse of global citizenship thus risks reinforcing the moral superiority of the West and limiting who can act as a global citizen, as expressed by David Jefferess (2012, p.33) who is concerned that (education for) global citizenship

[...] masks the material relationships that produce some as privileged, and hence capable or being active global citizens, and some as in need of support, care, 'aid'. (Jefferess, 2012, p. 33)

Hence, if the idea with global education is to construct a sense of shared comradeship within the imagined global community, it is problematic if the global citizen is situated in the West and discursively constructed as an active and benevolent actor in contrast to non-Western, passive and victimized (or alternatively threatening) objects to be managed through "our" civic action.

Vanessa Andreotti's (2006) ideal type distinction between "soft" versus "critical" global citizenship education has been influential for a growing number of scholars within the area often loosely referred to as critical global education. The soft approach is built on a humanitarian ground for acting; it presents the global South as underdeveloped and helpless and generates a "feel good factor" for students in the global North who are taught to "help" others. In contrast, the critical approach is based on political grounds for acting; it stresses inequality and injustice as the problems that need to be addressed and encourages reflexivity and learning together with others (Andreotti, 2006, pp.6-7). In table 1 below, I have summarized and slightly modified Andreotti's typology:

Table 1. Soft versus critical approaches to global citizenship education

	Soft	Critical
Nature of global inequality	Poverty	Injustice
Reasons for global inequality	Lack of development and resources, e.g. education or water	Structures that create and maintain exploitation, e.g. trade and tax policies
Why and how engage with global inequality?	Humanitarian reasons Helping and teaching the Other	Political reasons Learning together
Objective for global citizenship education	To get students to act according to predefined goals and modes of action	To get students to reflect critically on their positionality, privilege and complicity, and to imagine alternative futures
Potential problems	Uncritical action Reinforcement of colonial relations	Paralysis, guilt, cynicism

In simplified terms, this typology highlights the problematic aspects of the soft approach and promotes a more critical version. For this study, the utility of the typology lies in its ideal type character, which can be, and has been, further developed and combined with other frameworks. For instance, Andreotti and Souza (2012) discuss the plurality of theoretical approaches that inform the notion of critical global citizenship. The authors identify two main theoretical strands: historical materialism and post-structuralism, which promote somewhat different educational strategies (Andreotti & Souza, 2012, pp.2-3). As an example, the strand of historical materialism might emphasize the need to give the power to the oppressed, while the poststructuralist strand might propose deconstructing dualistic notions of oppressors and the oppressed. Both strands, Andreotti and Souza maintain, come with their limitations: while the former can be said to overlook the complexity of power struggles, the latter can be accused of not providing an action plan in order to change the social order.

In general terms, the theoretical work on global citizenship seems to be moving away from dichotomic categorizations towards more intersecting and contextual understandings. In a literature review, Laura Oxley & Paul Morris (2013) discuss how scholars generally use categorizations such as

“globalisation from above vs. globalisation from below”, “vertical vs. horizontal global citizenship” or indeed “soft vs. critical global citizenship” in order to illustrate differences between “hegemonic” vs. “counter-hegemonic”, or, more bluntly, bad vs. good approaches to global education, often with arguments supporting the latter alternative (Oxley & Morris 2013, pp.303-304). Oxley and Morris (2013, pp.304-305) argue that while these categories are valuable in distinguishing different agendas within global education, they tend to be normative rather than empirically grounded and sometimes employ “stereotyped distinctions”⁹⁹. The authors then develop their own categorization, consisting of two overarching types: the cosmopolitan type and the advocacy type; the former described as “mainstream” in comparison to the latter “alternative” type. One inevitably asks how this typology differs from others, since it in many ways builds on earlier dichotomies. In my view, the main contribution of Oxley and Morris’s conceptualization is the emphasis on negotiations and tensions *within* and *across* the types as well as the call for more fine-grained typologies. Without going into detail about Oxley and Morris’s subtypes¹⁰⁰, I do find their conceptualization useful for analyzing how different dimensions of global education are manifested empirically and how these manifestations in complex ways relate to but also resist the abstract notion of hegemony¹⁰¹.

Another typology that provides an alternative to dichotomous categories is developed by Monisha Bajaj (2011) for human rights education, which despite the partly overlapping terminology is equally useful when analyzing global education. Bajaj’s three types are: 1) Education for Global Citizenship, often offered to privileged students, with a focus on international conventions and diplomacy, emphasizing civil and political rights; 2) Education for Coexistence, often targeted at multi-ethnic groups or post-conflict nations, focusing on learning to live together and emphasizing equity and non-discrimination; and 3) Education for Transformative Action, targeted at either marginalized groups for empowerment or at privileged groups for generating solidarity, with an emphasis on social and economic rights as well as a radical vision of social justice. The pragmatic view in this framework is that all three types are used in parallel depending on context, educational actors and their interests as well as the (alleged) needs of the target groups (Bajaj, 2011).

99 While I agree with the importance of empirical manifestations, I consider the term “stereotypes” ill-fitted when it comes to typologies, which are precisely developed to underline differences for analytical purposes, rather than intended as reflections of the complex empirical reality.

100 In their typology, both main types consist of four different subtypes. The cosmopolitan type is divided into the subtypes political, moral, economic and cultural; whereas the advocacy type entails the subtypes social, critical, environmental and spiritual (Oxley & Morris 2013).

101 For a discussion on hegemony, see section 4.2

The soft versus critical typology has also been further developed by Andreotti, Stein, Pashby and Nicholson (2016), who propose a triangular heuristic for analyzing the dynamic and contested notion of global citizenship. Their model, depicted in a slightly simplified form in Figure 2, consists of three types of global citizenship: critical, neoliberal and liberal, which are seen as simultaneously competing and intersecting.

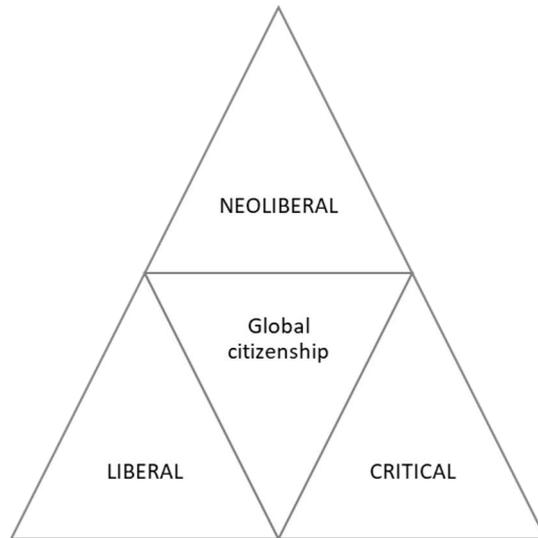


Figure 2. Intersecting types of global citizenship

(see Andreotti, Stein, Pashby & Nicholson, 2016, p.91)

An important contribution of this model, as I read it, is that it blurs the notion of “soft”, which can refer to both liberal and neoliberal types and their intersections. Simultaneously, it shows that anti-neoliberal agendas can be categorized as either critical or liberal and further, that the critical type might in some cases intersect with the neoliberal¹⁰².

This heuristic triangle has been further developed based on a meta-review by Pashby, da Costa, Stein & Andreotti (2020), in which the authors add a *neoconservative* type and a *postcritical* type to the model. The neoconservative type is placed as an annex to the liberal-neoliberal interface,

102 This conceptualization can also be seen as challenging and further developing Marshall’s (2011) technical-economic and social justice agendas, discussed in section 3.2

and described as a kind of de facto orientation in the political context of xenophobic nationalisms, where global relations are primarily connected to national security (Pashby, da Costa, Stein & Andreotti 2020, 153). Given the growing visibility of neoconservative movements promoting “traditional values”¹⁰³ and “freedom of expression”¹⁰⁴, this type is important to keep in mind when analyzing a range of tensions relating to *e.g.* diversity and migration.

By contrast, the notion of postcritical entails attempts to think outside the dominant modern/colonial imaginary (Pashby, da Costa, Stein & Andreotti 2020, p.156). According to the authors, the dominance of the other types is so strong that the postcritical becomes almost unimaginable or unintelligible for most people, particularly in global North contexts (*ibid.*, p.156). However, the authors stress the importance of including the possibility of the postcritical, which challenges the critical approach “as the ‘edge’ of available critiques” (*ibid.*, p.156). For the purpose of my study, I understand the postcritical as a way of stating that the critical should never be seen as fixed or final. Rather, critical approaches should always be regarded as context-dependent, and within each context, there are ways in which the boundaries of thinkable alternatives can be pushed and re-negotiated.

103 Neoconservative movements are particularly active in the areas of family, reproduction, sexual rights and gender diversity (see *e.g.* Mattio & Vaggione, 2018; Vaggione, 2018)

104 On the limits of freedom of expression and its relation to hate speech, see Pirjantanniemi (2017).

6. Review of previous research

6.1 Research on global education within formal education

In this section, I focus on empirical research and meta-reviews, because much of the theoretical work in the field of global education is in some way integrated in my theoretical framework in sections 3-5. However, it needs to be acknowledged that there is a growing body of theoretical literature on global education that I cannot do justice to in this dissertation. This literature includes a range of perspectives, such as the global dimension of citizenship (e.g. Banks, 2004; Davies, Evans & Reid, 2005; Marshall, 2009; Pike, 2008), cosmopolitan citizenship (Nussbaum, 2002; Jefferess, 2012, Osler & Starkey, 2009), the political dimension of global education (Lösch 2011), ideological constellations of global citizenship (Schattle, 2008), global education and gender (Marshall & Arnot, 2007, 2008) and global education as policy discourse (Mannion, G. Biesta, G. Priestly, M. & Ross, H. 2011). A number of handbook type publications combining theoretical debates with empirical and/or practice-oriented sections have also been published in the last two decades (see Bourn, 2020b, 2015, 2014; Gaudelli, 2003; Torres, 2017; Osler & Vincent, 2002), as well as anthologies with different conceptual foci (see Talib, Loima, Paavola & Patrikainen, 2009; Reynolds, Bradbery, Brown, Carroll, Donnelly, Ferguson-Patrick & Macqueen, 2015; Andreotti & de Souza, 2012).

I begin this section by discussing two research reviews that are relevant as a background to my study, since they provide an overview of recurring topics and findings in the field and also map under-researched areas. The first review, by Heela Goren and Miri Yemini (2017) is an extensive meta-study on international empirical research, and the second one, a systematic national review of Finnish global education research by Elina Lehtomäki and Antti Rajala (2020).

Goren and Yemini's (2017) review consists of research from 2005 to 2015. Their description of the review process is valuable in itself, as it includes a detailed description of the challenges that make it hard to map the research field, such as the elusiveness of the term global education and its ubiquitous usage as a buzzword. The authors group the studies in two ways: first, categorization according to nation or region (i.e., USA, Europe, Asia Pacific etc.) and secondly, categorization according to empirical focus (i.e., students, teachers, curricula). As regards regional differences, Goren & Yemini note that in European research, the notion of global citizenship is mostly conceptualized as a response to increasing immigration and as a means of promoting social cohesion, and understood as a paral-

lel construction to national and European citizenship. In turn, the studies in Asia focus on economic and political aspects of global citizenship, such as competitiveness and international relations. The research in the United States highlights the marginal status of global citizenship education within formal education. According to the authors, Canadian research is similar to the European studies, i.e., promoting the idea of a multicultural and peaceful nation. The research from Australia and New Zealand also concerns multiculturalism, but additionally, it clearly emphasizes the impact of human activity on the environment, which according to the authors is lacking in the other regions. For Africa and Latin America, the small sample size makes it problematic to compare these regions with the others. However, the authors observe that the research in Africa promotes human rights and empowerment of poorer students, whereas the Latin American research is more concerned with English language and connections to the United States. It should be noted that these differences are to some extent related to variations in educational terminology between geographical regions.

Goren & Yemini (2017, p. 176) note that, with a few exceptions mainly from the global South, advocacy type¹⁰⁵ approaches to global education were “nearly non-existent” across the regions. The authors suggest that global citizenship education tends to promote, albeit in heterogeneous ways, individual competencies and national competitiveness rather than global justice, which is particularly evident in the case of the United States and China (Goren & Yemini, 2017, p.176). However, at times it seems unclear to me whether Goren & Yemini base their conclusions on critical viewpoints of scholars from these regions, or whether they are critical of the lack of critical edge in the academic work of these scholars. In most cases, I assume the former to be the case.

In respect of their review of empirical foci, Goren and Yemini (2017, pp. 177-178) explicitly problematize the way in which the body of research on students is conducted. As an example, Goren & Yemini (2017, p. 178) question the fact that many studies equate global citizenship education with international mobility and technology, making it unattainable or irrelevant for large populations in the world. The authors also criticize researchers for focusing too much on students from majority backgrounds or socio-economically advantaged students, without a critical discussion on what global citizenship education could mean or look like for less advantaged populations, schools or individuals.

105 Goren & Yemini (2017) borrow terminology from Oxley & Morris (2013), who categorize global education in advocacy mode and cosmopolitan mode. I prefer to use the term type instead of “mode”.

In terms of the research on teachers, Goren and Yemini found that pre-service teachers are generally enthusiastic to teach about global citizenship, while in-service teachers find it challenging. A recurring theme in research findings is that teachers often fear any politicization of global citizenship education, by which the authors mean that teachers are reluctant to talk to their students about potentially sensitive or controversial topics and/or are afraid of being perceived as unpatriotic (Goren & Yemini 2017, pp. 178-179). Thus, Goren & Yemini argue that teachers contribute to the construction of global citizenship as something passive and vague.

As to their review of research on curricula, textbooks and educational policy, the authors discuss historical and geo-political explanations to national variations in global citizenship education, stating that the variations need to be understood as in different ways benefitting particular nation states. However, they also mention that different policy actors within a nation might have varying and even conflictive views on the goals and desired outcomes of global education (Goren & Yemini 2017, pp. 179-180).

In a systematic review of global education research in Finland, Elina Lehtomäki and Antti Rajala (2020) organize their findings according to the five dimensions of global education as defined in the Maastricht declaration: Development Education, Human Rights Education, Education for Sustainability, Education for Peace and Conflict Prevention and Intercultural Education. Their findings show that in Finland, intercultural education has been researched much more extensively than the other dimensions. This research covers, for instance, interculturality and global responsibility (see Räsänen, 2009a, 2009b), teachers' (inter)cultural competence (Acquah, 2015; Jokikokko, 2010); pre-service teachers' beliefs and awareness (Acquah & Commins, 2013, 2015;) and methods for intercultural learning (Piipponen & Karlsson 2019). In Finnish research, the terms "intercultural" and "multicultural" have been used almost interchangeably, but as Lehtomäki & Rajala (2020, pp. 10-11) note, there are also attempts at re-defining or deconstructing essentializing understandings of these terms (see for instance, Mikander, Zilliacus & Holm, 2018).

As to development education, Lehtomäki and Rajala (2020, pp. 6-7) note that the research, with a few exceptions, mainly focuses on educational development in the global South, while education on development issues as "globally connected phenomena" has received scarce attention

among scholars in Finland¹⁰⁶. The authors emphasize that in Finland, development education has to a large extent been shaped and delivered by NGOs (Lehtomäki & Rajala, 2020, 6-7).

In terms of human rights education, the research review suggests that Finnish teachers do not perceive themselves as human rights educators, that explicit human rights education is scarce in teacher education programs; and that in Finnish schools, human rights problems tend to be located somewhere else than in Finland (Lehtomäki & Rajala, 2020, pp. 11-12). Lehtomäki & Rajala (2020, p. 13) point out that this research mainly endorses the notion of human rights uncritically, and its liberal Western roots are seldom problematized. Further, research on peace education has been scarce ever since the 1990s, the authors (Lehtomäki & Rajala, 2020, pp. 13-14) only found two research papers, both of them focusing on history teaching and post-conflict reconciliation (Ahonen, 2014; Löfström, 2014). Concerning education for sustainability, research suggests that school leadership plays an important role in its implementation. Although most of this research focuses on the environmental dimension, there are many attempts to promote a holistic view of sustainability education, where the “ecological” and the “social” are seen as intertwined (Lehtomäki & Rajala 2020, pp. 14-16).

In addition to the five dimensions in the Maastricht declaration, Lehtomäki & Rajala (2020) found a few studies, some of which are discussed later in this section, that focus on global education as a cross-cutting theme or as a holistic approach to education. In what follows, I review in more detail some Finnish doctoral dissertations that are particularly relevant for my research.

One of the few studies explicitly using the term global education is Anna-Kaisa Pudas’ (2015) doctoral research, where she studied the incorporation of global education in Finnish basic education. The study was conducted through a document analysis of the national core curriculum (EDUFI 2004a) and the Ministry of Education’s global education program 2010 (Ministry of Education 2007), through questionnaires for principals, teachers and students as well as through textbook research. The central finding of Pudas’ study is that global education is not systematically implemented in Finnish schools. According to the results of the teacher questionnaires, global education is considered somewhat important, but it is

106 As exceptions, Lehtomäki and Rajala (2020, p.7) mention studies on partnerships between the global South and the global North that critically engage with development education (see Alasuutari, 2011; 2015; Janhonen-Abuquah, Lehtomäki & Kahangwa, 2017)

also perceived as vague and as an additional burden, something outside of the teacher's basic work (Pudas 2015, p.148). The conception of burden seems to be associated especially with tasks relating to plans, projects or cooperation with actors outside of school. Furthermore, Pudas (2015, p.141, p.148) also emphasizes that the implementation of global education depends strongly on individual teachers' knowledge and motivation. Simultaneously, Pudas (2015, p.144) observes that some of the themes included in the questionnaire, particularly "understanding and respecting difference and different cultures", were indeed perceived as part of everyday life in schools by a majority of teachers.

These results are somewhat similar to Mia Matilainen's (2011) findings about human rights education in Finland as something "strange" and "taken for granted" at the same time. On the one hand, Matilainen finds that teachers and students understand human rights to be something abstract, reserved for human rights experts and often situated in contexts outside of Finland; but on the other hand, she finds that human rights are in many ways part of the everyday practices of school life.

In Pudas' view, the lack of an explicit obligation in the national curriculum to include global education in school life is the primary reason for its peripheral status:

At the moment, when GE is not explicit and mandatory part of the official curriculum, the schools are not sufficiently resourced to teach GE; no concrete measures have been taken to develop for example textbooks from GE perspective; and the teachers are not supported to organise appropriate GE related activities. (Pudas 2015, p.149)

In this regard, some changes have occurred since Pudas conducted her research: global education is now mentioned in the curriculum for basic education (EDUFI, 2014a, p. 16), NGOs have started to cooperate with publishing houses in order to enhance global education perspectives in textbooks¹⁰⁷, and NGOs have been organizing in-service education in the field of global education for teachers across the country¹⁰⁸. Overall, Pudas' (2015) study provides an important background for my research, even though our research projects differ from one another in significant aspects such as theoretical framework, empirical focus and methods.

Hanna Alasuutari's (2015) doctoral dissertation explores North-South education sector partnerships from a postcolonial perspective, with a focus on discourses and representations at play in partnerships between

107 See chapter 10 in this study for an analysis of NGOs' advocacy towards with textbook industry

108 See chapter 11 about NGOs' teacher education.

Finland and Zambia as well as in Finnish development pedagogy. In her analysis on Finnish educational policy, Alasuutari finds that while the documents to some extent promote mutuality and reciprocity between North and South, there is a need for critical literacy and an ethical stance towards interculturality in order to “address the still dominant ethnocentrism and the lack of engagement with issues of power and representation in development and global education policy and pedagogical approaches in Finland” (2011, p. 88).

A related strand of research that is both theoretically and empirically relevant to my study relates to the notion of *othering* in education. In her doctoral dissertation, Anna-Leena Riitaoja (2011) studied everyday school practices in two schools in Helsinki with a focus on how otherness is constructed in relation to intersections of social categories such as race, gender and class. In analyzing her ethnographic material, Riitaoja describes how both students and staff are involved in processes of differentiation and categorization, which affect whose voices are heard in school. In particular, the study shows how some students are labeled more deviant than others and thus become objects for worry and normalization. According to Riitaoja (2011), these generally well-meaning attempts towards inclusion tend to end up reproducing notions of “normal” and “abnormal”, where the Finnish white, middle-class subject is contrasted with an irrational and intolerant Other.

Pia Mikander’s (2015; 2016a; 2016b) doctoral research on the topic of Westerners and Others in Finnish school textbooks illustrates how the West is discussed in history, social science and geography textbooks in relation to the rest of the world. Mikander (2016a) finds that even though outright racist discourse has mostly disappeared from the textbooks, there are many ways in which the West is depicted as superior, for instance, by hiding or justifying Western usage of violence, by neutralizing the control of non-Western migration and by depoliticizing global inequality. These findings are particularly relevant to my analysis of the NGOs’ textbook advocacy in chapter 10.

6.2 Research on global education as NGO school interaction

6.2.1 International research

In this section, I present examples of relevant empirical studies on NGOs in international research. The examples - all closely related to global education or related concepts - mostly concern NGO school interaction explicitly but also NGOs as educational actors more broadly.

Harriet Marshall (2005) has studied NGO workers' perspectives on global education within secondary schools in England. In her interview material, the NGO workers are concerned about the marginal status of global education in the national curriculum. These NGO workers promote a cross-curricular implementation of global education, but simultaneously see this as an ideal that is challenging to put into practice; partly, because of traditional understandings of subject boundaries and partly, due to variations in teachers' and school leaders' interests. Even though the NGOs overall perceive the (then) new curriculum for citizenship education as a potential opportunity for promoting global education, the interviewees have varying views on the relationship between global education and citizenship education: while some perceive the citizenship education curriculum as raising the profile of global education, others argue that the curriculum is permeated by "the liberal-individualist 'official' definition of citizenship" which is incompatible with the NGO workers' perspective on global citizenship (Marshall, 2005, pp. 84-89). Further, Marshall describes how the different NGOs engaged in global education are connected to diverging, and sometimes competing or conflictive, traditions (in terms of values, roots and visions), but unfortunately this idea is only superficially discussed in the analysis and conclusions.

Amy Skinner and Matt Baillie Smith have studied the lived experiences of NGO practitioners within global education from 15 different countries on all continents, with a focus on how the practitioners' professional identities "shape and are shaped by" global education (Skinner & Baillie Smith, 2015, p. 8). Through their analysis, they show how the practitioners' working conditions are defined by precariousness and constant change, due to which the practitioners develop coping strategies and also constantly negotiate their "in-between" role as professionals *and* activists. The important contribution of Skinner & Baillie Smith's study is precisely that it sheds light on how the NGO practitioners understand and make sense of their everyday work, which often involves tensions and contradictions. As an example, the donors' views of a successful global education project, measured in the number of participants, might not correspond with the practitioners' views of success, which tend to be more focused on impact and transformation (Skinner & Baillie-Smith, 2015, p. 13). Additionally, the

study illustrates the blurred lines between payed work, voluntary work and free time; the practitioners explain that they engage in activities related to global education in multiple roles and that they often work extra hours without compensation.

Skinner & Baillie Smith (2015) also discuss the question of different traditions within global education. Building on the practitioners' interviews, the authors argue that global education should be recognized and valued as a cross-roads where different professional backgrounds, educational approaches and perspectives come together with varying emphasis (Skinner & Baillie Smith, 2015, p. 18). According to them, mainstreaming and the quest for coherence within global education risks leading to standardizations that obscure the diversity of perspectives across the field of practitioners. The article also sheds light on geographical differences between practitioner conceptualizations of global education. While practitioners in the Global South generally root their work firmly in local communities, practitioners in the Global North tend to focus on providing a "toolkit" for students to influence the world out there, somewhat disconnected from the local context (Skinner & Baillie Smith, 2015, pp. 18-19). However, the practitioners in the Global North state that they are increasingly paying attention to the local contexts especially after the economic crisis of 2008 and the austerity measures following it. As noted by the authors, global education increasingly needs to pay attention also to those in the global North facing problems created by the global capitalist system (2015, pp. 20-21) – a point I return to later in this section.

Skinner & Baillie Smith (2015, pp. 23-25) also discuss idealism versus realism in the practitioners' self-reflexive accounts, which in my view can be connected to Andreotti's (2006) ideal types of soft and critical global citizenship education¹⁰⁹. The practitioners report that over the years, they have become more pragmatic and less "black and white" about how they pursue social change (2015, pp. 23-25); this notion of "softening up" over time provides an additional dimension to the soft versus critical divide. The authors argue that this tendency should not *only* be understood as a result of "neoliberal professionalization" or as "just a sign of de-politicization". They argue that the "realist idealism" endorsed by many practitioners should *also* be seen as a way of humbly limiting the practitioners' own imagined agency and as a way to deal with the tensions in their work (Skinner & Baillie-Smith, 2015, pp. 24).

109 See section 5.5

In addition to this study, practitioner perspectives have also been studied from a comparative perspective (Brown, 2018) and from the perspective of learning spaces (Le Bourdon, 2018). In a recent study on development education, the analytical focus is placed on embodied knowledge and practices (Bullivant, 2020).

Jessica Pykett, Paul Cloke, Clive Barnett, Nick Clarke and Alice Malpass (2010) have studied NGO school interaction focusing on fair trade educational initiatives in two schools in England. As a starting point, the authors challenge the thought of fair trade campaigns in schools having pre-determined effects on those being educated. Further, the authors reject the notion of fair trade education as “just another incarnation of neoliberal market principles promoting the production of individualised consumers” (Pykett et al., 2010, 492). Instead, they emphasize the unpredictability of education and the variety of ways in which pedagogies are experimented and citizenship issues are negotiated (for another study on citizenship education with a similar argument, see Buire & Staeheli, 2017).

In the study by Pykett et al. (2010), ethnographic accounts from two schools illustrates this variety: in the first case, a high-achieving performing arts school, the fair trade initiative was implemented by an active student group organizing student performances, meeting Nicaraguan producers and campaigning for fair trade both inside and outside the school, resulting in the re-writing of the school’s catering contract. In the second case, a lower-achieving college specialised on entrepreneurship, the fair trade initiative took the form of a small business run by a student group. The group had more of a commercial approach compared to the more campaign-oriented group in the first school, with the format of selling fair trade products to peers and teachers for profit. In this second school, the students were motivated more by what they could gain in terms of merits and working experience, than by the notion of taking a political stand, which was a prevalent idea in the first school. What the authors argue is that school profiles and socioeconomic aspects affect how students make sense (and use) of fair trade education. In my view, this ethnographic study makes a valuable contribution by contextualizing the initiatives in these two schools. Nevertheless, especially the second school could perfectly *also* be analysed an example of a neoliberal co-optation of social justice pedagogy.

Another important point that Pykett and colleagues (2010) emphasize, is the relation between school and the surrounding community (families, politicians, organizations) in providing the students with (social, cultural and material) resources for their projects. In both schools, the importance of what they call gate-keeper teachers is underlined when it comes to

implementing the NGO campaigns. As the students know and trust these teachers, it is easier to involve students in campaigns through them, rather than directly through the NGO workers, who do not have access to the students in the same way (Pykett et al., 2010, pp. 496-497).

Claudia Bergmüller (2016) studied NGO school interaction in Germany in the context of a Pilot School project, which entailed a long-term attempt at incorporating for global education in specific schools. Exploring the distinct logics and structures that guide NGOs and schools, Bergmüller illustrates three kinds of trade-offs in NGO school interaction: 1) the trade-off between formal and non-formal education, 2) the trade-off between knowledge and action, and 3) the trade-off between external enrichment and internal professionalization. The study particularly illustrates the challenges and choices that teachers face when striving to promote global education with the support of NGOs.

Tasneem Ibrahim (2005) has compared NGOs' educational materials with commercially published materials relating to global education. The author finds that there is a significant difference in approaches between the two types of materials. In the NGO materials, students are invited to reflect on their own values and attitudes, choose topics that concern them and participate in taking action, while the commercial materials are more content-based, with a focus on acquiring and communicating in-depth knowledge. As a conclusion, Ibrahim (2005, pp.191-192) states that schools need both types of resources in order to enhance global citizenship. Further, the author encourages NGOs to declare their value positions more clearly, since this would make it easier for teachers and students to grasp the social justice perspective underpinning NGOs' global education.

Several authors have addressed the question of NGOs' potential for contributing to radical social change through global education. Writing about the Irish context, Stephen McCloskey (2011) argues that if NGOs wish to present their agendas as alternatives to dominant models, they need to critically engage people with how neoliberal globalization affects locally, *i.e.*, in the global North. McCloskey discusses how development NGOs have been mostly silent concerning domestic neoliberal economic policymaking, such as IMF interventions in Ireland, which according to the author constitutes a lost opportunity to educate the Irish people on the troubling experiences of IMF lending programs in the global South. NGOs' reluctance to engage with domestic politics is, according to McCloskey (2011, p.6), partly related to their dependency of government funding and partly due to their fear of appearing too controversial in the face of the (donating) public. However, McCloskey's argument is that NGOs could strengthen their public support by taking a stance in local questions with strong glob-

al connections as well as by promoting their own visions for social change, rather than by following funder priorities.

In a similar manner, April Biccum (2015) problematizes the absence of domestic social challenges in global education. In her study on the global education resources and projects in the UK and Australia, Biccum argues that the radical potential of NGOs tends to be co-opted in the course of their networked cooperation with the government agencies. As examples she mentions how the NGOs' initiatives are disproportionately benefiting children in affluent areas and better-performing schools and, more broadly, how the NGO educators' autonomy in carrying out the projects is circumvented by state funding mechanisms (Biccum, 2015).

In a study on the state of NGO school interaction in South Korea, Jae-Eun Noh (2018, p.11) notes that big established NGOs such as World Vision Korea gain access to cooperate with thousands of schools due to the organization's reputation and its nationwide network, whereas smaller NGOs have difficulties to get in to schools. Noh (2018) recognizes both strengths and weaknesses with NGO-led global citizenship education. As a strength, Noh (2018, 12) mentions the NGOs' overarching social justice approach (albeit within varying implementations) in comparison to state-led approaches, but the author notes that local NGOs tend to copy their educational initiatives from international organizations and focus on "world hunger" without linking it to Korean society. Noh (2018, p.12) is critical of NGOs' lack of encouragement for students to "identify problems in their own society and to find strategies to solve the problems". In another article, Noh (2019) focuses on the legitimacy (a key term in my study as well) of NGOs as providers of global citizenship education. However, while Noh's objective is to prove that the role of NGOs in schools is legitimate, my approach is about studying how the NGOs themselves legitimate their involvement with schools¹¹⁰.

6.2.2 Finnish research

In Finnish research on global education and related areas, NGOs are sometimes mentioned as important partners for the school world (see *e.g.* Lehtomäki & Rajala 2020; Cantell & Cantell 2009; Matilainen 2011) but they are seldom in focus. In addition to my previous publications (see Henriksson 2017a; 2017b; 2019), there are only a few studies that specifically analyse NGO school interaction in the Finnish context, which I present below.

110 For my analysis on NGOs' legitimation of their school cooperation, see particularly section 9.4

Helena Allahwerdi (2001) has studied the UN Association of Finland (UNA Finland)¹¹¹ as an educational actor within international education in Finnish schools. In her doctoral dissertation, Allahwerdi (2001) first provides a historical overview of UNESCO's recommendations on international education and then, an analysis of how these recommendations were implemented in Finland, concluding that the implementation into everyday educational practices has not been successful. Allahwerdi's main empirical contribution concerns her analysis of UNA Finland's educational project, the Challenge to Global Citizenship Maturity Test - widely used in Finnish schools. As data, the author uses 811 tests performed in elementary, secondary and teacher education. Allahwerdi's research objective is to study this test as a learning method, and in the conclusions, she suggests that the test should be made an integral part of formal education.

Alemanji Aminkeng Atabong's (2016) doctoral thesis on anti-racism education in Finland, which he studies through the theoretical framework of coloniality and whiteness theory, includes an analysis of NGO school cooperation. In a joint article with Fred Dervin (see Aminkeng Atabong & Dervin, 2016), the authors explore anti-racism workshops in secondary schools organized by an NGO called Walter, problematizing the kind of questions the NGO educators pose the students about racism. The authors suggest that, instead of asking if certain people or groups are racist, racism should be discussed as a system of oppression. Similarly, Aminkeng Atabong and Mafi (2018) argue that even though the NGO Walter's workshops do offer students insights into intersections of race, nationality and other social categories, these insights are not enough if the notion of Finland as an equal country is not deconstructed. According to the authors (Aminkeng Atabong & Mafi, 2018), the NGOs do not provide a historical and systemic background on racism and hence, fail to critically examine power relations that produce and maintain racist structures in Finnish society.

From a similar theoretical perspective, Minna Seikkula (2020, 2019) has also studied NGO education¹¹² with a focus on anti-racism, although not limiting her research to school cooperation. With a discourse analytical approach, Seikkula (2019) analyses NGOs' guidebooks, websites, leaflets, posters and videos, with a focus on how racism is defined as a problem and what kind of solutions are promoted. According to the author, NGO campaigns in different ways contribute to mainstreaming anti-racism, by which she means "making advocacy against racism known, appealing

111 UNA Finland is included among the NGOs in this study as well, although I do not study the Global Citizenship Maturity Test as Allahwerdi does.

112 Several of the NGOs in Seikkula's study are also included in my research, namely: The Peace Education Institute, Finnish Refugee Council, Plan Finland and the Finnish Red Cross.

and easy for a White general public” (Seikkula 2019, p. 6). Further, Seikkula distinguishes three ways of defining racism in the NGO materials: 1) as exceptional acts in a generally non-racist society, that is, one-off events, often associated with the underclass as opposed to “respectable middle-classness” (Seikkula 2019, p. 8), 2) as a universal feature of everyone’s beliefs, referring to prejudices that all human beings have, which according to Seikkula (2019, p. 9) conflates all types of prejudice in a problematic way without considering the unequal power relations involved, and 3) as an abstract problem within invisible structures, by which the author means that the NGOs do not specify and exemplify concrete discriminatory practices and do not promote structural changes to tackle the problem. In the conclusions, Seikkula (2019, p. 11) argues that the NGOs’ anti-racism education does not sufficiently challenge current social structures, and calls for more politicized efforts to change the dominant racial order in Finnish society.

6.3 Research on NGOs, youth and active citizenship

In addition to the (predominantly) educational research on global education, it is also relevant to include Finnish research that explores the role of NGOs in relation to active citizenship and young peoples’ participation outside the school world, since these studies provides research questions and analytical lenses that add to the studies presented in the previous sections. This research stems mainly from sociology and youth studies.

In her study on youth organizations in Finland, Hanna Laitinen (2018a) examines how employees legitimate their position as non-governmental organizations within youth work at a time when the third sector is increasingly hybridized.¹¹³ On the one hand, Laitinen finds that some of the organizations partly base their legitimation on special features of the third sector, such as members’ needs and wishes, autonomy in relation to other sectors and volunteering. On the other hand, the author notes that the organizations broadly tend to align with expectations coming from other sectors, notably the public sector but also with managerial discourses stemming mainly from the private sector. External expectations are rarely questioned and the organizations tend to highlight their adaptability to changing demands. Laitinen (2018a, 2018b) is worried about the fact that young people, the actual target group, are no longer the most important ones to be accountable to. Hence, she asks whether these organizations have sufficient autonomy to protest against potentially conflicting public or private demands that risk to obscure or jeopardize their task as third sector youth organizations.

113 For the term hybridization, see section 3.1

Anna Rytioja and Kirsi Pauliina Kallio (2018) have explored notions of citizenship as they are manifested in questionnaires targeting young people in Finland. The authors recognize - but also challenge - previous research that diagnoses young people as passive citizens. Their argument is that questionnaires, which is the most common method used in this type of studies, tend to focus on a predefined idea of citizenship, which does not enable the respondents to articulate their lived experiences of participating in society. From the perspective of NGOs, it is worth mentioning that the authors describe the UNICEF questionnaire as deploying a broader and more child-centered view on citizenship than the other questionnaires, in which citizenship is conceptualized from the perspective of adults and political institutions. Rytioja and Kallio (2018, p. 24) argue that attempts at “activating” young people through a restricted discourse on citizenship can also be seen as a form of control of political agency. Instead, the authors propose that more attention should be given to young people’s participation in connection to their more immediate life-worlds.

From a somewhat similar perspective, scholars within youth research in Finland explore young people’s understandings of participation and influence concerning climate change (Piispa, Ojajärvi & Kiilakoski, 2020). The focus is on those young people who identify as activists and are engaged in different types of collective action. The research analyzes how young people experience their possibilities of influencing climate change and which forms of political participation they find effective or meaningful.

To summarize this section, the previous research on global education, both theoretical and empirical, is abundant, but NGO school interaction is much less studied, especially in the Finnish context. In the few Finnish studies on NGOs carrying out global education, the research focus has been either on one specific NGO or on a specific dimension of global education, and in the case of Aminkeng Atabong’s and Seikkula’s research, without an explicit interest in global education as a whole. Intercultural education and recently also anti-racism have been studied, whereas research on development education is almost non-existent in Finland.

The multifaceted relation between schools and civil society in terms of their different institutional roles has not been widely discussed in the Finnish context¹¹⁴. Finally, research on civil society and youth participation can inspire new questions and perspectives for research on NGO school interaction, for instance, regarding organizational legitimacy and different conceptions of citizenship.

114 However, for a brief general discussion on the role of NGOs as places of learning, see Sahlberg (2001).

7. Research questions

The main focus in this study is on how NGOs in Finland attempt to influence formal education through different kinds of advocacy in the area of global education. Yet, the idea of a one-way influence from NGOs towards the school world is problematized and therefore, this relation is conceptualized as NGO school interaction. This conceptualization emphasizes the agency of both NGOs and other actors such as educational policymakers, textbook publishers, teachers and students, which all play a part in enactment of the complex and contested idea of global education. The term enactment, discussed in section 3.3, functions as an analytical lens for how global education is put into practice within specific discursive contexts.

In line with this theoretical understanding, the overarching research question is:

- How is global education enacted in the context of NGO school interaction in Finland?

In the four empirical chapters, I approach this general question through the following sub-questions:

- How do the NGOs negotiate their relation to each other and to the public sector? (chapter 9)
- How do NGOs legitimate their involvement in the school world? (chapter 9)
- How is global injustice framed in NGO advocacy in the context of curriculum reforms and textbook production? (chapter 10)
- How is the idea of being a global educator negotiated in NGOs' teacher education? (chapter 11)
- How is global citizenship negotiated in NGOs' school campaigns? (chapter 12)
- How are NGO campaigns integrated into school routines? (chapter 12)

These sub-questions arise from both theoretical interests and empirical delimitations; or more precisely, from cross-readings between theory and empirical material (see Jackson & Mazzei, 2013). A central concept for these sub-questions is *negotiation*, which connects to the policy enactment approach but is also compatible with the broader social constructivist perspective in this study. By focusing on negotiations, I wish to illustrate that meanings are not fixed but actively constructed and re-constructed by a plurality of actors. Negotiation involves processing, mediating and sometimes struggling for particular objectives.

Chapter 9 functions as an introduction to the empirical material. By combining theoretical tools from governance theory and social movement theory (discussed in chapters 3 and 4 respectively), I explore the NGOs as an epistemic community. The term epistemic community and the epistemic governance approach is discussed in section 3.4. In chapter 9, attention is also given to how the NGOs relate to the term global education and how they perceive their role in promoting it.

In chapter 10, I use framing theory to look at how NGOs promote the incorporation of global education into national curricula and textbooks. More precisely, I analyse injustice frames in NGO statements. The concept of framing is discussed in relation to social movement theory in section 4.3, and my use of framing theory is further specified in section 10.3.1. In chapter 10, I also look at how the NGOs improvement suggestions are incorporated, modified or ignored by other actors through examples from curricula and published textbooks.

Chapter 11 is about NGOs in the context of teacher education, which I study through the analytical lens of collective identity, discussed in section 4.4. More specifically, I explore how the idea of being a global educator is negotiated. This question has several dimensions; it concerns how NGOs promote global education as part of the teacher role, how teachers understand their role in relation to global education, and also, how identification as a global educator contributes to the enactment of global education. Using decolonial perspectives, discussed in chapter 5, I analyse how the topics of development and diversity are understood in teacher education contexts and how they are framed as relevant or irrelevant for the teacher profession.

Finally, in chapter 12, I explore NGOs' direct interaction with schools through two different questions. The first one is about how global citizenship is negotiated in NGOs' school campaigns. Through the conceptual focus on global citizenship, discussed in section 5.5, I analyse both NGO perspectives and student perspectives on what education for global citizenship is or should be about. Concerning the second question, how NGO campaigns are integrated into school routines, I am particularly interested in how the non-formal character of NGO education is combined with the everyday practices and structures of formal education.

Although the final question of integrating NGO initiatives into school routines is here separated as its own section, it can simultaneously be seen as synthesizing a broader central theme of this dissertation, which is the preparation of future citizens. In the conclusions, I return to this topic and discuss how global education in Finland involves constant negotiations over what kind of citizens we should be educating.

8. The ethnography

8.1 Introduction

This ethnographic study is multi-sited, consisting of numerous diverse, short-term engagements with the field. In this sense, my approach challenges the notion of ethnography as “deep immersion” in a single case study (Boswell, Corbett, Rhodes & Wood, 2017, p. 6). Rather than spending an extended period of time at the same place with the same people, my ethnography builds on studying layers and webs of NGO school interaction across a number of sites and including different types of actors and materials, as presented in sections 8.2 and 8.3. Ethnography has been described as a bricolage, connected by the researcher’s sensibility and engagement (Boswell, Corbett, Rhodes & Wood, 2017, p. 8). Indeed, I understand ethnography as something more than a method, or even a combination of several methods (Geertz 1973). I think of it as a methodological approach, as a way of experiencing, interpreting and engaging with the research topic (Lappalainen, 2007a, p. 10). This approach might seem like a tangled endeavour, and it certainly comes with the necessity of answering a set of methodological and epistemological questions such as: why is ethnography a suitable approach for the study of global education, or what kind of knowledge can ethnography generate?

The choice to conduct ethnography is motivated by my interest in analyzing how global education is enacted¹¹⁵ in different settings. My fieldwork among NGO workers, teachers and students gave me access to micro-level encounters where global education was advocated and negotiated, which in turn enabled me to provide *thick descriptions* of how global education is put into practice. Thick description, originally conceptualized by Gilbert Ryle (1968)¹¹⁶, entails analyzing the context and the meaning-making processes that surround a particular event or practice (see also Geertz, 1973, p. 6). During the fieldwork, I strived to position myself¹¹⁷ as an apprentice, wanting to learn how different actors make sense of their relation to global education. My engagement with the field allowed me to understand particular utterances or silences as meaningful because of the wider context they were situated in. For instance, when analyzing the material, this enabled me to see certain performances (such as a joke, or a

115 For this term, see section 3.3

116 The example provided by Ryle is the difference between a twitch and a wink; although both can be observed as a contraction of the eyelid, it is only by understanding cultural codes that one can learn to interpret when the contraction is a wink and thus a form of intentional communication, as opposed to an involuntary twitch (Geertz, 1973, p.6).

117 More on my positionality in section 8.4.

game of invisible basketball) as part of a collective identity building process, as opposed to random or irrational activities.

However, it would be problematic for me as a researcher to claim that I am able to decipher the research participants' true feelings or intentions. Ethnographic researchers do not claim to position themselves as knowing better than the participants themselves (see Hakala & Hynninen, 2007, p. 211). This is why *interpretation* is crucial for my understanding of (ethnographic) knowledge production. On the one hand, interpretation refers to how my material (the NGOs' statements, the educational materials, the interviews and so on) in themselves constitute an interpretation of reality (Silverman 1985, p.42). On the other hand, it refers to how I as an ethnographer interpret these interpretations¹¹⁸. Following the premises of interpretive ethnography (Denzin, 1997; Geertz, 1973), my writing is not an account of "what actually happened", but one reasonable interpretation guided by the theoretical framework as well as by my embodied experience of participating in the field.

In this ethnographic account, I do not only interpret specific texts or situations in themselves, but I also discuss how these relate to broader social institutions, discourses and power relations (see *e.g.* Denzin 1997, pp. 246-249). In this sense, I locate myself in the domain of critical ethnography, where the researcher is interested in challenging injustices or dominating discourses. This approach raises the question: critical towards *what?* (see Hakala & Hynninen, 2007, pp. 220-221). The answer to this question varies depending on the analytical focus, and it has also unfolded during my participation in the field, which is why I consider my approach a participatory form of critical inquiry (Denzin, 1997, p.248). As a general clarification, it must be stated that I am not opposed to global education, NGO education or the Finnish education system *per se*. Neither am I their unreserved advocate. Rather, the critical approach enables the interpretation of empirical manifestations of NGO school interaction from particular theoretical perspectives. For instance, decolonial perspectives guide my analyses of how development and global power relations are addressed in global educational contexts, while theories on citizenship support my interpretations of how students are encouraged to participate in "change-making".

My conception of critical ethnography is that it must go hand in hand with an *understanding* approach. In this research context, I see understanding as taking into account the structures of constraint (Silverman, 1985, pp. 35-37) within which the research subjects act and make sense of their relation to global education. Structures can be either formal and

118 The interpretation of interpretations has been conceptualized as double hermeneutics (see Winch, 1990, pp.86-91; see also Giddens 1979).

explicit, such as curricular requirements, or informal and tacit, such as ways of asking and responding. This perspective does not mean taking structures for granted, but including these in the critical analysis. Including structures in an ethnographic study is crucial for understanding, and without understanding, a critical stance risks remaining circular or pre-determined – or distant to the complexities of the field (see Tuori, 2009, p. 98). Further, understanding also relates to the ethics of ethnography, where the research subjects' views are taken seriously and are not overridden by the researcher's voice (see *e.g.* Silverman, 1985, p. 185).

Thus, the seemingly tangled road of ethnographic research turns into a comprehensible and unified whole through the researcher's methodologically informed and pragmatically motivated choices, delimitations and interpretations, which I discuss in more detail below. To summarize, ethnography highlights context and complexity, resists totalizing theories and emphasizes reflexive dialogue between myself as a researcher and all of the participants that allowed this study to take shape.

8.2 Scope and delimitations

In order to delimit the empirical study, I have restricted the scope of the research in four ways: 1) types of NGO school interaction, 2) educational level, 3) selection of NGOs and 4) temporal delimitation. However, as shown below, these delimitations are not always clear-cut. The first delimitation is related to my interest in mapping the multiple forms of NGO interaction with the school world. In this study, I focus on curriculum reforms, textbook production, teacher education and school campaigns. This means that, for instance, NGOs' global education taking place outside of school falls outside the scope of this research. The second delimitation concerns the choice of educational level. My focus is on secondary education, entailing lower secondary school (grades 7 to 9 of basic education) as well as general upper secondary school¹¹⁹. I chose secondary level because of its importance to the formation of young people's citizenship and their identity building at a stage between childhood and adulthood. Lower secondary school is a relevant educational level since it concerns all students in Finland as part of compulsory education. At this level, students follow the national core curriculum for basic education before diverging towards

119 In Finnish: lukio

different educational (and/or occupational) paths¹²⁰.

Including general upper secondary school in the study is based on several reasons. One reason is that the NGOs' educational materials are often directed to secondary education ranging from grade 7 upwards. Similarly, the teacher training occasions I attended were mostly open for teachers of different levels, meaning there were often teachers from both lower and general upper secondary schools present. I chose to leave out the vocational side of upper secondary education mainly because of my understanding that global education (including interaction with NGOs) is much more frequent within general upper secondary education¹²¹. General upper secondary school is in many ways a continuation of basic education with its focus on general knowledge¹²², while vocational upper secondary schools emphasize specialized vocational knowledge and practical skills, and global education seems to be perceived as more relevant to the former¹²³. Further, through my contacts in the NGO field, I was invited to participate in different types of NGO school interaction with general upper secondary schools at a time when I was somewhat struggling to get access to lower secondary schools. Thus, the scope of the educational level was also shaped by the aspect of accessibility, which I will return to later in this section.

The third delimitation is connected to the selection of NGOs for this study. Defining which NGOs "belong" in a study of global education is somewhat complicated due to the broadness of global education and the vagueness of its boundaries. My approach to this challenge is pragmatic. As a general basis for selection, I recur to the self-definition of NGOs, meaning that the NGOs included in this study express identification with the term global education in one way or another. First of all, I mean identification through membership in the Global Education Network in Finland, coordinated by the umbrella organization Fingo. All of the NGOs included are members of the network. Additionally, the NGOs chosen are engaged in global education in some or all of the following aspects: a) production of educational material labeled as global education b) participation

120 After completing basic education, around 53% of Finnish students continue to upper general secondary education while roughly 41% continue to vocational education (Statistics Finland, 2019, 4). Of the remaining 6% of students, most continue with some other type of education; those that do not, are considered at risk of social exclusion (see also Rinne & Järvinen 2010).

121 This understanding is based on my readings of policy documents as well as on my conversations with teachers and NGO workers in the field in 2016-2017.

122 In Finnish: yleissivistys

123 This conception is of course debatable. I agree with scholars who problematize how questions of human rights or global responsibility are ignored or downplayed within vocational education (see e.g. Schaffar, 2017). For an ongoing study on global education in vocational education in Finland, see Suhonen (2020).

in joint NGO statements around global education c) active involvement in the school world in the form of teacher education projects or school campaigns, and d) beneficiary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs' funding for global education.

Importantly, the NGOs do not form a homogeneous group. They represent different types of orientations (for instance, peace, human rights, development cooperation) which often reflect the subcategory of global education they emphasize (peace education, human rights education, development education) even though these divisions are not clear-cut (see Table 2 below). These include both national and international NGOs. They also differ in budget and staff size and the resources allocated for global education (see also Table 9 in section 9.1). I specifically chose to leave out teacher organizations, although there are *e.g.* some teacher associations that produce material for global education. I excluded them since I was primarily interested in NGOs as non-school actors.

Table 2. NGOs included in the study

The NGOs in bold are the ones that I have conducted interviews with, and the ones that I also describe in more detail in Table 9 in section 9.1.

Name of NGO	Main orientation to global education
1. Amnesty International Finnish section (Amnesty)	Human rights
2. Development Centre Opinkirjo	Citizenship
3. Fingo	Umbrella organization
4. Finn Church Aid + Teachers Without Borders Network	Development
5. Finnish Evangelic Lutheran Mission (FELM)	Development
6. Finnish Red Cross	Development
7. Finnish Refugee Council	Human Rights
8. Finnish Peace Committee	Peace
9. Forum for Culture and Religion FOKUS	Interculturality
10. Foundation for Environmental Education Finland	Sustainability
11. Friends of the Earth Finland (FoE)	Sustainability
12. Interpedia	Development
13. Operation A Day's Work Finland (ODW)	Development
14. Plan International Finland	Development
15. Pro Ethical Trade Finland	Sustainability
16. Seta LGBTI Rights in Finland (Seta)	Human Rights
17. Siemenpuu Foundation	Sustainability
18. The Finnish League for Human Rights	Human Rights
19. The Peace Education Institute	Peace
20. The Peace Union of Finland	Peace
21. UN Association of Finland (UNA Finland)	Peace
22. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	Human Rights
23. Youth Academy	Citizenship
24. World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)	Sustainability

Altogether, my study incorporates 24 NGOs. I generally analyze the NGOs as a united, albeit heterogeneous, epistemic community (Haas 1992). Not all NGOs are studied in detail. Throughout the empirical sections, the analytical focus shifts between depicting the NGOs as a community with a shared agenda, as thematic clusters, such as development NGOs and human rights NGOs, and as separate organizations with their own agenda-setting. This means that some of the NGOs are only included as part of the community, for instance, by having signed a statement of the Global Education Network. Some of the NGOs are studied more in-depth. I have conducted interviews with the 14 NGOs marked in bold in Table 2, and for most of these organizations, observations and educational material are also included in the analysis.

When choosing which NGOs to study in more detail, preserving the variations mentioned above was an important criterion. In addition, the aspect of accessibility undeniably influenced the selection process for me as an ethnographic researcher. On the one hand, accessibility refers to getting information about, as well as being welcomed to participate in, the NGOs' activities. On the other hand, the accessibility aspect was dependent on my ability to participate due to personal and logistical constraints. In order to avoid extensive traveling, I restricted my fieldwork to Southern Finland. This means that my fieldwork was mostly conducted in bigger cities in densely populated areas, and not in the more rural parts of Finland.

The fourth and last delimitation concerns the temporal dimension of the study. The participant observation was conducted between April 2016 and February 2019. As the NGOs continuously produce new educational materials, I needed to narrow down this material. My decision was to focus mainly on the most recent materials of the NGOs, but also to include guidebooks from earlier years that were still in frequent use. Thus, the educational materials included in this study were produced between 2011 and 2018 (a list of the materials is found in appendix 1). Regarding the NGOs' advocacy work, I collected the NGOs' written statements from the years prior to the national curricular reforms for basic education (2014) and general upper secondary education (2015), NGO statements to publishing houses regarding textbooks for lower and upper secondary schools (2015–2018) as well as other topical NGO statements that were written during my field work period.

8.3 Material

8.3.1 Presentation of the material

Presenting the material of this multi-sited ethnography in an exact but concise form is a challenging task. Ethnography always entails material that is difficult or irrelevant to quantify. For instance, I did not keep track of how many informal conversations I took part in, or how many people I met during each fieldwork period. In Table 3, I provide an overview of the material, where the main types of material are presented. After the general overview, the different materials and my usage of them in the empirical sections are discussed in more detail.

Table 3. Overview of the material

Type of material	Description of material
Participant observation	Participation in NGO meetings, NGO education, teacher education, school campaigns and courses.
Interviews	Semi-structured interviews with NGO workers, teachers and students
Educational materials	NGOs' guidebooks and instructions for teachers, educational material for students, NGO campaign leaflets and flyers. This entails print, digital and audiovisual material.
Advocacy material	NGOs' written statements relating to national curriculum reforms, textbooks and global educational funding

The material presented above constitutes the main empirical basis of the research. In addition to this material, I have acquainted myself with relevant national and international documents that form part of the context in which the collected material is embedded. The most important documents of this kind are the national core curriculums for lower basic education and general upper secondary education (EDUFI 2014; 2015) and the United Nations' Agenda 2030 (see e.g. United Nations 2015)¹²⁴. In addition, I use printed textbooks in section 10 in order to illustrate how NGO advocacy is incorporated by textbook companies. Combining these different materials gives me access to different types of knowledge and takes into account the variations in practices and conceptualizations across the field.

124 These documents are discussed in chapter 2.

For instance, NGOs' educational materials provide a way to compare different agendas for global citizenship, while observations in schools give me insights into how these agendas are enacted¹²⁵ in interaction with the students. Also, some of the topics, such as funding, were discussed somewhat differently in interview situations and in informal discussions.

In Tables 4, 5, 6 and 7 the material is presented in more detail by roughly dividing it according to how I used it in the empirical sections. In practice, there are overlaps in my usage of the different materials.

Table 4. Material concerning the NGO network and its relation to the public sector

Type of material	Quantity of material	Description of material
Interviews with NGO workers	15 interviews	Recordings from interviews with altogether 17 interviewees from 14 NGOs
Participant observation	3 days	Notes and recordings from NGO network meetings concerning funding and project planning
Statements, funding	1 statement	Statement in defence of global education funding for NGOs

The interviewees were NGO workers with a variety of titles such as “global education coordinator”, “educational planner”, “coordinator for school cooperation” or simply “expert”. They were primarily full-time employees, with the exception of a few interviewees who defined their status as “somewhere between freelancer and volunteer”. The 15 interviews entailed altogether 17 interviewees from 14 different NGOs. They were mostly interviewed one-on-one. In two cases, the informants were interviewed in pairs of two, and in one case, I interviewed two people from the same NGO separately. These choices were made case by case, as I strived to listen to the informants' wishes concerning the interview situation. Out of the NGO workers, three were male and the rest (14) were female¹²⁶. The informants' age varied between 30 and 60 years. The duration of the interviews ranged between 50 to 75 minutes.

125 For the term enactment, see section 3.3.

126 Questions of gender among global educators are not in particular focus in this study; however, gender is discussed in section 11.5

The observations were conducted as online participation in three different events. The first meeting related to an NGO project proposal, the second event was a webinar on the basics of global educational project planning, and the third one was a meeting on the future of an NGOs' global educational funding. The statement on funding was written in connection to the meeting.

Table 5. Material concerning curriculum reforms and textbook production

Type of material	Quantity of material	Description of material
Statements, curriculum	7 statements	Statements regarding the national curricular reform for basic education (2014) and for general upper secondary education (2015)
Statements, textbooks	19 statements	Statements regarding textbook manuscripts for secondary schools
Interviews with textbook editors	2 interviews	Two e-mail interviews with open-ended questions

The statements were collected both through NGO websites and by contacting the umbrella NGO Fingo. Most statements are written collectively by the Global Education Network, and some by particular NGOs.

Table 6. Material concerning teacher education

Type of material	Quantity of material	Description of material
Participant observation, teacher education	19 days	In-service and pre-service education for teachers, both voluntary and mandatory
Participant observation, NGO meetings	3 days	NGO network meetings concerning teacher education project
Interviews with teachers	9 interviewees	Recording from face-to-face interviews (both individual and group interviews) and written responses from e-mail interviews
Feedback questionnaires for teachers	N=239 + N=63	Teacher participants' feedback concerning NGOs' teacher education project

In this section, the material collected through fieldwork is central. Altogether, I participated in 19 days of teacher education, consisting of 2 days of pre-service education for teacher students and 17 days of in-service education for teachers already working in schools. The format of these events varied: they included thematic workshops, interactive webinars as well as full-day seminars with a combination of lectures, panel discussions and parallel workshops. The duration of these events ranged from 2 to 8 hours, with the exception of the Global Education Summer Days which was a three-day seminar that I took part in twice. Most of these events were related to a two-year teacher education project called “The school changing the world”¹²⁷ organized by 21 NGOs and coordinated by the umbrella organization Fingo, formerly called Kepa¹²⁸. In relation to the project, I also participated in three NGO meetings related to planning and evaluating the project¹²⁹.

127 In Finnish: *Koulu maailmaa muuttamaan*. The Finnish name of the project is intended as word play: literally, the project title means “the school to change the world” or “the school changing the world” (which is the translation used in this dissertation) but it can also be interpreted as “Changing the school world”. This word play is illustrative for the NGOs’ agenda, according to which the school needs to change in order for society to change.

128 The organization Kepa merged with Kehys in June 2018 into a new NGO platform called Fingo. Thus, the activities prior to June 2018 included in this study were conducted by Kepa, but for the sake of clarity, I refer to the umbrella organization as Fingo throughout the dissertation.

129 For further discussion on my role in the project, see section 8.4.

The anonymous feedback material consists of two different sets of questionnaires developed and collected by Fingo: the first round of feedback (N=239) was collected directly after each teacher education event, while the second round (N=63) was collected at the end of the two-year project. My usage of the feedback forms is mostly restricted to the open answers, since these answers support a qualitatively oriented analysis.

The teacher interviews include individual interviews, e-mail interviews and one group interview. This variation is due to time constraints and logistical challenges over the course of my research; the interviews were conducted during different stages of the research process and partly for different purposes. My first objective was to interview teachers who were in charge of global education in their respective school or region. Four of my interviewees were coordinator teachers for global education. My second objective was to interview “regular” teachers, i.e., teachers without explicit professional tasks or responsibilities related to global education, on their thoughts on global education, but it was hard to find teachers who were willing and able to meet up for an in-depth interview regarding this topic. I carried out these latter interviews in relation to my role as external evaluator of Fingo’s teacher education project. Due to the schedule of the evaluation, conducting e-mail interviews was the most pragmatic choice. All of the interviewed teachers were female.

Table 7. Material concerning school campaigns

Type of material	Quantity of material	Description of the material
Participant observation in schools	19 days	11 workshops, 8 lectures and 3 days of fundraising campaign
Participant observation, training for school visitors	2 days	One 2-day training for current and future school visitors
Interviews with students	16 interviewees	4 group interviews with 3-5 students/interview
Educational material	19 sources	NGO educational materials for secondary schools

The participant observation was conducted in different lower and upper secondary schools in Southern Finland, including six different NGOs. The duration of the workshops was 45-90 minutes. By workshops, I mean NGOs’ school visits that were conducted as part of the teaching of a school

subject such as History, Religion or Swedish, or formed part of a course, such as Active Global Citizenship. In contrast, the eight lectures mentioned in Table 7 constituted a coherent course called “Even war has rules” organized by the Red Cross in a general upper secondary school. Further, the fundraising campaign refers to the Hunger Day campaign organized by the Red Cross, related to which I observed and conducted interviews in a lower secondary school.

The students were interviewed in groups of three to five participants. Three of the interviews were conducted in a lower secondary school, with 14-15-year-old students from grade 8 and 9. One interview was conducted at an upper secondary school with second- and third-year students aged 17-19. This interview was conducted in relation to a course called Active Global Citizenship. The interviewees were selected by asking for volunteers. Among the lower secondary school students, 9 out of 10 interviewees were male. A possible explanation is that for these boys, a motivating factor for volunteering was that the interviews were conducted during the school day. Another explanation could be that these boys were in the (power) position to shout out their names when I asked for volunteers. Contrarily, all of the five upper secondary school students were female. This can partly be explained by the fact that male students were a clear minority in the class I visited. Also, in this case, I had the time to pass around a sign-up list where those who wanted to participate could write down their names, which was perhaps a good strategy to attract also shy students.

The two-day school visitor training was organized by Friends of the Earth Finland and Pro Ethical Trade in collaboration. Although the process of recruiting and training varied to some extent between different NGOs, participating in this training gave me some insights into the practices of becoming a school visitor, as well as into the ways that NGO agendas are negotiated between employers and volunteers.

8.3.2 Collection and documentation

In this section, I discuss the process of material collection, here focusing especially on the practices of where and how I gathered the material. Large parts of the material for this study cannot be characterized as data “out there” waiting to be *collected*. Especially when referring to participant observation and interviews, I prefer to refer to it as production of ethnographic material. In this production process, the relationship between observing, participating and documenting is crucial.

I mainly documented through field notes, and additionally, I used audio recordings in approximately half of the observations. The decision of whether to record or not depended on my assessment of the situation: when I felt that the recorder could bother the participants and/or when I did not have the opportunity to ask the participants for permission to record, I only wrote down field notes. However, there were exceptions when I did record, for instance, seminar lectures without permission of all participants, which I discuss in section 8.6 on ethical considerations.

Ethnography entails a lot of writing. Although the fieldwork encompasses all senses, these impressions are articulated for the reader through written text. For the ethnographer, it is impossible to capture “everything” in a particular setting, and it is even more impossible to write “everything” down (Lappalainen, 2007b, p. 127). Documenting always implies choices about what to focus on. Going into the field, a set of theoretical perspectives served as my tools and continuously steered my focus to a varying extent (Huttunen, 2010; Lappalainen, 2007b). The way I employed this theoretical toolkit varied within or between different field settings. For instance, when attending an NGO meeting, I focused on how NGO workers discussed their role in relation to schools, while at a workshop on development, I was more focused on how countries in the global South were represented.

When taking field notes, I always used a notebook and a pen. My handwritten notes filled 15 A5 notebooks with more or less densely jotted notes. Due to the multisitedness of my fieldwork, I always began with a short description of the setting¹³⁰. Further, I structured the field notes in what Harriet Strandell (1994) calls episodes, that is, dividing the notes according to the activities in the field, such as warm-up exercise, group discussion, lunch break, and back stage talk. Depending on the setting, the rest of my field notes revolved more or less around verbal interaction. In this sense, it might be said that my observation was sometimes more focused on listening than on watching (see Lappalainen, 2007b, p. 123). The focus on speech was also supported by the audio recordings, which made it possible to transcribe longer conversations in their exact form. My listening was attentive to elements that were repeated from one setting to another on the one hand, and surprising utterances or discussions on the other hand.

I often wrote down notes while participating. This was possible when participating involved mainly listening. Other times it was impossible or unreasonable to document on the spot. Global educational workshops are often participatory in nature, which means that I was often too occupied

130 On the concept of setting, see section 8.5.1.

discussing, drawing or doing drama to jot down notes. Participating in different types of collective exercises also made me adjust my focus from verbal communication to other dimensions of the situation. In these cases, I used breaks in the program to write down the most important notes when they were still fresh in my memory. Most of the time I completed the field notes by hand directly after each day, while the next day, I would type up the notes on the computer. The step from handwritten to typed notes was important. The handwritten notes would sometimes only include a short dialogue, which I would turn into a situational description in the computer file. Other times, the field notes included short key words, or references to theoretical concepts, which I would continue to reflect upon when completing the notes. It also happened that the handwritten notes included fragments relating to something that I could not fully recall or reconstruct afterwards, which made me drop the note at that stage. Further, I carefully wrote down my own involvement in the field, such as my questions, comments or feelings, which helped me to reflect on my engagement and positionality¹³¹ vis-à-vis the field.

The interviews were semi-structured: for each type of interview (NGO workers, teachers and students), I prepared a set of themes and open-ended questions. These questions were addressed in varying depth depending on the interviewees' interests and knowledge as well as the dynamics of the interview situation. During the course of my research, I also modified some of the questions, added new ones and eliminated questions that seemed irrelevant or challenging to answer. All of the interviews were recorded and transcribed word for word. The interviews were mostly conducted face-to-face. Concerning the NGO workers, the interviews often took place in the NGO worker's office, which gave me a chance to get to know the varying social and physical environments of the different NGOs. Visiting the different NGO offices illustrated how different these workplaces are in terms of location, style and resources. For practical reasons, I conducted five of the NGO interviews through Skype. With one exception, I had gotten to know the informants beforehand during my fieldwork, which made the virtual interview-situation comfortable and confident enough. However, in two of the interviews, technical problems posed challenges for the audiovisual interaction, which in one of the cases led to difficulties in transcribing the informant's responses.

In the group interviews with students, I used semi-structured questions in combination with "keyword sheets" in order to facilitate the interview situation. As I was interested in how the students perceived citizenship education in schools, I had prepared A4 sheets with words such as "volunteer work" and "consumption and lifestyle" which I used at the end of the

131 For my positionality, see section 8.4

interview in order to discuss topics that related to different dimensions of citizenship education.

When transcribing the interviews and selected field recordings, I strived to find a balance in focusing on both preserving the real-life qualities of human interaction and presenting the content of a conversation in a reader-friendly form. In contrast to linguistic approaches, I have not included aspects such as intonation, inhalations or shifts in pitch, yet I have included, for instance, non-verbal activity and interruptions. The transcription symbols I use throughout the analysis are described with examples in Table 8. All interviews were conducted in Finnish or Swedish.

Table 8. Transcription symbols

Symbol/example	Description
[at this school]	Researcher’s clarification or substitute for identifiable detail
[...]	Edited part of interview extract
((<i>laughs</i>))	Non-verbal utterances or gestures
<u>but</u>	Speaker’s emphasis
ACTUALLY	Speaker raising their voice
“skip class”	Speaker quoting/imitating someone else
Well -	Interrupted utterance
- I think	Interruptive or simultaneous utterance
<i>obligations</i>	Researcher’s italics for analytical emphasis

8.4 Positionality, involvement and distance

Analyzing one’s own positionality as a researcher is a key dimension when striving for a reflexive and ethical relationship with the field (Lappalainen, 2007a, 10). An ethnographic researcher is never someone who just “hangs around”, there are always power relations at play in a research setting (Tuori, 2009, p. 77). On the one hand, as a researcher, I was in the position of asking, examining and documenting what was going on. On the other hand, the participants were often curious about my research, which meant that they also approached me with questions. During the fieldwork, my role and the ways in which I participated varied. Most of the time I acted as a participant among the others, meaning I listened, observed and took part in the activities. However, I also participated by communicating about my research during the fieldwork. Additionally, during one period of the research, I had the double role of an ethnographer and a project evaluator

simultaneously. There were also moments when my role was unclear to the participants, or where I had to make decisions regarding the boundaries of my participation.

A classic concern of ethnographers is how to get into the field. In my case, this part was fairly straightforward, which I believe is explained by two reasons. First, in contrast to ethnographies that study groups considered vulnerable or deviant, an ethnography on global education does not face the same challenges. Secondly, the (global) educators, whether NGO workers or teachers, were generally supportive of academic research. My first contact with the field was made through my participation in a large-scale seminar for teacher students, organized by the Global Education Network. This first contact, which was partly due to luck, as I happened to get a tip from a fellow PhD student, was very significant in terms of shaping my conception of the field. At the seminar, I got to know the coordinator of the two-year NGO-led teacher education project “The school changing the world” that had then just started. The coordinator invited me to their next NGO meeting and from there, I started making contact with the different NGOs involved in the project. Initially, my plan was to focus only on NGO campaigns in schools and to select a few NGOs that I would compare with one another. Entering the field, I noticed that the NGOs’ cooperation was interesting in itself, and that I should include also teacher education and educational advocacy conducted by the Global Education Network.

Through the teacher education project, I was acquainted with coordinator teachers for global education from different municipalities. These contacts led me to somewhat alter my conception of the subfield of teacher education: it was not only about a one-way advocacy from NGOs to teachers but often based on shared interests between educators. Some teachers play an active part in advocating for global education in their respective municipal environments. In this study, municipal policymaking is not studied in any detail, but the municipal context is included in the analysis if and when it illustrates the structures of global educational teacher education.

Overall, I was warmly welcomed to both the NGO meetings and the teacher education events. The initial field I had in mind, NGO campaigns taking place in schools, turned out to be somewhat more challenging to access. The challenge was primarily practical: in addition to principals and teachers, I often needed to contact both national and regional NGO coordinators as well as local volunteers in order to confirm my participation, which was time-consuming and sometimes challenging due to busy schedules and changing plans. There were also cases where either an NGO coordinator or a local volunteer politely declined having an observer taking

part. The volunteers were often quite unexperienced, which might have affected their willingness to be observed. Similarly, I was respectfully turned down from participating in a volunteer training, as the NGO coordinator wished to offer the new volunteers “the safest possible learning space”. In this sense, I am aware that a challenge in my multi-sited research was to overcome the status of the “hit-and-run ethnographer” (Boswell, Corbett, Rhodes & Wood 2017) and to build long-term relationships of trust within the field. A couple of times the NGOs also declined my request by stating that too many outsiders in the classroom would confuse the students. One of the NGOs suggested that I could participate in the role of a school visitor, an invitation which I declined. The idea of performing as an NGO volunteer and promoting a specific NGO’s agenda felt methodologically problematic, since my approach was not action research oriented and further, because I wanted to maintain a similar kind of position in relation to all of the NGOs in the study.

Assessing my relation to the participants from an intersectional perspective, there are factors that dampen the hierarchical relationship between researcher and participants. The participants were mostly highly educated with a master’s degree like myself, and several among the NGOs had a doctoral degree. A particularity of my research was also that the research field and the academic field often overlapped or interacted. Being a researcher among other research-oriented people was mostly a benefit in my view. Half-way through my project, I was invited to co-coordinate a new research network for global education in Finland, which, in order to promote dialogue between research and practice, also included the umbrella NGO Fingo.

Moreover, as the research was conducted in settings where the participants performed in their professional roles, my participation was probably not as marked as might be the case in ethnographies of more private spheres of life. In terms of age, I was younger than most of the adult participants, and sometimes people mistook me for a master student. As a blonde Finnish-speaking woman, I blended in easily with the mostly Finnish-speaking and often predominantly female participants¹³². Being relatively young perhaps made me seem like less of an authority and also as someone that the participants themselves could advise. As an example, I provide an extract from my field notes, where one of the organizers, a middle-aged man, welcomes me to the seminar:

The organizer and I shake hands. In a relaxed and friendly way, he welcomes me and says “I hope you embraced the point in the email I sent you, that we wish that you actively take part in the activities. You see, here we begin by telling the researcher how to conduct research”. He

132 Gender and race among participants are further discussed in section 11.3.3

laughs and I laugh with him. I answer him that “it’s is good that you tell me how you want me to participate, as there are so many different ways of doing things”.

(Field notes from teacher education seminar, 2016)

As a Finnish-Swedish bilingual person working at a Swedish-speaking university, I was perhaps a bit of an outsider. While the NGOs generally had different kinds of connections to universities and researchers, Åbo Akademi University was generally not a familiar partner to the NGOs, and the Swedish language was seldom used or even discussed in the field. Nevertheless, my connection to the Swedish language did create some situations where I had to negotiate my positionality as a researcher. During an informal chat just before a teacher workshop, an NGO worker mentioned that she had some Swedish-speaking educational materials with her and that perhaps I, as she put it, “as a person who moves in Swedish-speaking circles” could distribute to Swedish-speaking teachers. Surprised by the request, I responded somewhat evasively that I did not see that as my role at this point. Again, I did not want to become a spokesperson for a particular NGO or their material.

Later during the research process, I was approached via email by an NGO worker I had met during my fieldwork. She first asked me about faculty staff she could contact regarding pre-service teacher education that the NGO wanted to offer to Swedish-speaking teacher students, to which I responded with some names. As an employee of the university, I felt more comfortable and perhaps also more obliged to support the NGO in this particular issue. After this, our email communication developed into a mutually supporting correspondence. In the extract below, which exemplifies my engagement with the field, the NGO worker asks me for linguistic support concerning their educational material.

NGO worker’s email: We have just had [the educational material] translated into Swedish. It was translated by a professional translator, but I was left pondering one of the translator’s choice of words. In the Finnish version we have spoken about targets of hate speech¹³³, not victims of hate speech¹³⁴, because we do not want to use victimizing language. The translator was of the opinion that in Swedish it was quite ok to use the word victim¹³⁵ in this case. What do you think of this? It is a bit funny to ask you for help with this, but at the moment I don’t really have any other Swedish speaking contact, who would have a background in critical social thought. Thank you so much for the help!

133 In Finnish: vihapuheen kohteista

134 In Finnish: vihapuheen uhreista

135 In Swedish: offer

Heidi's email in response: Quite a difficult question you posed. I think it's good that you avoid victimizing language, even though this is, in a way, about victims. [...] An option could be "the exposed"¹³⁶ or maybe more correctly "a person exposed to hate speech", which is of course a longer expression, but on the other hand, it is less victimizing and passivizing.

NGO worker's response: Hey thanks! Exposed is very good and it is widely used in these types of contexts.

(E-mail correspondence, 2018)

Partly, my conception of staying "neutral" altered as I spent more time in the field, but I reflected on my involvement concerning these requests on a case-by-case basis. The important boundary drawing for me was to maintain my position as a non-representative of NGOs. Sometimes, teachers mistook me for an NGO worker. Once, when a teacher told me that I should come and educate the teachers in Easter Finland, I politely declined and clarified my position. However, I did quite quickly come to perceive my engaged participation as not only inevitable, but also an ethical stance. Engaging critically in discussions felt like a more genuine approach than just writing all critical remarks in academic publications (see also Tuori, 2009, p. 92). However, I was often eager to find out how a controversial or intriguing situation would develop without my explicit intervention and thus, I decided to hold on to a passive role. In contrast to how Tuori (2009, p. 94-95) describes her positionality, I sometimes opted for acquiring "good material" instead of speaking my mind. At times, taking a more passive role was also a way of acknowledging that I as a researcher did certainly not always have the right answer, or, that I did not know what an ideal intervention would be like in a particular situation. When possible, I did discuss my critical points of view with the NGO workers after a workshop or a seminar.

To some extent, I strived at dialogue between my research project and the field. At the first NGO project meeting I attended, I presented my research plan, which was followed by a discussion with the NGO workers. Some of the NGO workers seemed fairly enthusiastic about my project and they also gave me tips on how to develop my approach. For instance, one NGO worker recommended that I include the NGO network's text books advocacy, but advised me "not to present the NGOs' text book comments as if they thought all textbooks are useless, but in a constructive manner, as a collaboration" (field notes from NGO meeting, 2016). These types of comments from the field were beneficial in two ways: first, because they gave me concrete information, and second, because they developed my under-

136 In Swedish; den utsatta

standing of the participants' meaning-making practices in their respective positions. Later on, I also presented some preliminary results at a global educational seminar.

Taking an active role in the field was sometimes a prerequisite for getting to know the internal everyday work of NGOs. Once, when I asked for permission to participate in a webinar for NGO workers, the organizers accepted but simultaneously requested that I contribute with a short "researcher's comment". Following the idea of promoting dialogue, I accepted. However, this cooperation made visible some differences in style and objectives between the NGO field and the academic field. Below, this difference is illustrated by the request I received after having provided some suggestions with different analytical approaches for the presentation:

Would it be possible to get a 5 minute comment on the following topic: Finnish NGOs' current global educational work, like a crosscut of all the fabulous things going on right now? The tone of the presentation could be motivating and engaging¹³⁷...

(E-mail from NGO worker, 2018)

This NGO worker appeared to perceive academic presentations in general as lengthy and potentially un-motivating. Thus, I needed to adjust my way of presenting my research to suit the webinar, but without turning it into an uncritical appraisal of current NGO projects. In addition to this, I was also asked to participate as an academic advisor in a joint NGO project proposal in 2017, where the NGOs participated in a competition in order to get funding for their global educational project.

After taking part in several teacher seminars and NGO meetings, I was invited to be in charge of the external project evaluation of the NGO networks' teacher education project "The school changing the world". For multiple reasons, I decided to accept the task, although the decision was not straightforward for me. First of all, I decided to see the project evaluation as another way of engaging in dialogue with the field. Secondly, my motivation was to learn more about the field, especially about the dimension of evaluation, which is a central component of the NGO project world. Finally, as an evaluator, Fingo gave me permission to use the participant feedback they had collected for the evaluation also for my dissertation.

Being an evaluator and a PhD researcher at the same time involved some changes in my relationship with the field. In part, I think that I was taken more seriously, or at least I had a more concrete reason for being in the field. Some of the NGO workers started approaching me after the work-

137 In Finnish: mukaansa tempaava

shops, asking me for immediate feedback or concrete tips on how to develop their exercises for next time. As this was my first project evaluation, I felt puzzled by what my new double role entailed. I realized that my task as the evaluator partially steered my focus to other types of questions, since the evaluation criteria were about measurable results such as how many participants, pedagogical outcomes such as what did the teachers learn and causal relations such as what were the reasons for successes and failures in the project. When writing the evaluation report, I struggled enormously with trying to meet the requirements of the evaluation genre so different from my ethnographic writing, while simultaneously trying to hold on to my style of discussing the results of the project, rather than giving technical or strategic recommendations for the future. The evaluation exposed the gap between my research interest in the discursive construction of global education on the one hand, and the logics of the NGO project world on the other. It taught me that I was no expert in the latter.

At the concluding seminar of the project “The school changing the world”, I gave a presentation on the project evaluation. This gave me a more public role in the construction of global education. In addition to the strictly project-related topics, I questioned discourses of efficiency and competition in schooling, and I also inserted a critical remark towards a previous talk at the seminar by the Minister for Development Cooperation and Foreign Trade¹³⁸. In the presentation, I also positioned myself more explicitly in favor of NGO school interaction than before, namely by taking a stance in favor of continuous funding possibilities for a plurality of NGOs involved in global education. As the seminar was held at a time when public funding for NGO-driven global education was planned to be altered significantly¹³⁹, this was a political stance I wanted to take. Thus, a fair description of my positionality in relation to the NGOs might be that of a reserved ally, maintaining my academic distance while siding selectively with the NGO field in the face of the government’s austerity policies.

Adding to these reflections, my understanding of the field goes beyond particular places “out there”. During my multisited fieldwork, I moved in and out of the physical field, but the field accompanied me also when I was not physically there. Thus, the time I spent writing, discussing and presenting my ongoing work significantly shaped my relation to the field (Atkinson, 1992). Given that I had developed closer relationships with some of the participants, these people were also present in my thoughts as probable readers of my analyses. At the same time, I kept the (imagined and diverse) academic readers in mind when I reflected on what kind of constructions of reality my writing produces (see also Lappalainen, 2007b, p. 127).

138 This Minister’s talk is analyzed in section 11.4.1

139 These plans are discussed in section 9.5

Finally, there is an important element of political positionality in my choice of theoretical perspectives and in the societal discussions I wish to spark through this study. For instance, choosing to approach globalization from decolonial lens entails a political standpoint in favor of the global South and alternatives to the current capitalist world order. Similarly, my focus on social justice agendas in education is in itself a form of critique against discourses where education is purely of technical or economic interest. Further, although my positionality in the empirical chapters is more analytic than prescriptive, in the conclusions I do provide suggestions for different actors in society based on this study. In this sense, I openly position myself in favor of pluralistic NGO involvement and encourage a more critical take on global education in Finnish schools.

8.5 Approaches to the collected material

The ethnographic analysis involves several interwoven stages which all include writing as a central part of the analytical process (Huttunen, 2010). In ethnography, it is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between gathering, producing and analyzing the material. However, conceptually I can separate the process of transcribing interviews or completing field notes from the process of analyzing the written products of the fieldwork. In the following subsections, I discuss the methodological approaches I use in order to make sense of the material after the collection process. In the first subsection, I discuss how interaction in the material is analysed, while the second subsection concerns textual analysis. Subsequently, I discuss the process of structuring the analyses into a presentable and publishable form.

8.5.1 Analyzing interaction

A large part of my material entails different kinds of interaction. I have chosen to apply an interactionist approach to these materials with the argument that not all material is most fruitfully explored as “just text”. A certain topic, analysed in a textual form, sometimes appears more straightforward, or conversely, harder to understand and interpret, than the more complex and nuanced interactions relating to that topic (Tuori, 2009, p. 86). The process of analyzing interaction is not opposed to that of analyzing texts, and I rather emphasize their overlaps than their differences. Texts are also a form of interaction or practice, and interaction can only be made meaningful for the readers through textual analysis¹⁴⁰ (ibid., p. 86).

140 See also the next section 8.5.2 on analyzing texts

However, my participation as an ethnographer makes it possible to look at the material from angles that, alongside the focus on texts, deserve their own methodological attention. I present this approach through two different views on interaction in order to highlight the contribution of each one.

The first view is that of *interaction as conversation*. Conversation analysis, with its roots in Harold Garfinkel and ethnomethodology (see Garfinkel, 1967), is focused on the conditions and suppositions that make the conversation possible and on the interpretive practices between the participants in the conversation. In my material, different kinds of conversations are found, ranging from more formal panel discussions, meetings and interviews to more informal small talk and jokes/backstage talk. What unites this material is the possibility to discern different patterns of speech, responses, agreement and disagreement within these conversations. Thus, in my analysis I strive to take into account the importance of the dynamics of conversation for the negotiations surrounding global education. This does not imply that I see conversation as floating free from social structure, but rather, that it is interesting to explore how these structures are made (visible) in conversations (Nordzell, 2007, p. 175). However, my approach differs from the ethnomethodologists' (see Nordzell, 2007, p. 175) in that my focus is primarily on *what* is being discussed and how it relates to my theoretical framework, rather than on detailed transcripts exploring the conversation *per se*.

The second view, which I consider a legacy of Erving Goffman, is here labeled interaction as scenes. By focusing on a scene, I locate the glimpses of interaction I analyse in particular social settings and as part of a particular episode (Salo, 1999, 68, see also Denzin, 1997). In *The presentation of everyday life*, Goffman (1956, pp. 12-13) describes settings as scenery and props for given types of social interaction. As my ethnography is multi-sited, I have a special interest in analyzing global education in different settings, such as NGO meetings, teacher education seminars and secondary school workshops. In Goffman's dramaturgical terminology, settings are divided into frontstage and backstage. My observations represent both types of settings and I see them as equally important for analyzing the enactment of global education. Frontstage refers to a formal or public setting where the participants act in a given way due to the expectations that they face in their public roles. Following Goffman (1956, p. 13), scenes on the frontstage are guided by routine performance and often include standardized spaces, props and accessories, such as a classroom, a microphone or a certain dress code. In my research, frontstage comprises all scenes that are part of the official program, including seminar openings, workshops and discussion panels.

Within the same events, there are scenes that represent Goffman's backstage. These are scenes where the participants are not performing publicly, but rather moments when they relax, engage in small talk, prepare for the next frontstage scene or discuss a previous one. As an ethnographer, I had the chance to take part in these backstage settings with teachers in the common room and during seminar breaks, for instance. In an interactionist view on ethnography, performance is another key concept (Denzin, 2003). By performance, I mean bodily, material and/or verbal expressions that contribute to the enactment of global education, entailing both organized forms of collective activities, such as role-play exercises or dancing, and unplanned or implicit expressions, such as spontaneous sing-alongs or choices of clothing. Following Denzin (2003) I approach performances as political acts, as interventions or forms of resistance. In this sense, global education has a performative dimension that is entangled with discourse and power.

8.5.2 Analyzing texts

All the material collected for this study can be studied as text - interviews are transcribed, observations are documented, and experiences and visual images are studied as if they were textual expressions (see Rowley-Jolivet, 2000). Analyzing texts implies that I am interested in words and expressions not only as a reflection of reality, but as agents actively shaping it (Börjesson & Palmblad, 2007, p. 10). An important proponent of the view that language constructs reality was Ferdinand de Saussure (1966, p. 70), who distinguished between the term *signified* for the mental impression of a thing, while the term *signifier* stood for the material thing that one can see, hear or feel, and argued that the relationship between these is arbitrary. Saussure separated *langue*, the system of language, from *parole*, the use of language, while emphasizing their interdependent relationship; one could not exist without the other (see Bakker, 2007).

This view on language relates to the social constructivist perspective guiding my research, and it connects to the concept of discourse. My understanding of discourse is informed by Michel Foucault's (1972) work on language and power, Ernesto Laclau's & Chantal Mouffe's (2008) discourse theory and Norman Fairclough's (1992) critical discourse analysis. In this study, I use the term discourse primarily in two ways. On the one hand, I refer to *the discourse on global education*, by which I understand a particular group of statements that are bound together by the broad umbrella term of global education (for this usage of discourse, see Foucault, 1972, p. 27). On the other hand, I discuss discourse in order to mark that my material can be situated within broader social processes and power relations.

My conceptualization of *the discourse* (as an umbrella) entails an interest in how global education is constructed through language by a variety of actors in different settings. This understanding does not imply that I see the discourse on global education as homogenous or harmonious. Rather, I analyse the textual material as part of the question of what global education is or should be, and where to draw the line. The discourse on global education is never fixed, but constantly open to new interpretations and negotiations. Analytically, we can study how this discourse is combined or contrasted with other discourses in the school world (see Foucault, 1972, p. 28), for instance, the entrepreneurial discourse¹⁴¹ or the bullying discourse¹⁴². This is exemplified in the quote below, where an NGO worker presents their view on how teacher education on global education could be connected to other (more powerful) educational discourses:

I think it would be an enormous success [...] if the participants understood to connect these [goals for sustainable development] for instance to entrepreneurial education or to future working life skills or whatever educational elements there are [in school] that do not necessarily take these things into account at all (NGO worker, project meeting 2016)

In this sense, this statement implies a discursive attempt to transform the scope of global education from a marginal educational agenda to a cross-cutting feature that would cut across dominant educational initiatives.

Discourse is also connected to the concept of hegemony¹⁴³, and this relationship has been discussed particularly by Laclau and Mouffe (2008). These authors challenge the idea that language is a closed system; instead, they emphasize the openness and the abundance of possibilities when it comes to how the social world can be ordered (Laclau & Mouffe, 2008, pp. 112-113). Hegemony, understood as leadership through (contingent) consensus, is achieved through discursive *articulations* of social relationships, and these articulations are made in all spheres of society, such as politics, economy, culture etc. (see Thomassen, 2005). When articulations take the form of partially fixed meanings, they are referred to as nodal points (Laclau & Mouffe, 2008, pp. 113-114,). Nodal points, such as a slogan for a social movement, are central for understanding social change, as they can unite otherwise disparate protests and claims. Laclau (2007) also uses the term floating signifier to describe symbols that are politically central yet particularly open to different articulations. The term global education is a good example of a floating signifier (see also Mannion, Biesta, Priestly & Ross, 2011), which can be used for very different political purposes depending on the nodal points that are discursively connected to it. For

141 See e.g. Harni & Pyykkönen (2018)

142 See e.g. Rosén (2010)

143 The concept of hegemony is also discussed in section 4.2

instance, when the nodal point “aid” is connected to global education, it appears very different than if connected to “justice”.

Overall, a key contribution of Laclau & Mouffe’s (2008) discourse theory is that discourse operates on every level of society, from a single utterance to the social order as a whole. Similarly, in a more structured manner, Fairclough (1992) divides discourse into three overlapping levels: 1) the level of text, 2) the level of discursive practice and 3) the level of social practice. The first level refers to elements found in the text, such as vocabulary, metaphors and text structure. Discursive practice, in turn, is about the production, distribution and consumption of texts. Social practice, then, is interwoven with ideology and concerns the macro-processes that shape the discursive practices (Fairclough, 1992, p.86). Ideology is here understood as constructions of reality “which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87). In its most effective form, ideology takes the shape of “common sense”. As an example of how ideology links to discourse, I provide an extract from my field notes of a discussion I had over lunch with a teacher before taking part in an NGO workshop with Plan Finland¹⁴⁴:

The teacher tells me that she likes to invite NGOs to school, since it brings change to the routines and since the students appreciate having new people in class. I ask the teacher whether she has invited also other NGOs to the school. She tells me she has not, with the exception that the Red Cross once came to her history class to talk about the rules of warfare. She goes on saying that Plan and the Red Cross are good organizations to invite to school *since they are neutral*; that of course there could be some environmental organizations or Seta [an NGO for gender and sexual minority rights], but that inviting these would provoke questions of why these organizations and not others.

(Field notes from lower secondary school, 2018, italics added)

In this example, the teacher has internalized dominating conceptions of what “neutral” means in a school context, or in an extended sense, in Finnish society, and reproduces these conceptions by limiting school visits to NGOs that do not provoke uncomfortable questions. However, Fairclough (1992) importantly emphasizes how social practices are never fully determined by any single and fixed ideology, since ideology can also be challenged and altered. Fairclough (1992, pp. 88-91) locates ideology both in structures, *i.e.*, the conditions for current events, and in the events themselves, which contain varying possibilities for creative action for individual and collective agents. Also, it needs to be highlighted that actors in their respective social positions are not affected by ideology in any univocal

144 The same extract is further analyzed in section 12.2

way, which they can either comply with or resist. As Fairclough (1992, p. 90) points out:

[...] people are actually subjected in different and contradictory ways [...] when a person operating in a single institutional framework and a single set of practices is interpellated from various positions and pulled in different directions, as it were – naturalization may be difficult to sustain.

Regarding the teacher profession, for instance, the notion of contradictory interpellations provides an interesting ground for analyzing how teachers discursively construct their role in relation to global education and to the other multiple expectations they face. Through the lens of NGO school interaction, my analytical interest lies in studying these discursive struggles, for instance, in negotiations on how the global world is (re)presented in educational materials, or what global citizenship entails.

8.5.3 Presenting the analysis

An important part of the analysis is to choose which parts of the material to include in the final version of the dissertation. This stage involves a back-and-forth movement between the theoretical framework and the empirical material. In this step, the researcher also transforms the abundant and unstructured material into coherent analytical sections: a process that involves sorting, editing and combining the material in ways that allows for highlighting patterns and discourses, but also exceptions, that relate to the research questions.

The empirical sections are compiled through a combination of thematic and analytical readings (Palmu, 2007, pp. 144-147). By thematic reading, I refer to the process of categorizing the material. The categorization is here conducted manually by sorting the material under different labels. The analytical reading entails theoretically driven readings of the material concerning a specific theme. This stage also includes what Timmermans and Tavory (2013) call the juxtaposition of materials, that is, tracing how a certain topic is manifested in different kinds of material. For instance, I combine frontstage with backstage talk, interviews with policy statements or written educational materials with observations from school workshops. The analytical reading is interwoven with the process of writing analytical interpretations and summaries.

In picking out illustrative examples from the empirical material, I strive for a balance between frequently appearing viewpoints and exceptionalities. Choosing examples varies somewhat depending on the type of material in question. Concerning interviews and written statements, I often include a few similar quotes in order to demonstrate a general tendency. Field notes from participatory observation, however, often require more description and contextualization. Thus, my solution has been to go more in-depth in particular scenes that somehow stood out as significant or surprising (see Lappalainen, 2007b, p. 117). A quote or a sequence can of course be interpreted in a number of ways. When necessary, I approach a particular example from several perspectives, in order to highlight complexity and uncertainty instead of offering one final interpretation.

Additionally, I use typologies as one way of categorizing the empirical material, for instance, by presenting different types of global educators. My understanding of typologies is inspired by the Weberian ideal type (see Weber, 1977, pp. 138-149), meaning that typologies are not exact reflections of reality but the researcher's pragmatic constructions. Thus, when I write about "the promotor" or "the sceptic" type of global educator, I do not refer to specific individuals, nor do I claim that these types are neatly separable empirically. The advantage of a typology is that it allows the researcher to present the complexity of the social world in an understandable way, by focusing on certain aspects of reality. The typology also allows me to illustrate variations and compare factors that are meaningful in social situations (see Grönfors, 1982, p. 167).

8.6 Ethical considerations

In ethnographic research, ethical questions permeate the research process as whole (Madison 2012; Nikkanen 2019). Hence, my discussion on ethics is not restricted to this subsection. The focus here is predominantly on questions of consent and anonymity regarding the fieldwork. My goal was to systematically inform all participants of my presence as a researcher and provide them with a chance to approach me with possible questions or objections concerning my participation, which was not always an easy task. The main challenge for ensuring informed consent was the multi-sited character of my ethnography.

During my correspondence with NGO workers before and during the fieldwork, I distributed my research plan together with a detailed description of what participation implied for them. The agreement regarding anonymity was that no names of the NGO workers would be published, but that their possible quotes could be connected to the NGO they rep-

resented. Thus, I explicitly clarified that I did not guarantee anonymity, as the participants with varying probability could be traced on the basis of their affiliation. In the analysis, I chose to reveal the NGO affiliation of the informant in cases where concealing the affiliation would have made it impossible to analyze a particular question. For instance, when analyzing gender and sexual minority rights within global education, the predominant advocate Seta is relevant to identify. However, I also made it clear, especially in interview situations, that I would not intentionally jeopardize the NGOs' position vis-à-vis their funding possibilities or their status within the NGO network. Thus, these questions were treated as delicate and consequently in need of particular ethical sensitivity.

Concerning the school ethnography, my initial concern was to ensure research permission both from the principal of the school and the teacher in charge of the relevant class. The second but equally important concern was to obtain the students' consent. In practice, I always introduced myself in the beginning of a workshop and gave a short description of my research and informed the students that neither the name of the school nor the names of the students would be published. In line with the ethical guidelines of the Finnish National Board of Research Integrity (TENK, 2009, p. 5), I evaluated that my research a) was possible to conduct as an integral part of a regular school day, b) neither invaded the students' physical integrity nor included sensitive or intimate questions about their personal lives and c) was targeted at young people who, considering their maturity and the topic of the research, could decide for themselves on their participation. Consequently, when asking the students to participate in group interviews, I did it without consent from the students' parents, but rather, saw the students as autonomous beings, capable and entitled to their own decisions.

The fieldwork in teacher education involved a pattern similar to that of the school ethnography. Beforehand, I agreed on my participation with the organizers, and on the spot, I generally began by introducing myself and my research. However, the teacher education settings varied considerably and this affected my ability to inform the participants of my role. Sometimes the NGO educators in charge would forget or intentionally omit a round of introductions, which put me in an awkward position as I tried (sometimes in vain) to signal that I wished to introduce myself. Other times, especially at larger seminars, it felt out of place to ask for everyone's attention. Altogether, I observed thousands of teachers at these events, and I could not always know beforehand how these different field settings would be relevant to my research. This led to a few problematic ethical situations, where I gathered interesting material without informed consent. Particularly, these situations involved participants that did not

belong to any of my central groups (NGO workers, teachers or students), but yet were important actors in teacher education contexts, often more or less public figures, such as ministers, policy makers, researchers, activists or artists. My solution was to disclose the names of those invited speakers and panelists whose names were published in the seminar programs. In the case of people in high positions within politics or polity, I did not ask for consent, whereas regarding other speakers, I contacted them afterwards and asked them for permission to publish their names.

The ethical considerations concerning anonymity, transparency and identification followed me throughout the writing process. Regarding the participants' anonymity, I chose to leave out some details in their narratives that might have revealed their municipality, their school or some other piece of information. In qualitative research, pseudonyms are often used in order to humanize the participants for the reader without revealing their personal information. In this study, the students in the group interviews were given pseudonyms such as "Noora" and "Sebastian". Concerning the participant observation, however, it is often central for the analysis to declare the professional positions of the participants, such as NGO worker, teacher and so on. Thus, in order to avoid long introductory descriptions for each fieldwork sequence, I chose to identify the participants simply as "teacher", "NGO project coordinator" or "NGO volunteer". As to the interviews, I labeled NGO interviewees "NGO interviewee 1", "NGO interviewee 2" and so on, and the teacher interviewees "Teacher interviewee 1", "Teacher interviewee 2" and so forth. A particular challenge related to this form of identification is that some of the participants had overlapping roles, for instance, as teachers and NGO workers, or that their roles changed during the research process. Thus, some decisions regarding identification were resolved case by case. In the case of interviews with two or three people, the interviewees are labeled *e.g.* "NGO interviewee 3a" and "NGO interviewee 3b" to show that these are different people from the same interview.

9. “We are not service providers, we are a transformative force!”: NGOs as an epistemic community

9.1 Introduction

All of the NGOs in this study belong to the Global Education Network coordinated by the umbrella NGO Fingo. The network comprises over 100 organizations of various kinds, such as cultural associations and development organizations as well as trade unions and student unions. In this chapter, I analyse 14 NGOs that are involved in different forms of school cooperation in the area of global education. The main material consists of interviews with NGO workers from these organizations. In Table 9, I provide an overview of the NGOs in terms of founding year, type of membership, revenue per year, main sources of funding and main forms of school interaction. This data has been collected between 2016 and 2019 through interviews, reviews of homepages and annual reports. The purpose of the table is to illustrate both similarities and differences between these NGOs. However, since the NGOs differ in how they categorize, count and document their activities, this table should be seen as indicative and does not allow for exact comparisons.

Table 9. Description of the NGOs

Name of NGO	Founding year	Type of membership organization: individual/collective/hybrid/other + number of members	Revenue (year)	Main sources of funding	Main forms of school cooperation Educational activities in numbers/year
Amnesty International Finnish Section (Amnesty)	1967	Individual member org. 9407 individual members	4 741 390 (2019)	Membership fees and donations	Teacher education, Letter marathon 72 schools and 4 110 students participated in Letter marathon, 1300 letters were written (2019)
Fingo	2018	Collective member org. 310 organizations	7 814 000 (2019)	Ministry for Foreign Affairs European Union	Coordination of teacher education projects, training and peer-learning for NGOs, international projects, educational materials
Finnish Evangelic-Lutheran Mission (FELIM)	1859	Collective member org. 356 congregations + 20 Lutheran foundations	8 604 965 (2019)	Ministry for Foreign Affairs Congregations European Union Donations	Teacher education, educational materials School cooperation is organized by local congregations (no numbers available)
Finnish Red Cross	1877	Hybrid member org. 12 regional offices, 450 local associations, 80 000 individuals	109 150 796 (2019)	Almost all ministries European Union Donations	Educational material, Hunger Day Collection School cooperation is organized by local associations (no numbers available)
Friends of the Earth Finland (FoE)	1996	Hybrid member org. 8 organizations + 700 individual members	~100 000 (2019)	Ministry of the Environment Ministry of Foreign Affairs Donations	Educational materials, school workshops No school visits due to lack of funding
Operation a Day's work Finland (ODW)	1967	Collective member org. 11 organizations	815 952 (2019)	Ministry for Foreign Affairs Ministry of Culture and Education	A Day's work Collection, Educational materials, teacher education 6000 students in workshops, 300 teachers trained (2019)
Plan International Finland (Plan)	1998	Foundation (no members)	17 100 000 (2019)	Donations Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ministry of Culture and Education European Union Funding Centre for Social Welfare and Health Organisations (STEA)	Educational material, school visits, teacher education 820 school workshops, 12 987 students, training for educators: 20 seminars with 472 participants (2019)

Pro Ethical Trade Finland	2011	Hybrid member org. 800 individual members	211 419 (2019)	Ministry for Foreign Affairs Ministry of Culture and Education	Educational material, school workshops, teacher education 20 workshops, 450 students, 60 teachers Teacher education: 12 seminars/events, 300 teachers (2019)
Seta LGBTI Rights in Finland (Seta)	1974	Collective member org. 28 member organizations + 30 donor members	Expenses: 850 000 (2017)	STEA Ministry of Education and Culture	Educational material, teacher education Altogether 112 trainings, out of which 11 school visits. School visits are also carried out by local organizations.
The Peace Education Institute	1981	Collective member org. 13 member organizations	571 169 (2019)	National Agency for Education Ministry of Education and Culture European Union	Educational material, school workshops, teacher education 47 workshops, about 980 participants (2019)
The Peace Union of Finland	1920	Collective member org. 16 member organizations + 65 donor members	403 650 (2019)	Ministry of Justice Ministry for Foreign Affairs Sales and donations	Educational material, school workshops 105 workshops for 1200 students 5 seminars for educators, with 689 participants (2019)
United Nations Association of Finland (UNAF)	1954	Collective member org. 69 member organizations	449 950 (2019)	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Educational material, teacher education Online course for educators: 200 participants. No school visitor network.
UNICEF	1967	Collective member org. 12 member organizations	23 490 374 (2019)	Donations from individuals and companies Ministry for Foreign Affairs, foundations	The UNICEF Walk, educational material, childrens' rights-based school model The UNICEF Walk: 180 000 students Lectures: 208 schools, 400 lectures, 40 000 students
Youth Academy	1994	Collective members org. 14 member organizations	~ 700-800 000 (2017)	Ministry of Education & Culture, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, companies	Educational material, school workshops 30-80 school visits per year

As Table 9 shows, most of the NGOs are collective-member organizations (see Smith, 2010), meaning that their members consist of other organizations rather than of individual people. Only Amnesty bases its organization on individual membership, whereas some of the NGOs are so called hybrid-membership organizations (Smith, 2010), meaning that both individual members and collective members, *i.e.*, member organizations, are allowed. The frequency of organizations with predominantly collective membership in my material is in accordance with the theory of the rationalization of civil society (Papakostas, 2011), which entails that NGOs are to a growing extent run by few professional employees who provide services for non-members. The opposite to this would be a multitude of non-professional members actively shaping the activities together on a voluntary basis, with an emphasis on democratic decision-making (Papakostas, 2011). In this sense, it is interesting to look at how the question of NGO professionalism versus voluntarism is visible in the material. Table 9 also shows that these NGOs differ significantly in terms of total revenues and sources of funding.

The NGOs are here studied as an epistemic community (Haas, 1992)¹⁴⁵. This term is useful as it highlights the role that the NGOs play in knowledge production around global education; in particular, how they try to influence educational policy and practice through knowledge-related claims. However, my usage of the term differs from Haas' conceptualization in two ways. First, rather than assuming the NGOs' expert status a priori, I am interested in how NGOs strive to appear as relevant for the school world. In other words, I am interested in how the NGOs legitimate their educational activities (see Laitinen, 2018b). Using the epistemic governance approach (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2014, 2016; Alasuutari, Rautalin, & Syväterä, 2016), I aim to understand the complex ways in which NGO workers accumulate authority, or epistemic capital, by appearing as authorities themselves as well as by referring to established authorities – or sometimes by questioning these.

Secondly, while Haas (1992) stresses unified beliefs and practices as a prerequisite for an epistemic community, I am interested in how this uniformity is understood by the NGO workers themselves as well as how possible differences or tensions are expressed within the community. For this purpose, I use governance theory (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006) and social movement theory (Benford & Snow, 2000), which allow me to highlight different positions that NGO actors take in relation to each other, to the school world and to the state. These theoretical perspectives also situate global education as part of broader social debates that reach beyond the educational sphere.

145 The term epistemic community is discussed in section 3.4

The first two subchapters are organized in a rather inductive fashion, as a way of introducing the topic of NGOs as an epistemic community. I begin with a discussion on how the NGOs understand the term global education, after which I explore cooperation and tensions within the community. This is followed by a more theoretically driven analysis of how NGOs legitimate their role in the school world. In the final section, I discuss state funding for global education from the point of view of the autonomy of the NGO community.

9.2 The term global education: understandings and usages

An important starting point for analyzing NGOs as an epistemic community is to explore how NGO workers use and understand the term global education and how they perceive its scope. Some of the interviewees consider that perceiving global education only as interaction with schools is to narrow it down too much. An interviewee from a small NGO suggests that everything they do (campaigning, advocacy, school visits) could be called global education (NGO interview 1). Other NGO workers maintain that global education, from the point of view of their organization, could entail, for instance, youth work, volunteer groups, immigrant work, public festivals and seminars or communication about development projects to the general public (NGO interviews 2, 3, 4). I interpret this perspective on global education as the NGO workers' attempt to broaden the conception of education, and to blur the distinction between activities taking part inside and outside the school world. In this sense, global education as a wide and fluid term brings coherence to otherwise perhaps seemingly unrelated activities (see Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 623).

Global education as a term coexists and overlaps with related educational terminology. A recurring viewpoint in the interviews is the tension between *international education* and global education, where the former is either seen as an outdated predecessor, or as too narrow of a term to capture the global education movement as a whole. This viewpoint is exemplified in the following extract from an interview with an NGO worker from the umbrella organization Fingo:

NGO worker: In 2010 we finally changed [the name of the NGO network] from international education to global education and the difference has been really big [...] because international education evoked completely wrong kinds of images, and people, well, it didn't say much (*laughs*) about what this is about [...]

Heidi: What kind of connotations do you think that international education evoked or –

NGO worker: – Well when we had International Network written [as a title at an educational fair] then people, or teachers came to ask us about exchange programs, this kind of thing, so it definitely got flattened to kind of this, well, interactional work

(NGO interviewee 3a)

Similarly, the other NGO worker in this pair interview describes global education going beyond a nation-centred approach:

NGO worker: I just started thinking about this international education, that I have come across this myself, in my previous job, that it might shrink into something like, for instance, in primary school that you colour the flags of different countries, that this is international education, which again is not what global education [is about], if we think about everything that it contains and everything it should be in schools then it is definitely not just this, it can be that, but maybe just a small tiny part of it then

(NGO interviewee 3b)

Another NGO worker states that global education is sometimes, especially within vocational education, equated with educational export (NGO interviewee 13). From the interviewee's perspective, spreading Finnish educational know-how globally and trying to influence education within the Finnish context are two completely different activities, which makes global education a somewhat confusing term. However, some NGOs in the Global Education Network are actively involved with mobility programs and educational development cooperation in the global South, blurring the distinction between these different usages of the term¹⁴⁶.

Depending on the NGOs' orientations, terms such as human rights education, development education, or peace education are used by the NGOs in parallel with global education, often as synonyms. The NGO workers explain that the term they use depends on the actors they cooperate with. For instance, an NGO worker from the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM) tells me that the NGO started using the term global education when it joined the Global Education Network. Within FELM and among church employees, they generally use the term missionary education¹⁴⁷, which is more familiar to them. However, the FELM interviewee states

146 I return to the relationship between educational export and global education in section 11.4.

147 In Finnish: lähetyskasvatus

that they do “of course not use the term missionary education outside church”. This statement shows how the term global education signals unity in a joint NGO context, but not necessarily within specific organizations, where other terms function as identity markers for their educational activities. Particularly, the FELM worker’s comment about restricting the use of missionary education outside church suggests that religious terms are not necessarily seen as appropriate by other NGOs in the movement¹⁴⁸. In turn, an NGO worker from the Peace Union of Finland explains their understanding of the term in the following way:

It’s [written] there in the national core curriculum as global education. Personally, I think it’s quite ok that it’s written like this, of course peace organizations would rather want it to be peace education, the name, but peace education is withdrawing from the terminology in the big world ((smiles)), it’s one window of global education

In other words, this NGO worker accepts global education as the official term in use, as they feel that peace education is becoming an outdated term. This type of stance suggests that NGO workers to some extent are ready to follow international trends concerning terminology, in order to be coherent with policy documents such as the national core curriculum or the Maastricht declaration¹⁴⁹. As global education represents a fashionable term, it is loaded with a connotation of desirability and legitimacy, which makes it attractive for the NGOs to adopt (Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005, pp. 9-10).

A contrasting point is that many NGO workers find the discussion on the term of secondary importance. I am often met with laughter or sighs when I ask the NGO workers about their opinion on the term, followed by descriptions of how the debate on terminology in NGO circles is endless and sometimes frustrating. Indeed, some NGO workers describe this question as more or less irrelevant, as illustrated below:

It’s not very relevant for the work somehow ((laughs)), to discuss the term. For me, having studied it, I think it’s a really interesting term [...] but like I don’t know if it’s necessary to specifically talk about global education in schools, is it really necessary to somehow make a thing about it, because I think that in schools there are already such a buzz of different terms which everyone can then understand in their own way, or not understand

(NGO interviewee 14)

148 The question of religion is also discussed in section 9.3.

149 See O’Loughlin & Wegimont (2003), see also section 1.1 of this dissertation

This can be a useful term for some group, for instance, for us, we know and we have some kind of common conception of how we understand it [...] but then again for teachers and especially for students, those who ultimately benefit, the relevance of using this kind of term and how useful it is, I am kind of critical about that [...] and my opinion is that it is more important to spell it out in everyday language, what it means from the student's perspective, for acting, thinking, values, attitudes, during your whole life and also during the school day

(NGO interviewee 3b)

These comments highlight that the interviewees understand global education as a useful term for the epistemic community of NGOs, whereas its primary target groups, teachers and students, do not necessarily need such a term. From a social movement perspective, this can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, a common term is needed in order to form a coherent movement with more or less shared goals. The NGO workers perceive themselves as the inner-circle of the movement; as experts and advocates of global education, they are in the position to discuss the various theories and perspectives behind the term. On the other hand, as another NGO worker told me, NGOs deliberately distance global education from other buzzwords circulating in educational policy and instead, promote global education as an integral part of all activities, and not just in school (NGO interviewee 14). As seen in the previous quote, NGOs frame global education as relevant “during your whole life”, which reflects the NGOs' aspiration for broader social change through their interaction with schools.

9.3 Cooperation and tensions within the community

In Haas's (1992) conceptualization of epistemic communities, commonly shared norms, beliefs and practices constitute central unifying elements between community members. As I will demonstrate, the NGO workers do share (more or less specific) common objectives, but there are also tensions in how these objectives should be pursued. Further, by exploring *why* and *how* the NGOs cooperate with each other, my aim is to broaden the understanding of how this particular epistemic community works to promote both the entire community's objectives and the objectives of particular NGOs.

In general terms, it seems that the cooperation between these NGOs has increased in the last decade. For instance, in the areas of textbook advocacy and teacher education (discussed in chapters 10 and 11 respectively),

the Global Education Network has coordinated projects and initiatives where several NGOs cooperate. However, there are variations in how and to what extent the NGOs cooperate with each other. While some of the interviewees see cooperation among NGOs as integral to their work, several interviewees describe their work as quite lonely, and some describe their cooperative activities as irregular or scarce. Yet, most of the interviewees express that the different NGOs carrying out global education initiatives have similar objectives, and emphasize that the somewhat differing perspectives bring richness to global education as a whole, as shown in the following quote:

We are many organizations and each organization has its own contribution, so there's a need for human rights organizations that focus only on that, on sustainable development, environmental organizations who bring that perspective, so together all of these cover the multiple dimensions of global education

(NGO interviewee 15)

Another important reason for the NGOs to cooperate is that cooperation is seen as strategically the best way to pursue their educational advocacy. Many NGO workers state that they benefit from working together, whether the cooperation concerns teacher education, textbook advocacy or curricular reforms. One of the interviewees explains that their background is connected to questions of equality and anti-racism, and that the cooperation with other global education NGOs has not been a starting point:

The fact that I am suddenly working with all these global education NGOs has been kind of a surprise for me, but it's perhaps because I understand that they are well organized and they are coordinated by [Fingo, the umbrella organization] and so forth

(NGO interviewee 5)

This quote supports the view that networking among the NGOs includes a strong strategic dimension; a way to pursue more professionally organized advocacy with support from the umbrella organization. Echoing research that points to the professionalization of NGOs (*e.g.* Lagerspetz, 2018; Laitinen, 2018a, 2018b), it seems that also within global education there is a perceived need to adopt more formalized practices in order to succeed in interacting with schools. A related standpoint is that some of the small NGOs view their possibilities to affect policies as marginal without cooperation with other organizations, as the following quote illustrates: "We are quite a small NGO so our opinions might not be that interesting ((laughs)) for ministers and others" (NGO interviewee 1).

A few of the NGO workers state that belonging to the Global Education Network brings a clear advantage to how their particular NGO is perceived in the school world and in society more broadly. This standpoint is exemplified by the quote below, where an NGO worker from Seta, an advocacy organization for gender and sexual minority rights, describes the NGO's relation to global education:

Well, I see it as something very positive, because when we are in that field [of global education], then it removes us from the sexological field and discourse where we would generally be placed, which is like very narrow, an all too narrow a perspective. So here, we get to pursue this thing from questions of human rights, equity and gender equality, which is exactly our objective [to] get more of a societal perspective on this, and this is very important. And maybe if we consider that in global education, human rights are a very important component, then that's also important when we talk about these [sexual and gender] minorities' rights

(NGO interviewee, Seta)

Thus, an organization like Seta can build authority by allying with NGOs that promote issues that appeal to a broader public. Through NGO collaboration, particularly with human rights organizations, Seta's focus on sexual and gender minorities is situated in a socio-legal framework and is used to broaden generally accepted ideas of equity and gender equality.

Some NGO workers indicate that there are differences between the organizations that can be challenging to reconcile. One of these differences concerns religion and the role of religious organizations – here primarily represented by the Finnish Evangelic-Lutheran Mission (FELM) – within the global education movement. The reserved attitude that some NGOs express regarding the cooperation with FELM is illustrated below in a quote where the interviewee discusses a teacher education project where several NGOs cooperated:

NGOs already have their own activities, and putting those together in a joint box is a lot more challenging than one might think [...] so now, to the first seminar, a person from FELM is going there *to present their Bible-stuff*¹⁵⁰. Instead of having something joint to present, there is going to be one NGO that does the same as it has done before

(NGO interviewee 6)

150 In Finnish original: Raamattu-kuviot

The interviewee first reflects on the broader challenge of combining different NGOs' initiatives into new, coherent content (see also Henriksson, 2018). In this quote, cooperating with a religious organization is described as particularly challenging, which is noticeable in the interviewees' expression "Bible-stuff". This expression implies that (presumed) religious content is not desired in a global education context. From the perspective of epistemic governance, this type of statement reflects the controversial status that religious authority has in Finnish governance settings. NGOs that distance themselves from a Christian organization like FELM can be understood as safeguarding their own credibility by emphasizing their non-religious expertise. A similar standpoint is found in another interview quote, where an NGO worker from Seta comments on the challenge of collaborating with FELM in teacher education:

I could not require that FELM learned our topics so that they would have been able to [teach] something about them, so that I would have been sure that they know this stuff, and the same for me regarding their topics, I don't know if I would have wanted to anyway *((laughs))* [...] so FELM was, well, thematically perhaps not the best possible partner from the perspective of developing something together

(NGO interviewee, Seta)

Further, the quote above demonstrates the NGO worker's hesitancy in letting another NGO teach about "their" topics, suggesting that there are certain territorial boundaries of knowledge within the epistemic community, which some NGOs are keen on safeguarding. An interviewee from FELM similarly recognizes the challenges of NGO collaboration and particularly that of combining the topics of religion and gender minorities:

It's probably these two, this perspective of religions and worldviews and then the position of gender minorities, they are maybe kind of, they can intersect and they can be related to one another but if we put them all in the same [teacher training] then perhaps it becomes a superficial thing, because sometimes we get the kind of feedback that "this was too obvious" [...] because we've had to stuff so many things together that there is no time to go deeper into anything properly.

(NGO interviewee, FELM)

In other words, the NGO worker from FELM does not present the different topics as incompatible per se, but rather highlights the need for specialized knowledge that each NGO can offer separately. Interestingly, the interviewee describes the idea of combining religion and worldviews with the topic of gender and sexual minorities as potentially "superficial". From

an intersectional perspective¹⁵¹, treating these topics as separate would be considered superficial or simplistic (see *e.g.* Bromseth & Darj, 2010), and combining them could provide a fruitful approach for explorations of topical issues in education.

Another difference relates to the distinction between “soft” and “critical” approaches¹⁵² to global education as elaborated by Vanessa Andreotti (2006). Building on these ideal types, many of the interviewees claim that there has been a development towards a more critical approach, or they sustain that there is at least is such a strive. Among the NGO workers, there are different ways in which the critical approach is conceptualized. The first way is by diversifying the imagery of the global South. For many NGO workers, deconstructing problematic stereotypes of “developing countries” is a, or even *the* crucial task in striving for critical global education. Some of the interviewees are worried that the NGO field as a whole is not necessarily committed to this task. One NGO worker uses the term “Third World Porn”¹⁵³ to describe how another NGO has presented countries in the global South in its earlier materials, while simultaneously stating that they might have changed their materials in recent years (NGO interview 5). Another NGO worker maintains that similar problems still exist:

I think that some NGOs still have challenges with the image, with what kind of image they create of the world through their own materials, and with challenging stereotypes, also here [in the interviewee’s own NGO] and I’m sure in all NGOs, but some of them perhaps even more, and from time to time there is still sort of a “poor Africa, help help!” type of communication, which I find problematic

(NGO interviewee 4)

The same NGO worker mentions that the problem is also present within the interviewee’s own organization, explaining that “after all we have our background organization with its own brand, a fundraising organization, so that always creates certain controversy”. In other words, the NGO worker partly distances the global education sector of the NGO from the rest of the organization’s activities, which are closely dependent on fundraising. In this sense, the tensions between “soft” and “critical” do not just appear between NGOs but also within them, especially if the educational sector wishes to move beyond the fundraising paradigm.

151 Intersectionality is discussed in section 5.3

152 See section 5.5 for a discussion on soft vs. critical approaches

153 In Finnish: kehitysmiaporno

In scholarly debates on critical global education, fundraising represents perhaps the most controversial form of engaging students with global inequality (Andreotti, 2006; Bryan, 2011; Tallon, Milligan & Wood, 2016). Similarly, the NGO worker quoted above explicitly objects to fundraising as a method in school campaigns: “The fact that some NGOs do fundraising at the same time, well, personally I see it as also a bit problematic, so I would like fundraising and global education to be separated from each other” (NGO interview 4). For this NGO worker, the fact that the educational sector is separated from fundraising in their organization, makes it possible to promote a critical approach to global education in a way that differs from NGOs where fundraising is an integral part of the school interaction. Understandably, the ways in which NGO workers relate to the debate on “soft” versus “critical” global education is also to some extent related to their job description. One of the interviewees, whose work includes coordinating fundraising, states that pursuing critical global education is not self-evidently the primary objective of their school interaction, as illustrated below:

NGO worker: I’m sort of in a blessed position that I don’t have heavy theoretical competence regarding the term [global education] in a way, so I can kind of go behind my fundraiser shield and be like “hey I just use this like this”, when it suits me *((laughs))* [...] and partly it is due to people like me, who use it for certain purposes, that things get mixed up¹⁵⁴, so like, if something is labeled global education, then sometimes it’s soft and sometimes it’s critical [...]

Heidi: Right, that’s interesting [...] so are you trying to balance between the soft and the critical, or trying to make it more critical or how

NGO worker: - Uhm, partly we need to accept that on a certain level a part of it is inevitably soft, particularly certain parts of the [school fundraising campaign], so like yeah, it’s really soft, but partly that’s also the beginning, or like, if we start giving global education to second grade students, then we can’t hit them with the whole set at once and presume that it’s going to work because it has been made critical in advance or something

(NGO interviewee 9)

In this quote, the interviewee initially distances themselves from the debate by referring to a lack of “theoretical competence” in the matter. However, as the answer proceeds, it becomes clear that the interviewee has given the theoretical framework some thought and is also aware of how

154 In Finnish: menee puurot ja vellit sekaisin

fundraising contributes to the reproduction of the “soft” type of global education. At the end of the quote, the interviewee defends the NGO’s fundraising campaign as a first step in global education, while simultaneously challenging the idea of a ready-made critical approach.

Clearly, the question of fundraising somewhat divides NGO workers when it comes to what kind of positionalities and activities global education should entail. However, it should be noted that surprisingly few of the interviewees mentioned the issue of fundraising as a divisive factor within the movement, which suggests that NGOs still, to some extent, see it as an acceptable or promotable form of school interaction. In terms of epistemic capital, this positioning needs to be understood in relation to what schools generally understand as suitable and desirable forms of global citizenship education, which I return to in chapter 12.

Another way to strive for a more critical approach is to emphasize the aspect of political action in global education. In the following quote, the coordinator for the Global Education Network describes this objective:

Maybe it’s a mistake that [global education] has been less political and perhaps the NGOs haven’t understood the political character of this action, but have instead remained on a kind of story-telling level, and a level where no goals have been set up for the action, and this global education hasn’t been a societal change-maker which it most definitely should be and somehow it’s potential is so enormously big.

In this quote, critical global education entails a move from merely describing the world or representing its diversity towards political goals for changing it. These two strands could tentatively be named “the representational approach” and “the actionable approach”, although bearing in mind that they are not mutually exclusive but often intertwined.

9.4 Legitimations for NGO school interaction

In this section, I analyse how NGOs justify their interaction with schools. The material for this analysis consists primarily of NGO workers’ answers to a particular question I asked in the interviews: why are NGOs needed in the school world? In addition, I use other fragments from the interview material as well as field notes from episodes where legitimation is discussed. The analytical focus is placed on what kind of authority the NGOs claim as a basis for legitimacy. Building on Max Weber’s ideal types of authority¹⁵⁵, several researchers have constructed similar typologies

155 For a theoretical discussion on Weber’s work on authority as well as further developments of his work, see section 3.4.

(see Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016; Laitinen, 2018a, 2018b; Nash 2015). By comparing existing typologies to the empirical material of this study, I have constructed a typology of four different ways in which NGO workers legitimize their involvement in the school world, based on what kind of authority they draw on. These types are: 1) professional authority, 2) legal authority, 3) democratic authority, and 4) advocacy-based authority.

A relevant question is of course what the imagined audience is for these authoritative claims, *i.e.*, to whom the NGOs legitimate their actions. Since these typologies are based mainly on my interview material, the immediate answer would “to the researcher in an interview setting”. However, based on my experience in the field, I argue that the usage of these different types of authority are not restricted to the research setting, and can thus be explored as broader legitimating frames¹⁵⁶ that operate within the NGO community. NGOs need to justify their action for a number of diverse reasons, such as to obtain funding or to restore their own self-image. Hence, these authority types show both what type of epistemic capital¹⁵⁷ NGOs have adopted as strategical resources in order to gain relevance and credibility, and how NGOs make sense of their role vis-à-vis the educational system and the public sector at large.

These types are not seen as neatly separable empirically but rather as ideal type social positions that tell us something about what kind of NGO school interaction is seen as desirable and needed – or conversely unthinkable and inappropriate – within each type (Weber, 1977; Grönfors, 1982). Below, I analyse each type in detail, discussing both regularities and tensions within the types.

9.4.1 Professional authority

Among the NGO workers I interviewed, a recurring way of legitimating their role in the school world was to refer to professional expertise. Professional authority resembles Nash’s (2015, p. 15) term expert authority: it is based on the notion of an actor’s professional training and impartial knowledge. It also bears a resemblance to what Alasuutari, Rautalin, & Syväterä (2016, p. 61) call ontological authority, that is, being in the position of stating the facts, defining the situation and evaluating what kind of measures are needed. In my material, this authority is built both on the NGO workers’ personal professionalism and on the NGOs’ organizational professionalism. Many of the interviewees have a degree in pedagogics.

156 For a theoretical discussion on framing, see section 4.3.

157 For this term, see section 3.4.

Among them are primary and secondary school teachers as well as other pedagogues. Thus, they emphasize their pedagogical competence and their experience of the school world, often in combination with their knowledge of specialized areas of global education. The interviewees also highlight the NGOs' capacity to focus exclusively on global education, as illustrated in the quote below:

The Peace School doesn't actually focus on anything but global education, and if there are people who focus only on that and only work on the methods and think almost 24/7 almost *((laughs))* then of course there is a kind of special forum for producing these contents, as opposed to the teacher who has a very broad educational task

(NGO worker, Peace Union)

The same interviewee explains that their school activities were originally created as a response to teachers who approached the NGO for advice for how to deal with questions of war and refugees with their students. In a similar manner, many of the NGOs see their role as providing the teachers with professional services; especially when it comes to making (presumably) challenging topics pedagogically graspable and suitable for the school context. Some of the NGO workers maintain that they downplay their own organizational agenda, and instead focus on content and pedagogical qualities, as exemplified below:

Often NGOs produce [educational materials] perhaps more from their own perspective more than anything else, and so we have now consciously tried to modify it in a way that we first and foremost think about its usage as educational material [...] and not so much about what we want to say about ourselves and our own activities

(NGO worker, Finnish Red Cross)

This example illustrates how some NGO workers consciously adopt the role as professional providers of educational material rather than the role of volunteer or advocacy organizations, thus distinguishing this type of legitimation from the democratic and advocacy-based authority discussed later on in this chapter. The Red Cross is a well-known organization in Finland, which might explain why it does not necessarily need to raise awareness about its activities, but rather aspire an educational expert position.

Within professional legitimation, there are variations in how NGOs position their own professional knowledge in relation to the teachers' knowledge¹⁵⁸. The first position is illustrated in the following quotes:

158 I choose to anonymize these quotes in order to avoid damaging the reputation of NGOs that speak critically about teachers in the interview situation.

Partly, the teaching in schools is just shit [...] and a main idea [for the NGO] was that teachers have too much work, they have so many topics and things that they need to control, so it would be nice to get something served up on a plate [...] because the teachers out there, they don't renew their teaching methods

(NGO interviewee 5)

Well it's probably the teachers' own knowledge, that it is weak, because they don't have the skills to teach these topics, so many of them probably start pretty much from zero now, so in-service education has a really important role

(NGO interviewee 2)

In these quotes, the NGO workers openly point out that teachers lack knowledge that is necessary for incorporating global education in their teaching, knowledge that NGOs can provide through teacher education or educational materials. The first interviewee also stresses that NGOs need to offer teachers support "served up on a plate", since that is the most probable way of involving teachers in global education (NGO interviewee 5). In contrast, the quotes below represent a style of NGO speech where the teachers' professionalism is explicitly recognized and valued. Notably, the two interviewees above also maintain that the teacher profession is under pressure, but there is a difference in how the teachers' professionalism is discussed and evaluated:

I would say that teachers do have pedagogical competence, they have gone through the teacher education and they have a good basis for how to teach and how to do things, so it's simply more about the plurality of demands and pressures that the teachers are under at the moment

(NGO interviewee 3b)

In joint NGO meetings, at times it bothers me how teachers are sometimes talked about as if they wouldn't understand [...] that "they don't get" it and "this is too hard", but we should remember that these people are educated, and so we could go far with them if there were resources

(NGO interviewee 9b)

Instead of pointing out gaps in teachers' professional skills, these NGO workers frame the need for NGO support as an issue of teachers' lack of time for professional development, particularly in the area of global education. The professional type of legitimation also stresses that global educa-

tion is inadequately incorporated in teachers' pre-service education, which justifies the NGOs' involvement in filling this gap, both in pre-service and in-service teacher education. The central claim of these interviewees is that teachers would certainly have the ability to develop themselves as global educators, if they were given time and opportunities.

The professional authority deployed by the NGO workers is also related to the notion of developing the school towards an imagined ending point, where global education would be fully incorporated in school practices. A few of the interviewees explicitly state that the goal of the NGOs' involvement is ultimately to make themselves useless, as shown below:

The ideal situation and the vision is that sometime in the future NGOs would no longer be needed in schools, that the communities were so empowered that the practices would be human rights based and egalitarian¹⁵⁹, and the topics would be there naturally, so to say. But as long as that hasn't happened then NGOs have an important role

(NGO worker, Peace Union)

In a sense, this type of legitimation thus builds on the notion that NGOs' interaction with school is a necessary "transition phase" (quoting the informant from NGO interview 4) in educational development, rather than a continuous element in the school. Conversely, the democratic authority discussed below rests on the idea that NGO school interaction has intrinsic value. Further, professional authority is partly linked to legal authority, which emphasizes the schools' obligation to carry out their curricular and legislative responsibilities.

9.4.2 Legal authority

In the context of my research, legal authority is evoked when NGOs plead to the rights of the students and to the school's formal responsibilities and obligations. In legitimizing argumentation, the power of legal authority is related to the (perceived) sanctions or consequences of a certain action, or lack of action (Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016; Nash, 2015). This authority is evoked by referring to widely respected organizations, such as the National Agency for Education or the UN; or to binding frameworks, such as national legislation and international treaties (Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä 2016; Laitinen 2018a). Above all, the NGOs in this study refer to the national core curriculums for secondary education, as illustrated below:

159 In Finnish: yhdenvertaisuuden mukaista

NGOs are needed to support the teachers, and *in the new curriculums it is strongly stated* that schools should cooperate also with the NGO field, but also on a practical level we have noticed that teachers do not have enough know-how and skills for *fulfilling the obligations* regarding global education

(NGO worker, Plan)

The new curriculum also emphasizes active citizenship and that schools should be in contact with the outside world, so the fact that NGOs do this kind of school cooperation, I think it's about *implementing the curriculum*. One could think that the curriculum is somehow [...] what society wants the school to do, so we are kind of *fulfilling that will*

(NGO worker, Friends of the Earth)

In both quotes, the NGO workers refer to the parts in the curriculum where cooperation with civil society is mentioned and NGOs are described as partners for schools (EDUFI 2014; 2015¹⁶⁰). In the first quote, legal authority is intertwined with professional authority. The teachers' lack of global educational competence is considered an important justification for NGO involvement, but this involvement is legitimized by stating that NGOs' support the teachers in "fulfilling the obligations" set out by the core curriculum, implying that national educational objectives cannot fully be met without their involvement. Similarly, the second quote frames NGO school interaction as a way of executing the curriculum, but the interviewee adds that in doing so, the NGOs participate in completing the collective will of society. Such a justification traces the origin of the authoritative capacity in legal authority back to "society" and thus frames the obligation as originating from a democratic process, rather than from of a top-down command. Interestingly, during the curriculum reforms in Finland 2014 and 2015, the NGOs themselves have actively advocated for the specific mentions of NGOs as collaborative partners for schools, as discussed in chapter 10. Hence, the NGOs are able to build their epistemic capital (Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016) as a continuation of their curricular advocacy. In this sense, the NGO community can at least partly position itself as an extension of the educational authority that the Finnish National Agency for Education represents.

160 Concerning the curriculum for basic education (EDUFI 2014), see e.g. p. 16, 24, 28, 133, 261, 285. For the curriculum for general upper secondary education (EDUFI 2015), see e.g. 36, 37, 123, 152, 178

Further, some NGOs use the curriculum to justify their own particular area of expertise, here with the example of an interview with a worker from Seta: “Well let’s say that particularly Seta’s expertise is needed because there is now an obligation in the curricula to teach about our topics” (NGO worker, Seta). The legitimation based on the curriculum seems to be particularly important for Seta since the NGO’s involvement in schools has been discussed in mainstream media and confronted with protests, especially from conservative evangelicals (Henriksson & Häger, 2019; Nummensalo, 2019; Aito Avioliitto ry, n.d.). When I mention these protests to the interviewee from Seta, they respond that the NGO’s primary objective is to make sure *teachers* follow the obligations of the curriculum concerning gender and sexual minorities. Thus, they are not too worried if some schools refuse to invite visitors from Seta, as stated below:

It’s not a terribly big setback, *if the teachers do what the curriculum commands*, because in any case *it’s more important that the teachers would take care of it*. Then, if there is a visitor from Seta, that is a bonus and it’s good, but that’s not the most important [thing] that we should now absolutely get into schools

(NGO worker, Seta)

In addition to the national core curriculum, the human rights discourse is a key element in the NGOs’ legitimation for school cooperation. As noted by several scholars (Ylä-Anttila, 2010; McCarthy, 1997; Nash, 2015), social movements often frame their agendas as human rights issues, which is thought to be an effective way of shaming elites and bringing about change of different kinds. In this study, the NGO workers appeal to human rights in varying ways, as the following examples demonstrate:

There is nothing, *no religion or cultural tradition or nothing else that could override the human rights of these children and adolescents* and their right to knowledge

(NGO worker, Seta)

Well I guess [the primary objective of our school cooperation] is based on a *human rights perspective* that every human being, *of course we as a Christian organization think of it from a Christian value base*, that every human being as a creation of God is of equally valuable [...] and *it is the Christian’s task* to carry out equity and gender-equality and the message of peace and all this good, it’s in the gospel

(NGO worker, FELM)

In the first quote, the human rights framework is evoked as an authority superior to, and possibly in conflict with, religious or cultural authority. Similarly, NGO interviewees explain that teachers with “a strong religious conviction” or teachers working with “immigrant students” or “students with religious parents” (the citations are expressions used by the interviewees) sometimes refuse or avoid to incorporate gender diversity in their teaching. By appealing to the students’ human rights, the NGO workers use legal authority to delegitimize the teachers’ avoidance of the topic of gender and sexual minority rights. In contrast, the NGO worker from FELM incorporates the human rights frame as a part of the NGO’s Christian value base by emphasizing the congruence of the two. For a religious organization, the usage of a human rights frame alongside religious justifications could be read as a strategy for strengthening their epistemic capital towards the public school system where religious freedom and non-confessional education is the norm (see also Henriksson, 2017b). However, the quote above clearly highlights the religious legitimation for action, “the Christian’s task”, as the primary basis for their authority. In other words, the authority that stems from human rights is used as a complement to other types of legitimation, especially if the NGOs think that the authority of their own organization is not convincing or powerful enough. An example of this is provided below, where an NGO worker makes explicit that the human rights framework is needed for their credibility within school interaction:

Even though we get funding from the state we are autonomous actors, we are not service-providers, we are a transformative force! [...] And this human-rights-based approach is sort of what we can base ourselves on, so it’s not like we are saying that things need to change, but *that according to these [human rights] treaties these things need to change*

(NGO worker, Peace Education Institute, field recordings 2016)

The quote comes from an NGO meeting where the role of NGOs vis-à-vis the Finnish state unexpectedly became a topic for discussion¹⁶¹. This type of statement highlights the way in which the NGOs position themselves as watchdogs making sure that human rights are respected in school, and in this sense, claim to operate as a supplement to the control of the state in the educational sector.

161 This discussion at the NGO meeting is further analysed in the section on advocacy based-authority

9.4.3 Democratic authority

Democratic authority refers to how the NGOs' involvement in schools is legitimized by highlighting the intrinsic value of civil society and the special characteristics of civil society organizations, such as participatory action, volunteering and democratic decision-making (see Laitinen, 2018b). This type of legitimation was not as common as the professional and legal types, yet, there are various examples in the interview material that illustrate the features of democratic authority. Some NGO workers emphasize the importance of an active civil society in broad terms, as exemplified here: "If civic action is dynamic and active, then society is often healthy and it can be trusted and it creates good conditions for all of us" (NGO worker, Amnesty). A more specified argument in this line of legitimation is the importance of bringing civil society closer to the students, as exemplified by the quote below:

The presence of NGOs in the school world hits the core of democracy education, so that somehow the basic essence of our democratic society is foregrounded more clearly and concretely. And maybe the role of civil society which we are all part of [is also foregrounded] and that we can participate through that channel as well, versus just giving our vote in some elections as individual citizens. So somehow bringing the whole societal order closer and illustrating its actors in a more concrete manner than just reading about them in books is very important

(NGO worker, Fingo)

In this quote, the interviewee emphasizes the centrality of civil society for democracy and thus claims that democracy education in schools would be too narrow without the involvement of NGOs. Defining citizenship as something more than voting, and more than knowledge acquired from textbooks, can be read as a critique of how schools in general prepare students for democratic participation. Democratic authority thus rests on the NGOs' argumentation of enhancing and broadening young people's civic engagement. Furthermore, one of the interviewees brings up the question of who participates in civil society:

Perhaps [the student's] own parents are not involved in any NGOs or there is no such model in [the student's] surroundings, so then we can bring to school at least the idea that there are these NGOs that do things, and that the people who are involved in them are just ordinary people

(NGO worker, Friends of the Earth)

Similarly, another NGO worker highlights that all school students should have the right to know about NGOs:

Civil society and knowledge of civil society is valuable in itself, and it's important that the students know that there are these NGOs and what that means, and how all people have the opportunity to participate in this kind of activity and, indeed, in general that everyone has the possibility to act and to participate

(NGO worker, Pro Ethical Trade)

These quotes legitimize NGO school interaction by stating that bringing NGOs' to school is a possible way of democratizing participation, so that also students who are less likely to be socialized into involvement with NGOs would be reached through school. Also, legitimation based on democratic authority differs from that of professional authority in presenting the NGOs as consisting of "ordinary people", rather than of experts or professionals. A possible explanation for this type of argumentation is that the interviewees quoted above represent relatively small NGOs with only a few employees (see Table 9 for details). However, the number of employees does not in any fixed way determine how the NGOs legitimate themselves. In the material, another NGO with few full-time employees, the Peace Union, predominately makes use of professional authority. The difference between these NGOs is perhaps that the former two depend largely on volunteering, while the Peace Union pays their school visitors a commission. Thus, the usage of democratic versus professional legitimation seems to relate to variations in the NGOs' economic resources but also to the NGOs' self-image as predominately professional vs. mainly voluntary organizations.

Further, democratic authority entails the dimension of NGOs as connected to the world outside school, in both local and global terms. For example, NGOs engaged in development projects or humanitarian aid can use these points of contact as epistemic capital in their school involvement:

NGOs have contacts in the world, so there are people who we cooperate with, and the cooperation is often grassroots level interaction, alongside with interaction on some higher state-level sometimes

(NGO worker, Finnish Red Cross)

By arguing that the NGOs have first-hand experience in questions that the school probably lacks, they can position themselves as experts in the democratic area, with hands-on knowledge of enhancing civic engage-

ment, ranging from community development and empowerment projects to transnational advocacy and state-level negotiations.

The democratic authority is also characterized by downplaying the NGOs' focus on particular constituencies or social groups. Instead, it is built on the notion of NGOs promoting a common good that benefits school or society at large. One NGO worker explains this by referring to how their work is ultimately funded by tax payers:

When someone donates 1 euro to us, in practice it means that he or she donates 10 euros, because with that euro we are able to get 9 euros of external funding [...] and it's worth noting that because a large amount of our funding comes from society [...] then at the end it comes from private Finnish people, it's tax money [...] so every Finn is ultimately the one funding our work and we understand this situation in the way that we are also accountable to all Finns for what we do

(NGO worker, Finnish Red Cross)

By referring to the accountability towards "all Finns", this quote serves to legitimize the NGO as an organization that represents the whole of society. In a somewhat similar manner, an NGO worker from Seta frames their norm-critical pedagogical approach¹⁶² as serving everyone:

These norms restrict *everybody's life*, so our message is perhaps not just that we are here for this one gay or non-binary student [...] but *this benefits absolutely everyone* and it has been somehow surprising that this way, teachers have kind of accepted it better, that now *we are not here driving a small minority's agenda but we are driving everyone's agenda*, which again has kind of upset me ((laughs))

(NGO worker, Seta)

Here the interviewee holds on to the idea of the NGO promoting the common good, but simultaneously admits being upset by the fact that such a justification seems to be needed in order to address the challenges that gender or sexual minority students face.

9.4.4 Advocacy-based authority

The advocacy-based authority is a type of authority that I constructed by comparing the theoretical work on epistemic governance and legitimation with my empirical readings. Advocacy-based authority entails elements from moral authority (Alasuutari, Syväterä & Rautalin 2016; Laitinen

162 The norm-critical approach is discussed in section 5.3

2018), in that it is based on arguments around what is good, valuable and just. At the same time, advocacy-based authority explicitly acknowledges that there are varying perspectives on what good, valuable and just mean, and thus tries to make its own perspective transparent, as illustrated below:

We bring maybe a different perspective than perhaps like text book authors or, or, like what teachers independently would bring, and well, *of course the NGO perspective is always somehow ideologically flavored*¹⁶³ or comes from a particular position, but on the other hand, we say it

(NGO worker, Friends of the Earth)

Indeed, advocacy-based authority is built on the recognition that the same values are not shared by everyone and further, that there is a struggle in society and consequently a need to pick sides in controversial situations. Interestingly, controversies regarding conflictive political wills or interests are seldom brought up explicitly by the NGO workers as a central issue for global education. Especially in front stage settings (Goffman, 1956) such as teacher seminars or school visits, and also in interviews, advocacy-based authority is a rather uncommon source of legitimation for the NGOs (see also Henriksson, 2017a). However, at an NGO project meeting, which is here considered a back-stage setting; political controversy somewhat unexpectedly became the topic for discussion. Legitimation takes place back-stage as well, which is why this meeting serves as an interesting example of how the use of authority changes between different settings. At the project meeting, the NGO workers were talking about how to incorporate the UN goals for sustainable development, *i.e.*, Agenda 2030, in their teacher education project. Towards the end of the session, one of the NGO workers steered the discussion towards the contradictions between political rhetoric and political action:

I have this difficult critical thing that I struggle with myself: somehow the fact that these goals are really great, but if we look at the reality and the society in which we operate as NGOs and as citizens, and how our government is ACTUALLY committed to this, in the same way they were ACTUALLY committed to the Millennium goals [...] so how do we kind of present these [goals] in such a way that we educate critical citizens but without totally taking away the credibility of democracy and the UN, because even though Finland is committed but is it REALLY committed [...] for me this is something [to think about] before going to schools [...] we want to instill trust in democracy and responsible politics, but

163 In Finnish: *väritynyt*

adolescents and teachers, they are not stupid and *we cannot create a false image, so this contradiction needs to be contemplated*

(NGO worker, Peace Education Institute, field recordings from NGO project meeting)

With this statement, the NGO worker draws attention to the discrepancy between the Agenda 2030 goals and the politics of Finnish (past and present) governments. I interpret their references to “credibility” and “false image” as a way of dismantling the hypocrisy around the UN goals and more importantly, as a hesitancy to be part of reproducing this compensatory agenda-setting (see Bryan, 2011) without critical reflection. In this sense, advocacy-based authority comes close to charismatic authority (Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016, Weber 1983, pp. 166-169), basing itself on the notion of the NGOs’ exceptional courage to take a stand against powerful actors as well as on their extraordinary integrity and passion. After the somewhat disruptive comment presented above, the discussion among the NGO workers continued along the following lines:

NGO coordinator, Fingo: I kind of always want to *highlight the special role of us NGOs*, that we are experts who *incite, support, push* these things forward regardless of the political climate, and it’s true that a *democracy includes quite diverse movements and ideals* and images of the future also, but this [Agenda 2030] is the official framework that we are committed to and we are here to help so that schools and everyone else become involved, as it is mentioned in the national core curriculum as well, that this is a task for schools too, so *maybe we need to pursue this thing even more with a basis in our own role*

Facilitator, Fingo: So how have you [project manager] thought about this Agenda 2030, some alternatives that came up here were whether we should raise awareness about the goals themselves or should the NGO workers reflect on the linkages by themselves quietly?

NGO project manager, Fingo: Well exactly in these terms I’ve thought about it myself and there is always a line-drawing between promoting the issues themselves or the awareness of the Agenda. I feel they are both relevant [...]

NGO worker, UNA Finland: Can I just add [...] so that the teachers don’t get the impression that this is something that has just been invented, “oh something new again”, but this is work that has been going on for a LONG TIME, and that has now been reshaped, has been made into a new brand, because that’s how it is, THAT’S THE REALITY, that with this brand there is the intention to promote the same things

Facilitator, Fingo ((turns towards NGO worker from Amnesty)): You had something?

NGO worker, Amnesty: I think we are allowed to be critical there [within teacher education] and pose problems and try to reflect on how to solve them. [...] I don't know why we should be some kind of glossy sticker¹⁶⁴. Well, I come from Amnesty, of course it's easy for me to bark from here (*the other participants laugh*), the state doesn't give us funding, but this world is not in any way perfect, or ready

Facilitator, Fingo: Okey, so is our summary for our check-list that the links to the goals for sustainable development have been thought through? Is that the minimum?

NGO worker UNA Finland: Well (*hesitates*) if you're asking me, then like, yeah

(Recording from NGO project meeting 2017)

This extract makes visible how different types of authority interact and challenge each other within the NGO community. First, the NGO coordinator from Fingo highlights the NGOs' "special role", *i.e.*, their autonomy in relation to government politics combined with their role as passionate advocates for change within schools. The facilitator leading the discussion reacts by consulting the project manager. However, rather than connecting the question to the political controversy, the facilitator returns to a previous topic on whether to promote awareness of the Agenda itself or highlight what the goals imply for educators in practice. In this interaction, there is a shift from politics and positionality to a more technical, practice-oriented approach which is often prevalent in the NGO project world (see Eliasoph, 1997). Further, the NGO worker from the UN Association of Finland tries to downplay the critical comments regarding the Agenda 2030 by declaring that it constitutes a re-branded attempt to promote similar things that have been promoted by the UN for years. This way, they strive to re-establish the legitimacy of the UN in the discussion. In contrast, the NGO worker from Amnesty goes back to the topic of political controversy and bases the NGOs' authority on their role as critical watchdogs. The NGO worker from Amnesty connects this authority primarily to autonomy in terms of funding, implying that NGOs funded by the state are not necessarily willing or able to take such a stance.

The calls made by some of the NGO workers for a more critical approach is an illustrative example of how advocacy-based authority is deployed inwards in order to reinstall the NGO community's self-integrity and its self-image as courageous and committed, in contrast to political

164 In Finnish: kiiltokuva

decision-makers. However, the discussion above is concluded *not* by a collective commitment to a critical standpoint, but by a *minimum* commitment of linking the sustainable development goals to the NGO project in ways that the different NGO workers see best.

9.5 State funding and NGO autonomy

State funding is a prerequisite for most of the NGOs' school interaction¹⁶⁵. The NGOs included in this study receive funding from a number of different sources, consisting primarily of ministries and government agencies. In order to be eligible for state funding, the NGOs need to have a certain degree of self-funding, which is usually collected through membership fees and fundraising or other forms of revenues. Some NGOs also receive funds from foundations or private companies¹⁶⁶. The NGOs' school cooperation is primarily funded by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Culture. While the Ministry of Education and Culture provides funding for a broad range of educational projects, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs administrates funding specifically for global education, which makes it significant to explore. Thus, in this section, I choose to focus primarily on funding allocated by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, although I also partly draw on the NGO workers' views on funding from other sources.

State funding connects NGOs and the state in a way that somewhat blurs the idea of an autonomous third sector separate from the public sector¹⁶⁷ (Biccum, 2015; Gordenker & Weiss, 1995). The conditions and objectives set out by the donor inevitably shape NGO practice but does not determine it (Skinner & Baille-Smith, 2015, p. 15). NGO-driven global education is here conceptualized as "in-between" and "hybrid", meaning that NGO workers need to juggle between the expectations of the donor and the needs of the school world, while striving to preserve their autonomy (Skinner & Baillie-Smith, 2015, p. 13). Hence, the question of how state funding relates to the NGOs' work is seen as empirical. The aim of this section is to explore how NGO workers understand the role of funding and how they negotiate their autonomy in terms of their everyday work as global educators as well as in terms of their broader social position as civil society actors. First, I discuss the NGO workers' views on how questions of accountability fit together with their professional identities. Next, I ex-

165 Amnesty is the only NGO included in this study that neither applied for nor received public funds for its activities, including school cooperation, at the time the material was collected.

166 See also table 9 for details.

167 See sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 for a theoretical discussion on the complex role of NGOs within national and global structures of governance

plore the NGO workers' positionings in the crossroads of the development sector and the educational sector. This is followed by an analysis of a joint NGO protest in defence of the autonomy and multivocality of the community in a political context characterized by austerity measures.

9.5.1 Accountability and the everyday work of NGO workers

The NGO workers' funding-related work includes applying for funding as well as reporting and evaluating the results of their projects. Within the NGO community, different stances to this part of their work can be discerned. A common standpoint among the NGO workers is that the relative rigidness of state funding is often an obstacle for doing their work in an ideal way, as exemplified below:

Sometimes and often and always plans change and then especially concerning the donor in question, *((laughs))* making changes is quite rigid [...] so it would be nice to be able to more flexibly adjust our work in accordance to how the working environment changes or partners [change] or the like. Surely, we already do so, it's not like we follow [the project plan] slavishly but of course we do what we find meaningful

(NGO interviewee 1)

This quote shows how the NGOs understand themselves as flexible and adaptable actors that take into account changing demands and circumstances, while they describe state bureaucracy as somewhat rigid, requiring time-consuming negotiations in order to modify project plans. In contrast, some NGO workers see the formal requirements posed by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as benefitting the NGOs themselves, as exemplified by the quote below:

There are certain quality requirements for the work. I think it's a good thing, it has to be linked, all projects that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs funds, have to be linked to the curriculum, you need to name these indicators and like a certain starting point evaluation. There are these criteria which I think *strengthen the quality* of the NGOs' work, although it's not easy, but like it also challenges the actors in the field and through that, the *professionalism can grow and evolve*, so it has certain good aspects, that the donor requires those things

(NGO interviewee 15)

This quote represents a compliant standpoint in relation to the donor's view on quality and professionalism. By referring to how the ministry's requirements support the NGOs' own growth and evolvment, the interviewee's positionality can be placed within the trend of increasing emphasis on ac-

countability and technical quality management (see Bryan, 2011). In contrast, another NGO worker sees reporting as an unpleasant part of the work:

In general, I hate that sort of reporting, or like, because there is always that element, that you can't be honest, or like in the sense that you somehow must, must prove that yes we have done great things with the money even though we might not *((laughs))* or that some things have gone all wrong, but you can't say it that way, can you? [...] So, I see [the reporting] as a burden because I don't feel that it is very, or that it would be very beneficial for my work. So, the more mechanical, the faster I can get it over with, the better

(NGO interviewee 10)

Here, reporting is first depicted – at least partly – as an embellishing activity, where challenges and failures concerning the work cannot be openly expressed in fear of sanctions from the donor. Secondly, the NGO worker does not feel that reporting supports their professional development, but rather, that it takes time away from their main work, which is to educate (see also Skinner & Baillie-Smith, 2015, p. 15). Hence, by minimizing the effort concerning reporting, the interviewee strives at maintaining their autonomy as an educator.

While the NGO workers mostly think that some kind of quantifiable reporting is useful both for the donor and for themselves, they also generally agree that evaluating the impact of global education projects is a complicated and problematic endeavor, as expressed in the following quote:

NGO worker: The thing about this global educational work is that the results are really hard to see, at least soj that there would be some concrete results immediately visible, that people's values or action or attitudes would have changed somehow as a result of what we do. So it's a bit of *((pauses))* wishful thinking *((laughs))* or, of course, it's what we strive for, but the concrete results are like hard to see

Heidi: Mm, yes, so is it, how does that feel, is it frustrating or –

NGO worker: – Well sometimes it's frustrating, but one just has to believe that we are doing the right things even if we can't cash in the results straight away for the reports

(NGO interviewee 1)

In this quote, the donor's requirement of impact measurement clashes with the NGO worker's own conception of their work. This causes a tension between, on the one hand, a frustration for not being able deliver the

expected outcomes in a measurable way, and on the other hand, a refusal to comply with the logics of quantifiable outcomes when it comes to impact. As seen in the quote, the NGO worker's self-image is largely built on "doing the right things", rather than providing the donor with results in the form of large numbers. The following extract from a discussion at a small-scale seminar further illustrates this tension:

NGO worker 1: It's the same with all projects and schemes, that if you've reached 5000 people then it's really cool, but if you have reached five people that really take things forward, then it's really nothing! So there is no quality control, or how could it even –

NGO worker 2: – Yeah, I was so frustrated at one point of the CGE subsidy¹⁶⁸ application, that when I came to the section of result objectives, I honestly thought I'll write "well fucking world peace"!

Everyone laughs, including myself. Someone yells: "Brilliant"!

(Field notes, Global Education Summer Days 2016)

The first NGO worker's statement is here seen as an expression of a general discontent towards the focus on quantity in the project world. I read the second NGO worker's response as a sarcastic critique of the incommensurability of the logics of funding applications and the objectives of global education. The idea of writing down "fucking world peace" as the objective of a global educational project could of course be read as "just a joke", but in addition to being funny, it is understood and accepted by the other participants as the "right way" to maintain a sense of autonomy when confronting bureaucratic frustrations. In this sense, global education is portrayed as promoting an intrinsically positive change in the world, which makes the imperative of complying with mundane formalities such as funding conditions appear almost as an insult to the NGO workers doing this work. From a methodological perspective, it is worth noting that these kind of sarcastic and self-confident criticisms towards the logics of funding are rarely found in the interview material. Rather, these expressions arise in back-stage settings or intimate situations where the NGO workers can openly identify a shared source of frustration or dissatisfaction and collectively affirm a joint protest.

168 This abbreviation refers to the subsidy for Communications and Global Education (in Finnish: Viestintä- ja globaalikasvatustuki), which is further discussed in the following subsections of this chapter.

9.5.2 Development policy, austerity measures and funding for global education

The NGOs in this study can roughly be divided into two groups according to their formal relation to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The first group has the status of partner organizations¹⁶⁹, meaning that they hold a relatively stable position as recipients of a three-year subsidy called “Program-based Support”¹⁷⁰ for their development cooperation projects in the Global South. A part of this subsidy can be used for development-related school cooperation in Finland. The other group relies on a funding instrument called “Communication and Global Education subsidy”¹⁷¹ (hereafter abbreviated as CGE subsidy). This subsidy is meant mostly for smaller NGOs who may or may not be engaged in development cooperation, but nevertheless aim at promoting awareness around issues of development through the means of education and/or communication. The guideline for the CGE subsidy states that global education projects “are a part of the totality of Finnish development cooperation” (Hakukierros suomalaisten kansalaisjärjestöjen..., n.d.).

All global education subsidized by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs must include “a development perspective”. The ministry requires that the NGOs’ projects must be in line with Finland’s development policy, which refers to a government report that provides a framework for all development cooperation funded by the ministry (see Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2016). From the perspective of decolonial theory¹⁷² and critical global education¹⁷³, it is important to explore this framework alongside NGO workers’ views, since state-funded global education entails the interesting process of enacting national development policy within the Finnish school world.

The government framework outlines Finland’s values and principles for development cooperation, which is a rather unsurprising list of ubiquitous but contested terms such as “democracy and the rule of law; gender equality and human rights; [and] freedom of speech” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2016, p. 12), combined with strong influences from the discourse of sustainability (see Ziai, 2016) such as “a sustainable market economy” and “sustainable use of natural resources” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2016, p. 12). Most of the NGO interviewees state that these principles do not restrict their work in any negative way, and that they correspond with

169 Among the NGOs included in this study, the following ones are registered as partner organizations in 2018-2021: Plan International Finland, Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission, Finnish Refugee Council, Finnish Red Cross, Finn Church Aid, Save the Children Finland, Operation a Day’s Work Finland, WWF and Fingo (the umbrella organization).

170 In Finnish: Ohjelmatuki

171 In Finnish Viestintä- ja Globaalikasvatustuki.

172 See chapter 5

173 See particularly section 5.5

the NGOs' values and objectives. One interviewee clarifies their position regarding the conditions in the following way:

We must of course reflect on what the donor wants or seeks with this funding. This is of course, or not necessarily a bad thing, so in general I do, I do somehow trust the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the kind of things that they want to promote are, they are usually quite ok for [the NGO] as well

(NGO interviewee 14)

This quote illustrates a common stance among the NGOs; they generally do not question the ministry's guidelines in terms of values or objectives. In some aspects, this stance reflects the NGOs' conformist stance towards public authorities (see Luhtakallio, 2010; Stenius, 2010) and particularly their somewhat uncritical positioning towards the Finnish development policy framework. From a decolonial view, this is problematic because the discourse in the government report is in many ways characterized by national self-interest as well as by a Finnish benevolent self-image, as seen in the extracts below:

By contributing to the resolution of world-wide problems, Finland boosts its foreign policy role and economic position and improves its chances to get its voice heard internationally.

(Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2016, p. 4).

The support granted to developing countries by Finland and other donors has helped them achieve significant results [...] Yet the situation in some developing countries is still very difficult. Some of them are lagging behind as a result of conflicts, terrorism and crime [...] Many of these problems cross national borders. The consequences and risks may be far-reaching, and extend also to Finland.

(Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2016, pp. 5-6)

These quotes include several elements that pinpoint the problematics and tensions of the term development¹⁷⁴. In the first quote, development cooperation is legitimized by connecting it to the possibilities for Finland to grow economically and to gain more power in international policymaking. Both quotes reproduce the questionable idea of Finland as first and foremost helping and resolving problems in the global South, while its complicity in creating and maintaining these problems is not discussed. Given that many NGOs seek to practice a more critically oriented global education, it is noteworthy that NGO workers generally do not question this particular framework. Thus, there is certainly some aspects of conformity towards the ministry within the NGO community.

174 The term development is discussed in section 5.2

However, from the perspective of governance, it is hardly surprising that NGOs cooperating closely with the public sector, such as the ones included in this study, are inclined to accept (at least at some level) the general guidelines set out by the ministry. Yet, the NGOs seem to understand the funding conditions not just as an imposition on their work, but importantly, as a possibility for diversifying and democratizing the implementation of the government's goals, as illustrated in the quote below:

It's development politics, it's political. Now, of course it's good that in Finland, it is human rights based and it's a kind of framework which I could sign myself, so it's good, but what if it wasn't so good [...] if NGOs were like on a leash then that would not be good but for the moment it's rather ok [...] my conception is that we also support the voice of civil society and the themes we want to raise.

(NGO interviewee 15)

The quote expresses, first of all, an implicit preparedness to react if the framework was in complete discordance with the NGO worker's own values. Secondly, it expresses that the funding conditions always entail a certain freedom that the NGOs can use in order to fit their own projects in accordance to the principles outlined by the donor (see Berliner & Prakash, 2012). The NGO workers conceptualize Finnish development policy as an overarching framework, which leaves room for the NGOs to put into practice their own ideas for global education without the need to defy the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as exemplified below:

[With the Ministry for Foreign Affairs it's] pretty much the same as with other sources of funding, the same there, that well, we have an idea and then *((laughs))* we try to frame it and formulate it so that *((laughs))* it corresponds to the donor's objectives.

(NGO interviewee 12)

In this quote, I read the interviewee's laughter as an expression of a certain tension involved in the relationship between NGOs and the state. The laughter signals that the NGO worker is saying something that is not completely safe to say in front of the donor, yet something that is important to tell me as a researcher. Revealing that the NGO partly disguises its own ideas by framing them according to the vocabulary of the government's policy framework is a way of reaffirming the NGO's autonomy vis-à-vis the state. Simultaneously, the laughter, as well as the reference to the similarity with other sources to funding, functions as an amelioration of the statement, signalling that the NGO is not exactly confrontational, but yet creative and independent.

Other NGO workers tell me that they have needed to modify the content of their school campaigns to fit the funding conditions with regards to the “development perspective” required by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. For NGOs that are not involved in development cooperation, but oriented towards topics such as peace and anti-discrimination, there are different ways of handling this requirement. In the quote below, an NGO worker explains their view on how to combine these in their drama-oriented pedagogy:

The interest of the donor has of course also had an effect, since our project funding has come from [the Ministry for Foreign Affairs] so we have emphasized development education side by side with peace education [...] so when we discuss questions of peace and development through certain characters or communities they are like situated elsewhere, so yes, there is a strong development education perspective

(NGO interviewee 15)

In this quote, the NGO worker explains how the NGO’s general focus on peace is combined with the “development perspective” by situating the characters “elsewhere”, *i.e.*, in countries in the global South. This interviewee does not see a contradiction between doing development education and peace education simultaneously, but rather they emphasize their overlaps. While I read this primarily as a way for the NGO worker to cope with the funding conditions, it brings back the questions of why the ministry requires a focus on “developing countries” and what implications that may cause. If problems related to discrimination, violence or inequality are systematically treated in the context of the global South, there is a risk that these problems are presented as problems of “the Other”, or indeed, as problems of “underdevelopment”. This in turn, might omit a critical discussion on the idea of development¹⁷⁵, which raises the question of whether there is space for multiple views on, or alternatives to, the term development in global education, particularly when funded by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Indeed, one of the informants sees the discrepancy between the ministry’s focus on development and the NGO’s own educational objectives as somewhat problematic, as illustrated by the extract below:

NGO worker: The agenda of the Ministry for Foreign affairs has this kind of a development education perspective, and a developing country perspective. So when the content of our work has really been a lot about [the NGOs’ own central themes], so it does not quite tolerate daylight there in the donor’s eyes (*laughs*) so we have had to kind of, well, camouflage it a little towards more of a development education perspective [...] so we always get really good feedback [from the ministry] on how much work we have done with little money, but we always get a remark that the development education edge is not clear enough

175 See section 5.2

Heidi: Right, and why don't you want to do it with a development education edge?

NGO worker: Well because we want to do it more broadly, or like with all possible edges, and then we realize that there has recently been a demand for all kinds of anti-racism stuff and the like

(NGO interviewee 5)

Here, the NGO worker expresses frustration over having to comply with the ministry's focus on "developing countries" when applying for funding and reporting back to the ministry. While the NGO worker does not reject the development framework as such, their answer suggests that they see it as an insufficient and one-sided way of conceptualizing global education. The reference to the demand for anti-racism education signals that they feel the need to focus on questions of discrimination in the Finnish context. Thus, although the NGO community generally states that the funding from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs does not significantly restrict their autonomy, there seem to be some tensions when it comes to NGOs that want to do global education without connecting it to a development framework.

Another aspect to keep in mind when analyzing the NGOs' positionings in relation to state funding is the politico-economic context. The Finnish government made significant cuts in public expenditure during its mandate between 2015 and 2019. As a part of the government's broader austerity measures (see Prime Minister's Office 2015), funding for development cooperation and global education was decreased by approximately 40% (Starck, 2015; Starck & Nevalainen, 2016). Further, the CGE subsidy has in many ways been a rather unpredictable source of funding. Since 2015, the subsidy has gone through various changes regarding the funds available, the length of funding periods and the application process. In 2015, the government froze the subsidy, meaning that no funds were allocated that year, and in 2016, the subsidy was decreased by around 65% (Starck & Nevalainen, 2016). Reductions and uncertainties regarding state subsidies leave the NGOs in a precarious position, in which the economic preconditions become the most burning source of worry and uncertainty, and consequently the possibility for critical engagement with policy frameworks might become more challenging (McCloskey, 2011). When I interviewed the NGO workers about their views on how funding mechanisms affect their work, the salient theme was that of economic uncertainty. Some of the interviewees were clearly hesitant in raising criticism towards the government or the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as seen in the following example with a relatively recently employed NGO worker:

Heidi: So the Finnish government's development policies, are they, in your view, in line with your work or are they troubling somehow?

NGO worker: Uhhh *((pauses for about five seconds))*

Heidi: So, if you have not discussed this you don't need to –

NGO worker: -Well, overall the current atmosphere is really worrying and affects also our work, and the [government's] latest decisions have not been in line with our wishes, but I'm sure that for all development NGOs this is an equally challenging time and atmosphere

(NGO interviewee 7)

This interviewee, after hesitating for a while, voices critique towards the government's cuts in development cooperation, but they do it by framing the criticism as a claim shared by the NGO field as a whole, which I interpret as a way of avoiding to stand out as a particularly defiant NGO actor. Overall, in the interviews, the NGO workers often lamented how their global educational activities suffered from the government's actions, but these concerns were generally expressed in a laconic manner without much indignation.

The discomfort that some of the NGO workers expressed when funding was discussed made me as an interviewer sensible to not push the topic, as seen in the quote above. I came to understand the interviewees' style of talking about funding as a combination of stating the lamentable facts while simultaneously protecting themselves from possible future harm (see also McCloskey, 2011). However, it should be noted that while the NGO workers were somewhat cautious in expressing criticism towards the government in the interviews, these NGOs have on several occasions taken a stance against the austerity measures, for instance, through joint statements, letters and blog texts¹⁷⁶. In the following section, I provide an example of how the NGOs collectively protest against what they perceive as a threat to their autonomy.

176 See e.g. Starck (2016); Starck & Nevalainen (2016) and Lappalainen, Luukkainen and Similä (2017)

9.5.3 Collective defiance and unequal funding possibilities

In this section, I begin by analyzing in some detail the NGO community's reactions to a specific chain of events relating to the CGE subsidy, which represents an interesting example of how NGO workers actively defend their autonomy in relation to the public sector. In 2017, government officials proposed a significant modification of the CGE subsidy; the most substantial change in this proposal was that the NGOs would no longer be eligible applicants for the subsidy. Instead, the subsidy would be granted to formal education providers, *i.e.*, to municipal administrations and schools (Rekola, 2017). The main argument that the public authorities posed for this change was to “increase the impact of global education projects”, which was valued as especially important because the OECD had recently included “global competence” as a dimension to be evaluated in the PISA test (Field notes from NGO meeting 2017; see also OECD, 2016). In other words, the government officials' plan was at least partly driven by the instrumentalist aim of obtaining good scores in the international assessment. While the NGOs did not explicitly question the relevance of the PISA test as a justification, they did oppose the government officials' views on the alleged benefits of the reforming the funding model. The umbrella organization Fingo reacted by publishing a note on its webpage, which included the following viewpoints:

In the new model, the NGOs would be left in the position of a partner. The umbrella organization for development cooperation [formerly Kepa, currently Fingo] finds it important that NGOs could be applicants for the subsidy also in the future. The NGOs' possibilities of providing new perspectives and solutions to global challenges must be safeguarded. [...] “We do not want to put the NGOs' work and expertise in opposition to schools and teachers, quite the contrary. We find cooperation between schools and NGOs really important in global education. If this were a new form of funding, with designated additional resources, we would be cheering for this together”, states [spokesperson from Fingo]. (Rekola 2017)

The quote emphasizes that the NGOs do not oppose global education funding offered to schools *per se*. Rather, it criticizes how the intended modification without additional resources would be harmful for both schools and NGOs. This way, NGOs strategically side with the schools while simultaneously defending their own funding. By highlighting that NGOs provide “new perspectives and solutions”, the note legitimizes the NGOs as a professional community that offers qualitatively different input to education than the municipal actors. Hence, the umbrella organization resists the idea of NGOs being merely “partners” for schools. This position was further emphasized in a joint statement, signed by 35 NGOs, opposing the intended change:

[If] left in the role of partners, this also poses a challenge for the NGOs' motivation to continue their global education on the education provider's terms. When the work is no longer done *from [the NGOs'] own starting points*, the passion for providing services for education providers could weaken

(NGO statement 2017)

In this fragment, the NGOs' autonomy vis-à-vis the municipal sector is highlighted. Returning to the types of authority presented in section 9.4, this quote represents an example of the advocacy-based authority that NGOs build their legitimacy on, especially when they feel like their autonomy is threatened. As seen in the quote above, the NGOs do not completely reject the notion of their role as service providers, however, they maintain that their "motivation" for providing such services depend on them having resources to develop their work and the freedom to choose the premises for their school interaction.

In the statement, the NGOs also question whether (all) schools are apt to manage global educational projects in the same way as the third sector. Consequently, the NGOs state that "[m]oving the subsidy from NGOs to education providers does not automatically increase the quality of the work" (NGO statement 2017), which I interpret as way for the NGOs to claim professional authority on the basis of their experience in project management. In the statement, the NGOs are categorically portrayed as a guardant of quality and commitment, compared to the schools, which are depicted as varyingly interested or capable of administrating global educational projects.

Further, when opposing to carry out global education on the education providers' terms, the NGOs use democratic authority to emphasize the importance of including multiple voices from civil society in the NGO school interaction. Indeed, the statement also raises the question of which kind of NGOs would suffer the most from the intended change in funding:

In the proposed model, only well-known actors with a sufficient amount of basic funding for developing services and marketing would succeed. The biggest losers would be small NGOs, which might have important perspectives and specialized expertise related to global development issues. These NGOs' prerequisites for operating were already damaged the most by the cuts in development cooperation funds in 2015. Now their work is threatened to perish completely

(NGO statement 2017)

As mentioned in the previous section, the NGOs relying on the CGE subsidy are in a more precarious situation than the partner organizations, as the latter are generally bigger NGOs that are granted longer funding periods. Thus, the quote above defends this particular funding instrument as a vital condition for smaller NGOs, whose opportunities for applying for other types of public funding might be scarce. Overall, the NGOs express a concern for the broader trend of channelling funds to bigger actors. As an NGO worker stated during a meeting, public donors are beginning to equate impact with bigger and bigger entities where everyone is doing the same thing, while diversity and multiple perspectives are valued less (Fieldnotes from NGO meeting 2017).

Similarly, when the Ministry for Foreign Affairs allocated funds to the umbrella organization Fingo to coordinate a large-scale teacher education project¹⁷⁷, some of the smaller NGOs involved in the project raised concerns about the direction that public funding for global education is taking, as expressed by an NGO worker below:

One [concern] is that, from the donor's perspective, does this [joint NGO project] mean that they think that global education is now executed like this, so that this money is away from something else, so that they don't see this as an increment, but like as "this is wrapped up nicely like this, so we don't need anything more". For me this is a big question to think about, because many NGOs are really small, and the risk is quite big if this happened

(NGO interviewee 13)

In other words, although the NGO workers in principle support the idea of partnerships and joint projects, some of them see this development as a possible risk not only for the multivocality within the epistemic community, but for equal funding possibilities between bigger and smaller NGOs. Thus, the unequal resources of the different NGOs are reflected in the NGO workers' perceptions of relative stability versus constant uncertainty in their work. Still, since the NGOs are organized as a network, they have to some extent been able to negotiate the terms of their autonomy. As a result of the community's joint statement in 2017, the proposed plan to move the NGOs from applicants to companions was withdrawn and the CGE subsidy was kept intact (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2018). Thus, the autonomy of the NGO community seems to benefit from smaller NGOs collaborative resistance and from a strong umbrella organization coordinating the community's claims towards the state.

However, another aspect regarding the inequalities between NGOs is that being in a relatively privileged position regarding funding is not

177 This teacher education project is discussed in chapters 8 and 11

necessarily understood as unproblematic by the NGO workers. Two interviewees from big NGOs note that these unequal positions are noticeable as underlying tensions in the NGO community, which sometimes result in certain competitive behavior, such as discussions over territorial boundaries regarding educational methods or topics, or disputes over which NGO initially came up with an idea (NGO interviews 4 & 8). An additional problematic aspect, raised by one NGO worker, is that being allocated more funds than other NGOs puts the organization in a somewhat contradictory position from a political point of view:

Now the last time that there were big cuts, other [NGOs' subsidies] were slashed much more than ours, so ((*ironical tone*)) nice to be the favorite NGO of a minister from the National Coalition party [right-wing party], ((*laughs*)) a bit awkward somehow

(NGO interviewee 5)

This quote shows how the interviewee implicitly deploys a left-leaning political identity. Thus, the NGO worker is not comfortable with the idea that their NGO is seen as compatible with the right-wing minister's political views, causing a conflict between the organizations' self-image and the government it is linked with through state funding. Consequently, it could be stated that the political context of a right-wing government puts pressure on NGOs to package their project plans in ways that "appeal [also] to the political right" (see Bryan, 2011) which poses an internal dilemma for NGOs wishing to simultaneously mainstream and radicalize the field of global education.

9.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have analysed the NGOs as an epistemic community (Haas, 1992) that contributes to the enactment of global education, here with a focus on different ways of legitimating NGOs involvement in schools. The analysis depicts how the community positions itself towards the school world and the public sector more broadly. The chapter also illustrates tensions and negotiations in the NGO workers' everyday work as well as within the heterogeneous NGO community.

The term global education is used strategically by the NGO community in order to identify and cooperate with like-minded actors, but also partly to distance their work from unwanted associations, such as international mobility, or sex education. Within the community, there is generally a sense of shared values and objectives between the different NGOs. However, the cooperation with Christian organizations seems to cause tensions

for some of the non-religious NGOs that distance themselves from combining a Christian value base with global education. Further, the debate on “soft” versus “critical” global education (Andreotti, 2006) is reflected within the NGO community in somewhat differing perspectives on whether and how to pursue more critical approaches.

When legitimizing their school interaction, the NGO community makes use of different kinds of authority. In the analysis, I discerned four types of authority that are used as repertoires for legitimation: professional, legal, democratic and advocacy-based. These types are summarized in Table 10, which also illustrates what kind of input to the school world each authority type is connected with.

Table 10. Types of authority in NGO legitimation for school interaction

Type of authority	Sources of legitimation	Input to school world
Professional	Organizational expertise, educational background of NGO worker	Support for, and evaluation of, teachers' professional competence
Legal	National legislation, educational authorities, international law & international policy frameworks	Watchdog, reminding the public sector of its obligations, threatening with possible sanctions
Democratic	Democratic principles, ideas of the common good	Bringing democracy closer to the students, enhancing grass roots participation
Advocacy-based	Acknowledgment of social conflict, naming opponents, taking a political stance.	Encouraging resistance and struggle; instilling courage and passion

Professional authority rests on organizational expertise, the NGO workers' educational backgrounds and their positioning as supporters of teachers' professional development. Legal authority draws on international treaties and legislation, with a strong focus on rights and obligations. In turn, democratic authority is based on the notion of bringing democracy closer to the students and promoting “the common good” in society. Finally, advocacy-based authority operates by openly declaring a certain political standpoint while highlighting the conflictive nature of the social order. These repertoires are not to be seen as mutually exclusive. Nor are they

necessarily in conflict with one another, although there are some clear differences between them with regards to how the role of NGOs is perceived. Importantly, however, they illustrate the hybrid character of NGO-driven global education, where the practitioners combine and negotiate between different dimensions of their work.

State funding inevitably sets up certain conditions for the NGO's work, but the NGO workers are also actively involved in shaping these conditions so that they can maintain a sense of autonomy. Development policy is closely linked to global education through the funding from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Given that development is a contested and problematized term, the ways in which Finnish development policy is translated into educational practice are varied. In the following chapters, these translations are analysed in more detail. Due to significant cuts in global education funding, the NGOs are in a precarious, uncertain position, which especially affects smaller NGOs. However, by collectively confronting the state with claims for autonomy and multivocality, the NGO community has to some extent been able to influence policy decisions regarding their role in relation to the school world.

10. “It’s good that human rights are mentioned, but...”: NGO involvement in curriculum reforms and textbook publishing

10.1 Introduction

Curricula and textbooks are often considered to reflect commonly accepted values and beliefs, as well as to indicate what students are expected to learn in order to meet the demands of society at a particular time. Both curricula and textbooks should also be regarded as discursive constructions entailing struggles over what knowledge and which perspectives are promoted. Multiple actors with varying professional expertise and ideological orientations are directly involved in the development of curricula and textbooks. In this sense, I explore curriculum reforms and textbook production as processes of negotiation, or – to borrow Gamson’s (1999) expression – as “framing contests”, in this context referring to competing ways of presenting the global world within formal education. In this chapter, I explore how NGOs, as separable and united, albeit heterogeneous, groups of actors, strive at influencing formal education through their involvement in curriculum reforms and textbook publishing on the level of secondary education in Finland.

The focus of this analysis is on the Finnish Global Education Network and its initiatives towards the Finnish National Agency for Education (hereafter EDUFI) and towards Finnish textbook publishers. As regards curriculum reforms, the empirical material stems from the NGO network’s involvement in two different reforms: the national core curriculum for basic education (EDUFI, 2014a) and the national core curriculum for general upper secondary education (EDUFI, 2015). As for textbook production, the focus is on the network’s cooperation with the two largest textbook publishers in Finland, Sanoma Pro and Otava, during the years 2015-2018, relating to textbooks for lower secondary and upper general secondary education. More precisely, the material consists of 7 curriculum statements, 19 textbook statements as well as interviews with NGO workers (N=17). Additionally, I use examples from the national core curricula (EDUFI 2014a & 2015 respectively) and from published textbooks (13 printed textbooks on subjects including history, social sciences and religion) as well as from draft versions of these textbooks (5 textbook manuscripts). The additional material allows me to illustrate the negotiations involved when NGOs makes claims to the school world.

The chapter starts with an overview of the contexts (*i.e.*, Finnish curriculum reforms and the Finnish textbook industry) within which NGOs pursue their educational influence. This is followed by an analysis of the NGO workers' experiences of their influence. After this, I discuss collective action frames as a theoretical tool for analyzing NGOs' advocacy statements. In the analysis that follows, I distinguish four different collective action frames that the NGOs use as they strive to address global injustice in curricula and textbooks. Finally, I summarize and discuss the findings.

10.2 NGOs' educational influence – context and experiences

10.2.1 NGOs and national curriculum reforms

The national core curriculum in Finland is reformed approximately every 10 years (Soini, Pietarinen & Pyhältö 2018, p. 113). In Finland, basic education and upper general secondary education are regulated by national core curricula, which are administrated by the Finnish National Agency for Education. At the same time, the educational system in Finland is characterized by an emphasis on the autonomy of education providers and schools (Simola, 2005; Simola 2014; Soini, Pietarinen & Pyhältö, 2018, p. 112). On the basis of the national core curriculum, every education provider is required to develop municipal level curricula. The educational provider's curriculum is to a varying extent also further developed into school-specific curricula concerning the practical implementations of the municipal guidelines. Further, the Finnish educational system entails a high level of trust in teachers, who are given significant freedom to implement the curriculum in ways they find purposeful (Simola, 2005; Simola, 2014; Soini, Pietarinen & Pyhältö, 2018). Thus, the implementation of curriculum reforms is by no means straightforward and predictable, as the steps from the national curriculum to classroom level entails a complex process of translating the general guidelines into local documents and educational practices.

Yet, studying curriculum reforms is interesting since they reflect broader societal changes and involve negotiations over how and what to reform versus what to preserve. Curriculum reforms also mobilize a variety of actors that wish to influence formal education. The Finnish strategy for curriculum reforms is described as a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches (Sahlberg, 2011a; Pietarinen, Pyhältö & Soini, 2017) and it reflects the trend of multilateral governance discussed in chapter 3. The Finnish National Agency for Education leads the reform process, but it invites hundreds of stakeholders to participate in the reform work.

Compared to a strictly top-down approach, this strategy of enabling participation from different stakeholders can be understood as an attempt to avoid tensions and to facilitate a broader commitment to the reforms (see Pietarinen, Pyhältö & Soini 2017, p. 24). The invited stakeholders include universities, schools and different types of private sector and civil society organizations. In the latest reform of the national core curriculum for basic education (2014), altogether 317 stakeholders were invited and 34 working groups were formed to join the reform work (Pietarinen, Pyhältö & Soini, 2017). Representatives from NGOs accounted for 6% of the stakeholders invited (Pietarinen, Pyhältö & Soini 2017, p. 28-29)¹⁷⁸, which would imply 19 NGOs. Among these invited stakeholders was the umbrella NGO Fingo that coordinates the Global Education Network. Fingo's role in the reform process enabled several NGOs who were not explicitly invited as stakeholders to participate through the network's joint statements.

An important change in the curriculum reforms of 2014 and 2015 was that anyone, as a representative of an organization or simply as a citizen, could comment on the draft versions of the curricula on the website of the Finnish National Agency for Education. In total, the National Agency for Education received over 2,500 comments on the draft of the national core curriculum for basic education (EDUFI, 2014b) through their webpage. According to the National Agency for Education, NGOs were particularly active in commenting online. An interesting observation is thus that although NGOs do not constitute a particularly large group among the invited stakeholders, they efficiently make use of the possibility of public participation in the reform process (EDUFI, 2014b). Elsewhere (see Henriksson, 2017a), I have demonstrated that NGO workers generally feel included in the reform process and express that they were able to influence the outcome, although with important hesitations. For instance, they emphasize that changes in the national core curricula do not automatically lead to changes in educational practices (Henriksson, 2017a), which is why the NGOs are also involved in textbook production.

10.2.2 NGOs and the textbook industry

Since 1992, textbook publishing in Finland is not revised by state authorities, meaning publishing houses are in charge of decisions regarding the content and perspectives of textbooks (Mikander, 2016a, p. 34; Pudas,

¹⁷⁸ NGOs are referred to as "associations" in the article by Pietarinen, Pyhältö & Soini (2017), which I understand as a broad term including civil society organizations with different orientations and organizational structures.

2013, p. 4). A justification for the deregulation of textbook publishing was that it will increase teachers' freedom to choose which materials to use (Pudas, 2013). However, due to the fact that the Finnish textbook industry has gone through many fusions and is currently dominated by a few publishing houses, the choices are actually quite limited (Pudas, 2013, p. 4). Further, due to the municipalities' limited educational budgets, schools often do not have the economic resources to let teachers choose and update their materials (Heinonen, 2005, p. 58).

Overall, textbooks are broadly used in Finnish formal education, and it has been argued that they guide teaching more than the curriculum does (Heinonen, 2005; Atjonen et al., 2008). Although the contents of textbooks should ideally follow the national curriculum, it should be noted that the relation between curricula and textbooks is complex. Since 2004, textbook publishers are invited to participate in curriculum reforms, meaning that there is a two-way influence between the curriculum and the textbook industry (Heinonen, 2005, pp. 56-57). Further, the textbook content always to some extent represents the textbook authors' interpretations of the curriculum (Törnroos, 2005).

There are no formal requirements for becoming a textbook author. Textbook authors are normally schoolteachers, who usually work in teams of three to six authors (Mikander 2016a, pp. 33-34). Researchers also work as textbook authors but this is less common (Pudas, 2013, see also Mikander, 2016, p. 34). To a growing degree, other professionals, such as NGOs in this case, are involved in the editing process (see Kauranen, 2019). The number of actors involved in the production of a single textbook varies from case to case, and the publishing house has an important role in deciding which actors are consulted (Pudas, 2013). Moreover, the textbook publishers' commercial interests also play a role in shaping the textbook, for instance, in the sense that market analyses and user feedback are used when making editorial decisions (Heinonen, 2005, p. 59). Hence, textbooks are always a result of negotiations between different actors and interests involved in the process.

An additional aspect to take into account is that the textbooks are subject specific, which means that they do not necessarily incorporate the general educational objectives, values or competences of the curriculum (Kauranen, 2019, p. 29; Atjonen et al., 2008). Nevertheless, the curriculum is binding for all teachers, and as such, it serves as an authoritative document for textbook authors and publishers in both a professional and a commercial sense. From the perspective of global education, Finnish textbooks have been criticized *e.g.* for lacking critical perspectives on globalization (Mikander, 2016), for exoticized and commercialized perspectives

on the global South (Mikander & Zilliacus, 2016) and for problematic representations of minorities in Finland (Lampinen, 2013).

The NGOs' cooperation with textbook publishers started in 2015, with around 15 NGOs from the Global Education Network taking part in this work, which is coordinated by the umbrella NGO Fingo. In practice, the cooperation means that the publishing houses send textbook manuscripts to Fingo together with instructions on what to focus on. The NGO Network then decides which particular NGOs will read and comment on a particular manuscript. In some cases, the NGO workers gather to discuss the manuscripts together, while in other cases, they write their comments individually. The statements are generally written by NGO employees that are global educators or have similar professional titles. The common practice is that Fingo, on behalf of the Global Education Network, gathers all the comments on one manuscript and then sends one joint statement to the publishing house for every manuscript. But there are also cases where several NGOs have sent in their separate statements on the same manuscript. The statements include both general comments and suggestions as well as detailed revisions of the text, imagery and exercises. In this analysis, the NGOs' textbook involvement is explored as an extension of their curriculum involvement, and as a strategy for more effective and direct influence on the school world.

10.2.3 Educational influence from the NGO workers' perspective

In this section, I explore the NGO workers' views on the curriculum reforms and textbook production, focusing on how they conceive their own involvement in these processes. In general terms, the NGO workers interviewed feel included in the curriculum reform process and many of them express that they were able to influence the outcome, as illustrated below:

There were many NGOs engaged in global education commenting, and the united front and the multiple inputs are visible [in the curriculum], in the choices of words, sentences, so in this sense it is also easy to support schools in its implementation because we were a part of it, or I feel that we were part of the process back then

(NGO interviewee 15)

Indeed, the interviewees often tell me that they commented on the curriculum in multiple forms: as a network, as particular NGOs and as individual citizens. One NGO worker explains how their organization additionally strived at mobilising a volunteer group to comment on the Finnish National Agency's website in order to increase the impact of their influence, supported by the following argument: "the more visibility and the

more repetition, the greater the chances that the thing ends up in the final document” (NGO interviewee 2).

Further, many NGO workers mention a few explicit examples of the NGO network’s successful curriculum involvement: one of them is the inclusion of the term global education in the curriculum for basic education for the first time. The NGO workers are also satisfied that their proposal of connecting global education to the UN’s sustainable development goals was approved (see EDUFI, 2014a, p. 18). This is of course a central aspect to highlight in the context of this research, since an explicit reference in the national curriculum influences the status of global education within educational policy enactment on different levels. Based on my material, however, I cannot demonstrate that the incorporation of the term was exclusively due to the NGOs, as other actors might also have been promoting the inclusion of the term; yet, the NGO network’s multiple comments on this question undoubtedly had an impact. At the same time, mentioning the term global education once in the almost 500-page¹⁷⁹ curriculum hardly leads to significant changes in educational practice as such, which the NGO workers agree with. Indeed, several interviewees assert that the curriculum as a whole is more important than any single changes proposed by themselves. Many NGO workers also state that they cannot evaluate in any exact way whether or how they were able to influence the process.

The NGO workers are mostly satisfied with the content and value base of the curriculum, describing it as “democratic”, “progressive” and even “revolutionary” from the perspective of global education (NGO interviewees 2, 3 & 15). However, some of the interviewees mention that they are not completely satisfied with how their comments have been incorporated. For instance, an NGO worker from the UN Association of Finland laments that sustainable development is portrayed mostly as a topic for natural sciences and restricted to the environmental dimension, while the NGO would like it to be a multidimensional and cross-cutting perspective in schools. Another example, pointed out by an NGO worker from Seta – LGBTI Rights in Finland, is that gender diversity is now included in the curriculum but sexual orientations are not explicitly mentioned (see also EDUFI, 2014a, p. 18):

The strange thing was that there [in the objectives of basic education] was no mention about the diversity of sexual orientations, which is more common than gender diversity. So then it came out that the National Agency for Education thought that gender diversity also covers sexual minorities, and this is false. We as an NGO said that hey, this is not right, these are two different things, but somehow the message did

179 The national core curriculum for basic education (EDUFI, 2014a) comprises 473 pages of text.

not get through, so now there's just the gender diversity.

(NGO interviewee, Seta)

This example illustrates that even though educational authorities might support the NGOs' viewpoints, the result might not be in line with their expectations. This causes confusion and partial disappointment among the NGOs, as they feel that their standpoints are misrepresented in the curriculum.

Further, some NGO workers also note that *their* way of reading the national curriculum might differ from how it is understood by other actors, as exemplified below:

I've perhaps been a bit worried that if you think about these curriculum interpreters who publicly summarize what the new curriculum is about, or when I've been to seminars, for example seminars for subject teachers, listening to how the new curriculum is talked about, then, even if I see that a particular subject has a really strong emphasis on human rights, then this is not necessarily articulated by these interpreters, which is of course a bit frightening, because few teachers actually read the 500 page [curriculum] *((laughs))*

(NGO interviewee 2)

This viewpoint illustrates the idea of the curriculum per se as secondary in comparison with how different actors in the educational field speak about the curriculum in public. Because of the perceived risk of global education being overshadowed by other elements in the curriculum, such as digitalization, the NGO workers emphasize that their input into teacher education is crucial¹⁸⁰. The NGO workers conclude that the curriculum enables them to justify their role in schools, as one NGO worker puts it:

[In the curriculum] there are lots of connections to our work, so when we advertise training or school workshops to the teachers then it's easy to say that this is the part where we plug in this activity, that this is not something separate from school and from the curriculum, so in that sense we are very happy with it, because there was a lot of lobbying done in order to make it into what it is now

(NGO interviewee 4)

In this sense, the NGO workers feel that their involvement in the curriculum reforms and their (at least partially) successful involvement give them "a new kind of mandate" (NGO interviewee 7) to pursue school cooperation more broadly.

180 The NGOs' role in teacher education is analyzed in chapter 11.

As regards the textbook industry, the NGO workers perceive textbooks as particularly important targets for global educational influence, since textbooks significantly guide classroom work. The NGO workers agree that from their global educational viewpoint, the quality of the textbook manuscripts vary remarkably. Some textbook manuscripts are described as “enlightened” (NGO interviewee 11), while others are seen as lacking in innovativeness and progressive thinking, or in other ways characterized as problematic (NGO interviewees 1, 3, 13). With respect to their own involvement, the NGO workers are aware of their reputation as critical finger-pointers. Hence, the NGOs sometimes prefer to speak about *cooperation* instead of, for instance, *advocacy* or *influence*. In this sense, I interpret that the NGO workers discursively downplay their position as “watchdogs” and rather portray themselves as fellow professionals, as illustrated by the following quote:

Of course, we don't want to disparage or embarrass the publishing houses in any way or anything like that. No, rather constructively co-construct, so that we learn from them and they learn from us and like, help them in their job. Like if their information is out-of-date then we can instruct them to find the best, latest articles or something [...] like “look up these basic things, bring it up to a better level” and that sort of thing

(NGO interviewee 2)

This kind of discursive positioning can be read as a necessary strategy for being welcomed by the publishers to comment on the textbook manuscripts in the first place. From an epistemic governance point of view (see sections 3.2 and 9.4), the emphasis on professional authority is interesting, since it frames the NGOs involvement as a neutral process of updating the knowledge of textbook authors. The NGO workers' choice of words in the quote above, *e.g.* “the best, latest articles” and “looking up basic things” presents the activity as a fact check, rather than as a struggle over the values or ideological underpinnings guiding the textbooks. In this sense, the NGOs align with the dominant discourse on textbooks. However, based on the NGOs' textbook statements, my interpretation is that the NGOs constantly balance between maintaining a critical stance and dampening their watch-dog role in order to avoid offending the publishing house. In some cases, the NGOs write extensive statements on manuscripts that they perceive as especially problematic, the longest ones comprise around 20 pages of comments.

Although the interviewed NGO workers agree that their involvement in textbook production is important, many of them point out that they have little or no knowledge of how their comments are taken into account in the

final versions of the textbooks. An NGO worker from Seta – LGBTI Rights in Finland has the impression that the comments are not always transferred to the final version, as described below:

Maybe the sad part of it is that, two people have told me, one of them I believe was a textbook author and the other was a publisher, they said that “hey, Seta had some very good points but we cannot put them in the textbook” because, one said “otherwise it will not sell in Oulu [city in North-Western Finland]” and the other said that “otherwise it will not be used in Ostrobothnia [region in Western Finland]”

(NGO interviewee, Seta)

This account suggests that the perspectives promoted by the NGOs clash with the commercial interests of the publishing houses. In this particular quote, I interpret the references to Oulu and Ostrobothnia as examples of places in Finland perceived as conservative, and where sexual and gender minorities are understood as a controversial topic and therefore challenging for the publishing houses to include in textbooks. Thus, when making editorial decisions, the publishing houses might consider the (imagined) public opinion in different regions and populations as an important factor that needs to be balanced with, for instance, curriculum content or current legislation.

Another challenging aspect of the NGOs’ textbook involvement is that the manuscripts are seldom open to major changes at the time when the NGOs are involved in the editorial process. Some NGO workers feel that they can only point out “the most obvious, in our opinion the most erroneous information” (NGO interviewee 1) without much possibilities to affect the textbook as a whole. Similarly, another NGO worker describes this in the following way:

We are very late if we comment when the book, or the manuscript is kind of already done and it is going forward with a hurry and the illustrations are already chosen and stuff, so it would be more rational to invest the limited resources in participating at an earlier stage, in other words educate the textbook authors, or at least through discussions give them some tools to plan the writing process. My opinion, with my background as a teacher, is that *using a red pen is always a really nasty way of giving feedback*, but if instead of that we could think of *nice ways of doing things together* already in the planning stage, then that would be a kind of *positive collaboration*

(NGO interviewee 9)

In this quote, the interviewee expresses that the NGO network’s strategy is not efficient enough and suggests that their input should be targeted

at an earlier stage. Then the NGO worker mentions “nasty” versus “nice” or “positive” ways of collaborating. I interpret this as yet another way of downplaying the NGOs advocacy role and of presenting themselves as collaborative rather than oppositional. Again, it would be too straightforward to state that this type of utterances reflect a “soft” rather than “critical” approach to global education; instead, it needs to be seen as a strategic effort to gain credibility and to be able to impact in the most effective way possible¹⁸¹. In the following section, I continue this discussion by exploring the different ways in which the NGOs frame their claims within their advocacy statements.

10.3 Collective action frames in NGO statements

10.3.1 Framing theory as an analytical tool

In line with the social movement perspective of this study, I use the theoretical lens of *collective action frames* to study the NGO network’s attempts to convince the National Agency for Education and the textbook publishers of the necessity and desirability of their claims. As discussed in section 4.3, collective action frames are here understood as negotiated understandings of the nature of a problematic condition, of the action needed to resolve the collectively recognized problem, and of the motivation for engagement (Benford & Snow, 1988; 2000).

In this study, global education is seen as the educational sector of the global justice movement¹⁸², united through efforts to combat varying types of injustice. Thus, the master frame (Gamson, 1992; della Porta, 2006) of *global injustice* is central for all actors within the global justice movement. My interest lies in exploring the different ways in which global injustice is raised in the NGO statements and what kind of collective action frames are deployed as solutions. As a researcher, I cannot claim to “discover”¹⁸³ these frames, but rather, I see the concept of frame as an analytical tool that allows me to illustrate and compare different ways in which the NGOs approach (global) injustice and strive at mobilizing change. Following Oliver and Johnston (2000, pp. 41-42), the collective action frames I present below are “snapshots” of the framing processes involved in the NGOs’ claims-making.

It needs to be noted that I limited the analysis to the NGOs’ comments on the subject matter, i.e., text and illustrations, while I did not include

181 See discussions in sections 4.2 and 5.5

182 See section 1.1 and section 4.1

183 By this, I mean that although these frames have emerged based on my reading of the material, they are my constructions and do not necessarily correspond with the NGOs’ intentions or understandings.

comments on pedagogical methods or exercises in the analysis¹⁸⁴. In the initial phase of the analysis, I categorized the NGO comments a) in thematic clusters such as racism, poverty and taxation and b) according to social groups mentioned, such as asylum seekers and sexual minorities. At this stage, I noticed similar framing patterns across the categories, such as framing a problem as a human rights issue, as well as different framings for the same issue; for instance, racism as simultaneously a human rights problem, a question of representation and a legacy of colonial relations. This led me to discern different collective action frames around which I structured the analysis. The four collective action frames are: 1) the human rights frame, 2) the representational frame, 3) the decolonial frame and 4) the economic-materialist frame.

For each frame, I analysed what kind of modifications the NGOs propose to the curricula and textbook drafts. I also explored how these modifications are justified and made credible within the different frames, which connects this analysis to what Benford & Snow (1988; 2000) call resonance. In short, resonance is about how a particular frame “strikes a responsive chord in that it rings true within existing cultural narrations” (Benford & Snow, 1988, p. 210), that is, it corresponds to commonly shared understandings of a particular group in a given context. For instance, a frame such as “the best interest of the child” is more likely to resonate with parents’ worrying over their children’s educational attainments, compared to a frame such as “national competitiveness”, which might resonate more with politicians. These frames are also connected to the typology of authorities presented in section 9.4¹⁸⁵, through which I demonstrate how the NGOs’ legitimations vary between the different frames.

Additionally, I provide examples where I trace the NGOs’ comments from the statements to the published curricula and textbooks. When the NGOs’ comments are considered for incorporation, translation is always involved. By translation, which is part of the process of enactment, I refer to how particular ideas are modified when moved from one actor or one context to another; ideas might be dropped out, diluted, co-opted or mixed with other ideas (see e.g. Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005).

Finally, combining curriculum statements with textbook statements allows me to discuss the relation between these two forms of involvement. In this particular study, they are arranged in chronological order, since the

184 These comments would have required another type of analytical focus, e.g. constructions of global citizenship

185 In section 9.4, I analyze how the NGOs legitimize their involvement in the school world and present a typology of four different authority types: 1) Professional authority, 2) Legal authority, 3) Democratic authority and 4) Advocacy-based authority. This analysis is guided by the conceptual framework of epistemic governance (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2014; 2016; Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016)

NGOs' curriculum involvement took place prior to 2015, which was the year that the textbook initiative was originated. This means that the curriculum for basic education (EDUFI, 2014a) and for general upper secondary education (EDUFI, 2015) constitute important references that can both support and constrain the usage of particular types of frames in the NGOs' textbook statements.

10.3.2 The human rights frame

In the NGOs' curriculum and textbook statements, the human rights frame is primarily used in two interrelated ways; first, by advocating for knowledge on human rights in general, for instance, by arguing that a certain subject matter lacks content on human rights treaties, and secondly, by framing a specific topic as a human rights issue in contrast to other possible framings, such as in the case of asylum seekers in Finland (of which I provide an example later on). Thus, the problem that the NGOs address through this frame is the inadequate inclusion of human rights in education, and consequently the solution is to raise awareness about human rights among students. Human rights framing is frequently deployed within social movements, since it is built on the broader human rights discourse, which is widely accepted especially in Western contexts¹⁸⁶.

In the curriculum statements, the NGOs often begin their comments by expressing their appreciation for the fact that human rights are repeatedly included in the curriculum drafts, after which they advocate for more precise formulations, as exemplified below:

It's good that human rights are mentioned, but there should be more precision as to how they are discussed and what content is included [...] When dealing with human rights, a minimum is to clarify the structure: national, regional and international human rights treaties and the mechanisms for appeals and monitoring.

(NGO curriculum statement 1)

In a delighting way, the texts highlight [...] an educational perspective where also school structures support human rights. Human rights education has to be implemented holistically and so that, for instance, they are situated as part of everyday situations and contents discussed in the school subjects.

(NGO curriculum statement 1)

The point of these quotes is to demonstrate that the human rights frame does not necessarily challenge the perspective of the curriculum, but rather functions as a complementing professional support for it.

186 For the human rights discourse, see section 5.4.

A central critique that appears in most of the NGOs' statements is how the textbooks downplay or omit a discussion about inequalities or injustices in the Finnish context. The issues that the NGOs raise range from asylum policies to violence against women and discrimination against ethnic minorities. Several comments highlight that inequality does not only concern "other countries", but that Finland has its own problems that Finnish students should be aware of, as the following quote regarding the rights of the child suggests:

The examples in the chapter now give the impression that *the rights of the child* are primarily related to remote countries that suffer from war and deficient health care. [...] *Also in Finland there are deficiencies in implementing the rights of the child.* For instance, the rights of disabled children and children in other minority groups as well as hearing and acknowledging children's opinions in all questions concerning them are still not realized in a desired way in Finland either.

(NGO statement on Religion textbook for lower secondary school)

Another example of how the NGOs use the human rights frame relates to the question of gender minorities in Finland:

The trans[gender] law is important to bring up! This is a disgrace for Finland for which we have received reproaches and demands for change from all international human rights actors and agencies. This kind of thing should also be mentioned, otherwise we give a too glossy image of our human rights situation.

(NGO network's statement on Social science textbook manuscript for lower secondary school)

This quote illustrates how the NGOs use the legal authority of human rights agencies in their endeavour to nuance the view of Finland as an egalitarian and rights respecting country. Additionally, the quote above takes a stand against current legislation, which stipulates that a person who wants to change their juridical gender has to be sterilized, undergo medical treatment and be over 18 years old¹⁸⁷. Some of the NGOs included in this study, notably Seta and Amnesty, are important advocates for reforming the legislation. Hence, these comments can also be read as an example of how the NGOs expand the arena of their political advocacy to include also the school world.

However, the publishing houses only selectively incorporate the NGOs' suggestions. Below, I provide an example of when the human rights frame is not incorporated in the published version, in this case NGOs' comment on how asylum seekers are discussed in a textbook manuscript:

187 See Act on legal recognition of the gender of transsexuals (Laki transseksuaalin sukupuolen vahvistamisesta, 563/2002)

Table 11. Example of human rights frame

(italics added for emphasis, parts in bold added for description)

Frame	Statement	Textbook
Human rights frame	<p>This chapter lacks the task <i>defined by the curriculum</i> for Social Sciences, to guide the students to act in a pluralistic society that understands difference and <i>respects human rights</i>. The sentence “<i>many feel</i> that Finland as a rich country is obligated to help...” should be corrected to the form “Finland is <i>legally committed</i> to help”. [...] It is important to <i>not just repeat public debate and opinions, but to bring forward facts</i>.</p> <p>(NGO network’s statement on Social science textbook manuscript for lower secondary school).</p>	<p>The text was not modified.</p> <p><i>Many feel</i> that Finland as a rich country is obligated to help.</p> <p>The text continues: On the other hand, <i>some think</i> that funds should be directed primarily to the Finns themselves [...] <i>Some Finns think</i> that with new customs, languages and cultures the Finnish culture is enriched. <i>Others think</i> that multiculturalism is a threat to Finnishness.</p> <p>(Social science textbook for lower secondary school)¹⁸⁸</p>

In this example, the NGO network questions the way in which the textbook manuscript frames asylum seeking as a debatable question and instead, propose a human rights perspective on the topic. Here, the NGOs start their comment with a reference to the curriculum in order to make their claim seem more authoritative. The NGOs also refer to their human rights approach as facts-based in contrast to a public debate approach, which I read as an example of how NGOs strategically use and align with the dominant conception of textbooks as factual, objective and neutral (see Väisänen, 2005), with the aim of putting pressure on the publishing house. However, the NGOs’ suggestions above are not included in the published version. Instead, the textbook maintains its approach and further, connects asylum seeking to different attitudes towards “multiculturalism”¹⁸⁹. Thus, it appears that the textbook publisher interprets objectivity and neutrality in a different way than the NGOs; rather than presenting asylum seeking within the framework of international law, the textbook manifests its “neutrality” by presenting diverging political viewpoints regarding immigration. While discussing political tensions in textbooks is not problematic per se, it is troubling from an equity perspective if textbooks contribute to the normalization of xenophobia as a legitimate opinion among others.

188 See Hieta, Johansson, Kokkonen, Piekkola-Fabrin & Virolainen (2018, p. 37)

189 Multiculturalism is discussed in section 5.3

10.3.3 The representational frame

The representational frame is primarily used to address how diversity is represented in writing or visual imagery. In this frame, the problem proposed by the NGOs is the dominance of so-called norm-following perspectives in curricula and textbooks, which downplay, exclude or misrepresent the diversity in Finnish classrooms and broader society. This type of framing can be connected with theoretical orientations such as norm-critical pedagogics and critical multiculturalism¹⁹⁰.

In their curriculum statements, the NGOs advocate both for changes in terminology and for modifications in how diversity is defined, as exemplified below:

We hope for attention when using the term diversity. *The term is good, but* in many parts, it is restricted to language, culture and religion. We want to remind, that *there are other forms of diversity* (e.g. gender diversity, handicap) and this needs to be taken into account throughout. *We recommend the term human diversity*, which as a starting point refers to the multiple dimensions of the term.

(NGO curriculum statement 6)

Similar to the human rights frame, the NGOs do not oppose the perspective in the curriculum drafts per se, but seek to develop it further. By tracing the NGOs' suggested term "human diversity" in the national curriculum, I found that it is included both in the values section and the section on school culture (see EDUFI, 2015, p. 13, p. 36). My argument is that the representational frame resonates¹⁹¹ strongly with the curriculum draft, which makes it possible for NGOs' comments to reach the final version of the curriculum. Also, this frame resonates with current legislation¹⁹² that employs a broad understanding of discrimination, which provides the representational frame with legal authority.

However, the representational frame does not seem to resonate as strongly with many of the textbook manuscripts. In the textbook statements, the NGOs' repeatedly criticize the manuscripts for adopting an exclusively Finnish perspective on the topics discussed, as in the example below concerning terrorism:

190 See section 5.3

191 Resonance has been conceptualized as an important factor when analyzing why certain frames seem to have more effect on target groups than others (Benford & Snow, 2000, pp. 619-624)

192 For instance, the Non-discrimination Act (Yhdenvertaisuuslaki 2014/1325)

[R]emove the expression: “Finnish people are concerned with safety”.
Also refugees and other immigrants are concerned with safety.

(NGO statement on Social Science textbook for lower secondary school)

Within this frame, the NGOs also propose increased diversity in the choice of pictures, stories and examples, as seen in the following quote:

The characters in the introductory stories seem to almost exclusively represent the Finnish majority population (Juho, Tuomas, Emmi, Susanna, Tarja...etc.). [...] The best guidance towards valuing cultural diversity *as defined by the curriculum*, is when diversity is taken into account when “presenting the normal”. As an example, in the story on pages 38-39 changing the name to Ahmed, for instance, would make it possible to discuss also racist bullying.

(NGO statement on Religion textbook for lower secondary school, italics added for emphasis)

This quote challenges Finnishness as a representation of ordinary people, and suggests that changing the names in the textbook deconstructs notions of normative Finnishness. Again, the NGOs turn to the curriculum to legitimate their claim. From the perspective of translation (see Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005), it is noteworthy that the NGOs translate the rather abstract value base of the curriculum¹⁹³ into detailed suggestions for modification, such as changing names, pictures or symbols. In another statement, the NGOs argue that the textbook should remove the rainbow flag from a picture of a family with same-sex parents, in order not to “underline” this family as different (NGO statement on Social Science textbook for lower secondary school). The picture in question was indeed then changed.

Further, the NGOs also strive at deconstructing what they perceive as static or essentialist representations of culture and identity. An example of this is how the NGOs problematize the alleged primacy of nationality or ethnicity as a source for identification, as shown below:

[C]ultures are internally diverse and under constant change. It’s not possible to talk about a unified Finnish culture. In Geography it can be discussed what Finnishness is today and which different ways of living and thinking there are in Finland today.

(NGO curriculum statement 1)

This quote exemplifies how the NGOs strive to incorporate a more dynamic understanding of culture to specific subjects in the curriculum, such as Geography in this case. In the quote below, the NGO statement proposes a similar modification:

193 For the part on valuing cultural diversity, see Finnish National Agency for Education (2014a, p. 16).

Many of those [students] who belong to the native Finnish population have more in common with immigrant youth than with their grandfather. Culture can also be a generational question.

(NGO statement on Social Science textbook for lower secondary school)

By suggesting that culture might relate more to generation than to ethnicity, the NGOs strive at an intersectional approach to diversity. Overall, the NGOs' textbook statements include several remarks about one-sided representations or expressions of othering of different groups in Finnish society, such as Muslims, the Sami, immigrants as well as gender and sexual minorities. Within the representational frame, the NGOs make claims for minority voices to be heard on their own terms. One of the statements includes an extensive critique of how the Roma¹⁹⁴ are presented in the textbook manuscript, summarized in the extract below:

The Roma are not one unified group, they also have different cultures. Also, there are many Roma languages and they differ from one country to another. [...] The culture of Finnish Roma is characterized by wearing traditional Roma clothing? *Ask the Roma themselves* for ideas on how to present their culture. [...] The majority of the Roma still experience discrimination at some point of their lives (*check the report* of the minority ombudsman from 2014) [...] Finland's political program for the Roma was published in 2009, with the objective of enhancing equity for the Roma etc. (*this should be added, if this is a Social Science textbook!!*)

(NGO statement on Social Science textbook for lower secondary school, italics added for emphasis)

This quote first highlights the problem of presenting the Roma as a homogeneous group with a uniform culture and language. Further down the statement, the NGOs somewhat change their style of commenting. From their habitual formality, the tone in the comments turns to notable frustration, as in the end of the quote where double exclamation marks are used to denote disappointment with the quality of the manuscript. In the NGOs' view, the manuscript is lacking both the Roma's own voice and a broader discussion on the discrimination of the Roma. The whole section on Roma in the statement also includes several imperative forms such as "check", "look up" and "ask", as well as many links to further information on the Roma that the NGOs command the authors to read. In this sense, this section represents an example of a subtle style switching practice (Lichterhan & Eliasoph, 2014), where the NGO workers move from polite co-professionals that recommend to critical watchdogs that demand changes

194 The Roma constitute a linguistic and cultural minority of approximately 10 000 people in Finland (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2018)

to be made. However, the impact of the watchdog approach seems to be quite marginal in this case: in the published version, the reference to traditional Roma clothing has been removed, but otherwise the section mostly corresponds with the manuscript.

Another issue that the NGOs address through the representational frame is same-sex marriage, illustrated in the table below.

Table 12. Example of representational frame
(italics added for emphasis, parts in bold added for description)

Frame	Statement	Textbook
Representational frame	<p>The sentence in the introductory section “Relationships of same sex couples are more tolerated nowadays” is problematic. <i>Tolerance as value and a concept is also removed from the curriculum</i> (for the power constellation it involves, among others things) and it has been replaced by equity. As a replacement, we suggest: “Relationships of same sex couples <i>are seen as equal nowadays</i>”.</p> <p>(NGO statement on Social Science textbook for lower secondary school)</p>	<p>The text is modified:</p> <p>The position of same-sex couples <i>has become more equal.</i></p> <p>(Social Science textbook for lower secondary school) 195</p>

The reference to the curriculum is particularly interesting here, since the NGOs themselves advocated for removing the term tolerance from the curricula: “[T]he word ‘tolerance’ should be removed. Tolerance reproduces normative power positions and as an objective, it is no longer up to date” (NGO curriculum statement 6). In this sense, the NGOs are able to draw on their successful influence in the curriculum reforms as a source of legitimation in their textbook statements.

195 See Hieta et al. (2018, p.16)

In this example, the NGO workers highlight that using the term tolerance¹⁹⁶ implies a heteronormative perspective that consequently marks same-sex couples as “deviant”. Instead, the NGOs wish to portray same-sex couples as *equal* in relation to opposite-sex ones. In the published version of the textbook, the word tolerate has been removed. This change shows how the publishing house agrees to modifications in terminology in accordance with the NGOs’ comments, perhaps because of the reference to the curriculum¹⁹⁷. Further, the NGOs’ use of the word *equal* in the example above can also be seen as a reference to national legislation, according to which same-sex couples have, for instance, equal rights to marriage and co-habitation. The NGOs claim can thus also be seen as rights-based, showing that there are overlaps between the representational frame and the human rights frame. In contrast, the framing in the textbook manuscript, with the formulation “has become more equal”, suggests that the textbook publishers wish to express that same-sex couples are not yet treated completely equally in Finnish society. In other words, the textbook draws attention to ongoing heteronormative structures despite legislative changes. This example shows the multiplicity of perspectives at play when dealing with diversity issues in textbook publishing and illustrates how the NGOs’ comments are translated along the textbook production process.

10.3.4 The decolonial frame

The decolonial frame aims at problematizing Eurocentric perspectives and expressions in curricula and textbooks. Building on decolonial theory¹⁹⁸, the NGOs argue for a necessity to engage students in Finland with perspectives and epistemologies from the global South, as well as to provide students with tools for critically analyzing Western historical and cultural narratives. It could also be considered as a part of the representational frame, since the two are closely related, but I chose to categorize it as a frame of its own, since the decolonial frame aims at challenging global power relations in a broader sense.

This frame is more salient in the NGOs’ textbook statements than in the curriculum statements, which is an interesting observation I will return to

196 As discussed in section 2.1.3, the tolerance discourse can be understood to denote a passive approval of something that is implicitly perceived as inferior, suspicious, strange or less desirable than what is considered “normal” (see also Bromseth & Darj, 2010).

197 It must be noted that the NGOs’ claim of the term tolerance being removed from the curriculum is not completely accurate: although the term is not mentioned in the general parts of the curriculum, it does still appear in the sections on Religion and Ethics (see e.g. EDUFI, 2014a, p. 139, p. 410).

198 See chapter 5.

in the conclusions. Yet, there are a few illustrative examples of the decolonial frame in the curriculum statements, of which I provide an extract that comes from the section on Mathematics:

Mathematics offers possibilities *to challenge* the Eurocentric worldview and the conception of European knowledge as superior, since many of the historical breakthroughs in mathematics are made by Arabs.

(NGO curriculum statement 1, italics added for emphasis)

Other examples of the NGOs' usage of the decolonial frame within the context of curriculum reforms concern Religion and History:

Critical thinking and knowledge about non-European history are also important: *is colonialism and its legacy discussed at all?*

(NGO curriculum statement 1, italics added for emphasis)

It's important to challenge the traditional focus on great men [and] the Eurocentric conception of history and challenge the students to see the world through diverse historical narratives and through the perspective of different power relations.

(NGO curriculum statement 2, italics added for emphasis)

Tracing these comments in the curricula, it seems that the decolonial perspective has not been included in any explicit or systematic way. By contrast, the sections that the NGOs wish to influence are written in a way that leaves a lot of room for interpretation, with the example of the following quote from History: "The shared history between developed and developing countries¹⁹⁹ as well as the birth of new political tensions and solutions in the world are addressed in depth" (EDUFI, 2014a, p. 416). Observing the NGOs' choice of verbs in the examples above, it is noteworthy that they mention challenging certain perspectives in the curriculum as opposed to broadening or specifying them as in the human rights frame and the representational frame. From the perspective of framing theory, this shows that the decolonial frame resonates less with the curriculum, and thus, it appears more oppositional than the two other frames.

In spite of the lack of a systemic decolonial perspective in the curricula, the NGOs frequently use the decolonial frame in their textbook statements. One of the textbook manuscripts, a Religion textbook on Christianity in the world, received separate statements from several NGOs. In all of these statements, a uniting tendency is to criticize the way in which the textbook presents the spread of Christian faith through missionary work, as exemplified below:

199 Finnish original: kehittyneiden ja kehittyvien maiden

The whole text on “Christians in the Pacific” is a bit problematic in that the Pacific islands are presented only as “new lands to be conquered”, when it would be more equal and more interesting to tell something about how indigenous cultures have affected Christian practices there

(NGO statement on Religion textbook for lower secondary school)

The NGO comments highlight how the disruptive effects²⁰⁰ of Christian conversions are downplayed. This echoes Pia Mikander’s (2016a) research on Finnish textbooks, where she observes how violence performed by Europeans is still implicitly presented as justifiable. In the quote above, the NGO workers frame the manuscript section as colonial and question the way in which indigenous peoples are portrayed as passive objects of conversion. The NGO statements promote discussion on hybrid or syncretistic forms of religious practice in missionary settings, and also remark that the textbook should encourage discussion on what we can learn from indigenous cultures. By emphasizing indigenous knowledge and agency, I understand that the NGO statements strive at democratizing and pluralizing Finnish students’ views on knowledge and spirituality in a global context.

Overall, the decolonial frame deployed by the NGOs aims at deconstructing the dichotomy of the civilized, benevolent and capable global North versus the primitive, threatening and/or helpless global South. An example of this is provided below, where the NGOs question a picture intended for a textbook on Religion:

The intended Rwanda image on page 13 should at least be explained more. Does it represent a white UN soldier saving a Rwandan child? The image seems overly stereotypical especially considering Western countries’ failure to stop the genocide [...] Even though the photo is real, the constellation reinforces stereotypes of a white, active savior, while the Africans are standing passively in the background.

(NGO statement on Religion textbook for lower secondary school)

In another textbook statement, the NGOs question the way in which traveling is discussed as a characteristic of the globalized world:

200 Christian missionary work in the Pacific islands has historically been intertwined with development work in areas such as education, agriculture and health, which reshaped the traditional ways of living and believing in the region. However, Fountain and Throughton (2019) emphasize that in adopting Christianity, Pacific peoples made the religion their own and adapted it to their own customs.

The last sentence: Also traveling to remote countries is easier nowadays. For whom? Everyone does not have the same opportunities to move across borders.

(NGO statement on Social Science textbook for lower secondary school).

Here, the NGOs draw on the postcolonial critique of presenting the global citizen as someone who is free to, and economically capable of, traveling around the globe (see *e.g.* Andreotti, 2006; Jefferess, 2012). This critique echoes the work of Mikander and Zilliacus (2016), who argue that Finnish textbooks tend to portray other parts of the world from a tourist perspective, that is, the rarely questioned right of rich Westerners to visit and thus domesticate “exotic” places and cultures. This type of perspective excludes those who do not have access to the world in a similar way, or those whose homelands have been substantially transformed by ever-growing tourism.

Further, a classic example of the Eurocentric perspective is to portray Europe as the cradle for cultural development²⁰¹. In the table below, I present an example of how the NGOs question the persistence of this type of narrative in a History textbook manuscript.

Table 13. Example of decolonial frame

(italics added for emphasis, parts in bold added for description)

Frame	Statement	Textbook
Decolonial frame	<p>The sentence: “Although our culture is born in Europe, over time it has spread through migrants to other continents” – <i>What a tremendously Eurocentric assumption</i> – we have also been influenced quite a lot by other cultures (China, the Middle East...). <i>We were certainly not the first culture on earth.</i></p> <p>(NGO statement on history textbook for upper secondary school)</p>	<p>The commented part of the text was not modified:</p> <p>Although our culture is born in Europe, over time it has spread through migrants to other continents [...]</p> <p>The text continues unmodified: The spread of this culture <i>has not always been only a positive thing</i>, since Western culture cleared many local cultures out of its way. On the other hand, Western culture has continuously adopted traits from other cultures.</p> <p>Added: The roots of Europeanism lie in the cultures of the Middle East.</p> <p>(History textbook for upper secondary school)²⁰²</p>

201 Previous studies have shown that Finnish school textbooks still contain Eurocentric perspectives for instance, on history, migration, race and development, albeit in more implicit and subtle forms than earlier (see *e.g.* Mikander, 2016a).

202 See Höyssä, Lahtinen, Ripatti & Similä (2017, p. 11).

In this example, the published textbook leaves the first part of the section unchanged. The formulation that the spread of Western culture “has not always been only a positive thing” reflects an attempt to nuance western superiority and benevolence, but the implicit assumption is still that Westernization has mostly and predominately been a positive process throughout history. Looking at the added part, it seems that the NGOs’ comment is included, but merely as a short amendment at the end rather than a change of perspective.

As regards the use of authority types within the decolonial frame, it is noteworthy that the NGOs do not make reference to the curriculum and they only scarcely use any explicit, external references as support for their claims. In this regard, the decolonial frame differs from the human rights frame and the representational frame, which are strongly based on references to curricula, legislation and international organizations. Thus, the legitimacy of this frame seems to rely primarily on the NGOs own epistemological and political positionings, which I refer to as advocacy-based authority²⁰³, as they do not make reference to, for instance, decolonial scholars or non-Western organizations. In the NGO statements, I see a bulk of accumulated knowledge on global social theory, but this knowledge is brought forward as the NGOs’ “own voice”, without stating the sources of this knowledge. By contrast, or as a kind of exception to this pattern, the NGOs refer to non-Western political leaders and/or activists as a source of authority:

In the list of human rights defenders on p. 15 you could include more non-Western examples such as Nelson Mandela, Daisaku Ikeda, Aung San Suu Kyi, Mahatma Gandhi etc.

(NGO statement on Religion textbook for lower secondary school)

Hence, the NGOs use the charisma of these well-known personalities in support for their claim to decolonize Finnish textbook content. Additionally, the NGOs emphasize the importance of individual perspectives of people who in different ways have suffered from colonial relations, such as factory workers in the global South. Slavery is also raised as a question of injustice that needs to be humanized in the form of individual life stories, rather than detached historical accounts:

It would be good to bring up people’s own perspectives of being forced into slavery. The text repeatedly refers to people that have been enforced to be slaves only as “slaves”, which effaces their humanity to the background.

(NGO statement on History textbook for general upper secondary school)

203 See section 9.4

Thus, within the decolonial frame, the NGOs also turn to democratic authority, that is, the power of ordinary people and their agency, in order to address global injustice in a way that differs from the textbook approach.

10.3.5 The economic-materialist frame

The NGOs' economic-materialist frame focuses on material inequalities in both national and global contexts. Within this frame, the NGOs describe the issues that need to be addressed in the curricula and textbooks in varying, but partly overlapping ways. First of all, they criticize the dominance of a market economy perspective, and more broadly how the economy is presented as apolitical. Secondly, the NGOs find it problematic that economic inequality is presented as a problem exclusively for the global South, and consequently advocate for the inclusion of Finnish and European problems regarding economic inequality.

As with the decolonial frame, the economic-materialist frame is rather scarcely used in the curriculum statements, while it is frequently deployed in the textbook statements. In terms of the curriculum, the NGOs connect the term sustainability, which is emphasized in the curriculum draft, to structural economic injustice, as in the following example:

Sustainable lifestyle and global responsibility [Thematic entity found in the curriculum]:

-Perspectives we wish to include: sustainable economy, tax haven economies and their consequences (these also substantially belong to the thematic entity Active citizenship, entrepreneurship and working life)

(NGO curriculum statement 6)

In this quote, the NGOs strive to broaden the understanding of a sustainable lifestyle and global responsibility by adding tax havens as an issue that students need to be aware of. I interpret this comment as a way of challenging an individualistic approach to global responsibility, which is often prevalent when speaking of "lifestyle choices"²⁰⁴. The NGOs also aim at including this perspective in entrepreneurship education, which has been criticized for lacking elements such as solidarity and social justice (see Dahlstedt & Fejes, 2017). This way, the NGOs relate the curriculum theme of "sustainable lifestyle and global responsibility" to sustainable *economic structures*, rather than (or as well as) to responsible consumers.

204 For a discussion on lifestyle choices, see section 5.5.

The suggestion above is not incorporated as such, as there is no mention of tax havens in the final version of the curriculum for basic education. Overall, the curriculum is quite vague about the approaches to global economic inequality and sustainability, as exemplified below:

Economic activity: [The students] learn about basic economic concepts, phenomena and central actors, as well as discuss the economy from the perspective of sustainable development and different economic actors. [...] When discussing economic phenomena both local and global perspectives are taken into account

(EDUFI 2014a, 420)

This shows that critical approaches to global economic structures, as advocated by the NGOs, are not explicitly worded in the curricula, leaving a considerable degree of autonomy regarding how to approach questions of the global economy both for teachers and textbooks authors (see also Alasuutari, 2015, pp. 108-109).

Through their comments in the textbook statements, the NGOs mainly aim at questioning the view of Finland as a “benevolent helper”. They propose a perspective that rather than glorifies Finland’s role, foregrounds Finland’s complicity (see Andreotti, 2006; Vuorela, 2009) in creating and maintaining global economic inequality, as illustrated below:

In the subchapter “Rich countries should help poor countries” the perspective is inadequate. It is important to bring forward *the structures that create inequality* and that *Finland like other countries actively impoverishes countries*

(NGO statement on Social Science textbook for lower secondary school)

In the quote above, the NGOs distance themselves from the discourse on poor countries and instead, use the verb “impoverish”, referring to how countries are not intrinsically poor but rather, that specific actors and structures create poverty. Similarly, another NGO statement proposes a more critical stance to the role of the EU:

The text says that the EU and Finland fight in order to decrease economic inequality in the world. *This might be the case on the level of public discourse* or, for instance, within development cooperation, but in practice, for instance, by permitting tax haven economy and by sustaining tax havens in its own region, *the EU is working towards an opposite objective*. Also, for instance, in international trade negotiations Finland and *the EU advocate a stance that strengthens the position of their own*

producers and companies and weakens the position of farmers and companies in developing countries

(NGO statement on Social Science textbook for general upper secondary school)

Thus, the NGOs use the economic-materialist frame to denounce seemingly benevolent self-presentations of Finland and the EU as controversial and even hypocritical. In many ways, this frame overlaps with the decolonial frame, in that it problematizes unequal global power relations. Further, the NGOs advocate for the inclusion of alternative economic frameworks, as shown below:

Alongside market economy, it is necessary to mention *other economic models* than planned economy. Especially sustainable economic models (circular economy, exchange economy, solidarity economy...) should be brought forward. Also, *the critique of economic growth* and “degrowth” as a concept should be brought forward.

(NGO statement on Social Science textbook for lower secondary school)

Similar to the decolonial frame, the claims in the economic-materialist frame are not legitimated by references to the curriculum or to legislation. The economic-materialist frame rests predominantly on the NGOs own stance and voice, which is what I conceptualize as advocacy-based authority in section 9.4. If references are provided, they usually consist of other like-minded NGOs’ websites. However, there are also a few examples of comments that base their legitimation on academia by referring to particular scientists or publications, specific disciplines and/or particular schools of thought, as the following quote illustrates:

Some economic scientists even question the necessity of continuous growth (see happiness economics, Bruno Frey, Richard Layard, Andrew Oswald, Benjamin Radcliff). Also, a broader discussion on development economics, political economy or economic history would make the perspective of the [text]book more versatile.

(NGO statement for Social Science textbook for general upper secondary school)

This quote can be read as an attempt to accumulate professional authority in order to appear as credible as possible in the eyes of the textbook publisher, which from the perspective of framing theory can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, this frame overall leans quite strongly on advocacy-based authority, which means that academic references may constitute a needed support for the NGOs’ own voice and authority. On the other hand, this kind of academic references do not necessarily resonate with textbook editors’ cultural narrative of what teachers want and what students are expected to learn.

When tracing the NGOs' suggestions on how to address economic injustice, I found mixed outcomes in the published textbooks. An example of successful influence comes from a history textbook²⁰⁵, where the NGOs' suggestion of moving a chapter on global partnerships from the end of the book to the beginning was implemented. In the same chapter, the NGOs' proposals for a more critical stance towards global trade were largely included; for instance, a discussion on customs, tax evasions and low revenues for raw materials was added to the text²⁰⁶. Contrarily, the NGOs' suggestion to add degrowth and other alternative economic models in a social science textbook were not included in the published version²⁰⁷.

Finally, in certain cases the NGOs' comments are included in a modified form, for instance, through pictures instead of text. In the table below, I provide an example of how the NGOs use the economic-materialist in relation to a textbook chapter on the Finnish welfare state. In the manuscript, the current debate on the welfare state is depicted as a battle between those who support it in its current, supposedly universal form and those who see it as costly and outdated. The NGOs wish to alter the perspective, as seen below:

205 See Jokiaho & Putus-Hilasvuori (2017)

206 Ibid, pp. 25-27.

207 The textbook in question: Hieta et al. (2018)

Table 14. Example of economic-materialist frame
 (italics added for emphasis, parts in bold added for description)

Frame	Statement	Textbook
Economic-materialist frame	<p>In the subchapter The future of the welfare state, another critical viewpoint could be brought forward: some think that the welfare state is actively being run down. The safety net does not hold. As an example, you could mention, for instance, breadlines.</p> <p>(NGO network’s statement on Social science textbook manuscript for lower secondary school).</p>	<p>The text was not modified, but the illustrations in the section were changed:</p> <p>In the manuscript, there was a satirical illustration of how people take advantage of the welfare state. In the published version, there is satirical illustration that defends the welfare state.</p> <p>Additionally, there is a picture of a bread line with the text: “breadlines are regarded as a sign of the failure of the welfare state”.</p> <p>(Social Science textbook 2018, 37).</p>

In this case, the *text* in the textbook was not modified, but the original illustration was changed and the breadline picture was added, according to the NGOs suggestion. In the manuscript version the satirical illustration supported the view of the welfare state as inefficient and open for misuse. The new illustration, in contrast, is critical to how public funds are spent on everything else but welfare services. This example suggests that illustrations are sometimes easier to affect than the text and further, that through changing the illustrations the ideological perspective of the textbook may alter significantly.

10.4 Summary

In this chapter I have analyzed the role of the Global Education Network in curriculum reforms and textbook publishing in Finland. Based on NGO statements, I discerned four different collective action frames that the NGOs use to address global injustice: the human rights frame, the representational frame, the decolonial frame and the economic-materialist

frame. This analytical categorization shows that the different frames are legitimated on different grounds and they resonate varyingly with educational authorities. These findings are summarized in Table 15 below.

Table 15: Summary of collective action frames in NGO statements

Collective action frame	Description of needed action	Main source of authority + supporting source of authority
The human rights frame	Human rights need to be more precisely defined and more broadly claimed	<p>Legal authority (human rights treaties, the curriculum)</p> <p>Advocacy-based authority (the NGOs' "own voice")</p>
The representational frame	Diversity needs to be presented in a less stereotypical, less essentialized way	<p>Legal authority (the curriculum, national legislation)</p> <p>Democratic authority (the people themselves)</p>
The decolonial frame	Eurocentrism should be eliminated and perspectives from the global South should be included in content production	<p>Advocacy-based authority (the NGOs' "own voice")</p> <p>Democratic authority (the people themselves)</p>
The economic-materialist frame	Economic structures that create and maintain injustices should be changed; economy should not be separated from politics	<p>Advocacy-based authority (the NGOs' "own voice", other likeminded NGOs)</p> <p>Professional authority (research publications and scholars)</p>

In the human rights frame, legitimacy is anchored in human rights organizations and treaties. Since the human rights frame resonates with the national core curriculum, the NGOs are able to use the curriculum as a source of authority in their textbook statements. Similarly, there is a notable correspondence between the curriculum and the representational frame, which enables the NGOs to deploy it widely in their involvement in textbook production.

By contrast, the decolonial and economic-materialist frames are less frequently deployed in the NGOs' curriculum involvement and also rather absent in the curricula for basic education and general upper secondary education. This suggests that problematizing Eurocentrism or criticizing global capitalism does not belong in the mainstream of educational discourse and policy in Finland in the same way as questions of human rights and diversity do. A partial explanation for why the NGOs only scarcely use decolonial and economic framings in their curriculum statements might be that they predominantly comment on what is already there, *i.e.*, further develop pre-existing frames in the curriculum drafts, more than they question which frames are missing. Adding to existing frames may seem like a more efficient strategy.

However, in the textbook statements, the decolonial and economic-materialist frames are both rather broadly used. In pragmatic terms, this is understandable since the textbooks include more specific and detailed subject content which is perhaps easier to criticize than the rather abstract guidelines of the curricula. However, as the NGOs cannot use the epistemic capital (see Alasuutari, Rautalin & Syväterä, 2016) of the curriculum within these frames, they are less likely to resonate with the textbook publishers. Yet I found cases where the textbooks were modified on the basis of the NGOs' advocacy-based authority. This suggests that the NGOs' comments might resonate with particular textbook authors or editors, regardless of how they are legitimized.

Evaluating the effectiveness of the NGOs' different collective action frames in a systematic and quantifiable way is challenging. On the one hand, this is due to the complex translation processes involved; on the other hand, it is because the involvement of other actors cannot be accounted for due to the delimitation of my material. Based on the examples from the statements as well as on the NGO workers' accounts, it can however be concluded that the NGOs have an influence in both curriculum reforms and textbook production in Finland, but that the NGOs' comments are selectively incorporated and that the outcomes of their claims are far from controllable by the NGOs themselves.

11. “As long as the teacher has the right attitude”: NGOs as providers of teacher education

11.1 Introduction

NGOs are increasingly involved in both pre-service and in-service teacher education in the area of global education in Finland. Since 2008, the Global Education Network has organized annual seminars for pre-service teacher students at universities that provide teacher education. Currently, these seminars are organized at six universities across the country²⁰⁸. According to an NGO worker who was one of the initiators of the network’s pre-service education, these global education seminars have become an integral part of pre-service education, which did not use to be the case:

In my opinion enormous progress has been made in how these topics that NGOs work with, how they have slowly swum into curricula and courses [within teacher education]. I think that when we started [in 2008] there were these student groups who were like asking us bluntly “what are you doing here” and “why are you here” and “why these kinds of topics like sexual rights, like these have nothing to do with us,” like “this is something completely different”. And now, they are like “hey, we’ve just discussed these topics in a social rights course” or something, or that “this is very familiar”.

(NGO interviewee 2)

As regards in-service education, many of the NGOs in this study have offered teachers educational materials and pedagogical tools for more than two decades²⁰⁹, and some since the 1970s (see Allahwerdi, 2001). Additionally, these NGOs have provided small-scale in-service education, mostly a complement to more direct school campaigns. In recent years, many NGOs’ activities have started placing more emphasis on teacher education alongside school campaigns. This is often supported with the argument that educating teachers is a more efficient form of advocacy, even though the NGOs are aware of the challenges of in-service education:

Hopefully, the impact would be more profound in the sense that these teachers might make use of what they learned for many years, but surely these trainings are limited when it comes to time and how much, like one can always ask how much we can actually accomplish ((*laughs*))

(NGO interviewee 1)

208 Source: The Global Education Network’s website as well as interviews with NGO workers

209 Source: Interviews with NGO workers as well as available information on the Global Education Network’s website and websites of particular NGOs

Increasingly, NGOs' teacher education is organized in the form of joint, large-scale NGO projects, instead of organized by individual NGOs. In this study, the first of these joint teacher education initiatives²¹⁰, The school changing the world project in 2016-2017, is analysed, in addition to four NGO seminars for teachers that were not part of the project. The material used in this chapter consists mainly of field notes and recordings from NGOs' teacher education, comprising altogether 21 days of participant observation. Additionally, I use interview material and NGO guides for teachers²¹¹.

In this chapter, teacher education is seen as a space where NGOs make claims about what teachers should know, what they should value and defend, and how they should teach and foster their students. The analytical focus is here placed on how the idea of being a global educator²¹² is *negotiated*. I use the term global educator to denote an idea that the NGOs advocate for, and that teachers can identify with or distance themselves from. Negotiations, in turn, involve the multiple ways in which the participants respond to the NGOs' agenda-setting. An idea put forward by an NGO worker can be embraced and further developed, or challenged, diluted or ignored by the teacher participants (Latour, 2005; Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005). The negotiations taking place in teacher education settings regarding the global educator's role constitute a central part of the enactment of global education.

From an ethnographic perspective, my focus lies on the situated encounters (Tuori, 2009) where these negotiations take place, meaning that the physical space, the composition of participants, the invited speakers and instructors and the activities all contribute to how the idea of the global educator is negotiated. Negotiations are here also studied in light of teacher participants' accounts of how they accommodate global education as part of their teacher role. As the teacher profession entails an important level of autonomy combined with institutional restraints (Salo, 2002), there are important variations in how teachers perceive global education in relation to their professional role.

Additionally, drawing on Denzin's performance ethnography approach (2007), I pay attention to *performances* as part of the negotiations over the global educator. A focus on performances foregrounds how verbal and non-verbal bodily acts (re)produce and/or challenge social categories such as what being a teacher means, or what unifies those who identify as global educators. The idea is that an act, such as singing a song, giving

210 The project was followed by two more similar collaborative NGO teacher education projects called "Transformers 2030" in 2018-2019 and 2020-2021 respectively

211 More detailed information on the empirical material is found in chapter 8.

212 For a theoretical discussion on the term global educator, see section 4.3

someone a hug or interrupting an ongoing activity can be seen as important elements for resisting dominant norms or for embracing a particular identity. Indeed, the concept of performance is here closely connected to the process of collective identity building, which I argue is central to understanding how global education is enacted in schools.

This analysis is divided into four main parts. In the first part, I analyse how global education is accommodated within teacher professionalism, and how global education acquires new meanings when combined with complementing or competing educational agendas. In the second part, I focus on the topic of diversity and analyze the dynamics between NGO workers, teachers and other actors in negotiations on how schools should handle questions such as gender diversity and immigration. The third part is dedicated to studying how global development is constructed as relevant for teachers in Finland, and to the negotiations on the term development itself in this context. In the fourth part, I concentrate on teacher identity and present a typology of four different teacher types in relation to global education.

11.2 Enacting global education in teaching practice

11.2.1 The teacher as a value shaper

The NGOs in this study define education as being not only about transmitting knowledge or skills, but also about consciously and unconsciously fostering values and attitudes. The notion of teachers as value-shapers is of course not new, but it has been discussed over the years based on social scientific and educational classics²¹³. What characterizes the NGOs in this study is that they often portray value-shaping as a central and explicit educational objective. In the pre-service and in-service workshops, the NGO workers encourage teachers to reflect on the values they inhabit and express themselves, but also to actively strive to affect the values of their students. In the following sequence, where a freelance instructor leads a workshop on thinking skills, the NGO workers participating in the workshop advocate for “the right kind” of value-shaping:

The instructor has hung pictures all over the main room. We are asked to walk around, look at the pictures, and then stop by one of the pictures that we find particularly interesting. A group of three participants has chosen a comic strip where a teacher gives the students’ thought bubbles a “haircut”, that is, cuts all of the thoughts into identical boxes.

213 Discussing all of the available literature on this question falls outside the scope of this research, but from the viewpoint of sociology of education, I recognize the main perspectives to be the following: functionalism (see Durkheim, 2006), progressivism (see Dewey, 1990), Marxism (see Althusser, 2014) and critical pedagogy (see Freire, 2005).

Instructor: I've been thinking about that picture quite a lot from the perspective of power, what an attitude shaper a teacher is, and if the educator's thoughts are just boxes, then what comes out of that?

NGO worker 1: We also thought that it's not just a bad thing that teacher is an attitude or opinion shaper, in a way

NGO worker 2: As long as the teacher has the right attitude

Many of the participants laugh.

(Field notes, workshop on thinking skills)

In this situation, the instructor draws attention to the problematics of teachers who try to make students think like them. The two NGO workers argue that attitude shaping also needs to be seen as something positive, but only "as long as the teacher has the right attitude". This last comment is made in a humoristic way which suggests that the participants, consisting of both NGO workers and teachers, understand the comment and agree on its meaning. It could be interpreted as merely a joke, but from a social interactionist perspective (see Kuipers, 2008), humor can also be used to express a serious standpoint or a social conflict. In this case, the claim that not all teachers have values that are worth passing on to the students is consolidated as a shared standpoint when the other participants laugh. This type of claim is justified through what I call advocacy-based authority²¹⁴, that is, a combination of moral authority and an outspoken, charismatic position in defence of particular values. This kind of collective affirmation of ideological unity, I argue, is an important element within NGOs' teacher education in the area of global education.

Accordingly, teachers that do not (seem to) share the same kind of values are regarded as problematic by the NGO workers. A question that the NGO workers find somewhat troubling is the teachers' right to their own, personal values when these values are in conflict with the value base of the national curriculum. At intimate global educational seminars for small groups of like-minded participants, the question of possible value conflicts is usually not discussed at length, or presented as concerning "other teachers". By contrast, in the following quote from a large global education seminar mostly directed to a presumably more heterogeneous audience of hundreds of teacher students, an NGO worker directs their concern to everyone in the auditorium:

214 See the discussion in sections 3.4 and 9.4

There are some worrying signals from the educational field that I have read in the newspapers, this [example] did not take place directly in a school but there was a teacher involved, in a municipality where the school's history teacher is also a municipal councilmember [...] He has openly objected to setting up a reception center [for asylum seekers] in the locality and publicly stated that he fears that the people living in the reception center will rape the local girls. And this is quite a difficult situation, that this person works daytime as a teacher and should follow the Basic Education Act and the curriculum but then, as a politician, says something completely different [...] He has not said these things in school but when it takes place in a small place then of course it is quite challenging. So, if you don't somehow agree with the spirit of the curriculum, then it can be quite challenging

(Field recordings, Amnesty's lecture at teacher education seminar)

Here, the NGO worker from Amnesty problematizes the notion of teachers' freedom to express their personal values even outside the school environment, if the values are not in accordance with the curriculum. In this sense, they expand the issue of teachers as value-shapers; from the delimited space of the school, the teachers are framed as responsible for the values they transmit to students also when performing in other roles, particularly in influential ones such as politicians in this case. The case that the NGO worker raises is an example of the openly expressed and somewhat naturalized xenophobia in the political debate in Finland (Korhonen, 2017). In this sense, the NGO worker's stance also implies a re-framing of current political debate more broadly by challenging xenophobia as one legitimate political opinion among others. By basing their arguments in educational legislation, they recur to legal authority²¹⁵ (Alasuutari et al., 2016) in their construction of the global educator as anti-racist. Simultaneously, they implicitly de-legitimize racism as protected by "freedom of expression", which is a defensive argument often used in racist discourse (see *e.g.* Weaver, 2010; West, 2012).

Studying human rights education as a means of shaping values in school is interesting, since there are diverging understandings of what these human rights mean in practice. While NGO workers promote human rights as a way to foster equity and respect, teachers often state that their students are inclined to focus predominately on their own freedom of expression and use it as a justification for calling people names, as exemplified below;

Teacher: Secondary school students easily plead - and I have case examples of this - that "I have freedom of expression, so I can call this fellow student gay" [...] like we should know how to teach what human rights are and what violates human rights and what is not allowed

215 Legal authority is also discussed in sections 3.4 and 9.4

NGO worker: This is familiar to all of us, that young people plead that “I am allowed because I have freedom of expression”, but not even under freedom of expression can you hurt others or call them names, or engage in ethnic agitation, and somehow I hope that it wouldn’t always end up in testing the boundaries of criminal law, that is this wrong or right, would this be convicted or not, but overall good manners, mutual respect and start from there [...]

Teacher: Somehow I feel that kids are very very conscious about their own rights, but then the idea of responsibilities and humanity and a kind of respect for others, it’s just “me me me, I get to do this, I am entitled to this” [...] we have moved away from a kind of caring culture

NGO worker: Which brings us back to the core, that we are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood

(Field recording, workshop on human rights education with Finnish Human Rights League and Interpedia)

I interpret the teacher’s statements as a concern that the human rights discourse is not necessarily constructive in fostering values such as respect and humanity among the students since, in the teacher’s view, a focus on rights easily reinforces prevailing egoism in society. This echoes a common criticism of human rights discourse: its individualism (see Depaigne, 2006; Cruft, 2006). NGOs working with human rights education are aware of this tendency and consequently, as illustrated by the NGO worker’s response, the legal authority, or the jurisdictional dimension of human rights, is downplayed. Instead, human rights education becomes a channel for discussing “brotherhood” and “good manners”, which connotes solidarity irrespective of legal rights, resembling what Monisha Bajaj (2011) calls human rights education for peaceful coexistence²¹⁶.

As such, human rights could be described as a moral agenda²¹⁷. It has even been argued that human rights are replacing religion as a moral basis for societies (Ferón, 2014). While I am reluctant to agree with the notion of “replacement”, it is interesting to consider the function that the human rights discourse has in the educational field. Justifying values on religious grounds in an (allegedly) secularized Lutheran school system is a highly contested topic²¹⁸. Therefore, from an epistemic governance perspective, international law provides a “needed” basis for justifying a moral agenda

216 For a discussion on Bajaj’s (2011) three types of human rights education, see section 5.5

217 For a study on human rights and morals, see Slotte (2005)

218 On secularization in the Finnish school context, see e.g. Ubani, Rissanen and Poulter (2019)

in schools. I exemplify this with a quote from an NGO worker from Amnesty, who discusses the problem of racism and then recurs to human rights discourse for credibility in front of an audience of teacher students:

In your teaching, you are strongly tied to the legislation and to the curriculum and these human rights issues are very strongly present in the curriculum. In the constitution it is stated that state authorities have to protect human rights and this state authority obliges you as well, you in municipal positions. As a matter of fact, you are the ones whose task it is to secure and promote these human rights, alongside public officers.

(Field recordings, Amnesty's lecture at teacher education seminar)

This strong emphasis on legal authority can be seen as a strategic move from the NGO worker in the context of pre-service education, where teacher students are learning about the institutional frames for their teaching practice. In turn, in-service teachers might have multiple and complex experiences of human rights discourse in schools, such as the teacher quote above who lamented that human rights are used to disrespect. This is why, in my view, NGO workers also turn to democratic authority, *i.e.*, the common good and harmonious co-existence, when promoting human rights education for teachers, as exemplified below:

You don't need to know the articles of the treaties or declarations, you need to know the core and above all these everyday acts like how do I speak to, to or what name do I want to be called by, and this kind of changes on the level of action. Although it might seem a bit strange to you, this is the everyday human rights education. Especially young people, let them be the way they are and take them as they are!

(Field recordings, NGO worker from Finnish Human Rights League)

Further, within the NGOs, value-shaping is commonly recognized as a challenging task for educators, in the sense that it is difficult to perceive possible changes in the students' attitudes. Below, I illustrate this with an example where the NGO Plan Finland reformulates the task of the global educator to make the goals more realistic:

Comfortingly, according to current knowledge, it is easier to change behavior than attitudes. Even though anti-hate speech pedagogics would not lead to durable changes in attitudes, if it can provoke changes in behavior, we are already on the right path. According to current knowledge, attitudes might change if the behavior is changed first. Resisting hate speech has come a long way if we reach the point where people can calmly deliberate different viewpoints and not react with anger or

hate speech to different stimuli on the internet or in the real world, regardless of whatever attitudes a person might have in the end.

(Kuuluvainen, 2017, 8)²¹⁹

In this quote, the ideal of value-shaping is bracketed off and instead, the NGO advocates for behavioral change. From the perspective of critical global education, this formulation could be read as a de-clawed version of global education, which only aims at superficial instead of transformative change (Andreotti 2006; Bryan 2011). However, I argue that it should also be interpreted in relation to the NGOs' perceptions of their political capacity in the current political context. In a discursive climate where hate speech is widespread and sometimes normalized, the NGOs' ambitions and strategies might be altered, as illustrated by an NGO worker describing her work:

This is not necessarily straightforward, so that we would move forward all the time but sometimes we move backwards and sometimes we resist and like try to keep it on a level that was previously reached

(NGO interviewee 2)

These two quotes above show that NGOs have a pragmatic approach to value-shaping in that they do not pretend to be able to transform the values of all teachers and students. Rather, their strategy entails constantly striving for at least an acceptable level of understanding of the role of values in education among the heterogeneous body of teachers.

11.2.2 Institutional tensions in enacting global education

In this section, I analyse how the participants articulate the complexity of enacting global education in schools. A common concern among teacher participants is how to accommodate elements from global education in their teaching, when they are faced with multiple, often contradictory expectations in their professional role. These expectations come from the curriculum, from actors outside of school as well as from the students themselves.

According to several teachers, one source of tension is that secondary school students have been socialized to see the pursuit of good grades as the most important objective of education, while global education in many ways downplays the importance of grades. Consequently, teachers who wish to promote objectives such as independent thinking and understanding of complex phenomena are sometimes challenged by their students.

²¹⁹ This quote comes from Plan Finland's educational material "From hate speech to dialogue"; for the full reference, see appendix 1.

In a sequence from a global education seminar, teachers discuss this challenge in the following way:

Teacher 1: The most conservative one is the student

Some of the participants nod in agreement.

Teacher 1: Like if the teacher wants to reform, then the student goes "can't you just teach?"

Teacher 2: And if the teacher tries something else [...] then they think that they don't learn anything, like "just give me the notes, that's efficient"

[...]

Teacher 3: Well at least in the capital region, I get depressed, especially in upper level basic education for 9th graders it's just [...] the grade, and with the grade you try to admitted to certain high schools [...] like you are supposed to understand and get ingredients for building a world-view but no, "what do I have to do to get a 9?"²²⁰

(Field recordings from teacher education seminar)

According to these teachers, students are more concerned about their grading than about the content of their education, which makes them dismiss global educational initiatives as secondary or irrelevant for their future educational path. Here, the challenge is framed as tension between "reformist teachers" and "conservative students", where the students represent the dominant, instrumentalist stance towards education. For these teachers, a global educator's task is to teach students to "un-learn" this instrumentalist stance towards education (Andreotti, 2011). The sequence above is a clear example of how teachers' attempts to reform their teaching clash with "the hidden curriculum", that is, the school's objective to rank students (Illich, 1971).

Some teachers also describe the curriculum as a long list of mandatory learning goals, and as such, as a restraint to incorporating global education as part of their teaching to an ideal extent. The following quote exemplifies how a biology teacher balances between what she thinks the students *ought to know* versus what they *need to learn* in order to pass their final exams, echoing the discussion above:

220 In Finland, the grading scale in basic education is 4-10, where 4 is a failing grade and 10 is excellent.

There are things that all people should know [...] all this about diversity and sustainable development and global citizenship and the like, it should cut across all subjects, it doesn't, and I think these things are more important than that my students know how the protein synthesis works, but: the protein synthesis and this other stuff that is so concrete and that is written in the curriculum, that we have to do because the final exams are coming up

(Teacher interviewee 3)

In this sense, enacting the role of a global educator is perceived as difficult within formal education, where the teacher profession is unavoidably connected to teaching for exams and grading the students' assessable competencies. The same tension is raised in a discussion at a teacher seminar, where the participants are encouraged to come up with synonyms or replacements for the word *learning*:

NGO worker: I had this epiphany that in fact, the school as an institution has hogged the concept of learning, and that this [list of words] forces us to take learning somewhere else [...] and then we are at the core of the new curriculum, that WOW, now the doing and the action is holistic!

Teacher: And at the same time it's kind of anguishing, when I work with late – or I don't know what they are late from – but 14-years-olds [moving to Finland] are talked about as late-arrived. Anyway, the structures put pressures like "now you should anyhow have time for this and this", so I need to think about how I balance the two

Drama instructor: Like it's such a result-oriented world we live in, and learning is so much about results

Teacher: But ultimately [in school] we still have subject specific contents, with given criteria for good knowledge in order to obtain grade 8, so it's ultimately that

(Field recordings, workshop on thinking skills)

In this discussion, the NGO worker and the drama instructor make critical comments about dominant conceptions of learning. The teacher, while not disagreeing, emphasizes the difficulty of changing these conceptions as a teacher; even more so when working with students arriving in Finland in the middle of secondary school, since it is their responsibility to grade the students and make sure they obtain a diploma. This discussion is also a negotiation over "the core" of the curriculum. Indeed, on the one hand,

the Finnish national core curriculum emphasizes multiple forms of assessment, such as self-assessment and peer-assessment (EDUFI, 2014) which, in part, de-emphasize the role of grading in the teacher profession. On the other hand, recent changes in the national core curriculum underline that self-assessment and peer-assessment should *not* affect grading (see OAJ, 2020), which again reinforces the teacher's authority in defining what learning is about. Indeed, the enactment of global education in schools is difficult to disconnect from questions of assessment. This relationship is complex and would require more careful exploration than what is possible in the context of this study. However, it is clear that internationally, there is an increasing interest in developing instruments for assessing elements of global education (see Connolly, Lehtomäki & Scheunpflug, 2019); a well-known example being the OECD's global competence framework as part of the PISA (OECD, 2018). The global competence framework has been criticized for its Western, privileged perspective and its marketized, individualized underpinnings (Auld & Morris, 2019; Vaccari & Gardinier, 2019). Therefore, the question of how or whether to combine critical approaches to global education with assessment instruments is particularly challenging.

Another important component in the teacher profession is the use of textbooks. Textbooks constitute a significant part of the knowledge construction in schools and they can also be seen as a reflection of what society wants to transmit to the next generation (Mikander, 2015). In the context of teacher education, it is not uncommon that NGO workers make critical remarks about problematic representations in the textbooks. An example is provided below, where the NGO worker and one of the teacher participants have a discussion about how teachers should use textbooks:

Teacher: Well the teacher just has to trust the textbook

NGO worker: But that's just it, you cannot always trust [them]

Teacher: Yes, but in our society we are used to trusting authorities

[...]

NGO worker: It's not always necessary to throw the textbooks in the garbage bin, but you can also discuss with the students about what is perhaps missing in them

(Field notes, workshop on equity with The Peace Education Institute)

In this discussion, the NGO worker tries to promote a critical reading of the textbooks among the teacher participants. The teacher, in turn, perceives the textbooks as part of the institutional authority that does not need to be questioned, especially in Finnish society. This kind of stance can also be read as a trust in the “objectivity”²²¹ of the textbooks (see also Mikander, 2016, p. 19), which would make a critique against them a politicized or even subversive act. Although the participants in the workshop seem to agree with the idea of more diverse representations, they do not necessarily see themselves in the role of such diversity advocates. In my view, this kind of conformist stance to the school as an institution is a challenge for more transformative approaches to global education. Further, for teachers who perceive their role as being primarily about subject-specific didactics, questions of equity and inclusivity promoted by the NGOs seem secondary. As one teacher expresses it: “I only look at who offers the best digital materials and I choose that one, I can’t start looking at what color of people there are in it” (Field notes, workshop on equity).

Finally, a widely shared view among teachers is the growing expectations that they face in their profession. Therefore, they constantly need to balance between different dimensions of their teacher role, such as teaching, fostering, planning and administrating. Many teachers express that the teaching part is somewhat overridden by other necessities, as the following quote illustrates:

In our work nowadays, our role is so much more than just being a teacher, we are demanded to have so many skills that the focus is not on teaching at all anymore [...] as said before, for instance, parents’ abilities to be parents have decreased dramatically, so we are demanded to do things that earlier used to be the task and responsibility of the home

(Teacher, workshop on human rights education)

Facing these expectations, teachers perceive the benefits of global education in different ways. For some, global education provides support for their profession, but for others, it is rather conceived as one more imposed obligation – a question I return to in section 11.5.2.

11.2.3 Combining global education with other educational agendas

Some of the NGO workers and teachers lament that global education is commonly associated with notions such as “tree-hugging” or “left-wing political orientation”. Within the mostly middle-class and relatively conserva-

²²¹ In line with Mikander (2016, p. 19) objectivity is here regarded as an ideological concept, in that what is commonly perceived as objective knowledge in textbooks is here understood as an outcome of a discursive struggle.

tive teacher profession in Finland (see Simola 2014, p. 76), these attributes denote suspicion. Based on my material, both NGO workers and other actors who promote global education are aware of these negative connotations, and therefore, there are attempts at enacting global education in more fashionable ways. Following Czarniawska & Sevón (2005), fashion is an aspect that influences the incorporation of new ideas, since fashion entails the notion of something allegedly superior, which again, brings us to the question of what type of discourses dominate in educational policy²²². From the perspective of critical global education, I argue that fashionable educational trends imply both threats and opportunities for global education, which I discuss in light of examples from the field.

Entrepreneurial education is one of the current trends in the educational field. During my fieldwork, I found that the NGO workers' have somewhat conflicting viewpoints on whether and how to combine global education with an entrepreneurial approach; while some see the latter as going against the foundation of global education, others perceive it as possibility. In the quote below, an NGO worker explains their stance on how the teacher education project should strategically promote the UN's sustainable development goals:

NGO worker 1: In part [the different objectives in the curriculum] are controversial, but I think it would be an enormous success [...] if the participants understood to connect these [sustainable development goals], for instance, to entrepreneurial education or to future working life skills or whatever educational elements there are [in school] that do not necessarily take these things into account at all [...] this entrepreneurial education is very controversial, but that those experts would also even think about [sustainable development], I think it would be a great success

[...]

NGO worker 2: I got excited about [NGO worker 1's] idea, very good stuff! And if we think about the goal of mainstreaming global education, we could conquer new educational fields and this [the UN's Agenda 2030] makes it possible [...] we can make global educators out of entrepreneurship educators as well!"

(Field recordings, NGO project meeting)

In this discussion, NGO worker 1 acknowledges that entrepreneurial education is not straightforwardly compatible with global education, but that connecting the two would strategically be an important move since entrepreneurialism and future skills are currently dominating discourses in

222 See also the discussion on different agendas for global education in section 3.2

schools. This stance is supported by NGO worker 2, illustrating that the NGOs consciously strive at situating global education in mainstream education discourses in order to broaden their reach.

Another example of how global education is translated into entrepreneurial language comes from a global education seminar where the (then) Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Kai Mykkänen appeared as the first speaker. The Minister was presumably invited to speak at the seminar partly as a representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that funded the teacher education project, and partly as a high-end politician that attracts participants. Simultaneously, the Minister's appearance could be interpreted as the governments' viewpoint on global education. In his speech, Minister Mykkänen emphasized the teachers' role in promoting entrepreneurial spirit:

I met 50 start-up people from developing countries brought here through our Global Impact Accelerator Program [at a start-up event] and they all of course found it inspiring and *empowering* [...] but what I mainly wanted to say here is that I discussed in small groups there and the most common reason for having the courage to start something big as a start-up, it comes from fostering, from education, that they had some teacher who said "hey you can do this" and encouraged them, so in that sense you should know that you have a big responsibility in Finland as well as in developing countries, because fostering attitude is often more important than many skills.

(Field recordings, lecture at teacher seminar with Minister Kai Mykkänen)

In this quote, by referring to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs' program for start-up companies in "developing countries", the Minister links entrepreneurship and start-ups to enhancing development on a global scale. This way, he frames an entrepreneurial attitude as central for global education and the fostering of future start-up entrepreneurs as a goal for teachers.

Further, by attaching terms like empowerment and attitude change to his claim, the Minister co-opts the language of NGO education (Biccum, 2015) and simultaneously locates the terms within the sphere of entrepreneurship education. Thus, entrepreneurship which in internal NGO contexts is discussed as controversial, is here placed at the heart of the global educator's responsibilities. The call for more entrepreneurship within global education entails at least two alterations for global education. First of all, it shifts the focus of global citizenship from civil society to the business sector, which is a way of market-economizing the global educator's task. Secondly, it translates the meaning of attitude change; whereas NGOs focus on questions of solidarity, sustainability and global justice, entrepreneurial attitudes are related to courage and aspirations for economic suc-

cess. Further, when attitude change is framed as the most important key for “development”, structural factors affecting global (and local) inequalities are downplayed or ignored, and the individual capable of responsible choices is uplifted²²³.

Another pedagogical trend that is sometimes connected to global education is that of positive pedagogics, which in the material is also referred to as “virtue pedagogics”²²⁴. In the following extract from a group interview (teacher interviewees 2a, 2b and 2c), a teacher describes how, in contrast to global education, virtue pedagogics was received with enthusiasm in her school:

Teacher 2a: And then in our school, we follow virtue pedagogics and in our school we have this virtue-professional as a teacher -

Teacher 2b: - Oh! You have such a thing, a virtue teacher

[...]

Teacher 2a: Yes and for instance, every month we have one virtue [...] and I have thought about this in the way that those virtues pretty much coincide with global education and well, a long time ago when I tried hard to advertise global education in our school, no one even listened, but now these virtues have taken over the power. In my opinion *((sighs))* I feel that, since I am not a religious person myself and I don't belong to any church, I feel that they are somewhat, even somehow inclined towards Christianity somehow

Teacher 2b: Give us an example of a virtue?

Teacher 2a: Well a virtue can be, for instance, respect

[...]

Teacher 2b: Honesty?

Teacher 2a: Honesty

223 See the discussion on the individualization of global responsibility in section 5.5

224 In Finnish *hyvedagogiikka*. This stems from the focus on virtues in positive pedagogics, which is elaborated into a pedagogic model for schools called Notice the positive! (*Huomaa Hyvä!*)

Teacher 2c: Persistence?

Teacher 2a: Persistence, leadership

[...]

Heidi: And so the whole school is now -

Teacher 2a: - The school is now crazy about it! The whole school is in it together, and now our principal told me when I was filing my application to come to this [seminar], the principal told me “Oh you’re going to that sort of training, well why don’t you take charge of thinking about how we could combine global education and virtues next year”

(Group interview with teacher interviewees 2a, 2b and 2c)

In this sequence, teacher 2 expresses an ambiguous attitude towards virtue pedagogics; they see the two approaches having a lot in common, but they are dissatisfied with virtue pedagogics overriding global education. Briefly outlined, the idea of positive pedagogics is to support the individual strengths and personalities of the students, and it has been developed particularly in the context of students with special educational needs (see *e.g.* Vuorinen, Erikivi & Uusitalo-Malmivaara, 2018). This rather individualized-psychologized approach, a branch of positive psychology, has a tendency to overlook social inequalities or power-relations, as the quote from a leading Finnish positive pedagogue Kaisa Vuorinen (2016, p.7) illustrates:

“Regardless of field, we succeed due to our personality skills. Because we are persistent, brave, we are capable of creativity and self-regulation. How we make it depends on our ability to get along with others, feel empathy and give support, lead and be led.”²²⁵

Although the focus on individual strengths is surely important in education, and particularly in the context of special education, I argue that the idea of success stemming from our personalities is problematic as a framework for global education. In fact, when comparing positive pedagogics with the notion of critical global education²²⁶, there is a clear controversy

225 Finnish original: Alasta riippumatta menestymme luonteentaitojemme ansiosta. Koska olemme sinnikkäitä, rohkeita, kykenemme luovuuteen ja itsemme säätelyyn. Pärjäämisemme on kiinni kyvystämme tulla toimeen toisten kanssa, tuntea empatiaa ja antaa tukea, johtaa ja olla johdettavina.

226 Critical global education is discussed in section 5.5

between the two approaches. Where critical global education stresses the importance of structural injustices and power-relations, positive pedagogics focuses on resilience and adaption.

Gamification is another example of an educational trend that is combined with global education in certain settings. For instance, at a seminar on global education, an NGO worker had a long session on the possibilities of gamification for making global education more efficient, as illustrated below:

The reason for doing this is that generally [gamification] is precisely thought to commit and inspire people to participate and do things [...] when you combine dynamics and mechanics [of gamification] such as *advancement* and *competition* for example, that is *expressed through points*, it kind of creates an element which commits people [...] If my goal is to affect people's attitudes with regard to a certain topic or group, then in my opinion this is never achieved only through some cognitive process only by engaging in some technical execution.

(NGO worker, workshop on gamification)

The NGO worker's way of envisioning global education through gamification is substantially different from, for instance, approaches that emphasize critical thinking skills. During this workshop, the NGO worker repeatedly refers to examples from brands and companies, and recommends competition and business logics as an approach to global education without much questioning by the participants. Some of the teachers are notably excited about the possibilities that gamification brings:

Teacher: It might be that we have a sports day or an outdoor day, and I want to incorporate this global education stuff, I will be able to do that if I turn it into this type of game, and it takes place outside -

Several participants express agreement.

Teacher: - In a way, there's no alternative, I have to make a game and I want to make a good game.

(Field recordings, workshop on gamification)

Here, the participants accept gamification as a way of adjusting global education to regular and commonly accepted activities involving the entire school, such as outdoor days. The next day of the seminar, however, when a freelance instructor is giving a workshop on thinking skills, the same participants start questioning how the implementation of gamification often takes form in schools:

Municipal coordinator: I just have to comment on this, that in my daughter's class, if the class reaches 1600 green patches, then the whole class gets ice cream [...] it's a big secondary school with 50-60 teachers and they all have their own methods of giving out these green patches

The participants start laughing and comment on the absurdity of this system.

NGO worker: Well, it is a good idea, positive feedback and all that, but why do I have this anxiety that everything is always implemented according to the old model of learning? [...] Like it doesn't differ in any way from the old school when we were given some plusses back in -77, like I'm agonized.

(Field recordings, workshop on thinking skills)

This quote illustrates that gamification can take on very different forms. It also illustrates that gamification provokes reactions for against among the participants. The NGOs are not straightforwardly in favor of gamifying global education, but it is seen as potentially effective as it resonates with commonly used pedagogical approaches in schools.

11.3 Diversity management for teachers

11.3.1 Equity work beyond tolerance

In this section, I analyze the dimension of global education that deals with diversity on the local level, ranging from classroom dynamics to Finland as a nation. Going back to the Maastricht declaration²²⁷ on global education from 2002, we see that diversity as a term is not found in the definition nor does it constitute an explicit subfield. Diversity could be discussed under intercultural education, peace education or human rights education; yet, I choose to place the analytical emphasis on the term diversity partly *because* it cuts across these subfields, and partly because of the salience of the term in the empirical material. For instance, the NGOs' teacher education workshops often have titles such as "Diversity and equity in school culture", instead of using terms such as interculturalism or peace. This

²²⁷ The definition of global education according to the Maastricht declaration: "Global education is education that opens people's eyes and minds to the realities of the world, and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all. Global education is understood to encompass Development Education, Human rights education, Education for Sustainability, Education for Peace and Conflict Prevention and Intercultural Education; being the global dimensions of Education for Citizenship". (O'Loughlin, E. & Wegimont, L. 2003, p.13)

shows that when NGOs enact global education, they do not necessarily use the terminology or categories of the Maastricht declaration, but reformulate it in ways that they find purposeful. I begin by exploring how the NGOs construct the notion of diversity and what kind of educational means they promote in order to handle it, after which I analyze different negotiations during teacher education settings that can be placed under the overarching topic of diversity.

A central feature in the NGOs' advocacy for diversity management is their pronounced rejection of the term tolerance. Tolerance has been a widely used term in relation to multiculturalism and cultural difference in schools and other contexts (Riitaoja, 2011; see also Saukkonen, 2013). However, the tolerance discourse²²⁸ has been criticized for the power constellation that it is based on; to tolerate implies to have power to set the norm, and to decide what kind of difference is acceptable (Riitaoja, 2011, p.148; Rosén, 2011, p. 61). In line with this critique, the NGOs aim at transcending the tolerance discourse among in-service teachers:

This talk about tolerance, we should get rid of that, because it is connected to power-relations where we as a majority can tolerate a minority down there, that a minority is tolerated if we feel like tolerating, or we can choose not to tolerate. But the point is that the worth of every human being is the same, so it's not about whether you tolerate or not. And another perspective is that in schools there is a lot of talk about being different, so what is sameness then? When we talk about difference it means that we have a norm about sameness in our heads [...] which we should deconstruct with the students and probably specifically in the common room

(Field recordings, NGO worker at the Peace Education Institute's workshop on equity)

An important aspect of the NGOs' teacher education on the topic of diversity is to make teachers reflect on their own identity and their position(s) in relation to social norms in society. As an example, the Peace Education Institute uses a privilege test for teachers to "measure" their experiences of being discriminated against. In the test, the participants give themselves points for how often they have felt excluded or harassed based on grounds such as gender, sexual orientation, skin color, ability, language or religion. The objective of the test is to show how teachers who often in many ways embody norms (of whiteness, Finnishness, heterosexuality or middle-classness) might not perceive or understand the discrimination of students that somehow "deviate" from these norms.

228 See also the theoretical discussion in section 5.3

Simultaneously, the NGOs emphasize the importance of recognizing the diversity within each individual, as seen in the following quote:

Promoting equity often means intervening in bullying or harassment and taking into account special needs of people who are in danger of being discriminated against. However, genuine equity can only be achieved through a change that springs from the whole school community, where every member needs to be able to question their own prejudices and recognize the diversity within themselves.

(Rauhankasvatusinstituutti, 2016, p. 10)²²⁹

In line with this quote, the NGOs' approach to equity challenges the idea of treating bullying or discrimination as individual cases; instead, the NGO proposes critical reflection on school culture as a whole, and on its relation to social norms in broader society.

Since 2017, schools and other organizations are required by law to develop equity plans, which should include means for enhancing equity and combating discrimination on all grounds (see Yhdenvertaisuuslaki 2014/1325). A note-worthy change in the legislation stipulates that the school-specific plans are to be made in a participatory manner, so that school staff, students and parents are all involved in developing them. The Peace Education Institute is an NGO that offers workshops for teachers and principals explicitly in support for developing these plans but also concerning equity-based school culture more broadly. I attended a few of these workshops in different municipalities.

During the workshops, there was no time allocated for writing the actual plans, since the NGO emphasized that the formality of having a plan is secondary; or as one of the NGO workers expressed it: "As far as I am concerned, you can write it on a post-it tag" (Field notes, workshop on equity). Instead, the NGO worker encouraged the teachers to engage the whole school in the planning and to make sure that heterogeneous voices are heard in the process. In the sequence below, a teacher participant questions the point of having students taking part in this work:

Teacher: When you listen to students' conceptions of all sorts of issues, they have harsh black and white attitudes, so are we really ready to include them?

NGO worker: Yes

229 This quote comes from the Peace Education Institute's material for promoting equity in schools; for the full reference, see appendix 1

Teacher: Well then we are probably not going in the intended direction

NGO worker: Well yes we are, because this work is *defined by the law*. And then of course within this group [of students] we go through *what the law sees as discrimination*

Teacher: But they will pose difficult questions

NGO worker: I'm sure they will, but *that's just good for everybody, isn't it?*

(Field notes, Peace Education Institute's workshop on equity)

In this scene, this teacher seems convinced that developing the equity plan together with students is challenging or even impossible, and expresses unwillingness to answer the "difficult questions" that they expect the students to ask. This statement can be located within the broader tendency of teachers avoiding controversial topics in the classroom (see Fornaciari & Männistö, 2015; Goren & Yemini, 2017). The same teacher expresses reluctance towards the NGO's approach from the beginning of the workshop, and their positioning could be described as "sceptical"²³⁰ towards global education. Facing this teacher's scepticism, the NGO worker first turns to legal authority in justifying the NGOs' pedagogical proposals. As the teacher is still not convinced, the NGO worker ends the conversation by a rhetorical question that they are not expecting to be answered, and moves on with the discussion. In part, the NGO worker's last comment can be read simply as a statement in favor of discussing with students. However, I also argue that this rhetorical manoeuvre relates to a more general observation, which is that NGO workers tend to avoid long discussions with participants that question the NGOs' input. Sometimes, such as in the example above, there is a dissonance²³¹ between the NGOs' agenda and the teachers' subjective experiences of school reality. When this dissonance is bypassed, I argue that potentially valuable discussions on the complexity of enacting global education are lost.

Another example of this complexity comes from a two-day workshop on equity plans, where the idea was that the teachers and principals start planning the equity work in their respective schools in a participatory manner, with the help of the exercises and materials they have received from the NGOs during the first day. A month later, on the second day of training, the participants share what they have done so far. In the follow-

230 See "the sceptic" in the typology in section 11.5.2

231 On resonance and dissonance, see the theoretical discussion in section 4.3 and chapter 11.

ing extract from my field notes, two teachers show the rest of us a short slideshow with equity-related concepts that they have distributed to all the teachers in their school:

Teacher 1: Then each teacher had 15 minutes to discuss these concepts with their class and answer possible questions

Heidi: Was this topic discussed among the teachers in the common room?

Teacher 1: You see, first we had a normal school day from 8 to 13. Then we had a teacher meeting on cross-curricular learning from 13 to 15. Then we had teacher-training from 15 to 17.45. *After that we had 15 minutes to go through this, but of course at that point, everybody just wanted to go home as fast as possible.*

Teacher 2: *We were smart enough to rationalize this thing and not magnify it. There is no time for discussion in a school like ours.*

(Field notes, workshop on equity)

This sequence is an example of how the NGOs' objectives are diluted as they are enacted on the school level. While the NGO workers had encouraged a discussion on concepts and values in the common room, these teachers express that it was practically impossible due to lack of time. However, these teachers do not seem ashamed or sorry for packaging the equity work this way; on the contrary, they take pride in not "magnifying" it. This stance relates to the pragmatic²³² understanding of the hectic everyday school life, in which compromises are constantly necessary, and promoting equity plan too eagerly might irritate colleagues with an already heavy workload.

In the following part, I explore the process of NGO involvement in school equity planning in one municipality. In order to understand the process, the role of the municipal administration must also be considered alongside the role of the NGO and the teachers involved. All these actors take different actions in relation to the requirement of participatory planning. The coordinator-teacher of global education, with close connections to the Peace Education Institute, decides to book the NGO for a two-day training for all secondary school teachers in the municipality. However, the municipal educational administration seemingly has no intention of educating the teachers on the topic, but wants to execute the participatory element through a survey study. Thus, the coordinator-teacher tells me how they are "called up and yelled at" by a public administrator for organizing

232 See also the pragmatist type in section 11.2.4

such training. This leads to uncertainty about whether the teachers would be allowed to participate – uncertainty which escalates when the educational management has an alternative vision of how the equity-planning is to be carried out, as the sequence below illustrates:

Teacher: Four days before the training, my own boss tells me “look, we have decided that we are not participating [in the training], we have booked a facility for you [...] and there will be one teacher from each school, you will stay there for eight hours and you’ll plan it and write it in eight hours [...] that is the safest choice, to lock you up and we are not letting you out until you’re done”.

The other teachers and I laugh at this satirical description.

Teacher: And so I, who didn’t even cry when I was born, started crying in front of my boss saying that you can’t do this, seriously, and maybe this softened my boss up because then it was like “ok” [...] my boss immediately made a call and cancelled the plan

(Field recordings, teacher education)

This sequence illustrates competing views on how to enact new legislative requirements, such as the equity plan. While the municipal administration promotes centralized and effective solutions such as a survey and an all-teacher working group, the coordinator-teacher is convinced that more in-depth, reflexive training on the topic is necessary. I interpret their satirical description of the superior as a way of framing the educational management as ignorant of the participatory idea of the equity plan. Also, the teacher’s account shows the decisive role of teachers that I refer to as promoters²³³ when it comes to the enactment of this kind of policies. Indeed, in this case the teacher’s persistency results in a two-day NGO seminar taking place in the municipality.

11.3.2 Different views on handling gender and sexual diversity in schools

Gender and sexual diversity are topics that some NGOs, especially Seta, but also the Peace Education Institute, include in their in-service education for teachers. In the workshops I attended, the teacher participants displayed a predominantly positive attitude towards this type of diversity among their students. Yet, the topic can be described as divisive and complex partly because studies show that there are still many teachers that do not recognize, accept or value gender diversity, (see Huotari, Törmä &

233 See the typology in section 11.5.2

Tuokkola, 2011) and partly because there are different views on how to handle this diversity when it is recognized. Also, teachers participating in gender-related training voluntarily do not represent the teacher profession as a whole; in fact, these participants often mention having colleagues with more conservative attitudes.

Many teachers also state that some parents are strongly against the idea of schools discussing non-binary conceptions of gender identity. This is exemplified in the quote below, where a teacher explains their view on the ongoing debates on gender and sexuality in schools:

It is kind of the hot potato of our time, it's a topic that we haven't really known how to handle, and then families have really strong [attitudes] like "not for our children, there are girls and there are boys and that's it" [...] and then there's that fear, should I say it bluntly? Well, I'll say it: the fear that "is my boy, or my child, going to be gay now, that maybe that wouldn't happen if there wasn't such an open discussion about these things" [...] as if the kids were given options to pick from like in a kiosk

(Teacher interviewee 2b)

This account illustrates how teachers find themselves in a problematic situation where parents put pressure on them not to talk about gender and sexual diversity with their students. This echoes what Sara Ahmed (2017, p.37) writes about the charges of exposing a controversial issue: "When you expose a problem you pose a problem. It might then be assumed that the problem would go away if you just stop talking about it or if you went away". In this sense, teachers might feel like they are being political in a problematic way if they actively engage in questions of gender and sexual diversity. Since heterosexuality and binary conceptions of gender are still in many ways taken for granted as social norms in society, problematizing these topics in schools is not an easy task for all teachers. However, in the curriculum for basic education, providing information on gender diversity is for the first time included school's basic tasks²³⁴ (see EDUFI, 2014, p.18) and schools are by law obliged to advance equity also in terms of sexual orientation and gender identity (see Yhdenvertaisuuslaki, 2014/1325). Hence, the NGOs have a strong legal mandate to educate teachers on these topics, and teachers perhaps have a growing professional need for this type of training.

During my observations, a recurring way to frame the topic in NGO workshops was to start with so-called traditional gender norms. Sometimes, this approach caused confusion among the participants, as illustrated below:

234 For a discussion on this question, see also section 10.2

NGO worker: So, let's start with gender. What genders²³⁵ are there?

Nobody says anything.

NGO worker: I know that at this point there is always a terrified silence (*laughter from the participants*) that "now we should know all the trans -" (*spots someone who wants to answer*) - you tell me?

Teacher: Well I, quite a few, like of course I know that biological gender is an obsolete term -

NGO worker: - yes -

Teacher: - but I believe that, like I can't name them, but there is an infinite number of genders that are tied to people's own identities

NGO worker: Yes, the answer is correct, but it's not what I was looking for

Teacher: Well sorry

NGO worker: You tell me (*looking at another participant*) you are a principal, right? How can the students identify themselves in your school?

Principal: Well they are boys or girls or then they come and tell us that they want to be something else, that they want to be called something that isn't related to either gender

The NGO worker writes WOMAN and MAN on the board.

NGO worker: Let's start with these.

(Field recordings, Seta's workshop on gender diversity)

This scene is here interpreted as a crack in the pursuit of cohesion and a sense of acceptance that in other settings often characterizes NGOs' teacher workshops. Here, the teacher and principal want to demonstrate that they are aware of gender diversity and express their open-minded-

235 In Finnish: sukupuoli

ness towards a plurality of gender identities, but the NGO worker wants to begin by discussing the binary conception. When the teacher's somewhat shy and insecure comment about gender identities is discarded by the NGO worker saying that it was not what they had in mind, the teacher is notably annoyed and/or ashamed and responds with "well sorry". Even when the principal affirms that the students can identify as non-binary, the NGO worker ignores this. This can be seen as an example of the lack of resonance²³⁶ between the NGO worker's framing of the topic, which is that restrictive gender norms have negative effects on everyone's gender identity, and the participants, who frame the topic as a concrete issue of how to handle students with non-binary gender identities. This type of dissonance, I argue, also reflects diverging conceptions of professionalism between the NGO worker and the participants, where both want their perspective to be seen as relevant. Hence, there is a risk that some teachers might see the NGO workers' perspective as undermining teacher professionalism²³⁷. Nevertheless, it needs to be recognized that these professional encounters often take positive and empowering forms, where different perspectives complement each other.

Generally, the teachers and principals want to discuss practical questions regarding gender diversity in their schools, and to find solutions to problematic situations. In the workshops I attended, it was clear that the teachers had varying views on how to handle these situations, as I exemplify with a sequence from a small-group discussion:

A teacher describes an ongoing situation at her school, where they need to solve how a non-binary student could shower after physical education. The student in question, who previously had a girl name but now identifies as a boy, wants to shower on the boys' side, but some of the boys refuse to shower with this student, who they perceive as too much of a girl. The teacher says she would hope that the student in question had the possibility to shower privately. To this comment, a teacher from another school responds that all teenagers would rather shower privately if they could choose, because everyone can feel uncomfortable with their changing bodies. She states that ideally, showers should be built so that everyone had the same right to privacy.

(Field notes, workshop on equity)

This conversation illustrates an important tension between an *equality of opportunities approach* and a *compensatory approach*; the former referring to treating all students in the same way regardless of their needs, and the latter referring to providing reasonable adjustments for students from mi-

236 For a discussion on resonance in social movement theory, see section 4.3

237 I describe this as one of the features of the sceptic-type of teacher in the typology in section 11.5.2

nority groups or with special needs (Grant & Sleeter, 2011, 55; de la Cruz Flores, 2017). This is connected to the wider debate on equality vs. equity, and what these terms mean in the field of education. Generally, the term equality is understood as equality of educational opportunities, while the notion of equity highlights unequal starting points between students or groups and strives to combat these inequalities. Further, equality is generally connected with measurable variables such as test scores or number of books, while equity refers to judgments about justice and fairness (see Grant & Sleeter, 2011, p.55; de la Cruz Flores, 2017).

In the example above, the teacher explaining the dilemma tries to meet the needs of this non-binary student. The other teacher's response, in turn, is that showering privately is a privilege that should not be given to particular students, since this would be unfair for the rest. The question is complicated, especially due to the physical spaces in schools that are designed for a binary separation of girls and boys. However, from a perspective of power and norms, the equality of opportunities approach that the second teacher represents is problematic because it portrays reasonable adjustments or compensations as special treatment, when the idea is to even out existing inequalities. Thus, it does not take into account the privileges that cis-gendered students enjoy every day, *e.g.* not being excluded or bullied, or not having to think about which bathroom to use.

At the workshops, the NGO workers strive to convince the teachers that different types of accommodations are necessary for all students that in some regard fall outside of "the normal" in schools, not just gender and sexuality, but also, for instance, language, ability and religion, and that teachers can and should question the notion of "normal" and "deviant" students. In the sequence below, an NGO worker gives practical examples of how the teachers can improve the well-being of their students:

The NGO worker emphasizes that passively accepting the existence of non-binary students is not enough. She encourages the teachers to notice these identities and speak positively about them and gives an example: if a boy dresses in "girly" clothes in class, the teacher can complement him for his pink Hello Kitty t-shirt. This suggestion is met with reservation from one of the teacher participants. The teacher states that she consistently abstains from commenting on any of her students looks and therefore, making exceptions would feel like going against her principles of downplaying the importance of looks.

(Field notes, workshop on gender diversity)

Again, the NGO worker's proposal for compensatory action clashes with the teacher participant's notion of equality, *i.e.*, treating all students the same. In this example, the teacher participant questions the NGOs' idea,

not because she would be against the idea of a boy wearing a “girly” t-shirt, but because the idea goes against her view on teacher professionalism. The same teacher laments that her own teenaged daughter is “obsessed with her looks”, and her general stance is that adults should educate young people to pay less attention to appearances. By contrast, the NGOs’ agenda is to encourage young people to express their gender identity which includes clothing and looks as an important element. Hence, the NGO worker insists that teachers need to affirm rather than just quietly accept diverse expressions of gender.

As a way to lower the threshold for teachers to embrace the compensatory approach, the NGOs often emphasize that small steps can have a significant impact on the students’ wellbeing, exemplified below in closing words of Seta’s guide for teachers:

As a teacher, you have a great opportunity to create an atmosphere where all young people feel safe and can concentrate on learning. In order to do that, big resources or structural changes are not always necessary. Also small things can help [...] **How will your students remember you in fifteen years?**

(Karvinen 2016, 39; bolded phrase in original text)²³⁸

This quote starts with references to broadly shared values in the school world, such as safety and concentration on learning, which connects the question of gender diversity to a more general educational framework. Then, however, by emphasizing the individual teachers’ impact on the students’ lives, global education is framed as a teacher’s personal choice rather than as a responsibility of the whole school. This example illustrates how the NGOs balance between promoting structural change and individual-level change, as the question of how students will remember their teachers in fifteen years is quite different from, for instance, referring to what schools are obligated to do according to legislation. Considering the degree of autonomy that teachers have in their work, evoking a sense of personal responsibility is an understandable strategy.

11.3.3 Finnishness as a norm

In this section, I analyze how notions of Finnishness and non-Finnishness are manifested in the NGOs’ teacher education. Given that the NGOs promote the idea of global citizenship, it is interesting to examine how ideas about Finnishness are intertwined with this initiative. In dominant constructions of Finnishness, whiteness is a central element, meaning that race and racialization are important constructs to explore (Aminkeng Atabong, 2016; Rastas, 2007, Tuori, 2009). In my material, race intersects

²³⁸ This quote comes from Seta’s material on gender and sexual minorities; for the full reference, see appendix 1

with, for instance, religion, language, citizenship and profession in different ways that shape the notion of the global educator. With a focus on scenes where varying ideas of “us” and “them” are constructed, I include material from anti-racism workshops, teacher education seminars and equity training. Drawing on Spivak (1988, p. 90), my interest is to study “the mechanics of the constitution of the Other”, which in this case refers to both representations and self-presentations of racialized people in the NGOs’ teacher education.

I begin with an example from an anti-racism workshop for teacher students, which was led by an NGO worker who presented data on racist crime in Finland based on police reports:

The NGO worker points out that half of the victims of racist violence are Finnish born, and two thirds are Finnish citizens. He presents these statistics as a sign of irony, since it means that Finnish people are xenophobic towards their fellow citizens.

(Field notes, workshop on anti-racism with the Red Cross)

In this description of racism, race is entangled with citizenship; it suggests that racism towards non-Finns would somehow be more “rational”, which again suggests that racist violence could be considered rational action if the targets were foreigners. Although this was surely not the intended message of the workshop, it seems problematic that Finnish citizenship is portrayed as an asset that ideally should protect people in Finland from racist violence.

In another workshop by the Peace Education Institute, on the topic of equity, Finnishness was discussed through an exercise called “Four corners”, illustrated through a sequence from my field notes:

The NGO worker shows us the following statement: “A person is Finnish when”, with four options pointed out for each corner of the room: “1) he/she has a Finnish passport, 2) he/she has Finnish parents, 3) he/she feels Finnish/identifies him/herself as a Finn, 4) some other reason.” We are asked to position ourselves in the corner we feel matches our opinion. Most of the teachers go to corner 3, the self-identification, arguing for the right to self-definition, even though they state that the question is multifaceted. Two teachers choose corner 1, the passport. One of them explains their positioning by objecting to the idea of self-definition:

Teacher: With that logic I could say that I feel Australian, and I can't go and represent Australia in the Olympics, that wouldn't do [...] it is like this and there are no alternatives, Finnishness is not a state of mind

(Field notes, teacher participant at the Peace Education Institute's workshop)

This teacher seems to have a need for clear definitions of nationality, framing other options as absolute relativism. Thinking in terms of imagined communities, the example above of the Olympic Games vividly shows how the nation is understood as a formally recognized group of people clearly separated from other groups. The NGO worker leading the workshop responds to this statement by saying that there are absolutely no right or wrong answers in this exercise. To my surprise, they add that they are inclined to choose corner 1, wishing that "obtaining a Finnish passport at the latest would allow people to feel Finnish". Afterwards, when analyzing my own surprised reaction, I came to interpret that this exercise was not primarily about "non-natives" and their identity or belonging, but about the alleged "native" Finnish teachers and their views on Finnishness. As Seikkula (2019) points out in her study on anti-racism, many NGOs have a tendency of targeting their campaigns at a white, Finnish-born audience, while often overlooking those who suffer from racism as a target group.

Further, a central idea in this workshop is that exclusive perceptions of Finnishness constitute an obstacle for equity and consequently, broadening the idea of Finnishness is framed as a way of combating inequity. Hence, in this exercise and with the statement presented by the NGO, nationality is portrayed as *the* category for inclusion, which implies that non-Finnishness is somehow not-as-included or not-as-equal. My argument here is by no means to disqualify the lived experiences of those who feel excluded from the Finnish community or labeled as non-Finns, which has been shown to be common especially among racialized people, including children and their experiences from school (see *e.g.* European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018, pp. 39-41; Rastas, 2007; Souto, 2011). What is interesting, when taking into account the notions of global citizenship and global community evoked in other contexts of NGO advocacy²³⁹, is that the importance of the feeling of national belonging is reinforced in a workshop on equity. The message seems to be that in order to achieve equity in a particular community, especially in a community like the school, its members should be accommodated within a re-constructed but yet nation-bound category.

Moreover, the discussions that arise in this kind of exercise are of course to a significant extent dependent upon the participants taking part in it. In a group of white and predominately female Finnish teachers, I feel

239 See particularly chapter 12

like the category of Finnishness is portrayed as a universal aspiration for all people in Finland with different backgrounds, if “we” just “let them”. This conception risks overlooking the complexities of (national) identity and belonging. Indeed, in corner 4, a handful of participants including myself, expressed more hesitant or problematizing views on the question of Finnishness. One of these teachers was born in another (Nordic) country, which they reflect on as a challenge for clear-cut identification. The others in this corner mainly share second-hand information about the multifaceted character of (national or ethnic) belonging. Thus, the initial question of “what makes a person Finnish” is, albeit briefly, also reformulated into an issue of more fluid or hybrid identities²⁴⁰.

The question of Finnishness is also connected to notions of power and knowledge; who is considered a neutral expert and who is positioned as a representative of their culture. An example of this comes from a seminar on education and refugees organized by the Finn Church Aid’s network Teachers without Borders together with the umbrella organization Fin-go. The seminar program consisted of speeches given by the Minister for Foreign Trade and Development, a Finnish representative from the World Bank and Finnish teachers who had volunteered abroad and others. In this context, the presence of musicians with a migrant background is discussed as (re)presentations of “the Other”. A sequence from my field notes illustrates the setting at the beginning of the seminar day:

At the front of the spacious seminar room, a young man plays the guitar and sings in Spanish. I check the program, he is a Syrian-Venezuelan singer-songwriter called Ramithawi. The music is melancholic and mellow. His own songs, I presume. Behind him, there are two big posters with black children and the Teachers without Borders logo. At the back of the room, coffee and fruit is served. People are helping themselves to breakfast, sipping coffee and chatting. The music seems like background music even though the singer stands in front, like on a stage. Suddenly, I hear a familiar intro: now he plays Juanes’ *La camisa negra*. Some of the female participants standing close to me immediately start clapping and dancing. I can’t help smiling when I see the reaction to this familiar kind of “multicultural music”. When the song is over, the singer timidly tries to get the audience’s attention without succeeding, people go on chatting. I hear him asking a seminar assistant for help, who then goes to fetch the coordinator for the seminar. The coordinator, a Finnish middle-aged woman, grabs the microphone and briefly announces that the singer will perform one more song before the program begins. After this, the singer himself asks the audience to listen, as he wishes to perform his first song written in English, stating that the song is

240 For studies on hybrid identities among youth in Finland, see e.g. Rastas (2007) and Haikkola (2012)

really important for him. The song is about fleeing the war and seeking refuge, about bodies being washed away and lives that need to be saved.

(Field notes, Teachers without borders' teacher education seminar)

The italics I added highlight the position that the singer is given at the seminar. In the seminar leaflet, the musical performance is included in the program, but in what is perhaps more than a slip of the tongue by the coordinator, he is represented as part of the "pre-program", after which the actual program will take place. By studying the seminar's feedback questionnaires from the previous year, I trace the idea of including musical performances to a participant's improvement suggestion: "there could have been music as a snack". Live music as a background is of course not problematic as such, but in the constellation where the program is predominately led by white, "native" Finns, the representation of "the Other" through background music is noteworthy. It shows how the "multicultural" musical element brought in by a non-Finn is welcomed, especially when a mainstream song provokes some hip-moves in the audience. Meanwhile, Finnish people dominate in terms of transmitting knowledge, *i.e.*, as speakers at the lectures and workshops. As the field notes above illustrate, the singer seems to be not completely satisfied with this position, which he softly defies by asking people to listen to his song on being a refugee, and in this sense, he claims voice and relevance in relation to the topic of the seminar.

At the same seminar, a video-project called "In my own words" is presented by a Finnish female NGO worker together with two male asylum seekers. In the presentation, the NGO worker takes the role of explaining the objectives and methods of the project, while the two men only speak very briefly about their experience in making the videos. Thus, the presence of "the Other" at the seminar takes the form of a "multicultural snack", meant to liven up, exemplify and embody "otherness". The domains of informing, educating and agenda-setting are reserved for the Finnish "experts". One might argue that the seminar should be seen as an opportunity for migrant background musicians, which it surely is, in part. However, from a decolonial perspective, it can be interpreted as a way of accommodating "the Other" in a way that does not threaten or alter what is being learned about the world and about "the Self" as a Finnish professional, who is being empowered to make a change²⁴¹.

A different kind of example comes from a global education seminar organized by the umbrella organization Fingo. At this seminar, the positions given to people with immigrant or racialized background are very differ-

241 This is connected to the critique of soft approaches to global education; see discussion in section 5.5

ent from the constellation at the Teachers without Borders seminar; many non-white people are invited as hosts, speakers and panelists – people with fluency in the Finnish language and with academic backgrounds or otherwise recognized positions in society. In a sense, they represent “the good immigrant” (Shukla, 2017), as examples of successful integration into Finnish society. As “good immigrants” they are considered fully part of the seminar program and in this way, these speakers are able to participate in setting the agenda in a different way than the asylum seekers in the previous example.

The host of the seminar is a Somalian-born fairly famous reporter and politician, Abdirahim Hussein Mohamed, known as “Husu”. He is especially known for a humoristic radio talk show on Finnish society from an immigrant perspective. Choosing him as the host is a way to translate multiculturalism from being something difficult or problematic²⁴² to being something entertaining and funny. But whereas the good immigrant in other contexts is mostly presented as conformist towards the dominant culture (see Kwak, 2018), the image in this context is rather that of the “outspoken immigrant”, who is not afraid of bringing forward their difference from “native Finns” or of criticizing Finnish society.

One of the panelists in the concluding debate is Warda Ahmed, a teacher-student, cartoon-artist and feminist, Muslim activist from Somalia. She has been engaged in global education initiatives earlier, for instance, through a personal narrative in the educational material “Don’t assume – Break the norms!”²⁴³ (Suomen ammattiin opiskelevien liitto, Seta, Suomen lukioalaisten liitto & Finlands svenska skolungdomsförbund, 2013), where she laments having to defend her identity when it does not fit in to the preconceptions of her Finnish peers. In this narration, she explicitly objects to being called a “good Somali”:

“I won’t swallow the hypocrisy of people telling me that I am a “good Somali”. They position me as a victim, as if I had courageously turned my back on my own group so that I could be something else. Sorry guys, but I am a Somali – and also a lot else.”

(Suomen ammattiin opiskelevien liitto et al., 2013, p. 20)²⁴⁴

This teacher’s activism within global education – and beyond – works as a way to deconstruct stereotypes of Somalian women as “victims of their culture” (Isotalo 2015; see also Honkasalo 2011). However, I interpret her self-positioning as part of a particular *translation* of the “good immigrant”, one that is suitable in the context of global education. In the panel, her em-

242 For a discussion on multiculturalism as a problem that needs to be handled, see section 5.3

243 In Finnish: Älä oletta - Normit nurin!

244 For the full reference, see appendix 1

phasis on teacher activism draws the attention away from her representing primarily “a Somali woman”. In her words, global education is about equipping teachers and students with the ability to change society, as she states in the panel:

“It is important that a teacher feels able to make a change, that [the teacher] is not just fostering workers for a society of ants, but activists”.

(Teacher-student Warda Ahmed, Fingo’s teacher education seminar)

When invoking an activist identity among teachers, she implicitly suggests that Finnish teachers tend to conform to views of education as being primarily about reproducing work force. By referring to students being shaped into “ants”, she confronts the dominant discourse of the excellence of the Finnish (teacher) education system. In a similar manner, another speaker at the seminar, Cameroonian-born researcher Aminkeng Atabong²⁴⁵, who is specialized in anti-racism education, directs criticism towards the way that Finnish schools handle racism during his speech at the seminar. These examples show that global education on some occasions provides spaces for reconfigurations of “the good immigrant”, but also that these reconfigurations are linked to the profession and language skills of the immigrant.

The final example concerns race, knowledge and positionalities in relation to a particular picture used by several NGOs during the “The school changing the world” teacher education project. The NGOs have agreed on a shared introduction before moving on to the specific topics of each seminar or workshop. On the one of the shared slides, there is a picture of a brown²⁴⁶ woman wearing eyeglasses. The general description that the NGO workers attach to this picture is that global education should be seen as:

“a sort of filter, or shared eyeglasses through which we look at everything in this world, which ever issue in our everyday life, our teaching and so on”

(Field recordings, teacher education webinar on sustainability)

In line with this quote, the idea with the eyeglasses is to promote global education as a holistic perspective on education²⁴⁷. From a social movement perspective, this picture is used as a strategy for amplifying the scope of global education; instead of promoting global education as some-

245 For a discussion on Aminkeng Atabong’s research, see section 6.2

246 For the usage of the term brown, see e.g. Ahmed (2017).

247 Similar NGO viewpoints are discussed in section 9.2

thing to be added to teaching, it is framed as an all-encompassing world-view transcending the professional role of the teacher. Also, by referring to a shared way of looking at the world, the eyeglasses form part of the construction of a collective, global educator identity.

However, I find myself puzzled by this slide. The thought of everyone looking at “everything in the world” through some shared filter seemed to be in contradiction with some of the other fundamentals of global education, such as situated knowledge and multiple perspectives. Further, why has this particular woman been chosen to wear the global educational glasses? In order to avoid presenting global education as “a white man’s perspective”? If this is the strategy, I nevertheless find it problematic that a discussion about the woman behind the glasses is generally omitted by the NGO workers. The evasion of her as a subject makes way for a construction of a universal global educator – an educator whose skin-color or gender does not matter²⁴⁸. This becomes even clearer when, at another seminar, the NGO worker has changed the eyeglass picture so that there is no person behind them, only glasses on a white background.

In contrast to the general way of portraying the eyeglasses, one of the NGO workers explicitly raises the topic of the subject wearing them. The following quote shows how the NGO worker in question is apparently in charge of choosing the picture and has a specific idea behind it:

“I chose this brown woman for this picture to remind myself and also you, that in the end we look at the world through our own eyes and, for instance, I cannot look through her eyes and see what kind of experiences she has of this world

(Field recordings, teacher workshop, Peace Education Institute)

This NGO worker emphasizes the plurality of ways of seeing the world, which are related to our personal experiences as racial and gendered beings. Hence, the NGO worker withholds the holistic scope of global education through the eyeglass metaphor, but rejects the thought of a shared, universalist vision through such eyeglasses. This last case serves as an example of how the different NGOs, despite their cooperation and shared materials, do not always transmit the same kind of ideas when put into practice.

248 For a discussion on colorblindness in education, see Crenshaw, Harris, HoSang and Lipsitz (2019)

11.4 Global development as a teacher's concern

11.4.1 Volunteering and individualized action

According to the Maastricht declaration, development education is understood as one of the subdimensions of global education (see Wegimont & O'Loughlin, 2003). In Finland, development education has to a large extent been carried out by NGOs, and this subdimension continues to be fairly under-researched (Lehtomäki & Rajala, 2020, p.6). With this background, the aim here is to analyze how questions of development are linked to the teacher profession in the context of NGOs' teacher education. Analytically, I focus on how the notion of development is discursively constructed, and how the teacher's role is negotiated in relation to it.

A common tendency in the material is to discuss development education in terms of individualized action (Bennett, 2012), through which teachers can engage both themselves and their students. One example of this is volunteering in the global South. Although international volunteer work is a somewhat marginal element in the NGOs' global education as a whole²⁴⁹, volunteering is still raised repeatedly in teacher education contexts that are somehow linked to the topic of development. My first example comes from a teacher seminar where the (former) Minister for Foreign Trade and Development gave an introductory lecture:

You can pursue, for instance, voluntary work in these [developing] countries in order to help our development cooperation professionals who usually have educational backgrounds. That is *extremely valuable*, and if you can get *a few students excited* about the fact that they can now, or when they are older, do something for these things then, again, *hundreds or even thousands of lives will be saved*

(Field recordings, Minister Kai Mykkänen, teacher education seminar)

Here, the Minister first describes the volunteers' help as "extremely valuable", which frames individual action as a powerful means of change-making. Volunteering is also linked to "our" professional community of development cooperation, where Finnish teachers automatically belong. Stating that volunteering means "saving thousands of lives" is a way of positioning Finnish teachers and students as carrying the power of salvation (see also Andreotti, 2006, p. 1). Simultaneously, the statement disconnects Finnish people from any kind of complicity in producing and maintaining global injustices²⁵⁰.

249 This is discussed in section 9.2, where an NGO worker makes a clear distinction between global education and international exchange.

250 For a discussion on colonial complicity, see section 5.1; for a critique against the alleged benevolence in development discourse, see section 5.2

A similar but slightly more nuanced call for teacher volunteering is made by the chair for the steering group of the “Teachers without Borders” network:

I'm sure all of us here share the conception that education is the best form of development cooperation. I usually say that [...] we are not bringing computers, we are not bringing junk ((laughs)) to developing countries so to speak, but we are bringing know-how, that is, the teacher's skills [...] and when we do this side by side with the [local] teacher, like our volunteers have done, then that is surely sustainable development [...] Development cooperation is every now and then, in suitable political situations, criticized: “where does the money go” and “what is accomplished”. Personally, I believe, and we in Teachers without Borders believe, that education is what is worthwhile, and what takes this work forward.

(Field recordings, chair for steering group, teacher education seminar)

In this quote, the speaker first appeals to an (allegedly) shared view on development cooperation, which is a way to construct a sense of political consensus on the matter among the audience. Further, the speaker implicitly acknowledges that not all development cooperation is equally beneficial, but argues that educational “know-how” is free from the problematics that development cooperation otherwise might be entangled with. The perceived lack of “know-how” is a common argument for development interventions, which has been questioned, for instance, for undermining the knowledge of the local population²⁵¹. In the case of Finland, the country's high educational rankings in PISA strengthens the notion of Finnish supremacy and contributes to justifying educational development cooperation. By stating that the volunteers work side by side with the locals, the role of the Finnish volunteer is not framed as a savior, but as a cooperative partner. Yet, by portraying teacher volunteering as “the best form” of development cooperation, a discussion on the asymmetric power-relations in this type of activities is evaded.

Another way that NGOs foster global educators through volunteering is by mobilizing educators to enrol as school visitors. NGOs recruit school visitors especially among teacher students and students from social and pedagogical fields more broadly, but also graduated teachers and other professionals form part of the body of the voluntary school visitors. Becoming a school visitor usually involves taking part in a short training provided by the NGO. These training sessions are illustrative examples of how global educators “are made”, as the sessions are about passing on the NGOs' agenda to new volunteers. My examples here come from a two-day

251 For a theoretical discussion on the question of “lack of know-how”, see section 5.2

volunteer training on fair trade and environmental issues by Pro Ethical Trade and Friends of the Earth:

During the introduction, the executive director of Pro Ethical Trade proclaims that “for those who suffer from global anxiety, this is a concrete way of making a change”

(Field notes, school visitor training, Friends of the Earth & Pro Ethical Trade).

Thus, becoming a global educator is framed both as change-making and as a way of ameliorating one’s own anxiety. This is echoed in some of the younger participants’ motivations for enrolling. For instance, one young participant who identifies as a mass consumer of cocoa, has just recently found out about the ethical problems related to its production and is angry for not having been informed about it in school. At the same time, there are participants who have years of working experience in the area of development and are keen on discussing systemic change. Thus, the school visitors constitute a heterogeneous group in terms of knowledge and perspectives on global development, but united in terms of having found a format through which they as individuals feel they can contribute to global development.

Although the NGOs’ pronounced objective is to raise awareness among students in general, there is a component of selectivity in the sense that some students are portrayed as especially important to reach. In the following sequence, a volunteer shares her experiences as a school visitor:

Volunteer: Many of the students do listen even if they don’t seem to pay attention, and there are always a few in the classroom who are afraid that the planet will explode

NGO worker: Yeah, they are great, it’s for them that we are doing this

(Field notes, school visitor training, Friends of the Earth & Pro Ethical Trade)

A conversation like this suggests that the NGO workers accept that their agenda effectively reaches only a small percentage of the students, rather than providing them all with a general sense of global responsibility. In this sense, school visits can be seen as a way of empowering the ones already interested in questions of development from an early age.

The meanings attached to global development are not clear-cut. A common mobilization strategy among the NGOs is not to define what should be done in order to enhance development, and instead, leave it to the teachers themselves to reflect on what they as individuals can do. I illustrate this tendency through an example from a teacher workshop on the UN’s Agenda2030 goals for sustainable development :

The NGO worker shows us as a picture of a stick figure with the words “head”, “heart” and “feet” marked out next to these body parts. We, the participants, are each given a sheet of paper and asked to draw a stick figure representing ourselves. Then our task is to write down different roles we have in our everyday lives. As we go through our sketches, most participants mention their family roles, but also their professional roles or hobbies. The educator ends the exercise by asking us to reflect on how these roles are connected to sustainable development, without giving us any concrete advice or asking us to share our reflections.

At the end of the workshop, when the feedback is already being collected, one of the teacher participants asks: “So what goals has the Finnish government set up?” While packing away her materials, the educator responds somewhat vaguely that the government’s plans are not ambitious enough.

(Field notes, workshop on sustainable development, UN Association of Finland)

This sequence serves as an example of what Nina Eliasoph (1997) calls avoiding politics, that is, how the exercises in the workshop construct sustainability as a “close to home” type of question. The workshop mostly focuses on action at individual level or school-level, added with positive examples of municipal sustainability work. Political decisions at national level are not taken as an entry point, but merely addressed by the NGO worker when confronted with inputs from the participants. Interestingly, the same NGO worker from UNA Finland had during a previous NGO project meeting discussed different levels of action, including national and global level, but at the teacher workshop, these were omitted almost altogether.

Individualized action frames are also present in teachers’ accounts of how they educate their students to become global citizens. In the quote below, a teacher argues for positive action frames that place the individual student as a change-maker:

I think it’s important when you deal with something like [global responsibility] that you don’t bring it in chunks that are too big and scary, but rather handle it from the aspect of “how I as a small individual can make a change”, so kind of wrap it in the size of the student, as something positive, that “I can be the change”.

(Field recordings, teacher at workshop on global citizenship)

Similar to the previous fieldnote sequence, this quote manifests avoidance to discuss political controversies, with the argument that global chal-

lenges are overwhelming and out of the students' control. At the in-service seminars I attended, teachers often expressed that it is a pedagogical and psychological necessity to offer students immediate channels for change-making in order to tackle feelings of hopelessness, fear or despair. While the risk of paralyzing students through a critical approach to global education has been recognized as a challenge (see *e.g.* Andreotti, 2006); limiting global responsibility to individualized action easily situates global education within a neoliberal agenda, where the current structures of global markets, production and redistribution are not questioned (Pashby, Stein, da Costa & Andreotti, 2020).

Again, the participants' comments often direct the ways in which politicization and de-politicization is manifested in the NGOs' teacher education. The following example is from a workshop for teacher students, where an NGO worker presents a framework for "the skills of the global citizen", based on a model from the National Board of Education (see Jääskeläinen & Repo, 2011). The flower-shaped model includes six petals, one of which is termed "the global citizen's economic competence".

Teacher student: What is meant by economic competence? It doesn't seem very familiar, can you give some examples?

NGO worker: Well we actually thought about the same thing right before this workshop (*laughs*). We think it might mean an understanding of how the world's resources are distributed, how the global market works, and that another kind of distribution is not impossible.

Teacher student: So, should I start teaching sixth graders how the market economy works?

NGO worker: Of course not. The teaching should always be adjusted according to age. Economic skills can also be connected to a sustainable life style, that is, to one's own way of living.

(Field notes, pre-service education for teachers with The Peace Education Institute and Operation a Day's Work)

In this discussion, the teacher student describes economic competence as an unfamiliar dimension of global citizenship, and economy as a strange topic for primary education. Similarly, at in-service workshops, I encountered teachers from different levels and subjects, who were somewhat reluctant to relate the global economy to their teacher role. This avoidance is significant when we consider how questions of sustainability and development are currently enacted in Finnish schools. When development education emerged in the 1970s, its outspoken objective was to increase

the understanding of social, economic and political conditions for development (see Bourn, 2008, p. 6), but as these examples suggest, the focus has shifted to individual competences.

In the scene above, the NGO worker admits that the meaning of the economic dimension is not evident. They respond in a way that corresponds to the NGOs' agenda for social justice, stating that there are political alternatives to the current global economy. However, as the teacher student questions how global markets would fit into their teaching, the NGO worker modifies their stance by saying that the market economy is "of course not" a suitable topic to be taught for sixth graders. Instead, they propose a focus on life style choices. Thus, the focus is shifted away from questions of distribution to individual consumption, justified on the basis of the perceived suitability for the target audience, the students. This justification is related to the recurring discussion among both NGO workers and teachers about what they perceive that *students* can handle. Significantly more limited is the discussion on whether *teachers themselves* are equipped to discuss global markets in the first place.

11.4.2 Challenging development discourse?

In this section, I analyze how NGOs' attempt to challenge dominant development discourse within the context of their teacher education. Acknowledging the difficulty of determining what "dominant discourse" entails, in the analysis, I draw on decolonial theory²⁵² and critical global education²⁵³, focusing on examples where certain concepts or narratives are called into question.

One of the ways in which NGOs challenge the notion of development is by rethinking terminology. Significant variations between the NGOs can be found regarding the terms they use in order to categorize countries according to their positions in the global order. In many NGOs, "developing country²⁵⁴" is still used, although, as I discuss below, some of them also problematize the term. Other NGOs, including the umbrella organization Fingo, have substituted it by the term "global South", and some use the shorter terms "North" and "South". The choice of terminology is sometimes reflected in how these NGOs distance themselves from development discourse, as exemplified below with a quote from educational material by the Friends of the Earth:

252 For a discussion on decolonial perspectives on development, see section 5.2
253 For a theoretical discussion on critical global education, see section 5.5
254 For a discussion on the term developing country, see section 5.2

The aim is not to reproduce power relations between the North and the South or to portray people from the South as victims that residents from the North are obligated to help: people from different parts of the world fight for their rights from their own positions. Nobody can be forced to agree with the statements of this material or to participate in advocacy, and the students have the right to abstain from participating, if they wish to.

(Kiviranta, 2015, p.44)²⁵⁵

The quote begins by challenging “the North” as benevolent and innocent in relation to the “the South”, and by highlighting Southern agency instead of helplessness. This positioning, which could be described as problematizing the development discourse, is immediately followed by a statement that, in my view, is intended to protect the NGO from accusations of indoctrination, which is not an uncommon charge raised against critical educational initiatives (see Andreotti, 2006; Freedman, 2007). The NGO’s need to underline that they are not “forcing” anyone can be seen as a sign of an unreceptive environment for challenging dominant discourses. Another interesting aspect about this example, thinking about the interfaces of different approaches to global education (see Andreotti, Stein, Pashby & Nicolson, 2016), is how this critical approach, which focuses on changing structures of inequality, interacts with a liberal approach, where individual choices are emphasized.

Returning to the term “developing country”, in some NGOs it is used interchangeably with “the South”, and in others, this terminology is under debate. The following quotation illustrates how this question is negotiated within the NGO Youth Academy’s school interaction. In an early version of the NGO’s guidebook, educators are instructed on the terminology in the following way:

In the Stories of Solidarity workshops, we have decided that according to possibilities, countries are talked about by their names, not as an entity of developing countries. Especially in the beginning of the workshop, countries are referred to by their names, whereby young people do not immediately take on presumptions about the workshop, but are more open-minded about it. In some of the exercises the term developing country is also used. Earlier, we have preferred to talk about the Global South and North, which is a term created by actors in the South [...] However, in hearings with young people we noticed that Global

255 For the full reference, see appendix 1

South and North are completely unfamiliar terms for them and they wished that we would use the more familiar term developing country.

(Youth Academy, n.d., 5)²⁵⁶

This quote shows how the NGO balances between “soft” and “critical” approaches²⁵⁷ to categorizing the world. On the one hand, the NGO is aware of the problematics of the term “developing countries” and solves the dilemma by speaking of countries “by their names”. On the other hand, the NGO holds on to the problematic concept because of its *familiarity*. In an interview with the Youth Academy, the informant tells me that the students they had met preferred the term “developing country” since it is *the term that is used in school*. This remark indicates how the NGO opted for a conformist stance in relation to the school, instead of holding on to the idea of problematizing terminology. Further, the informant affirms that the NGO withdrew the term “global South” because of the confusion it seemed to cause for students, as illustrated below:

NGO worker: So, we thought that if we start talking about the Global South and the adolescents just associate with like the U.S. civil war ((*laughs*)) then somehow, it could take a while before they get a hang of the content of the workshop

Heidi: Ok, so you don’t start opening up the terms there in the workshops?

NGO worker: Well that might be, well that could be one option, like really start to unfold and discuss those terms in general -

Heidi: - Yes, I’m just asking, I’m not -

NGO worker: - We haven’t, or like, well we might have somehow opened up [the terms] for instance, now we do open up the term solidarity, because it’s kind of relevant in the workshop, but then, but I just started thinking that discussing concepts overall at some school visit might be interesting more broadly

(NGO interview, Youth Academy)

Several points can be underlined in this sequence. First of all, my own search for positionality as a researcher is illustrated here. By questioning the NGO’s lack of conceptual discussions, I perhaps put the NGO worker in a slightly awkward position, which I then withdraw by saying that “I’m

256 For the full reference, see appendix 1

257 For a discussion on soft versus critical global education, see Andreotti (2006) as well as section 5.5. in this dissertation

just asking”. Secondly, the NGO worker’s initial statement illustrates that managing the time needed for the workshop activities, in this case making trailers on the topic of solidarity, is what matters the most; according to her, too much time would be spent if the term “developing country” were to be critically examined. Finally, the NGO needs to decide which terms are relevant for their specific workshop topic. In the case of the Stories of Solidarity campaign, my interest turned to how the term “solidarity” is discussed, which I exemplify with a quote from the NGOs’ educator’s guide:

Through the workshops, we want to emphasize that solidarity is not just about helping poor developing countries, but finding a shared voice. I here, you in Nicaragua, he or she somewhere else – we can all do good deeds together.

(Salmi & Kurittu, 2018, p. 4)

This quote begins by resisting development discourse, after which solidarity is described as “good deeds”. Again, rather than digging deeper in to the problematics of the helping narrative, an individualized opportunity for change-making is offered; the question of development is bracketed and instead, examples like “everyday nice acts in the tram” are uplifted. While this type of educational methods can very well serve the purposes of critical global education, they do not necessarily offer tools for thinking about alternatives to current structures of global inequality. However, at the end of the Youth Academy’s guide, the NGO provides “background knowledge” that elaborate on the critical approach, among them an article by Perttu Iso-markku from Plan Finland²⁵⁸, who writes about solidarity in the following way:

Pity or solidarity? [...] Do we conduct development cooperation out of pity or because of our faith in human rights and global solidarity? Our motives affect what kind of development cooperation we do.

(Salmi & Kurittu, 2018, pp. 34-35)

Here, solidarity is more clearly framed as an alternative way of engaging with questions of global development, rather than “just” doing good deeds. What I find noteworthy, is that the NGOs’ critique against development discourse is often left to the end of the guide, or to the closing of a teacher workshop. An example of this comes from an in-service teacher workshop on global responsibility:

258 This article, titled “Development porn flattens the world view” (In Finnish: Köyhysporno latistaa maailmankuvaa) is borrowed from Plan Finland’s educational material called Stories behind the pictures (In Finnish: kuvien tarinat) edited by Christa Prusskij and Tiina Salmio (2014), see appendix 1. This is an example of how the materials of different NGO are sometimes intertwined as the NGOs cooperate and borrow material from each other.

The two NGO workers use the limited time available for discussing global education on quite an abstract level, such as presenting the Maastricht declaration and its links to the national core curriculum. Many of the teacher participants in the crowded auditorium chat with each other and do not seem to pay attention.

NGO worker 1 asks what the teachers think that global responsibility is; someone mentions fundraising. Consumer choices are also mentioned. At the very end, NGO worker 2 says that they wanted to show this video that problematizes stereotypic imagery of African countries and turns the positions of helpers and helped upside down, but that there is no time for it, so the participant can watch it when they get home.

(Field notes, teacher workshop with Operation a Day's Work and Pro Ethical Trade)

A related phenomenon that I observed in many NGO workshops is how critical questions posed by participants are sometimes suspended instead of discussed directly. For instance, at a school-visitor training, in the midst of a role-play exercise where all of us represent different roles in the production chain of a t-shirt, a participant questions the fact that we are not discussing how to tell the students *why* there are, for instance, 16-year-olds in China working in sweatshops producing t-shirts for us. The instructors' response is to suspend the question for later, but it is not discussed during the whole training. In my view, the conscious or unconscious avoidance of critical questions has to do with a general tendency in NGO workshops, which is to emphasize method over content. In this case, the drama-pedagogue at one moment declares not being an expert in the issue itself but trained in pedagogical ways of processing it. To some extent, this inevitably contributes to the construction of the global educator. When the educator's focus is primarily on the keeping the time, organizing the space and following through the exercises, the room for longer, critical discussions that emerge from spontaneous comments becomes limited.

My reading of the situation is that the participant pushed the limits of what is discursively appropriate to say, and that their question was avoided because the role-play exercise focused more on empathy training and on deconstructing stereotypes than on global relations of exploitation. This can be related to Andreotti & de Souza's (2012) distinction between poststructuralist and historical materialist orientations of critical global education, where the NGOs in my material predominately seem to adhere to the former.

Indeed, deconstructing stereotypical images of the global South is a central feature of the NGOs' critique against dominant development dis-

course, with several NGOs stating this as one of their main objectives (NGO interviews 4, 6, 7, 8, 12). This objective is used to justify the NGOs' input in schools, here exemplified with a quote from the Youth Academy's guide (Salmi & Kurikka, 2018, p. 33):

The ways in which we speak about developing countries are almost exclusively shaped by Western media. Often in familiar imagery, a white highly educated helper offers help to a less educated dark-skinned recipient. A central task for global education is to question this composition.

[Finnish] young people's image of developing countries has been negative year after year, even though there is more information available than before due to globalization. Based on our workshops [with Finnish students], a developing country is still a poor country in Africa.

From a decolonial perspective, attempts to deconstruct the West as superior is of course welcomed and important in a world where racism, bigotry and nationalism are gaining increasing support. In this post-structural orientation, the teacher's role is to replace colonial conceptions of the global South with more diverse understandings. As an example, the NGO Operation a Day's Work Finland (ODW) has developed a method called *Fotonovela*, where young people from Bolivia, Guatemala and Finland all create their own personal stories using their own photos. These peer-stories are then shared on a webpage, where the students can explore each other's stories. The NGO thus challenges stereotypical imagery by offering encounters between young people on their own terms (Honkasalo, Turunen & Myllylä, 2015). While I recognize the importance of the poststructuralist orientation, in my view, the limits regarding its potential to challenge development discourse more broadly need to be discussed²⁵⁹. While promoting North-South peer-learning is surely an important part of development education that gives students local-to-local points of contact, this type of method does not necessarily enhance the teacher's ability to discuss global power relations and their historical roots.

As an example of another kind of attempt to challenge dominant discourse, The Peace Education's & the Finnish Peace Committee's web-based educational material called "Beyond the Western"²⁶⁰ offers the teacher tools to discuss historical structures and events in relation to current global hierarchies. In the introductory part of the material, the NGO critically explores the West's self-image as peaceful and civilized:

259 I continue this discussion in the conclusions, section 13.1.3 and 13.3.1

260 In Finnish: *Läntisen tuolla puolen*

Many EU countries have been worried about Donald Trump being elected president in 2016. But is the election of Trump understood as an exceptional phenomenon in the West's history of freedom, democracy, equality, renaissance and enlightenment?

Were crusades, witch hunts, colonialism, slave trade, the world wars, the Holocaust, Nazi Germany and the nuclear bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki also exceptions in the otherwise human rights-respecting West? Do we more easily see atrocities that take place in the West as exceptions and atrocities taking place elsewhere as typical for a culture that is unfamiliar to us?

(Maiche & Niittymäki, 2018)²⁶¹

In other words, this educational material strongly resists dominant conceptions of Western superiority. However, similar to many other NGOs in the field, this material mostly focuses on representations and how these are constructed in media and entertainment. A historical materialistic approach (Andreotti & Souza, 2012) to global inequality is rather scarcely found in the context of NGOs' teacher education. In my material, this approach is mainly represented by organizations that focus on production chains and sustainable consumption, such as Friends of the Earth and Pro Ethical Trade²⁶², which are small NGOs with limited budgets in comparison to many development NGOs²⁶³. Further, based on my fieldwork, even these NGOs tend to emphasize poststructuralist approaches when conducting workshops for teachers. These observations make me conclude that it is no surprise that many teachers are unsure about how to discuss global economic structures in the classroom.

11.5 Negotiating teacher positionings

11.5.1 Collective identity among global educators

In this section, I focus on the dimension of collective identity within teacher education in the area of global education. Through scenes and statements where collective identity is deployed, I analyze what kinds of elements unify the participants, as well as what causes friction between them. Most of the examples in this section come from the Global Education Summer Days, which is an annual three-day seminar that brings together what could be called the inner-circle of global educators, *i.e.*, NGO workers and global education coordinator teachers, but also teachers who are

261 For the full reference, see appendix 1

262 These educational materials of these NGOs are further discussed in chapter 12 in relation to different constructions of global citizenship.

263 See Table 9 in section 9.1

interested but perhaps less active in global education. Having participated in the Summer Days twice, I argue that this annual event constitutes a favorable lens through which the reproduction of the body of global educators can be analyzed. Below, an extract from my field notes describes the setting:

A sunny summer morning in June, I arrive at the seminar location, which is beautifully situated in a countryside landscape, with a path from the garden leading to a lake. I walk in to the main building, a big wooden countryside guesthouse. The ambiance is rustic and charming, with squeaking wooden floors, odd pieces of furniture and plants everywhere. The smell reminds me of my grandparents' house. An elderly Finnish lady wearing an apron welcomes me with a handshake and presents herself as the matron. Many participants give the organizers a hug when they arrive. Coffee and red currant pie is served in the dining room. After the coffee, the seminar begins with some welcoming words from one of the organizers. He tells us that this three-day event has been organized in the same place for ten years. Further, he explains that venue was chosen because the organizers were looking for a place "far away from the evil world".

(Field notes, Global education Summer Days)

Describing the place as "far away from the evil world" functions as a way of creating a safe space for the participants to perform as global educators. Following Denzin's (2003) understanding of performance ethnography²⁶⁴, performances are explored as political acts in relation to dominant social norms. The countryside setting of the Summer Days itself contributes to certain ways of performing that are not necessarily perceived as possible or suitable in other situations, such as dressing accordingly. For instance, one of the participants speaks enthusiastically about finally being able to wear her harem pants again (and I regret not having worn mine!). Overall, the place transmits a feeling of peace and slowness that allows for a stress-free environment in which there is time for long conversations, space for learning outdoors and possibilities of testing new pedagogical methods with peer-support. Throughout the seminar, the program includes an array of warm-up and wind-down exercises such as dancing, lifting each other up above our heads, playing invisible basketball and massaging each other in a ring. Overall, the seminar program is largely based on different kinds of drama-exercises. As a participant ethnographer, I participate as well, and therefore I contribute to this construction, even if my feelings range from considerable awkwardness to curiosity and sometimes, mere excitement, which is illustrated by an extract from my field notes:

264 In many ways, performance ethnography approach builds further on Goffman's dramaturgical sociology, which I discuss in section 8.5.1

We stand outside on the lawn in the sunshine. The instructor pairs us up. From each pair, one person is blindfolded and led by the other. With my eyes closed, I am led by another participant. We are only connected through the fingertips of our right-hand index fingers. After a while, the instructor turns on a cd-player with ball room music and we are instructed to dance. Initially, I feel a bit insecure and extremely self-conscious. But I have to concentrate on the moment and gradually, I start enjoying myself. The surface beneath my feet changes when my pair leads me across the lawn, up the hill and down the path. I start trusting their lead, they pick up the pace and we try more advanced dance moves. The music, the sun, the harmonious movement and the subtle touch of an almost stranger is all a bit seductive really.

(Field notes, Global education Summer Days)

The purpose of this sequence is to show, through my own involvement, what kind of meaning-making might be involved in this sort of performance. Although this particular activity does not necessarily have anything “global” about it, it still contributes to the idea of being a global educator. Performing together physically functions as a way of unifying the group of participants but also constructs the global educator as someone who enjoys “silliness”, improvisation and physical closeness with fellow participants. In part, this kind of performance functions as a counterweight to the image of global educators as angry and uptight watchdogs²⁶⁵. Moreover, when this type of performance is connected to the participants’ informal discussions, it obtains further layers of meaning. At the seminar, the participants often criticize result-oriented and efficacy-driven educational practices and express their frustration of having to justify global education against more “rational” views on education. Thus, dancing blindfolded or throwing invisible basketballs can be seen as performative ways of resisting dominant conceptions of rationality among educators.

However, this example, or other similar ones, does not mean that everyone feels comfortable with the exercises or that all participants would perform in the same way outside of the seminar. In fact, some of the participants tell me they feel a bit shy, uncomfortable or somewhat reluctant to participate in some of the exercises, which is exemplified below:

During the coffee break, I go outside with the intention to write some field notes. I notice one of the participants next to the stairs smoking, so I start chatting with them instead. They tell me they are preparing themselves mentally for the drama exercise ahead of us. For them, dra-

265 The notion of global educators as watchdogs is discussed in chapters 10 and 11 from the perspective of the NGOs’ role in making sure that educational actors fulfill their legal obligations.

ma pedagogy among us adults is just silly and they don't get anything out of it. They would rather leave drama for professional actors or for the kids at school.

(Field notes, Global Education Summer Days)

Through this informal remark between the two of us, this teacher questions the collectively performed image of the playful and improvising global educator. This kind of back-stage talk shows that although there are settings in the NGOs' teacher education that deploy a sense of cohesion and coziness among participants, there are also forms of micro-resistance against these subjectifying performances (Pykett et al., 2010). Critical stances toward collective activities are not very often openly articulated *during* the exercises; however, there are a few cases when participants question the instructor, one of which is illustrated below:

As a warm-up exercise, we are instructed to stand in a ring and compete as cowboys by shooting each other with invisible guns. I am shot first, so I am out of the game. One of the teacher participants states that the exercise is problematic because it is violent and therefore goes against the principles of global education. The instructor responds that their role as a drama-pedagogue is not to teach morals, but to include different elements in the exercises, which can then be developed in different ways. They conclude by stating that we can discuss the topic later on. Then we go on with the exercise. Many of the participants are notably enthusiastic and really want to win this shooting competition.

(Field notes, Global Education Summer Days)

In this scene, the instructor recurs to their identity as a drama-pedagogue as a justification for abstaining from moral judgements. In contrast, the teacher, with an outspoken global educator identity, sees a contradiction between their value base and performing violent drama. This performative act thus raises a dispute about how values should be taught: should educators rely on a set of moral rules as a base for value transmission, or rather, provide diverse ingredients for reflection without spelling out rights or wrongs? As the rest of the participants do not comment on this teacher's intervention, but continue the competition, a potentially fruitful conversation is overlooked for the sake of the collective performance.

These performances are part of the collective identity construction that is particularly manifest at the Global Educational Summer Days. At these seminars, the participants also repeatedly express their belonging to a community of global educators during conversations. The transcript below is a continuation of the participants' initial discussion on the topic of "passion as motor for learning":

Teacher 1: So, what is passion then? Does one have to be passionate? Like I was wondering that if, for instance, you are a passionate fan of football, which I have never understood, [it's] trying to fit in, it can be a restrictive thing, to enter that comfort zone and stay there

[...]

NGO worker 1: At least I have felt it as a problem that I don't have one clear passion that I would be directed towards, but at some point I have given myself the freedom that I can be interested in many things and I don't have to go into a kind of funnel. Passions can be very broad, they can be basic things such as values, power, bigger themes

[...]

Teacher 1: If we are now coming to the core here, then our passion is surely global education

The other participants agree.

Teacher1: It can have different degrees of depth, is it in the value base or in some activity. A part of having hobbies is the feeling of group belonging, that's why it would be so nice, but this [seminar] is an example of that kind of format

The others agree and laugh.

Teacher 2: This is not nearly as passionate in [their hometown] when I have to justify everything

After this, one of the participants gets emotional and shares something about their personal life. Another participant comforts them by putting an arm around them.

Teacher 3: The community has no secrets.

(Field recordings, Global Education Summer Days)

This conversation includes boundary-drawing and collective self-affirmation that shape the idea of being a global educator. Teacher 1 distinguishes global education from hobbies, which they connect to conformity and self-restriction. Moreover, by attaching global education to values and depth, as

opposed to football as a mere activity, they emphasize the political character of global education. This is backed up by NGO worker 1, who expresses their global educator identity as power-related. In my reading of this conversation, these participants are connected by having found a sense of belonging within global education; a way to collectively work towards a shared (political) cause. Importantly, the sense of belonging also entails an emotional dimension, which is expressed at the end of the sequence. The explicit affirmation of an *Us* invokes noticeable emotional reactions among some of the participants. Sharing accounts of one's personal life can be interpreted as an extension of the trust and togetherness created in this environment.

The construction of a collective identity relates to the perception of tensions between dominant conceptions of teacher professionalism and those who identify as global educators. In the conversation presented above, teacher 2 laments the situation in their hometown, where they "have to justify everything". This is a typical statement found among teachers who more or less clearly identify themselves as global educators. They describe that they are faced with different kinds of resistance ranging from disinterestedness or ignorance to value-conflicts or even attempts to sabotage their initiatives²⁶⁶. These teachers mention colleagues, principals, administrators, parents and sometimes students as possible "opponents" to global education. Therefore, the feeling of belonging to a community of global educators is important, especially for teachers that are unsure about their professional identity. The quotes below consist of teachers' open-ended answers to the question of what they realized by participating in NGOs' teacher education seminars:

[I realized that] I have the right to courageously bring forward equality and other global educational values and the pursuit of these. Sometimes I feel too radical and idealist, because the environment here does not always share my values.

[I realized that] there are others who think in the same way, even though I am alone with these things in my own school

(Participant feedback forms, NGOs' teacher education project)

On the one hand, these comments show how being a global educator, at least in some contexts, implies a conflictive position in relation to their daily environment, possibly even outside the workplace. On the other hand, these teachers express a sense of affirmation and empowerment after coming in contact with other global educators.

266 An example of this is provided in section 11.3.1, related to the development of municipal equity plans

Overall, it needs to be noted how the setting of the NGOs' teacher education sets limits for how participants can express their teacher identity, their professional needs and their visions of improving education. The Global Education Summer Days seminar provides a unique forum for peer-support and collective reflection due to its location, duration, scale and enthusiastic body of participants. By contrast, I also participated in bigger and more formal teacher education seminars, for instance, in the Helsinki Convention Centre with thousands of participants in total and with the NGOs running large workshops on a tight schedule. In these settings, the teachers would often express that the NGO seminars lacked time for immersion, as exemplified in the following extracts from the participant feedback forms:

[I would have liked] more time to think and to answer in the group discussion and to read other people's reflections. Examples of [the NGOs'] educational methods. More practical examples of human rights issues in the school world.

[I would have liked] concrete ideas and discussion related to teaching. In theory this was in the program but in practice, time ran out. I imagined and I hoped, that this would have been central.

(Participant feedback forms, NGOs' teacher education project)

These examples illustrate that many teachers express interest in the topics of global education, but they also emphasize that they need time for discussion, reflection and examples in order to develop professionally. Thus, on the one hand, bigger teacher education seminars with shorter slots reach a bigger and more diverse body of teachers; on the other hand, more relaxed and intimate seminars fulfil the function of supporting a global educator identity.

11.5.2 Four different teacher types

Teachers perceive their role vis-à-vis global education in varying ways, and this affects how global education is enacted in the classroom. Based on participant observation, interviews and open-ended questionnaire data, I have outlined four ideal types of how teachers position themselves in relation to global education: *the promoter*, *the pragmatist*, *the tourist*

and *the sceptic*²⁶⁷. In a Weberian fashion, these ideal types should not be regarded as an exact reflection of reality, but as an analytical tool used to make sense of the variations in how teachers *respond to* and *interact with* the NGOs' advocacy for global education. The categories are not mutually exclusive; overlaps occur, meaning that teachers may not be fitted easily within just one ideal type.

11.5.3 The promoter

The promoter type involves teachers who are whole-heartedly devoted to promoting global education on several fronts. A salient feature is that these teachers emphasize the necessity of “fighting spirit” and “persistent, long-term ground work” in order to gain results (teacher interviewee 2c). One of the teacher interviewees describes themselves as “some kind of provocator” when it comes to promoting global education in the classroom (teacher interviewee 5). As the following quotes illustrate, the promoter tries to incorporate global education into all educational environments:

In all situations, whenever possible, I have to be like “at this point I have to remind them about this thing” and I have to be awake all the time, like “now, this is my turn to speak, this is where I’ll cram the global education” *((laughs))*

(Teacher interviewee 2a)

It’s present every day. I can’t imagine global education being a separate part, so that we would once a year get to know the school day of a child in a developing country or something like that. Equity, sustainable development and handling conflicts are present all the time.

(Teacher interviewee 6)

These teachers have gained knowledge and awareness about global education through different channels: some through involvement outside the school world, such as the scout movement, and some through important role models from teacher education. Promoters also often refer to a life-long personal engagement with similar issues. In the quote below, a teacher describes the process of being elected as coordinator for global education:

²⁶⁷ My own positionality is also important to discuss in relation to these types. In chapter 8, I describe my own involvement particularly at the end of the fieldwork process as a “reserved ally” with the NGOs and their advocacy for global education. The typology may be considered somewhat biased in the sense that I mostly came in closer contact (interviews, longer informal conversations) with teachers who had a strong global educator identity (the promoter and the pragmatist). The analytical construction of the tourist and the sceptic type, in turn, are to some extent based on anonymous feedback forms or by listening to anecdotes of NGO workers, but also includes direct observations both from frontstage and backstage settings. When analyzing these different teacher positionings, I strive at understanding the four types on their own terms, and to describe the reasoning within each type.

These are things that have been going through my head *ever since I was a child* so this was like a heaven-sent opportunity [...] coordinating global education can of course also be done by someone who doesn't think of it as, like who only does it as a job, but there *has to be something*, because this is no gold mine or anything like that, and you don't hear "thank you" a lot, so you must have *some kind of personal conviction* in order to keep up with this, this is not a popular thing in school

(Teacher interviewee 2a)

In this quote, the role of being a promoter is detached from salary and framed as a vocation. Similarly, another teacher working as a municipal coordinator explains how they agreed to lower their own compensation in exchange for assigning global education teachers for every school. The notion of vocation is also illustrated in the ways that the promoters generally engage in global education beyond the tasks that they are specifically assigned, or paid for, as exemplified below:

Teacher 2c: Even if it's not work for the municipality [...] I feel like I have to, like stand behind it, so that if someone asks if I can come and talk about this -

Teacher 2b: - Yes, yes -

Teacher 2a: - Yeah -

Teacher 2c: - then I try to organize so that I can go

Teacher 2a: Yeah the same with me -

Teacher 2c: - like as part of the role, even if it's not work for the municipality

(Group interview with teacher interviewees 2a, 2b and 2c)

Moreover, the promoters also frequently criticize other teachers or educators for what they perceive as problematic or conservative comments, for instance, regarding race or sexuality. In this sense, the promoters act as gatekeepers for global education, by discursively drawing boundaries for who is and who is not a suitable member of the global educator community. Sometimes they address these comments directly in the workshop or seminar, and often, they continue to talk about them for a long time afterwards. The promoters can be described as the inner-circle of global

educators, but the division between an “us” and “them” is not clear-cut. As seen below, the pragmatist type can also in many ways be included in the “us”, whereas the promoter’s relation to the tourist and the sceptic involves more tensions.

11.5.4 The pragmatist

This ideal type represents teachers that are interested in global education and often incorporate global educational elements in their education. However, the pragmatists do not necessarily identify themselves as global educators as strongly as the promoters, which is illustrated by a quote below:

Questions of global education are constantly present in my own work, even if I don’t explicitly think about it

(Participant feedback form, NGOs’ teacher education)

The pragmatist does not necessarily talk about transformative change or critical pedagogy, but rather about small but continuous efforts of putting global education into practice:

Global education can and should be done in small steps, and that is how changes can be rooted in the everyday school routines permanently

(Participant feedback form, NGO’s teacher education)

Moreover, the pragmatist is also distinguished from the promoter in that the pragmatist actively negotiates between different aspects of their work and makes compromises when confronted with institutional or practical tensions. Often, the pragmatist is most interested in incorporating global educational materials or methods to themes that are included in the subject-specific curriculum, as exemplified below.

Teacher: Well the thing is that in all my subjects the courses are full of content, it’s like, in reality I would need 70 hours for a course instead of the 17 classes we have, and that means I have to prioritize and leave out some things, and I think that if a topic is a little too vague, then it’s easier to leave it out, so I think that’s why it’s easier to have a class about, let’s say, the mining industry in Finland, because the content is narrowed down. In order to go through this Agenda 2030 one would need a whole series of classes [...] but I have tried within the limited time I have, in a biology course [...] we have made subvertisments [...]

Heidi: [...] so you got the idea from the curriculum?

Teacher: Yes, it's from the curriculum, it was an example of what you can do

(Teacher interview 3)

Subvertising, a form of “social hacking” through satirical modification of advertisements, is advocated as a global educational method by some NGOs. For this teacher, including subverts in her teaching is thus an expression of her commitment to global education. As this method is recommended in the curriculum, it suits the pragmatist who is otherwise tempted to skip the “vague” content. Nevertheless, pragmatists also allocate additional moments to global education, for instance, by dedicating a few minutes of every lesson to discuss news and current political issues.

The pragmatist can also be described as a tamer version of the promoter. Being a promoter requires having the confidence and the “fighting spirit” to continue as an outspoken advocate despite resistance or practical obstacles. In my material, several teachers admit that despite being interested in global education themselves, they seldom take it up for discussion with their colleagues. As one interviewee expresses it, changing the whole school culture is “something you cannot affect yourself and it's too much work trying to motivate others” (teacher interviewee 5). In the following quote, a teacher with the task of coordinating global education in the municipality reflects on their shyness as a challenge for successfully acting as a promoter:

I am too shy for this thing [...] for instance, this kind of theme day that we have tomorrow, it's not taking anything away from other teachers' classes, but somehow I notice that some teachers just find it so repulsive, they just want business as usual [...] and when you try to do something else, then they go “yawn, this stuff again”, and I am too sensitive to that kind of feedback so probably that's why I am not very active in organizing more stuff

(Teacher interview 1)

This teacher states that they do not want to bother the other teachers with collaborative projects or even theme days that would not require extra work from their part. Their view is that global education is not very visible in their school. Largely, the pragmatists take the blame on themselves by saying that it would be up to them to improve the situation. In this sense, the teacher's comment echoes a need for charismatic capital (Alasuutari et al., 2016) in order to promote global education for the school as a whole.

Rather than perceiving the global educator role as primarily a vocation, the pragmatist also highlights it as work that is done for a salary. The next quote, describing why a teacher applied for a position as coordinator of global education, illustrates that, in contrast to the promoter, the pragmatist has an interest in the economic compensation.

At that point, I didn't have a lot of [teaching] hours, so I applied [...] I applied just out of interest and I had no idea what the task involved, but somehow the topic interested me and as said, I wanted a few more hours

(Teacher interviewee 1)

Thus, the pragmatist problematizes the idea that the teachers with a global educator identity would be responsible for devoting unpaid hours to promote global education. Also, the quote above challenges the global educator role as something one is born with, and instead, presents it as something a teacher can grow into when time and resources are provided.

11.5.5 The tourist

The tourists differ from the promoters and the pragmatists in the sense that their engagement with global education is less systematic and not a crosscutting feature of their teacher identity. For them, global education is something extra which can be added to spice up the school day every now and then. This is exemplified below with an extract from an NGO workshop for 9th graders on girls' rights in Malawi:

I asked the teacher why they decided to invite the NGO to their class, to which they responded that they had already gone through everything subject-related. The workshop seemed like a fun idea, otherwise they would have just watched some video, she says. Later, they add that "students at this age should know about these things".

(Field notes, workshop in lower secondary school)

This example shows how the Malawi-workshop was in no way an integral part of the teaching, but something that the class had time for after everything else. A workshop on Malawi is thus framed as peripheral to the teaching as such, which is strengthened by comparing the workshop to "watching some video".

Generally, the tourist is interested in global education but not necessarily as familiar with the ways of thinking and the discourse used by the inner-circles of global education, such as NGO workers and promoter type of teachers. This is illustrated by the tourist's vocabulary and statements,

which clash with the promoters' view of what is appropriate to say, or what kind of problematic language a teacher should avoid. In backstage conversations, participants complained about their well-meaning colleagues' ways of speaking about certain students as "deviant", or describe teenage girls as "dressing like whores". In this sense, the tourist does not share the same critical pedagogical language as the promoter and the pragmatist.

Moreover, the tourist's perspective on "other cultures" tends to be one-sided or prejudiced, exemplified in the participant feedback below, where the teacher comments on what they learned at the NGO seminar:

Even African countries have ratified human rights and children's rights, even if these [treaties] were not followed there. Not even in Finland are everyone's rights fulfilled.

(Participant feedback, NGOs' teacher education)

This quote illustrates how the tourist has the assumption that Finland is a rights-obeying country, whereas it comes as a surprise that countries in Africa are also committed to human rights, and this commitment is immediately questioned by the participant. A related trait of the tourist type is to underline cultural differences between countries. For instance, in a workshop on Malawi the teacher repeatedly draws the students' attention to how the Malawians differed from the Finns with comments such as "did you notice that they eat with their hands" (Field notes, workshop in lower secondary school). For the tourist, global solidarity is often equated with donating money, seemingly without a broader view on global inequalities²⁶⁸.

As pointed out above, these ideal types are partly overlapping. Individual teachers cannot straightforwardly be categorized according to these types, but a promoter in one sense might have traits from the tourist-type in another sense, for instance. An example of this type of overlap, or perhaps inconsistency, is how an otherwise eager promoter of global education sees gender diversity as an irrelevant topic for small children. This is illustrated by the following discussion where teacher 2a, in this particular sequence, represents the tourist and teacher 2b the promoter:

Teacher 2a: The older the students are, the more diversity you have [...] so it would be completely unnecessary for me to ask someone from Seta²⁶⁹ to come and talk to my elementary school students

268 The question of fundraising within global education is discussed in sections 12.2.3 and 12.4.2

269 Seta is an NGO for LGBTI-rights in Finland

Teacher 2b: *((cautiously))* Yes, well, you never know

Teacher 2a: Yes you can't know but I don't think that those topics would be, it could be a little, I don't know, weird, like it just doesn't fit in to elementary school

[...]

Teacher 2b: But if we think about, for instance, different gender identities, that should be included from early childhood education -

Teacher 2a: - Yes but no no

(Group interview with teacher interviewees 2a, 2b and 2c)

In this conversation, it is interesting how teacher 2 is cautious about not admonishing their fellow promoter, although their views differ on the topic. This reflects how expressions of the tourist-type are treated differently within the inner-circle of global education than outside of it.

Finally, within the tourist type, teachers might to a varying degree be aware of their limited effort when it comes to global education. When global education is seen as something extra, it can also easily be omitted, which one teacher admits in a written comment to the NGOs:

Keep up the contact to us and remind us about [global education], because if not it might be forgotten when running the everyday school routines

(Participant feedback, NGOs' teacher education)

The tourist type does generally not independently seek information about global education or make contact with NGOs, but is more dependent on what is directly offered to them. Consequently, the tourist also opts for easy and risk-free formats of NGO school interaction, in order to secure the status of global education as fun, one-off activities.

11.5.6 The sceptic

The sceptic is characterized by a general reservation towards the NGO's teacher education and global education overall. Since the teachers in the seminars and workshops I attended often participated on a voluntary basis, this type was not very common and mostly found in situations where teachers were obligated to participate. Contrary to the other types, the

sceptic-type is predominantly represented by male teachers. Although the gender aspect should not be seen as a generalization, it is a tendency that should be noticed, since it suggests that global education might be understood as a female domain.

The sceptics often question the NGOs' ideas related to gender or multiculturalism²⁷⁰. Generally, the sceptics portray themselves as "realists", as opposed to the NGO workers who, according to them, do not understand "school reality", as exemplified below:

Why is there so much talk about race and transgender nowadays? These are not the main problems. The most common problems in school are much more often related to small everyday things, like that someone has ugly clothes, an odd way of speaking or smells bad

(Field notes, teacher at NGO workshop on equity)

In this quote, this teacher questions the NGO's norm-critical approach as ignoring what they call everyday reasons for bullying. This is an interesting remark in many ways. One way of reading their statement is that they simply lack relevant knowledge and is therefore perhaps not equipped to perceive and understand problems connected to race or gender plurality in his school (see Kumashiro, 2002). Another way is to see it as a legitimate critique of how norm-critical pedagogics²⁷¹ might fail to connect normativity and intersectionality to seemingly individual reasons for discrimination, for instance, by linking "ugly clothes" or "bad smell" to class and health.

In the sceptic's eyes, the NGO workers disregard the teacher's own knowledge and viewpoints, and thus, the sceptic sees the NGOs' teacher training as undermining teacher autonomy. An example of this comes from a workshop where teachers are instructed on how to discuss equity with their students:

In an informal conversation, I ask one of the male teachers why he was interested in coming to the workshop. He tells me that he did not volunteer but was actually *sent there*. He described himself as being *a bit "allergic" to this kind of trainings*. For him, it is self-evident that a teacher talks with his students every day, and that any possible problems are discussed as they occur. Later, during a group exercise, another (female) teacher repeats this view, by saying that *an explicit discussion on equity in the classroom seems artificial to her*.

(Field notes from NGO workshop on equity)

270 Gender and multiculturalism are more thoroughly discussed in section 11.3

271 Norm-critical pedagogics is discussed in section 5.3

These teachers are thus not necessarily against the topics of the workshops as such, but they see the agenda as an imposition that undermines the teacher's own judgement. Further, the sceptic type does not appreciate the NGO workers' style of facilitating the workshops, and describes them as arrogant or alienating as to what can be said:

The facilitator's critique against my comments [and] choice of words still puzzles me. The method of embarrassing is efficient, I got to experience that.

(Participant feedback, NGOs' teacher education)

Similarly, after a workshop on gender diversity, one teacher described the atmosphere in the following way:

The idea with the workshop suffered a little, because the participants tried to "show off" and emphasize their own tolerance. This created an atmosphere where it was not possible to discuss prejudices in society, which are primarily based on looks.

(Participant feedback, NGOs' teacher education)

The conception of the sceptic is thus that global education is only open for certain type of discourse, which denotes a struggle between different ways of framing topical issues in the school world.

11.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that the idea of the global educator is contested, and that the NGOs' views on global education are by no means directly transmitted to teachers. The analysis illustrates the complexity of educating teachers and the negotiations that take place when topics such as equity work, global markets or gamification are discussed as part of the teacher's job. Through my ethnographic examples from different teacher education settings, this analysis contributes to the understanding of the importance of place, program and participant input when it comes to negotiating the relation between global education and the teacher profession.

In the first section, I illustrated how the NGOs advocate for the notion of teachers as value-shapers, with both legal and moral perspectives on human rights. This is followed by an analysis of how global education is combined with other educational initiatives, such as entrepreneurial education and positive pedagogics, showing how the boundaries of global education is constantly re-negotiated both by the NGOs, the teacher participants and other actors involved.

As regards diversity, my analysis shows that NGOs encourage teachers to question exclusionary social norms and to reflect on their own (often privileged) positions, and that many teachers agree with this norm-critical approach regarding gender, for instance. Yet, this approach also sometimes causes friction due to lack of resonance between NGO workers and teacher participants, or, due to what some teachers perceive as conflictive expectations in their work, where they are affected by their superiors, the students' parents and the physical limitations of the school building, among other aspects. Further, the NGOs strive at re-negotiating the conception of Finnishness, for instance, by inviting non-white people as speakers to teacher seminars, but the way in which the idea of Finnishness is constructed varies from setting to setting.

As for global development, I found two main tendencies in the context of NGOs' teacher education; the first one is that teachers are often encouraged to promote individual action among their students, such as sustainable lifestyle choices and volunteering. The second tendency, which relates to my interest in mapping the soft versus critical approaches to development²⁷², is that the primary critical approach in the NGOs' teacher education is to advocate for a deconstruction of stereotypical representations of the global South, while the teachers are seldom encouraged to problematize the global economy with their students.

In the final section, I showed that global education both unifies and divides the teacher profession. NGO workers and teachers who are actively engaged in global education share a collective identity, which gives them courage to enact their educational visions, in spite of resistance or ignorance among colleagues. Further, I presented a typology of four different teacher positionings in relation to global education: the promoter, the pragmatist, the tourist and the sceptic. This typology is summarized in Table 16.

272 This finding relates to the debate on politicization and de-politicization of global education and the difficulty of defining the "political", see discussion in section 4.3.

Table 16. A typology of teacher positionings

Teacher type	Description of positioning in relation to global education	Forms of enacting global education as a teacher and relation to NGOs
The promoter	Whole-heartedly devoted, based on personal conviction and professional self-image	Integrates global education constantly as a cross-cutting feature, cooperates closely with NGOs, advocates for global education “everywhere”
The pragmatist	Interested and competent, not courageous or devoted enough to engage the whole school	Incorporates global education in teaching always when it combines with ongoing curricular content. Familiar with NGOs. Balances between tensions in teacher profession
The tourist	Enthusiastic but inexperienced, unfamiliar with NGOs’ critical perspectives on global education	Has time for global education when done with everything else. Uses NGO cooperation as an extra spice.
The sceptic	Doubtful and questioning. Not necessarily disinterested but critical towards NGOs’ critical perspectives.	Sees global education as an extra burden. Thinks that teachers’ “common sense” works better than the NGOs’ input. Does not necessarily see value-shaping as a relevant task for teachers.

To conclude, the NGOs’ role in teacher education is important when it comes to the enactment of global education in Finnish schools. The NGOs’ versatile workshops and seminars provide a fruitful ground for discussions on the teacher’s role in relation to some of the school’s basic tasks, such as enhancing equity within the school world and providing them with knowledge and different perspectives on the global world. These NGOs often provide spaces for teachers to question dominant educational discourses and to push to boundaries for what a teacher can say and do in terms of encouraging active, critical citizenship. Yet, as many of the topics that the NGOs deal with are considered controversial, many teachers feel the need to balance between conflictive ideals and expectations when they incorporate these topics in their teacher role.

12. “Why does it say volunteer when I have to do this?”: NGOs’ interaction with secondary school students

12.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns the direct interaction between NGOs and secondary students, by which I refer to NGOs’ school campaigns, workshops and courses taking place in secondary schools. In Finland, NGOs have cooperated with schools for decades. For instance, the fundraising campaign A Day’s Work was first organized in Finnish schools in 1967²⁷³; the Red Cross Hunger Day collection is a widespread fundraising initiative, both in and out of schools, that was initiated in 1980; and the UNICEF walk has become a popular school fundraising campaign in the last two decades. Alongside fundraising, NGOs have for decades offered schools different educational materials, tools and methods²⁷⁴, and some NGOs also provide schools with opportunities for long-term collaboration, with particular certificates, or with pilot projects related to school development²⁷⁵. In this chapter, I have included a pragmatic selection of NGO materials and campaigns, which I describe further into the introduction.

Analytically, I focus on different constructions of global citizenship²⁷⁶, which I explore by studying how NGO workers, teachers and students negotiate the meanings of this term and its place in the school world. A central theoretical starting point is to recognize the plurality of global citizenships, when it comes to both what NGOs promote and what students understand. Another analytical objective is to analyze how the NGOs’ educational initiatives are enacted in the school context, and how this dynamic process reshapes both the NGOs’ explicit objectives and the school’s task of fostering the young citizens in the making. The students are here seen as capable and reflective actors who actively re-interpret the educational input that both teachers and NGO workers provide them with, and process it in relation to their own life-worlds.

273 The campaign was initially organized in 1961 in Sweden in memory of the late UN secretary-general Dag Hammarskjöld, and the campaign quickly spread to the other Nordic countries. In Finland, the campaign was coordinated by a student organization called Teiniliitto in the decades before the NGO Operation a Day’s work was founded in 1989. In the 1990s the fundraising campaign was formalized as a yearly event in schools (see Halme 2017).

274 A fairly well-known example in Finland is the UN Association’s Global Citizenship Maturity Test

275 Examples of this type of school cooperation is Operation a Day’s Work’s School of the Global Citizen (Maailmankansalaisen koulu), FEE Finland’s Green Flag certificate or UNICEF’s pilot project on schools respecting children’s rights.

276 For a theoretical discussion on global citizenship, see section 5.5.

Another important aspect to take into account in the enactment of NGOs' school campaigns is that the school visitors are usually freelancers or volunteers²⁷⁷, rather than NGO employees. These regionally dispersed school visitors are often less experienced and have weaker ties to the NGOs than the employed NGO workers in charge of school cooperation, who are usually based in the capital. In my fieldwork, the school visitors were generally students in their early twenties, primarily female, and many of them were recently recruited. The preparation that the NGOs offer their school visitors varies, but a fairly common practice is a weekend course, after which they learn as they go, and later possibly attend follow-up training. This means that the knowledge base and experience of the school visitors might differ from those of the NGO workers that I interviewed and observed for the other chapters.

This chapter begins with a presentation of an analytical model for studying the NGOs' diverse constructions of global citizenship in the form of typology. By dividing the NGOs' agendas into five different types of global citizenship, I systematically illustrate differences between the types but also tensions within them. After this, guided by the notion of lived citizenship²⁷⁸, I explore the students' perspectives on their schooling and their expressions of themselves as citizens in a global world. Rather than presuming that I can reach the students' experiences as such, my aim is to shed light on how students navigate between different discourses and points of reference available to them in their everyday life. In the final section, I discuss how NGOs are integrated in school practices, focusing on what kind of possibilities and tensions this interaction entails.

The empirical material for the typology consists mainly of NGOs' educational materials²⁷⁹, which I have chosen with the objective of including the broadest possible variation in terms of what kind of global citizenship is promoted. Additionally, the fieldwork I conducted in schools, both participant observation and group interviews with students, provides central material for this chapter, particularly for the last two sections. The scope of the fieldwork was mostly guided by practical aspects of accessibility²⁸⁰, meaning that the selection of NGOs and their forms of school interaction cannot be claimed to represent the phenomenon as a whole.

277 Some NGOs do not use the term school visitor and consciously avoid speaking of school visits, but rather use the term "facilitator" or "educator". These school visitors are usually paid by the hour and/or compensated for their expenses.

278 For the term lived citizenship, see section 4.4

279 These materials are listed in appendix 1.

280 In the methodology chapter, section 8.3.2, I discuss the practical challenges of getting access to NGO workshops in schools

In order to contextualize and also to mark the limitations of the ethnographic material, I briefly describe my school ethnography. With regard to upper secondary school, the observations and student interviews are related to two different courses, which were organized in cooperation with the Red Cross and for which the students got course credits. The first one was an optional course on global citizenship, where the Red Cross cooperated with the school both by organizing in-school workshops and by offering the students possibilities to volunteer within the organization in different ways. The second course, also optional, was on the topic of humanitarian law. It was organized entirely by the Red Cross but took place in the school building. As regards lower secondary school, the student interviews were conducted in relation to my fieldwork during the Hunger Day collection organized by the Red Cross. Additionally, I participated in 9 separate workshops organized by Plan International Finland, Operation a Day's Work, The Peace School and a local UN organization.

12.2 NGO agendas for global citizenship education

12.2.1 An analytical model: global citizenship as identification and agency

NGOs promote the idea of global citizenship in different ways, which I have categorized in the form of a typology²⁸¹. Based on the material, I have distinguished five different types of citizens: *the fundraiser*, *the negotiator*, *the consumer*, *the activist* and *the equity promoter*, each of them constituting a distinct type of global citizen in an analytical sense. The empirical contribution of this section concerns how these different types are constructed in the context of Finnish NGO school interaction and what kind of tensions and negotiations are involved within and between these types.

The types *per se* are not considered new empirical findings, since these and/or similar forms of citizenship have been discussed both within global education research and elsewhere (see also Henriksson, 2019). The fundraiser is discussed as a common, but problematic type particularly from the viewpoint of critical global education (see Andreotti, 2006; Bryan, 2011; Tallon, Milligan & Wood, 2016). The negotiator is connected to deliberative democracy and participatory decision-making which scholars have both idealized and questioned (see Davies & Burgess, 2004; Kiilakoski, 2014). Consumption is considered an important dimension of citizenship, which is loaded with controversial expectations from society (see Davis & Francis, 2014; Wilska, 2014). The activist has been depicted both as a synonym for active citizenship and as a more radical version of

281 For my use of typologies, see also section 8.5.3

it (see Buire & Staeheli, 2017; Cantell, 2005). Finally, the equity promoter has been discussed, for instance, in terms of peaceful coexistence (Bajaj, 2011) and moral citizenship (Oxley & Morris, 2013). Indeed, I rather see this analysis as a continuation of previous research on the multiple ways of constructing the idea of the active citizen in a global world.

An alternative to typologizing global citizenship would be to distinguish different *dimensions* that only *combined* cover for the notion of global citizenship. An argument supporting this conception is that all these five types may in different ways be part of the lived global citizenship²⁸² of both educators and students. However, I argue that it is relevant to explore them as analytically separate types, since each type is promoted within specific discursive limits and with a particular vision of society in mind. Further, it cannot be taken for granted that these types have the same status in educational settings; each of them involve their own possibilities and challenges when enacted in the school world. Different NGOs also have varying preferences as to what type of global citizenship they promote versus what type they problematize. Thus, my aim is to illustrate the plurality of global citizenship agendas at play *within* the overarching social justice agenda²⁸³.

In a previous article (Henriksson, 2019) I presented an analytical model (see Figure 3) that I created and that allows for a systematic analysis of the different types of global citizenship that NGOs promote.

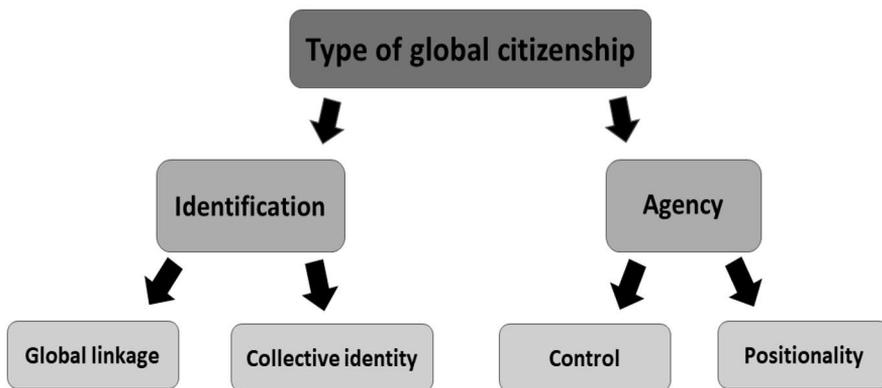


Figure 3. A model for analyzing global citizenship agendas

282 For the term lived citizenship, see section 4.4

283 For the term social justice agenda, see section 3.3, see also Marshall (2011)

This model was developed through combining central concepts from the literature on global citizenship²⁸⁴ with elements from the empirical material. Analytically, it divides global citizenship in two primary dimensions: *identification* and *agency*. Identification refers to how the NGOs provide students with sources of connectivity and community beyond a state-centered conception of citizenship (Appiah, 2006; Nivala, 2008, pp.205-208). Agency, in turn, concerns how students are encouraged to take action and what kind of action is depicted as needed and appropriate (Kallio & Rytikoski, 2018).

Both dimensions are further divided into two sub-dimensions. The first sub-dimension of identification is termed *global linkage*, by which I mean connections through which the NGOs relate the life of Finnish students to some global phenomena in a strategically delineated way (Nivala, 2008, pp.198-199). Through the different types, the students are offered varying influences on which to base their self-image as part of the imagined global community²⁸⁵ (Cantell & Cantell, 2009, p.61). The second sub-dimension concerns the construction of a *collective identity*, which is a necessary component of global citizenship education, because the students need to be able to imagine who they are cooperating with and how, and what kind of shared meanings unite perhaps seemingly dispersed individual action. In other words, this sub-dimension involves locating the individual students' citizenship in a collective frame.

With regard to agency, the first sub-dimension is termed *control*, relating to the NGOs' choices of forms of action they offer students, and more specifically, how the students are instructed, regulated and encouraged in relation to a given type of action. In an educational context, this dimension primarily concerns the power relations between the educator and the students, but I argue that the way in which control is exercised in these cases also reflects the regulation of civic participation more broadly (see also Tomperi & Piattoeva, 2005). By this I mean both discursive regulations of what kind of citizen is idealized, but also organizational regulations, such as what kind of membership or possibilities to participate are offered to people by organizations and institutions. For instance, a general trend is that civic participation is partly moving away from formal and collective structures, while individualized, life-style related choices are encouraged²⁸⁶ (see Bennett, 2012; Kiilakoski, 2014).

284 For this literature, see particularly section 5.5 and chapter 6

285 The notion of an imagined global community is discussed in section 5.4. See also Cantell & Cantell (2009, 61)

286 See also the discussion in section 5.5

The second sub-dimension concerns the *positionality* of the agency promoted by the NGOs, by which I mean how the different types of global citizens are situated in relation to global power structures and discourses on global justice. This dimension is connected to Andreotti's (2006) distinction between soft and critical approaches to global education²⁸⁷. In Andreotti's (2006) conceptualization, however, "active citizenship" is straightforwardly placed on the soft side, which somewhat overlooks the question of what agency would look like in critical global education. Although I recognize that a central feature of critical global education is to restrain from offering ready-made models for action, I believe that a more fine-grained analysis is needed regarding the forms of action that NGOs promote in schools, and how the different forms of action are connected to political positionalities deployed by the NGOs. More recent theorizations of global education have moved past the soft versus critical divide, and highlight the intersections of different types of approaches, such as liberal, neoliberal and critical agendas (see Andreotti et al. 2016; Pashby, da Costa, Stein & Andreotti, 2020). I find this to be a fruitful starting point for analyzing positionalities across and within the different global citizen types, precisely because it takes into account the complexity of pursuing critical global citizenship education.

12.2.2 Five types of global citizenship

The typology that I present here focuses on the variations in NGOs' global citizenship initiatives in secondary school settings, but it does not pretend to capture the learning outcomes of NGO school interaction, which is a far more complex question. The benefit of the analytical model (see Figure 3) developed for this purpose is that it provides a systematic way to compare and discuss these initiatives, as well as the challenges and opportunities related to their implementation in Finnish schools. Thus, I use the model in Figure 3 as a guideline when I analyse each of the five types of global citizenship. The way I combine these two analytical approaches is illustrated in section 12.2.8 (see Table 17), where I summarize the findings of section 12.2.

12.2.3 The fundraiser

Fundraising is the most established form of NGO school interaction in the area of global education. In my material, this type is represented by the UNICEF Walk, ODW's One Day For Change campaign and the Red Cross's Hunger Day collection. During the fundraising campaigns, the students

287 Discussed in section 5.5

collect money in different ways depending on the format of each NGO campaign. In the Unicef walk, the students find themselves one or several sponsors who commit to pay a certain amount of money for each lap that they walk (or alternatively, run, ski or ice-skate). The idea of the ODW format is that the students work one day in order to raise the agreed amount of money, which they receive from their sponsor or “employer”. The Hunger Day collection involves the students going out on the streets with collection boxes and raise money through donations from passers-by. The campaigns analysed here mainly focus on raising funds for development cooperation or humanitarian aid²⁸⁸.

In connection to the fundraising campaigns, all NGOs provide educational materials for schools where the target country is presented and reasons behind the fundraising campaign are discussed. From a decolonial perspective, fundraising campaigns have been criticized for representing a soft version of global education that reproduces narratives of the benevolent West and omits a discussion of unequal power relations as underlying reasons for global inequality (see *e.g.* Andreotti 2006; Tallon, Milligan & Wood 2016). In the NGOs’ campaign materials for schools, this type of representations are common, exemplified here by the UNICEF walk:

61 million children do not go to school. All of them are dreaming of something better. Through the Unicef walk you are changing the world.

(UNICEF walk leaflet 2017-2018)

A similar depiction is found in the Red Cross material:

More than 70 000 people living are living in the Al-Hol refugee camp in Syria, because they had to flee from their homes due to war. Over half of them are children. The living conditions at the camp are difficult. Many of the inhabitants are ill, the heat is suffocating and there is a lack of water. The Red Cross distributes food and clean water to the inhabitants.

(Red Cross, Hunger Day material for secondary schools, 2019)

In these examples, the students are connected to the global world through the notion of helping those who are lacking particular resources that the fundraising campaign can provide them with. The fundraiser is not offered much background information about *why* there is a war going on in Syria or *why* access to education is a much bigger problem in the global South than in the global North. In terms of positionality, the fundraiser’s

288 To be precise, the Hunger Day Collection funds go to the Red Cross’s Disaster Relief Fund, which is used both for national and international purposes. In addition to these, a number of other NGOs organize fundraising campaigns in schools for a variety of causes, such as supporting LGBTIQ-work or saving the Baltic Sea.

approach to social change could be described as ameliorating rather than transformative.

The NGOs' way of using numbers to illustrate concrete examples of what can be done with the money – sometimes accompanied by pictures of textbooks, medicinal equipment or a new school building – strongly contribute to the image of fundraising as an effective and tangible way of making a change:

What do you accomplish within ODW? [...] 25 e – a starting package for one young person [from Kenya] to start a business of their own

(Operation a Day's Work webpage, campaign 2016-2017)

Within the fundraiser type, the dimension of collective identity is firmly connected to the notion of the school as a community engaging in doing something together. Especially in the case of the Unicef walk, the leaflets are illustrated with images of smiling Finnish students walking in forests, showing their Unicef passes and collecting stickers for their laps. Indeed, fundraising is not only portrayed as helping, but also as having fun and as an integral part of the school year. Similarly, an NGO worker describes the UNICEF walk in the following way:

Teachers say that it's always such a fun event, many [schools] are starting to have a tradition of like 15 years, then it might happen that they skip it one year or do it every second year, but for very many schools it's just a part of the school culture, you just simply do the walk, it's something that is taken care of, and then, it needs to also be based on being a nice way for the students to spend the day, or half a day

(NGO worker; UNICEF)

Hence, the fundraising campaign appears as a “natural” part of the school culture, where the emphasis is on tradition and on the practical arrangements around the whole-school activity. In terms of control, the fundraiser type is easy to regulate in schools since it involves everyone doing the same, strictly delimited activity, such as walking laps or asking passers-by for money. As for the ODW campaign, the fundraiser is also connected to the worker citizen, which implies preparing the student as a future tax payer:

The ODW day provides you with the opportunity to get acquainted with working life and a sector of your choice. At the same time, you gain valuable experience and connections, for instance, for summer jobs.

(Operation a Day's Work webpage, campaign 2016-2017)

Central features of the worker citizen, such as discipline and diligence, combine well with the regulated agency of the fundraiser, reinforcing its popularity in the Finnish school. With respect to political positionality, fundraising activities can be described as risk-free, since students are not encouraged to debate or question the agency they are assigned as fundraisers. Yet, as I demonstrate later on, students do actively reflect on the societal meanings of fundraising from their own perspectives, often in ways that are perhaps not intended by the NGOs²⁸⁹.

12.2.4 The negotiator

This section explores the type of global citizen that I call the negotiator. In my material, this type is represented²⁹⁰ in UN Association of Finland's meeting simulations as well as in some of the Red Cross' school materials, such as parts of their material on humanitarian law. In UNA Finland's material, the connection to the global world is, not surprisingly, based on the United Nations as a transnational community and more specifically on the climate negotiations and the international treaty these negotiations resulted in. Correspondingly, the dimension of collective identity is built on the notion of cosmopolitan, yet nation-bound delegacies with the mandate to negotiate on behalf of their respective states and to make decisions about global policy. The agency of the negotiator is marked by rules and procedures, as illustrated in the following quote from UNA Finland's method's manual (Prusskij, 2017, p.11):

Each delegation gives a two-minute opening statement in the MiniMUN meeting. [...] A good statement is concise, polite and well justified. [...] One should rehearse the talk in advance. All statements in the MiniMUN meetings should be introduced respectfully, for instance: "Honoured president, esteemed delegates..." The points should always be presented from the perspective of the state, for instance: "Mexico thinks that..." This facilitates the process of following the statements and emphasizes the fact that the meeting is not about presenting one's personal opinions.

The negotiator thus needs to act within certain pre-defined frames of action, guided by formalities that the actor cannot alter him or herself. In this type of global citizenship education, the students are not encouraged to express their personal perspectives, which distinguishes the negotia-

289 See section 12.3.2

290 In addition to these, the NGO Allianssi's school cooperation project called "Politics week" could be incorporated within this type, but I chose to leave it out as it primarily focuses on national and municipal level decision-making without a clear connection to global citizenship.

tor from, for instance, the consumer and the equity promoter. The idea of *neutrality* is prevalent in the negotiator type, which I illustrate through an example from my fieldwork, where an NGO worker from the Red Cross discusses the organization conducting prison inspections in conflict zones, and asks the students for their thoughts on the topic:

NGO worker: What do you think is the challenge with these kinds of visits?

No one says anything.

NGO worker: Are there any challenges? Or is everything just fine and dandy and everyone gets ten points and a diploma?

Robin²⁹¹: Well probably, they try to hide certain things, and then, there might be corruption

NGO worker: Yes [...] now how would you do if you were on the committee and you were going to visit a prison with prisoners of war?

The students are silent.

NGO worker: Well one thing I think is important is to be diplomatic, so that if you find something that isn't right, you say "have you thought about this?", that "this is against this and this international law". [...] The Red Cross does not publish these results so that they turn into a media catastrophe, but strives at maintaining a dialogue rather than pointing fingers.

(Field notes, NGO workshop in upper secondary school)

Here, the NGO worker portrays the students as imaginary prison inspectors, which in itself locates the Finnish students on the "good side", as mediators, problem solvers and plausible future employees of international organizations, rather than as possible parts in a conflict. Although one of the students, Robin, contributes with some ideas, the students overall seem somewhat hesitant to play along in this imaginary scenario. The NGO worker thus continues by presenting their view on what kind of agency is needed in this context: diplomacy and dialogue. In this sense, the positionality of the negotiator brought forward by the Red Cross is characterized by an explicit commitment to impartiality and to the avoidance of publicly shaming perpetrators, which sets this type apart especially from the activist.

291 All of the student names are pseudonyms, as discussed in section 8.6

Further, the negotiator is expected to formulate arguments in a persuasive way, “basing all statements on facts” (Prusskij, 2017; field notes 2016). The emphasis on facts further contributes to the construction of the negotiator as an impartial expert, whose agency is located above or outside of political positionalities. The emphasis on facts and argumentative skills is of course welcome in a time where fake news or so-called alternative facts are on the rise; however, from the perspective of critical global education, it might neglect a discussion on controversial political interests and unequal power relations both within and between different countries and regions. For instance, in UNA Finland’s own material on the climate negotiations, the question of the global North outsourcing its industrial production to the global South and the implications of this for the global distribution of emissions is almost completely neglected; the material simply states that “Industrialized countries support poorer countries by giving them climate funding in order to control climate change” (Prusskij 2017, p.7). This way, the benevolence of the global North is safeguarded while the global South is depicted as polluting and in need of support.

Returning to the emphasis on facts, the problematic aspects of this approach need to be discussed in relation to what is meant by facts in particular NGO materials and how the students seek, understand and use facts. UNA Finland’s material offers different options for teachers when it comes to connecting facts with the students’ agency, as shown below (Prusskij 2017, p.4):

The shortest way of implementing the MiniMUN meeting simulation in two hours, which requires using UNA Finland’s webpage’s ready-made materials, country descriptions and contract ... [In the shortest version] the learning experience and the meeting negotiations easily remain rather shallow, because the participants are not able to practice their information seeking skills or to reflect deeper on relations between causes and effects.

In this quote, UNA Finland first gives teachers the “soft” option of giving the students ready-made materials on which to base their understanding of each country’s allegedly uniform interests. However, the author describes the short version as “rather shallow” and encourages teachers to devote time to more independent and reflective work. In this sense, the quote is an example of how the NGOs strive for more critical approaches to global citizenship education, while simultaneously leaving room for the easy option, which I interpret as an expression of the inclusive character of the NGOs’ global education that tries to be sensitive to heterogeneous school realities. Moreover, even though the notion of impartial facts or ex-

pertise is mostly left unquestioned in UNA Finland's material, this question was explicitly raised during a workshop for educators I participated in where the meeting simulation method was presented:

NGO worker: So, what challenges do you think could come up in these meetings?

The participants give a long list of answers, including "conflicts of interests", "a huge number of interests", "different perspectives", "too complex", "too many theories", "division of resources, who pays what".

(Fieldnotes, workshop for educators with UNA Finland)

Thus, at least among fellow educators, the power aspects and the conflictive political interests are brought up for discussion. Nevertheless, in UNA Finland's material, the negotiator type is instructed to use a certain kind of terminology, which situates this form of citizenship in compliance within the existing structures set up by the United Nations, as illustrated below:

An operative statement can begin, for instance, with the words: "Urges, Encourages, Hopes, Supports, Assists, Aims. The word demand cannot be used. This is because, in the UN, only the security council has the right to demand actions from member countries (Prusskij 2017, 12).

Although the terminology is articulated in the material specifically in order to mimic UN meetings, I argue that the choice of words should be seen as central for the type of citizenship that is constructed here. Compared to the activist, for instance, the negotiator's vocabulary and actions are constrained according to frameworks prescribed by authorities, and in this sense, the negotiator is controlled in order to become a compliant citizen.

A second example relating to authorities and expertise comes from a dialogue between Paulina, who is a student, and an NGO worker from the Red Cross, taking place after watching a video in class on the topic of child soldiers:

NGO worker: What kind of thoughts did this provoke?

Paulina: *((sounding upset))* If you ask children to participate in war, you must be somehow disturbed, no normal person would do that

NGO worker: Yes, it's hard to understand that someone would even consider recruiting children, but as I mentioned, it is forbidden

The NGO worker continues to talk about child soldiers from the perspective of international law.

Paulina: Are there still child soldiers?

NGO worker: Yes, there are

Paulina: Where? Where is it the biggest [problem]?

NGO worker: Where? Unfortunately...I can look that up for next time

The NGO worker starts going through some papers on the desk and does not look at the students, followed by a moment of silence.

Paulina: Have there been attempts to stop it?

NGO worker: Yes

Paulina: Does it work?

NGO worker: Well as mentioned it is forbidden

Paulina: But DOES IT WORK?

In the end, the NGO worker briefly addresses the complexity of solving the problem through legal means, but then quickly moves on with the class and ends with a short human rights quiz.

(Field notes, workshop with the Red Cross in secondary school)

I interpret this scene as a struggle between the NGO worker who wants to hold on to the negotiator's expert framework that formally makes the situation look hopeful, and Paulina who wants to know the crude reality behind the human rights discourse. The student is shocked to learn about child soldiers and the NGO worker tries to balance her feelings by saying that this is forbidden in international law. Paulina is not satisfied with the NGO worker's legal approach and wants to know to what extent international law succeeds in eliminating children's participation in war. In this sense, Paulina questions if the system is good enough and challenges the negotiator type of agency as potentially insufficient.

12.2.5 The consumer

This section concerns how NGOs promote consumption as a pathway to global citizenship, based on ideas of ethical and sustainable consumption. In my material, this type is represented in Pro Ethical Trade's Textbook for the Global Consumer (Välikangas, Ylä-Anttila & Hintikainen, 2014) and Friends of the Earth's All of our mines (Kiviranta, 2015). The connection between Finnish students and "the global" is constructed through consumption goods and production chains, for instance, by focusing on the global dimensions involved in being a consumer of a mobile phone. The NGOs' educational materials introduce the students to the extensive chain of processes including extracting raw materials, manufacturing, advertising, selling, buying, using and disposing of or recycling particular consumer items. In this type, the agency of the global citizen is not regulated with the same rigidity as that of the fundraiser or the negotiator, but is left with more freedom and flexibility to choose between different levels and forms of action. The materials promote sustainable consumption and criticize overconsumption, but do not dictate universal norms for the consumer, as illustrated below:

Things always have many sides and everyone needs to choose a compromise that suits oneself case by case. No one can act completely faultlessly, but that is no reason to become indifferent [...] Everyone does as much as they can and according to what feels right

(Välikangas et al., 2014, p.26).

A pre-formulated model of agency is not offered and instead, the students' own choices are emphasized, which reflects the individualization of citizenship (see *e.g.* Bennett, 2012). The students are guided towards certain forms of consumption through check-lists, tips and exercises on how to evaluate and rethink their personal consumer habits.

Further, the consumer citizen portrays consumption as almost a sacred dimension of our identities, which means that an overtly prescriptive regulation of consumer agency would risk being too radical for consumer societies such as Finland. Hence, in order to be suitable for Finnish schools, the NGOs offer both low and high-threshold ways of influencing society through the means of consumption. On the one hand, everyone is encouraged to avoid unnecessary consumption for instance, through phrases like: "Tune, repair, recycle" (Välikangas et al., 2014, p.27), and on the other hand, some forms of action are portrayed as more courageous, such as: "Do you think that the salesperson of a clothing or mobile phone store could tell you where the products they sell come from? Try it if you dare! (Välikangas et al., 2014, p.11). Thus, students are not instructed to system-

atically take the habit of finding out the origin of products, but to *try this if* it does not feel too uncomfortable.

However, alongside the individual approach, a dimension of collective identity is manifested for instance, by statements like “Several ethical consumers make a more ethical world” (Välakangas et al., 2014, p.31), which contributes to the notion of an imagined community of ethical consumers. The consumer citizen is also connected to the various actors within global production chains, such as cotton farmers, factory workers and CEOs of multinational companies. In the following extract, these connections are made visible through a role play exercise at a workshop for school visitors:

We stand scattered in the room along an imaginary line. Each of us represent a different actor in the production chain of a t-shirt. I’ve been given the role of a 71-year-old Indian factory owner. The facilitator walks around asking us about the statements we just heard concerning “our” lives. The participants reflect on things like whether we can know what kind of internet connection or television our role figures have. When the facilitator moves to the back of the line to interview a participant with the role of a 16-year-old Chinese seamstress, the participant gets notably frustrated and asks: *“Do the students know why the 16-year-old is there and why she is so badly paid? Do they know it? That’s what this is about, right? This comment is followed by a short silence that nevertheless is long enough to constitute an awkward moment. The facilitator says that the question is important, but that it’s best to leave it for the concluding discussion.”*

(Field notes, school visitor training with Friends of the Earth and Pro Ethical Trade)

This question was, however, not brought up in the discussion at the end of the training, and neither did the participant elaborate on what their answer would be. I interpret the participant’s comment as an expression of frustration with how the topic of production chains was framed in the exercise without an explicit criticism of the capitalist system. In other words, this reaction can be understood as a claim for a more radical positionality concerning the consumer citizen – a positionality declaring that the whole structure and logics of the global economy need to change. In the educational materials, glimpses of critique against capitalism are indeed included, as the following example shows:

It may be questioned, whether a lifestyle based on consumerist culture really benefits people, or could there be alternatives to the system, and if so, what. Cheap labour benefits brands and factory owners economically, because they obtain better profits from their activities the smaller the costs of salaries are.

(Kiviranta, 2015, p.10)

Moreover, the positionality of the consumer type differs from the fundraiser's development orientation by steering the focus to fiscal policies. Both Pro Ethical Trade's and FoE's materials state that "developing countries" lose multiple times more revenues because of tax arrangements and customs rates than what they obtain in form of development cooperation.

To summarize, the rules of global trade and the dominant consumerist culture are criticized in these materials, but the alternatives to this system are left unspecified. From this perspective, the consumer type is characterized by a certain ambivalence concerning what kind of societal change is aspired. Importantly, these materials acknowledge that consumption only constitutes one pathway for civic influence, which is why the consumer is connected to other types of citizenships, particularly to the activist.

12.2.6 The activist

In this section, I analyze how NGOs construct the activist type of global citizen within their school interaction. As my participant observation did not include any workshops relating to activism, this analysis is primarily based on the NGOs' educational materials from Amnesty, FEE Finland and Siemenpuu Foundation, Friends of the Earth, Pro Ethical Trade and Operation A Day's Work. Activism is a particularly interesting dimension to explore in the context of NGO school interaction because of its controversial position in the Finnish school. Generally, Finnish teachers do not identify as activists, nor do they see that their task is to promote activism among the students (Nieminen & Mankki, 2016, p.217). In the Finnish core curriculum, activism is not mentioned, while the related term "active citizenship" is integrated as a crosscutting theme (see EDUFI, 2014; 2015). According to Hannele Cantell (2005), active citizenship evokes positive connotations in Finnish schools; it is portrayed as contributing to something good in society, and thus as a desirable objective for schools to pursue. Activism, in turn, provokes negative associations; it is connected with protest and resistance, and thereby categorized as harmful, even criminal action (Cantell, 2005, pp.44-45). In line with Cantell who problematizes these conceptions, I argue that there is a need to see these different understandings of civic participation as a continuum, in which activist-oriented action plays an important role in social change. With this background, it is worth exploring how the activist dimension is promoted by NGOs in the school context.

Initially, it is worth noting that the NGOs are generally using the term "active citizenship" rather than "activism". I interpret this as a way of accommodating their school interaction within commonly accepted dis-

course in schools. However, the NGOs sometimes use the term “activism” to distinguish their objectives from other forms of global citizenship education. Below, an NGO worker from Amnesty explains her view on what Amnesty wants to promote in schools:

We want to strengthen the meaning of active citizenship, that both teachers and students can be activists. Perhaps the kind of Amnesty spirit that you do these *real human rights deeds* and *not just practice or simulate* the world but also provide an opportunity to *really make a change*

(NGO worker, Amnesty)

In this quote, the NGO worker starts by promoting an activist identity among teachers and students. More specifically, by using active citizenship interchangeably with the term “activist” this NGO worker constructs activism as desirable for schools to engage with. The second sentence can be read as a critique of how citizenship education in schools is restricted to “practising” citizenship, while Amnesty offers “real” action. This way, NGOs’ school involvement promoting the activist type also distances itself from other NGO initiatives that focus on simulating the world²⁹². The emphasis on action is highlighted in the activist dimension, and it is distinguished from other forms of civic engagement, as illustrated in a quote from ODW’s guide for change making (Raskulla, 2011, pp. 4-5):

The impression of change making is connected to vague meetings and babbly talk²⁹³. But does it have to be that way? The Influence! –guide encourages a different kind of change-making [...] The objective of this guide *is not to say what should be done and how*, but specifically to *foster the participants’ capability and will to take action*.

This ODW guide has an explicit base in critical pedagogics and promotes independent and creative ways of enacting citizenship. The construction of agency in the activist type is characterized by giving the students freedom to choose the questions they want to influence and the methods of action they want to use, which distinguishes this type from the fundraiser and the negotiator. However, the materials that promote the activist type do in different ways guide the students towards certain modes of action, of which some involve more formal control than others. In the case of Amnesty’s Letter Marathon, students (and teachers) write solidarity letters to political prisoners or petition letters to politicians. This mode of action is constrained in two ways; first, by Amnesty choosing the individuals for their campaigns, and secondly, by the specified instructions concerning the letter writing.

292 An example of simulations could be UNA Finland’s UN meeting simulations (see the negotiator type).

293 Finnish original: epämääräisiin kokouksiin ja puheen lätinään

Other materials leave the process and content more open, but offer the students a structure for planning and implementing their action, such as campaign pyramids and instructions for making murals. The construction of the activist type also involves a multitude of pictures and videos of people demonstrating on the streets or in front of parliament buildings, which visually sets it apart from other types of global citizenship. An illustrative example of this comes from FEE Finland and Siemenpuu Foundation's material. It includes a video filmed in the centre of Buenos Aires in Argentina, where local farmers protest against a proposed law that, if passed, is said to benefit multinational companies at the expense of small-scale producers. This way, the material frames the topics at hand as political struggles involving conflictive interests. By naming and shaming some of powerful actors that the activists are protesting against (such as the multinational company Monsanto), the activist type is positioned as courageous, outspoken and informed.

The NGOs' use of language also contributes to the emphasis on social conflict concerning the activist type. Terms like resistance, fight and defence appear frequently in these materials, especially in interviews with activists from the global South. In FoE's material, a local activist and grandmother from Peru is quoted as follows (Kiviranta, 2015, p.50): "I am not leaving this place. *We fight and fight again* until God tells us 'Now your fight is over'. *We fight for our children and our grandchildren*". Thus, in terms of positionality, the agency in the activist type is marked by firm political convictions and taking a stance against powerful actors. Similarly, a young activist from the Brazilian Amazonas explains the work of the association that they are part of in the following way:

Within the National Council of the Collector Populations, the role of the *youth movement* lies in the formation of young people's agency in *defending their territories and ways of life*. We have succeeded well here, young people are empowered and they are participating by acting within different sectors of society, taking a stance and influencing politics. [...] We need everybody's support, *specifically the Finnish youth*, so that we can *fight in defence* of the Amazonas and its ecosystems, for a *global equilibrium* and for the preservation of life for present and future generations

(Video material, FEE Finland & Siemenpuu Foundation)²⁹⁴

This quote illustrates how the dimension of collective identity in the activist type is built around social movements and collective rights. Further, the link between students in Finland and Amazonian populations is constructed by an explicit call to the Finnish youth to support the Amazonian movement for the ben-

294 For my translation to English, I have relied both on the Portuguese original and the Finnish subtitles

efit of the whole world. Another example of identity construction comes from FoE's material, which involves pictures and texts about activism against mining companies in Peru, Mali, Indonesia and Canada. By presenting these concrete cases of activism in different parts of the world, the NGOs connect the activist type to an (imagined) global activist community. Within the activist type, Finnish students *learn from* the global South, in contrast to the fundraiser type, where Finnish students mainly *help* the global South.

Yet, it is important to note that within the activist type, the construction of agency varies between "soft" and "critical" approaches, or following James Trewby (2014, p.31), between "low risk" and "high risk" as well as "low cost" and "high cost" activism. In FoE's material, a range of ways of engaging in anti-mining activism are listed: "demonstrations, meeting politicians, writing blogs or opinion pieces, gathering names for petitions and citizens' motions or, for instance, baking a cake for a public event" (Kiviranta, 2015, p.39). Thus, by opening up for low-cost engagement such as baking a cake, the NGOs strive at making the activist type as inclusive as possible for the students. Further, the NGOs emphasize that participation does not necessarily entail joining an organization but is also possible through more informal action. Pro Ethical Trade mentions "spontaneous street events" and "developing the local park" as examples of grassroots participation (Välakangas et al., 2014, p.34). However, after these local and low-risk examples, Pro Ethical Trade shifts to a more structural, global approach by stating the following:

Do these forms of participation feel too light? It could also be argued that democracy, that is, the sovereignty of the people, is such a fundamental thing that the attention should be redirected from fun community events to power structures and the big questions. All big problems, such as climate change, overconsumption and the bad labour conditions of workers in poor countries are huge challenges. Should we try to influence these evils more broadly? Absolutely!

(Välakangas et al., 2014, p.34)

Thus, on the one hand, the NGOs try to engage as many students as possible in *some* way; yet, on the other hand, they strive at preserving their integrity and their role as critical watchdogs and thereby maintain their advocacy-based authority²⁹⁵. After all, many NGOs aspire at having a role in schools that goes beyond "fun variation" – they want to transform school in order to transform society.

295 For the notion of advocacy-based authority, see section 9.4

12.2.7 The equity promoter

In this section, I analyse the type of global citizen that deals with questions of equity, diversity, discrimination and privilege. The NGOs approach these topics under varying headlines and with different emphasis, including norm-critical education, human rights education, diversity education, anti-racism, hate speech, peace education and development education. The NGO materials included here come from ODW, Plan Finland, The Finnish Peace Committee and a collaborative NGO material called Don't assume! Break the norms (2013)²⁹⁶, although many more could certainly fit under this type. In fact, it could be stated that the equity promoter cuts across all types of global citizenship, since each type in one way or another deals with this type of topics. Yet, I choose to portray the equity promoter as a type of its own, in order to analyze the different ways in which Finnish students are encouraged to take action for equity.

In the case of the equity promoter, the Finnish student is connected to the global world in two ways: first, by appealing to the notion of universal human rights and everyone's equal worth, and secondly, by highlighting existing inequalities and power imbalances both locally and globally. In NGO materials that focus on equity in the Finnish context, the importance of reflecting on dominant social norms and one's own privileges is emphasized, and the students' capacity to question and alter harmful structures is supported, exemplified below with an exercise from the Don't assume! material (2013, p.88):

Choose a norm that you want to work on together, and come up with one problem related to this norm. For instance: "The school building is not accessible", "The opportunities to speak are unequally distributed in class; girls/boys are allowed to talk more", or "Facing racism".

Then come up with a solution together. It can be small and practical or large-scale and far-reaching – everything is possible. A solution for racism could be, for instance, to collectively develop a way for intervening in bad behaviour in the supermarket or on the bus. Or, students can discuss what a broader anti-racist campaign could be like.

Similar to the activist type, the equity promoter's agency is characterized by considerable freedom. Also, the same balance between low-cost and high-cost action (Trewby, 2014, p.31) is visible in this quote. In Plan's hate speech material, low-cost action such as "not share or produce hate speech" is initially mentioned, after which high-cost action is promoted (Kuuluvainen, 2017, p.9):

Discrimination or racism should not just silently be accepted, instead, the *the targets of hate speech* should see that they have supporters. A more active way of acting against hate speech is to strive to produce counter-talk, in other

296 This material is published by Seta but produced as a cooperation between Suomen ammattiin opiskelevien liitto, Suomen lukiolaisten liitto, Seta and Finlands Svenska skolors förbund.

words produce online content, that bring forward a human rights-based and egalitarian value base. It is worthwhile to try to affect the norms of online communities, especially if you are an administrator. [...] Through civic advocacy hate speech can be resisted, for instance, by appealing to members of parliament in order to change legislation or by participating in campaigns against hate speech.

Here, the NGO also discusses the power relation at play in hate speech by its choice to use the term “targets” instead of “victims” when referring to those subjected to hate speech. This choice was made because the NGO wanted to avoid the usage of “victimizing language”²⁹⁷, through which the NGO strives to deconstruct the notion of passive or helpless objects. In this sense, the positionality of the equity promoter can be described as critical in relation to prevailing norms. However, it must be noted, that in Plan’s school workshops that I attended, the critical edge was considerably downplayed, and instead, a more individualized view on hate speech was offered. I exemplify this with an extract from my field notes from the introductory part of the school visit:

The school visitor (*(reading off the power point presentation)*) defines hate speech as “one of Finland’s biggest human rights problems” and further, that the detriment of hate speech is “its influence on the psychological and physical well-being of the targets of hate speech”.

(Field notes, workshop in lower secondary school)

The well-being of individual targets of hate speech is obviously important to discuss, but I find it interesting that the more structural perspective of the educational material is not transmitted at the school workshops, which I actually told the school visitor as we chatted afterwards. In many NGOs, the school visitors have a certain degree of freedom in constructing the workshops and the corresponding presentations, which means that only selected parts of the NGOs’ educational material are included and these parts are framed differently depending on the school visitor in question.

The equity promoter is also encouraged to promote equity on a global level, which includes deconstructing stereotypes about the global South and problematizing exclusionary conceptions of “us”, the Finns/the Europeans/the Westerners and “them”, the Others. In the educational material “Beyond the western”, the NGOs confront the students with questions such as “Does the West even exist” and “Why do we so desperately want to belong to the West?” as well as encourage students to critically investigate how “the West” is portrayed in news, entertainment and visual imagery (Niittymäki & Maiche, 2018). In NGO workshops with a development education approach, global equity is often discussed through examples from

²⁹⁷ The question of victimizing language is also briefly discussed in an example in section 8.4.

partner countries in the global South. An example of this comes from ODW's workshop on Malawi, where the NGO works with a local partner organization in order to promote education for girls. What I want to highlight is how the NGO worker, the teacher and the students all contribute to the negotiations on the relation between "us" in Finland and "them" in Malawi:

In the beginning of the workshop, the NGO worker shows the students a video of a normal day in a school in rural Malawi. They ask the students to reflect on similarities and differences between Finland and Malawi, and also, on whether the Malawians are lacking something that we have. The students find more similarities than differences, for instance: "they get lunch at school too".

(Fieldnotes from NGO workshop in lower secondary school)

When the students comment on the various similarities between the Finnish and Malawian schools, the NGO worker is pleased and only briefly discusses the differences, such as tuition fees in Malawi. However, her initial suggestion to search for what the Malawians are possibly "lacking" is taken up by the teacher, who repeatedly brings forward comments that reinforces the notion of seeing the Malawians as different. The teacher would, for instance, turn to the students and ask "did you notice that in they eat with their hands" or ask the NGO worker about how common polygamy is in Malawi (Fieldnotes, NGO workshop in lower secondary school). In this sense, the teacher is actively involved in "othering" the Malawians, contrary to the NGOs' stated objective.

Further, some of the elements of the workshop, in my view, also contributed to reinforcing Malawi as "underdeveloped" and thus, inferior to the Finnish society. An illustrative example of this is an exercise called "the privilege walk", where the students familiarize themselves with global inequality by taking a role either as a Finn or as a Malawian with varying social characteristics. In this exercise, the NGO worker reads out a list of statements such as "I have access to education" or "I can go on holiday once a year". The extract below shows how the construction of equity and privilege is intertwined with notions of development:

When the NGO worker finishes with the last statement, we are standing in the classroom in different spots along an imagined line. The NGO worker goes around interviewing us about our characters' possibilities in life. Most of the students in the back are "Malawians". At one point, the NGO worker asks if there are any Malawians in the front. One student raises her hand and reads out the description of her character "A famous Malawian elite athlete, who travels around the world and is in a

relationship with a European musician". To this, the NGO worker comments: "Here we have a Malawian, who has gone forward in life"

(Field notes, NGO workshop in lower secondary school)

I read the NGO worker's comment as a classic expression of a Western view on development²⁹⁸, where progress (even in personal life) is defined in relation to international success and connections to Europe. Although the NGO worker probably did not have the conscious intention of idealizing Western ways of life, their comment did contribute to the reproduction of a dichotomy of European progress and African backwardness. This comment also needs to be understood in relation to our physical positions in the classroom, a setting characterized by the visual ranking of our "in-character" bodies. In this situation, I was left wondering how all of the participants understood this ranking; was it understood as measurement of success, and if so, success in whose eyes? Or was it a measurement of welfare, of the quality of life, or happiness?

The point is perhaps that, in this setting and with the comparison between Finnish and Malawian characters, the majority of the Malawians lives were portrayed as failed or unfortunate, and this sort of ranking is far from straightforward. If the objective is to deconstruct stereotypes, there should also be an openness to the idea that Malawians, including the rural poor, do not necessarily share Western standards for a good life. Hence, on the one hand, the exercise does function as an eye-opener for students who take the Finnish living conditions for granted, and in this sense, addresses the issue of privilege in a global context. But on the other hand, it risks portraying these privileges as universal aspirations, which, if not attained, are equated with an inferior way of life. To conclude, the question of the equity promoter's positionality vis-à-vis dominant structures is complex, and needs to be discussed also from non-western perspectives.

12.2.8 Identification and agency in the five global citizenship types

In section 12.2.1, I presented an analytical model for exploring different types of global citizenship agendas (see Figure 3). This model steered my analysis of the five different global citizenship types promoted by the NGOs: the fundraiser, the negotiator, the consumer, the activist and the equity promoter. In Table 17, I have summarized my findings in order to highlight the differences between these types. When it comes to identification, the five types construct different global linkages and collective identities. For instance, for the fundraiser, the global linkage is built around the notion of development, whilst for the equity promoter, the global linkage can be found in local-level diversity. With regards to agency, these types

298 For a decolonial critique on the Western view of development, see section 5.2

differ in how the global citizen's agency is controlled and in what kind of positionality is promoted in relation to global power structures. While the negotiator is controlled by formal rules and impersonal argumentation, the activist is encouraged to be creative and independent, and the consumer is allowed to act according to personal priorities. The fundraiser's agency, in turn, is based on everyone doing the same thing within a ready-made framework making it fairly easy to control for schools. A question that this analysis brings up is thus which of these types are given primacy in particular educational contexts and with which arguments.

Table 17. Five types of global citizenship promoted by NGOs

TYPE OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP	IDENTIFICATION		AGENCY	
	Global linkage	Collective identity	Control	Positionality
The fundraiser	Development cooperation Humanitarian work	One-off campaign identity The school as a helping community	Collective control: Ready-made framework, the same activity for everyone	Reproduces a helper-narrative Supports development, complicity in global injustices not discussed
The negotiator	International treaties, the United Nations	Global decision-makers Defenders of national interests vs. builders of global consensus	Formal control: Rules and regulations, no personal opinions	Conformity with the UN-system Detached from personal opinions, consensus-seeking
The consumer	Consumer items and production chains	A community of ethical consumers	Individual control: Life-style choices, lists and tips	Questions consumer culture and structures of world trade Complicity in global problems and responsibility in solving them

The activist	Mostly defined by the students themselves	One-off campaign identity Global activist community	Varying control: From low-threshold to high-threshold agency. Creativity, autonomy and courage	Challenges the powerful, encourages others to take action Complicity in problems and responsibility in solving them
The equity promoter	Diversity and inequality on both local and global levels	Anti-racists Human rights defenders	Varying control: From passively resisting inequity to actively promoting equity. Self-reflexivity, empathy, courage	Critical of hierarchical and essentialising categorizations Complicity in reproducing divisions of “us” and “them”

12.3 Student perspectives on global citizenship education

12.3.1 Longing for discussions, rather than answers

In this section, the focus is on exploring how secondary school students talk about their experiences of engaging with global citizenship, especially in school. During the interviews, I asked questions on how globalization, global phenomena or global challenges were discussed in class, which type of citizenship skills they learn in school and how they understood their role as global citizens. In some of the interviews, it was challenging to spark discussion by asking the students broad, open ended-questions, as illustrated below:

Heidi: Okey, so what do you guys think of when you hear globalization or the global world? What is the first thing you think about?

Silence.

Johannes: Well nothing much really

((Benjamin and Felix chuckle, Heidi also starts laughing))

Johannes: No but seriously, you don't like, you don't really react to it so much if there's nothing special, like if you hear it somewhere then you don't – but if it would be talked about more in school, then you would like have to react to it, or do something or think about it, but now if you see it somewhere on the internet, like, you don't even read it –

Benjamin: - you don't really see much of it there either

Johannes: No

(Group interview 1, lower secondary students)

This account suggests these students see global education as non-existent in their school and as peripheral in relation to their everyday lives. I interpret Johannes's first comment, and especially the others' laughter, as a signal of the boys being amused and perhaps surprised by Johannes's blunt answer. To be clear, my question was also quite abstract and confusing, which might partly explain this response²⁹⁹. What the extract also suggests is that these students are open to global education if only it was offered in schools. Johannes puts the responsibility of his disconnectedness with globalization on the school, explaining that this affects how he reacts to online coverage of the topic, whereas Benjamin's response signals that global issues are equally peripheral in his everyday world online.

In the interviews, I also asked general questions about what the students would like to learn more about in school in order to explore what kind of education the students felt they needed in order to become full citizens. Their responses included some shared elements such as more discussion and reflection, more civic and practical skills and more explicit connections to their everyday lives. Although these responses were not always explicitly linked to global education, they provide interesting perspectives on how students experience the relation between schooling and the world outside of school. I exemplify this with an extract from a group interview, where Sebastian had just expressed his wish that the school taught "less stuff you

299 In fact, these boys did share their thoughts on global challenges later on in the interview, which I exemplify later in this chapter.

don't need”:

Heidi: So, what is stuff that you don't need?

Sebastian: Well like geography

((Anton and Niko burst out in laughter))

Sebastian: No but like, what's it called, unnecessary facts

[...]

Heidi: *((turns to Sebastian))* You said unnecessary facts, so is it -

Sebastian: - Yeah like when we have an exam on like 70 different mushrooms then that is a bit unnecessary because I will never need that fact in my life

Heidi: Mm?

Niko: Well, it might be quite good to know Finland's mushrooms -

Sebastian: - But it's enough that I know what a fly agaric [poisonous red mushroom] is and -

Niko: - Ok those poisonous mushrooms

Sebastian: 70 different freaking mushrooms from Africa, HELL NO!

((The boys laugh))

(Group interview 2, lower secondary school)

Here, I interpret Anton and Niko cracking up as a sign of them thinking that it is inappropriate to call geography “unnecessary” in an interview situation. Sebastian, however, explains his point by referring to learning a high number of mushrooms by heart, which for him has no connection to his future need for knowledge. Thus, his critique is perhaps not directed at the school subject per se, but at the common method of testing based on memorizing in schools. At this point, Niko and Sebastian enter in a light disagreement on the necessity of mushroom knowledge, and Sebastian holds his argument through his exaggerated and humorous comment at the end. This comment, when related to Sebastian's earlier accounts acquires meaning also concerning national and global identifications. Throughout the interview, Sebastian did not express much interest in glob-

al education, and he told me that what goes on in Finland feels the most relevant to him: “Surely I care more about what happens in Finland than about what happens somewhere in Somalia” (Group interview 2, lower secondary school). Thus, adding “from Africa” to the mushroom comment functions as a way to emphasize the irrelevance of this knowledge for him, while he finds the fly agaric important, since it is common in Finland.

Further, a recurring answer among the students was that although some global problems, such as climate change or wars, are to some extent included in the different school subjects, they are often discussed on an abstract or theoretical level, as exemplified in the quote below:

Heidi: So, do you think that the reasons for these problems are sufficiently discussed in schools? For instance, the topic of refugees or climate change?

Noora: Well I think in some classes or courses they are discussed, but it's more like “learn by heart the reasons for these” or it's not, it's not really discussed or reflected, like some catastrophes or things, it becomes so theoretical all of it in my opinion [...] I don't know, maybe just like taken from the textbook and learning by heart, so you don't really begin to think or reflect in that way

(Group interview 4, upper secondary students)

According to Noora, the way in which global challenges are presented in school does not reach her on a level that would alter her way of thinking about the world or to encourage her to take action. Several students also mention that history classes teach them about wars in terms of important historical dates and state alliances, but that the teaching does not necessarily support an understanding of the everyday implications of wars on people's lives, or an understanding of wars and the refugee situation today:

Benjamin: Sometimes we've talked in history about what war - like why wars emerge and stuff, but not like -

Johannes: - Like the wars, the world wars, how they started, but then why there are wars now, that we don't know, that you DON'T talk about

(Group interview 1, lower secondary students)

As to how schools prepare the students to build their own worldview and form their own opinions, the students had many critical viewpoints:

Heidi: Does one learn to think critically in school? Like to form your own opinion?

Niko: Well, the school is exactly trying that one does NOT form...to NOT think critically

Heidi: Okey? How does -

Niko: - Or I think that the school tries to teach us to become some kind of - you know some kind of factory workers that you just order around, and then we do what they want us to. And they don't really try to, uhm, get people, or kids, to think for themselves and you know, to do stuff themselves. It's more like, we're all the time...we're supposed to do things that others tell us

Heidi: Right

Niko: Or we have to, or you, or like, of course there has to be teachers that say what we should do, so that we don't just jump around the walls but like, like maybe a bit more independently, like one being able to affect what, uhm, one chooses and does, and then they'd help kids to just make good decisions

(Group interview 2, lower secondary school)

Niko's account is remarkably similar to critical educational theorists' accounts of the hidden curriculum (*e.g.* Jackson, 1968; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Broady, 1981). As Niko clarifies at the end, he sees teachers as indispensable in schools, but he questions the way in which the students' agency is contained and subordinated to the teachers' commands. Although this extract does not explicitly concern global citizenship, I believe it illustrates an important aspect of *becoming a citizen* through processes of schooling. This process risks being restricted to docile and adaptive forms of citizenship if students feel they cannot develop a sense of freedom in relation to teacher authority (Buire & Staeheli, 2017; Tomperi & Piattoeva, 2005).

Another aspect raised in one of the interviews was that the teachers' personal values and attitudes affect how global phenomena are portrayed and thus, constrains the students' possibilities to form opinions, as the students explain in the following extract:

Sanni: In some courses, if teachers have really strong opinions, they are like sowing their own seeds and like, their agenda, and they don't

talk about the big picture, but just like, what they think

Heidi: Right yeah -

Noora: - Which in principle is not allowed, but teachers are also people and if they have a strong opinion then you clearly notice -

Sanni: - And if [the teacher] is really racist then there's no way you can change that, so it comes through no matter how the teachers would try not to like -

Noora: - And perhaps you notice it the most when you like notice that the teachers condemn something when they should be -

Sanni: - And then they say, at least in our school some teachers say "I am not allowed to say this BUT" *((laughter))*

Heidi: Okey, so this kind of -

Noora: - That "I've been told not to say this but I'll do it anyway" *((laughs))*

Sanni: "Woops that was my own opinion ay ay ay" *((laughs))*

Heidi: And are these precisely like racist things?

Sanni: Well for the most part, but then there are these true snowflakes³⁰⁰ as well

(Group interview 4, upper secondary school students)

This account shows how the students recognize their teachers' as political beings with attitudes that shape the learning situation. Drawing on what Sanni says in the first comment, the students' own thinking is not encouraged when teachers provide them with their pre-formulated opinions. Particularly, the students found teachers' racist attitudes problematic, since these come with de-humanising views on refugees in Finland, for instance. The students collectively maintained that they wished teachers would facilitate discussion on what goes on in the world, rather than delivering them final answers, as expressed in the quotes below:

300 Finnish original: *suvakkeja*. The Finnish term *suvakki* comes from the word *suvaitsevainen*, which means tolerant. Here, the term refers loosely to teachers who promote equity, multiculturalism and respectful language, but with a pejorative connotation, denoting how these people are also supposedly overly sensitive and easily offended.

“Well, I think that we should have more of this, you know, that we get to know what goes on in the world on a global scale and like how society works, you know, and yeah, that’s about it”

(Kenneth, lower secondary school)

“What I have noticed is that teachers are a bit unsure to talk about [what goes on in the world], because they don’t have an awful lot of knowledge about it either, besides what the media provides, so somehow you get the feeling that the teacher’s not quite sure either, and surely doesn’t always need to be”

(Alma, upper secondary school)

Alma’s comment above signals her discontent with teachers that avoid talking about complex or potentially controversial questions, just because they lack specific expertise in them. Despite these critical comments, the students to some extent felt that the school supported their sense of global awareness and active citizenship. As examples, they mentioned recycling and sustainability, equal and respectful treatment of other people as well as formal channels for democratic participation, such as student councils. However, according to these students, some aspects of civic engagement, particularly activism and voluntary work are neglected in school or portrayed in a narrow or un-encouraging way. In one group interview, the students discuss how schools could frame voluntary work differently:

Alma: It’s not very appealing when the thing is presented to you as work that you don’t get paid for, so then you go “why would I do work without a salary” so that approach is not very attractive

Noora: Yeah, and the way I think it’s presented in schools is definitely not one that would make me think that I would like to get involved, but then when you present it in a slightly different way, what it is about, then you don’t even think that it’s voluntary work, but rather that it could be just like a kind of hobby

Heidi: Yeah so -

Sanni: - Not a hobby but more like a responsibility, that you have a RESPONSIBILITY to help

(Group interview 4, upper secondary students)

This extract shows how an optional course offered by the school in cooperation with the Red Cross reshaped the students’ perspectives on vol-

untary work. Further, it illustrates how the students express different understandings of being a volunteer. While Noora talks about volunteering as a hobby, Sanni emphasizes the aspect of responsibility. This difference could be analysed as expressions of different discourses, but I also argue that they are related to the students' dispositions and personal learning processes. For Noora, the course offers her an opportunity to engage with topics that she has a prior interest in, such as learning about different cultures, and therefore volunteer work presents itself as a fun spare-time activity. In contrast, Sanni who was "forced to participate" by Noora (to which I return below), has after a few lessons incorporated the notion of volunteering as something a responsible citizen ought to do, whether one likes it or not.

Further, Noora stated that activism is indeed brought up in social science, but merely on a theoretical level as "terms that you need to know the meaning of, like 'petition' or 'demonstration'", but not on a level of practising activism (Group interview 4). Niko, for his part, says that activism has "at least not been recommended to us" (Group interview 2). These comments seem to be line with earlier research on the Finnish school system stating that activism is seen as potentially threatening and not suitable for schools³⁰¹ (see Nieminen & Mankki, 2019; Cantell, 2005)

12.3.2 Young people's life-worlds and pathways to global citizenship

In addition to the students' views on the state of global education in school, I was interested in whether and how they understood themselves as global citizens. Again, this question was somewhat challenging to approach in the interviews through explicit questions on global citizenship, especially with the lower secondary students. Hence, I also draw on how the students discussed their sense of citizenship in broader and more implicit terms.

With regard to upper secondary school, I asked the students who participated in the optional courses organized in cooperation with the Red Cross about their motivations for enrolling, to which they had varying answers. A few students said that they expected the course to be beneficial for them when preparing for their final exams. Others had a prior interest in the course topics, for instance, Noora said she "had always wanted to get to know new cultures", and Mea stated that she had been thinking about doing voluntary work for a longer time. For some students, taking the course was not related to personal curiosity or aspirations, as exemplified by Sanni who answers my question on why she came to the course:

301 Activism is also discussed in section 12.2.2 under the activist type.

Sanni: Well if you want a completely honest answer *((looks at Noora and they both laugh))*

Heidi: Yeah preferably *((laughs))* or I mean, the kind of answer you want to give me, yes -

Sanni: -Well because I wouldn't have had enough courses otherwise so I had to take something more. But in the beginning, I was quite sceptical towards this, or I was like "okey, let's see about this", but after these two classes this seems really interesting and I'm like quite excited to be involved

Heidi: Okey, but it wasn't originally quite your -

Sanni: - Yeah ABSOLUTELY NOT -

Noora: - I forced her to come *((laughs))*

Sanni's account illustrates how not all students are dispositioned with an interest in voluntary work or in the Red Cross, but these sceptical students might still become engaged since the course is organized by the school and incorporated in the curriculum. In the extract above, the importance of friendships in choosing courses is highlighted, as it was Noora who "forced" Sanni to participate. The company of a friend was also important for Noora, who in spite of her prior interest in the content of the course was initially not too sure about engaging with the Red Cross:

Noora: It wasn't even an option, like I never even thought that I could join something like the Red Cross, but when you have a few discussions, it's like, yeah it's something that anyone could join and it could be quite fun and not like, something that many people would call like God Squad stuff³⁰² *((laughs))*

Heidi: Do you mean people who are not on this course or?

Noora: Yeah

302 [Finnish original: hihhuli-toimintaa] The expression is used in a derogatory sense to describe people taking forceful action in order to convince other people to believe as they do

Sanni: We get these messages: “what kind of wokerati course³⁰³ are you on?” *((laughs))*

[...]

Noora: But that’s also just because they don’t know anything, and then it’s turned into this general joke, that they just joke about it, because like they don’t really know

This extract shows that friendships can also function as discouraging when it comes to showing interest in global citizenship or NGOs. In the case of Noora and Sanni, they had to reflect on how they position themselves in relation of their group of friends, who ridicule the course by labeling it in pejorative terms. Noora explained that in order to avoid teasing comments, she needs to “choose her words carefully” when she talks about the course in her circle of friends. I interpret the girls’ account as an example of the social risk involved in engaging in global education. As Noora and Sanni simultaneously want to participate in the course and remain within their group of friends, they need to balance between different aspects of their social identities that are not always smoothly combinable.

In addition to friends, these students repeatedly referred to their parents when discussing their engagement with global citizenship, even if I seldom explicitly asked about this. As exemplified below, parents can also in varying ways function either as encouraging or discouraging for young people’s sense of global citizenship:

Alma: [My] parents also, well, they don’t understand why, why I want to take a course like this, or why I’m raising money for the Hunger Day collection. When they don’t understand it, then the threshold is higher, maybe

Heidi: M-hmm, so where does - do you want to say where your will and interest comes from, if not from your own parents or from home?
Alma: Well, it’s, I think it’s a bit of a counter reaction when I, perhaps, know more than my parents in this regard. Then it’s like, not wanting to be like them, wanting to be something else [...] like, a bit of resistance

(Group interview 4, upper secondary students)

Alma’s statement illustrates how students actively negotiate their own sense of global citizenship in relation their parents’ attitudes or world-views. In Alma’s case, she actively works to become something different from her parents. This is possible for Alma when it comes to developing a

303 [Finnish original: *suvakkikurssi*] The expression here is used in a pejorative way to describe a course related to questions of social justice.

sense of global citizenship since she, albeit modestly, portrays her parents as lacking knowledge that she possesses. In a slightly different way, Noora explains her parents' viewpoint on her taking part in the course:

[T]hey are absolutely not against it or anything, they are quite proud like I said, but then it's more like, precisely from my dad's side, that "*why should you concentrate on that kind of claptrap, when you should focus on education*", or like school, and "practice your Swedish" ((laughs)) [...] but like they are not explicitly resisting this of course, because they know that this is like good common knowledge

(Noora, group interview 4, upper secondary students)

According to Noora's account, her parents make a distinction between "education" on the one hand, such as Swedish language proficiency (and presumably the acquisition of good grades) and "claptrap" on the other hand, in which they locate a course of on global citizenship. Thus, the students need to negotiate between their own interests and their parents' conceptions of what is important in education. Notably, the students' parents provide them with different types of cultural capital, which affects how accepted it is for them to engage in this type of optional course. The students also repeatedly talked about their own citizenship in relation to what their parents do. Considering the age of the students, particularly those in lower secondary school, this is perhaps not surprising. Still, I find it interesting that they often referred to their parents' habits or choices, when asked about their own forms of civic engagement, as seen in the following quotes:

Kenneth: Well, both of my parents make monthly donations to charity

Heidi: Okey -

Kenneth: - Which I don't know if I really like

Lucas: In what sense?

Kenneth: I think it's a bit like, unnecessary, that they do that, because it feels like they haven't done enough research you know, on where the money goes [...] so it's like you're subscribing to a newspaper, as far as I understand, only that you get nothing out of it but a good conscience.

(Group interview 3, lower secondary students)

This quote illustrates that although the students tend to talk about their citizenship through the action of their parents, they are also actively positioning themselves in relation to these. In Kenneth's case, he is sceptical to monthly donations (which surprises Lucas) and questions donations

for being restricted to providing people with a “feel good factor” (see Bryan, 2011). Kenneth also tells me that his parents boycott a certain brand, whereas he does not since “he has no problem with it”. In this sense, Kenneth makes a sharp distinction between his and his parents’ agency. In contrast, some students talk about their families as collective actors, as shown in Felix’s account:

[O]ur family gives donations to like, well I don’t know exactly but at least sometimes we’ve [donated] to kids who don’t have homes and that sort of thing. And then we are active with homeless dogs and stuff, that are on the streets, trying to make a, what’s it called, a place where the dogs can get food and where they can stay and all that, and then we also have two dogs at home that are stray dogs

(Felix, group interview 1, lower secondary school)

From the perspective of lived citizenship³⁰⁴, this quote illustrates two things: first, that young people can understand global citizenship as a shared, family-based agency in which all of the family members are involved and contribute on different levels. Secondly, it shows that these students’ civic action, depending on their families’ collective interests, can be directed to a variety of different issues. It was clear that helping stray dogs was an important part of Felix’s identity, whereas other students would talk more about their families’ consumption-related life styles, for example, buying locally and ethically produced food.

Another salient feature in the interviews was how the students themselves often portrayed their (global) citizenship as something to be realized in the future. This conception was connected to their sense of inability to affect society as minors. In several interviews, the students told me that they believed their possibilities of affecting the world around them would change when they grow up, which I asked them to elaborate on:

304 The concept of lived citizenship is discussed in section 4.4

Heidi: In what way and why?

Sebastian: Well, I mean, then one can vote

Heidi: One can vote?

Sebastian: Yeah

Anton: And then you have a bit –

Niko: - More responsibility

Heidi: Yes? In what way do you have more responsibility?

Niko: Well uhm

Anton: Well, for instance, you buy your own food and stuff

(Group interview 2, lower secondary school)

So, in these interviews, although I tried to approach the topic of active citizenship in an open and broad sense, the students tended to express that their possibilities of change-making were quite restricted due to their age. This echoes the literature on citizenship education that problematizes the conception young people as “not yet citizens” and the ways in active citizenship is associated with formal and grown-up forms of civic action (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma, 2000; Kallio & Rytikoski, 2018). When the dominant notion of citizenship is built on surpassing a certain age (for voting) and having money (for consumption), then it is not surprising that the students feel incapable of enacting citizenship during their adolescence.

Another viewpoint frequently raised by the students was that they felt a lack of knowledge and understanding about the world explicitly because of their age, as exemplified below:

Heidi: So do you feel that you have a responsibility to affect these things [like poverty or war]? Or should someone else affect them or how do think about it?

Johannes: Well maybe not yet, but *we'll see in the future, when one grows up and can do more about it*

[...]

Heidi: Right. Do these things feel complicated or difficult to you?

All: YES!

Heidi: Yeah

Felix: You don't really like, get the depth of it, how it is, when you're this young

(Group interview 1, lower secondary school)

Especially the boys in lower secondary school, who came to the interviews acting cool and cocky, would later during the interview express a certain humility and even helplessness when reflecting on global challenges. This internalized conception of young people as "not knowing" in relation to grown-ups that "know", forms part of the students' self-image as "not yet citizens". In these situations, I felt the need to say that grown-ups do not necessarily understand these things either, which I often openly articulated. As mentioned above, these boys were first struggling to tell me what they associated with the global world, but along the interview, there were some recurring topics that troubled them:

Heidi: So what are the things you would like to be able to affect the most?

Benjamin: War

Felix: And also children who suffer -

Johannes: - Yes children who suffer

Benjamin: There shouldn't be any wars, it's so unnecessary really

Heidi: Mm

Johannes: Small kids are affected by that too

Benjamin: Yeah

Felix: Completely innocent people get killed, they have to leave their homes and stuff

(Group interview 1, lower secondary school)

This extract demonstrates that these students should not be seen as disinterested or ignorant in the face of global problems. The problematic aspect rather lies in their ways of understanding themselves as lacking knowledge and power to influence the world, particularly if they think that the school does not provide them with the necessary tools and support.

Another aspect of projecting citizenship into the future relates to how some of the students reflected on their engagement with global education as a process of becoming the grown-up they want to be in a professional sense. I illustrate this aspect by a quote from Alma, who told me that she looked forward to doing voluntary work with children in a reception centre during the course with the Red Cross:

For me it's like, I'm interested in children, to work with them, so I think it's very important to raise them to become tolerant and [...] and for me it's very important that small – that even for small children their values are developing in the right direction [...] so it would be nice to be able to affect that myself some day

(Alma, group interview 4, upper secondary school)

Hence, Alma sees global education as a pathway to become the kind of citizen she finds wants to be not only in terms of her career prospects, but for the development of social values in society. Indeed, rather than seeing global education as having (only) an instrumental purpose for the worker citizen³⁰⁵, *e.g.* earning a better salary, I interpret the dimension of work to be central to some students' view on active citizenship. Students like Alma connect global education to professional preparation because they see their future role as workers as perhaps the most effective way of influencing society. Hence, Alma's account can be seen as an example of how the social justice agenda³⁰⁶ (Marshall, 2011) does not only operate within the civic sphere, but also concerns the dimension of working life.

Thus, the students have multiple views on the pathways that lead to global citizenship. They also have varying understandings of what kind of civic participation is effective – and how much global responsibility should be placed on the individual citizen. In the first extract, Sebastian answers my question on what he thinks about activism as a form of influencing society:

Sebastian: It's a completely unnecessary way. You go out on the streets and yell, it doesn't help very much

Heidi: Okey, why do you think it doesn't help?

305 The notion of the worker citizen is also discussed in sections 12.2.2 and 12.3.2

306 The social justice agenda is discussed in section 3.3

Sebastian: Well I would just be irritated by it. If I go out on the street and see somebody with a sign that says you shouldn't eat meat anymore, then I would get fucking pissed off at them, like keep your opinions to yourself

((Niko and Anton chuckle))

Heidi: Okey, yeah. Uhm, so what do you think would be a better way?

Sebastian: Well I don't know, like forcing to end the production of something, or do some...either by force or not at all, because just like nagging at people to do as you want hasn't worked up until now at least

(Group interview 2, lower secondary school)

Here, Sebastian expresses his dislike for activism, which he sees not only as annoying but as an inefficient means for changing people's behavior, here with the example of vegetarianism. Instead, he proposes that change would be "forced", by which I interpret him meaning legislative changes. In the next quote, Sanni ends up suggesting something similar, after negotiating with Mea over the impact of individual dietary choices:

Sanni: Horrible to say this since you [turns to Mea] are a vegan, but I think that it doesn't have a great impact when such a small amount of people are [vegans], so I think those things should perhaps be brought forward even more

Mea: I think that people are too pessimistic about this, that if they do something then it doesn't affect anything anyway, but if people would seriously make the change and many would do it, then it could have more impact

[...]

Sanni: Or then we could just be compelled by society, just like we have this vegetarian food day at school, so basically we are being forced, but no one has to eat there [in the school cafeteria], you can go to Burger King if you want. But anyway, like, to not even offer [people] the possibility of damaging society and nature and all that

Heidi: *((turning to the whole group))* So do you think that is ok that you are sort of compelled to –

Sanni: - Yes, as long as it's not exaggerated. As long as it's not like everyday, that nobody can eat meat ever again.

(Group interview 4, upper secondary school students)

In this interview, Mea repeatedly expressed her belief in the importance of one's life style choices, such as being a vegan and using public transport. Sanni challenged the efficacy of this and questions why "society" allows us to make harmful choices and proposes more societal control over food consumption. What I find interesting in these two extracts is that Sebastian and Sanni, who are not vegetarians or vegans and who do not identify as active citizens, yet position themselves in favor of increased public control over their consumer choices. This willingness to delegate responsibility to the state might be interpreted as an expression of trust in public authorities, in the sense that the state can and should impede harmful lifestyles because the majority of individuals will continue with the lifestyle they are used to, if given the choice. As Sanni expresses, the school can play a part in this control, for instance, by "imposing" a vegetarian food day.

12.4 Integrating NGOs' global citizenship education into secondary schools

12.4.1 NGOs meet schools: expectations, ideals and adjustments

Many NGOs aspire that their school interaction would be an integral part of school culture and that global education would be a crosscutting theme in all teaching³⁰⁷. From the viewpoint of schools, however, interaction with NGOs involves both possibilities and challenges. The school world is marked by particular structures and routines, which are partly school-specific but partly concern schools in general. These include school hours, curricular requirements for subject content, the relative autonomy of teachers as well as school-specific cultures (Stolp & Smith 1995). In this section, I analyze how schools manage the incorporation of NGO workshops and campaigns into the everyday life of secondary schools.

A practical aspect limiting the integration of NGO workshops into school subjects is the complexity of matching the NGO workers' schedules with the schools' annual cycle. Although some NGOs announce their offer of school visits to teachers well ahead of time, others – perhaps due to the precarity and logics of project funding – approach schools on short notice. For some teachers, these spontaneous offers are often perceived as impossible to implement due to the logics of curriculum-based planning, as one teacher explains:

For instance, [the NGOs] want to come at the end of the calendar year or in spring with really short notice. Then I always say no, that can't be arranged, this ship doesn't turn that fast, we plan [...] even a year before

307 Concerning this topic, see e.g. section 9.2

in the beginning of August we plan the whole semester, so we're not taking in anything extra there, it's all in the calendar. So if some NGO writes that "yeah, we could come next month", then you cannot take that, you cannot do that

(Teacher interviewee 2c)

Nevertheless, many teachers seem to accept the NGOs' offers, even though their workshop content might not be compatible with the ongoing teaching. During my fieldwork in schools, teachers repeatedly told me that the NGO workshop I attended would have been much more suitable for another semester or course, but that they need to be flexible and accept the school visitors when the opportunity is offered. Thus, the workshops I observed were often content-wise quite disconnected from the rest of the subject content, and the teachers had rarely prepared the students for the NGO workshop in any particular way. As an example, I participated in a two-day workshop with the Peace School which explicitly aims at involving teachers and students in the workshop content both before and after the workshop. The NGO's package for schools included a pre-task, an inter-task and a post-task as well as extra material for the teacher. The extract below illustrates one case of how this package was implemented:

Before the workshop, the NGO workers, the teacher and I have a short chat in the common room. One of the NGO workers asks the teacher whether they had done the pre-task in class. The teacher, who looks quite tired and seems stressed, replies: "no, no way, there was no way

had time, we had evaluations last week and lots of long discussions with some of the parents and it's been hectic".

(Field notes from lower secondary school)

This mundane comment from the teacher illustrates how even the best intentions of the NGOs to make their contribution connect with the rest of the teaching is not always feasible due to all the other tasks and expectations that teachers face in their work. The NGOs' school visitors often are well aware of this, and some of them do not even strive for explicit integrations with the ongoing teaching, as exemplified with a sequence from my field notes from a school visitor training:

We are grouped into teams of three. A newcomer, an experienced school visitor and myself are instructed to collectively plan a school workshop for secondary students on the topic of the mobile phone.

Heidi: Do you think we should consider the subject that the workshop will be a part of? Like is the topic going to be discussed in a geography, chemistry or social science class, and like try to emphasize the content accordingly?

Exp. school visitor: No, we don't have to think about that, and not about the curriculum either, nor about what they have discussed in class. We go there and we do our thing!

(Field notes, school visitor training)

For this school visitor, the most pragmatic solution is to focus on what the NGO wants to communicate, since integrating it with school timelines is often completely unrealistic. At the schools I visited, teachers did usually not talk about this as a problem. In a rather relaxed way, they often commented that the students are simply “happy about the variation” that the NGO workshop brings to their school day, as they “get to listen to someone new for a change”, or as one teacher puts it: “the workshop surely goes down better on a Friday afternoon than a lesson on church history” (teacher, lower secondary school). However, the NGOs were not completely happy about being called in just for the sake of variation, as another experienced school visitor explains during the lunch break at a school visitor training:

School visitor: The idea is that [the class] would be prepared for the topic, and then after the school visit the contents would somehow be kept alive in school, but no, in some cases we are invited there as circus clowns!

A few other experienced school visitors also share stories about their bad experiences, *e.g.* how the teacher has left them in charge of a challenging group of students, how the students have been rude and disobedient, or how they have been booked for the last class before graduation when the students were completely unfocused. One of the employed NGO workers at the table tries to downplay these negative experiences, partly, I'm guessing, in order to not scare away the newcomers. The NGO worker says that students usually respond well if you just use your personality, humor and small pedagogical tricks.

(Fieldnotes, school visitor training)

On the one hand, this conversation shows that school visitors sometimes wish for more respect and support from the teachers. On the other hand, I interpret that the NGO worker's last comment is meant to empower the school visitor, who can successfully conduct the workshops thanks to their individual resources, despite challenging classroom dynamics or disinterested teachers.

The teachers I interviewed, in turn, also discussed the competence of school visitors. In the example below, an upper secondary school teacher states that the students want and need something more than “a new face”:

An upper secondary school student demands, it's not enough that there is a new face in class, just for a change, as it is surely not for lower secondary or primary schools either, they want to know things! So if, for instance, there's a visitor talking about human rights who doesn't know what the ratification of a human rights treaty means, then I think that it's a big deal, because the students are indeed interested in international politics and stuff, they apply to law school, interested in international law [...] so you kind of get the feeling that, well, is it worth using the class for just having a different face if there is sort of no added value in it

(Teacher interviewee 2c)

This teacher acknowledged that their viewpoint represents upper secondary school students aiming at studies in higher education, but I interpret that they chose to include also younger students in their account in order to pinpoint that students are smart and curious and want the school to provide them with new knowledge. In this quote, the teacher also defended their own professionalism by implying that the NGO workshop is useless if the NGO worker does not possess the level of knowledge that the teacher could provide the student themselves.

Indeed, several teachers I interviewed talked about inviting NGOs' school visitors as a "risk" because of the variation among the school visitors' knowledge base and pedagogical competence (Teacher interviewees 2a, 2b, 2c, 4, 6). For instance, they said that some of the school visitors are insecure about how to deal with diverse groups of students, or how to discuss sensitive or controversial topics, as one teacher explains: "The school visitor, even though it's just 45 minutes, the topics are such that they might hit somewhere really deep" (Teacher interviewee 2b). Although several teachers told me about their many positive experiences of NGO workshops, they were clearly affected by the cases where they feel like the school visitor has done more harm than good. Some of the teachers also showed understanding for the school visitor's challenging role: "I think that for me, it would be a horrific task that I'd have to go around for 45 minutes giving something for some group, it's like mission impossible" (Teacher interviewee 2b). Given these conditions and challenges of incorporating NGO workshops in school routines, the teachers express a certain protectionism of their role as experts in the classroom, wanting to secure the control of their students' learning as well as their wellbeing. This perspective somewhat challenges the NGO workers' ways of legitimating their role in schools on the grounds of their pedagogical and content-specific expertise³⁰⁸.

308 For the NGOs legitimations, see section 9.4

Returning to the relation between NGO workshops and ongoing school activities, some teachers advocate for a clearer connection between these. Below, one teacher tells me her thoughts on using NGO workshops in her teaching:

It's an ambivalent thing. It can be good, or then it can be shaky and disconnected, so the best ones have probably been when there is a theme day on global citizenship and the whole school circulates in different workshops and kind of the students know that this is the theme of the whole day and it's like in some context [...] and if I think, for example, about Operation a Day's Work, when people from ODW have had workshops about what you are doing tomorrow or why are we having this next week, so once again it's within a context, and it has some kind of meaning, so I think those have worked really well

(Teacher interviewee 2b)

This comment can be compared to the NGO workers' agenda of broadening the view of global education as something "more than a theme-day thing"³⁰⁹. It can be argued that teachers defend theme days for global education precisely *because* they differ from normal school days and thus, these days are given particular attention. Some teachers also express that the NGO workshops did not meet their expectations of integrating the workshop content with the school's year calendar of important events, as exemplified with an extract from my fieldwork:

After a workshop on children's rights, I stay in the classroom for a while to talk to the teacher. A large part of the workshop consisted of playing "Children's rights bingo", with very scarce discussion on what children's rights mean or why it is important no know them. I ask the teacher if they have previously discussed children's rights with the students. The teacher says they have not done that yet, that they were expecting the NGO worker to go through the basics today. They also say they had hoped that the NGO worker would have connected the topic to tomorrow's United Nations Day. That way, they say, the workshop would have been part of a broader context instead of being something disconnected.

(Fieldnotes, NGO workshop in lower secondary school)

Hence, on the one hand, some teachers hope that the NGO workshops would be part of a broader pedagogical continuum. On the other hand, teachers recognize the variation within the NGO workers' competence and the practical challenges of synchronized activities, which is why NGO workshops are also called in simply to bring variation to the classroom.

309 For the NGOs' broad view on global education, see section 9.2

Another important question is why some NGOs seem easier to incorporate in schools than others. Teachers' perceptions of which NGOs are suitable for the school world are central to this question. To illustrate this question, I provide an extract from my field notes from a lower secondary school, where I recount a conversation I had with a teacher over lunch in the school cafeteria:

I ask the teacher if it is common practice to invite NGO visitors to this school, to which they reply that it's not very frequent and tell me that they have mainly invited Plan International and the Red Cross. They say that *these ones are good since they are neutral organizations*. Then they continue that there are of course some environmental organizations or Seta [NGO for gender and sexual minority rights], but, as they put it: *"then you'd easily be faced with questions"*. I respond by referring to recent media coverage of criticism towards Seta's school cooperation³¹⁰ and ask if they are familiar with it. They nod, and say: *"that is also so complicated these days, you have all this terminology and you need to be really careful not to offend anybody or cause misunderstandings, especially when you're not an expert yourself. If I invite Seta, then I can get comments like 'why do you invite them but not others'"*.

(Field notes, lower secondary school)

This extract illustrates how certain NGOs are understood as easy to invite to school, since they are perceived as risk-free options for the teachers. This perception opens up for an important discussion on what is or is not understood as political – in schools as well as in society more broadly. Organizations like Plan International and the Red Cross with developmental and/or humanitarian profiles are generally portrayed as helping the most vulnerable people in the world, such as women and children in poor countries or victims of natural disasters, which gives them an image of being free from controversy. In other words, they fit dominant perceptions of benevolence and global solidarity. The persistent, although contested, ideal of the school as politically neutral supports cooperation precisely with NGOs that build their image on neutrality. Neutrality, in the context of global education in schools, is thus associated with a "charity mentality" (Simpson, 2017) that builds on empowering students in the North to "help", without questioning the unequal power relations involved³¹¹.

By contrast, the teacher in the extract above implicitly depicts the NGO Seta as non-neutral, which I, through my response, link to the politicized and mediatized topic of education on sexual and gender minorities in

310 In Finland, as elsewhere in the world, conservative religious groups have protested against education on non-binary gender conceptions. The conservative advocacy in Finland has targeted Seta as its main antagonist (see Henriksson & Häger, 2019).

311 For a critical discussion on the helper narrative, see sections 5.2 and 5.5; see also section on "the fundraiser" in this chapter.

Finnish schools. When teachers perceive an NGO's agenda as controversial, its suitability for schools becomes questionable. The easiest option for teachers is thus to stick to the safe ones, since they otherwise, as this teacher puts it, might "face questions" and need to justify their choice of NGO. I interpret the unwillingness to answer these questions (posed by students, colleagues or parents) as an expression of many teachers' strong hesitancy for taking a stance in divisive questions. What is revealing and alarming about this extract, is that even though education on gender diversity is included in the curriculum, the debates outside school have an impact on how (or if) this is implemented. Also, although this teacher admits not being an expert on gender and sexual diversity, they are hesitant to bring in an NGO that is specialized in these questions. This, in turn, points at the broader question of whether teachers are comfortable with inviting NGOs whose agendas challenge the teachers' own knowledge.

A different aspect concerning how NGO workshops are integrated in school routines is what kind of role the school visitors take in relation to the teacher and the students. In my interviews with NGO workers, many of them emphasized that they are not in a teacher role when visiting schools, but act as facilitators for their specific workshops, and thereby not authorities in the same way as teachers. However, many NGO workers talked about how teachers sometimes leave the classroom during the workshop or otherwise delegate the disciplinary responsibility to them. During my fieldwork, I noticed that teachers take on varying roles during the NGO visits; in some cases, they remain in control of the class, but in others, it is the NGO workers who remind the students to pay attention to the activity at hand or to put away their phones. Moreover, NGOs that explicitly aim at integrating their input in ongoing teaching, might also opt for more school-like pedagogical approaches. An example of this, illustrated below, is the Peace School's two-day format, which includes a "inter task" that the students are expected to hand in on the second day:

Near the end of the workshop, the NGO workers give instructions on the middle task. The students are expected to write down and hand in two alternative future scenarios for the story discussed in class. I notice that one of the NGO workers refers to the task as "homework". After the workshop, the NGO worker tells me that they used the term "homework" in order to get the students more committed.

(Field notes, NGO workshop in lower secondary school)

Giving the students a written assignment is in itself a school-like activity, but the NGO worker's choice to call the task "homework" functions as a way of explicitly positioning the NGO workshop on the same level with regular classes. However, when students were handing in the tasks during

the second workshop, the NGO workers in some aspects returned to their more relaxed facilitator role:

The students approach the NGO workers with their written assignments. One student, who wrote several sheets of paper, asks if it's long enough. Another student asks if they are going to read the assignments in front of the whole class. One of the NGO workers says no, they just pick up some examples anonymously. Others say that they haven't done the assignment. One girl says that the homework was eaten up by her dog. The other NGO worker is amused: "oh, classic", she responds with a smile, and doesn't make a big deal out of it.

(Field notes, NGO workshop in lower secondary school)

In this situation, some students act as they presumably would in relation to a schoolteacher. Others have perhaps interpreted the assignment as less mandatory, but some still feel the need to provide (albeit, humorous) excuses for not handing in the task.

In the case of the short course organized by the Red Cross, the resemblance with formal education was even more explicit, since the students got credits for the course and were able to include it in their degree, if they wished so. The students felt that the course was partly similar to their regular courses, but they also stated that the course atmosphere was more laid-back compared to other classes:

Jenni: It was a bit different, like it didn't feel like they were evaluating all the time, all of our performance in the way that...since there was no exam on the way now, anyway, I thought it was very chill, in that sense *((laughs))*

Heidi: Did that feel nice?

Jenni: Yeah, it was nice to just like not have to think about the exam

(Group interview 5, upper secondary school)

To conclude, the NGO workers partly represent a different type of educator that de-emphasizes assessment; yet, the NGOs also partly use school vocabulary and teacher authority in order to appear serious enough in the eyes of the students.

12.4.2 Fundraising campaigns, school culture and citizens in-the-making

As discussed in section 12.2.2, NGOs organize different types of fundrais-

ing campaigns that schools can participate in as part of global citizenship education, with the aim of empowering students in Finland to help in concrete ways, while simultaneously learning about global challenges. In this section I explore how students perceive fundraising in relation to themselves as (global) citizens, and also, how fundraising campaigns function as fostering opportunities in ways that perhaps differ from the manifest educational objectives of the NGOs.

In the group interviews I conducted with students, fundraising campaigns were mainly portrayed as a “doable”³¹² form of civic participation, especially from their perspective as young people. Some of the students talked about not having much money themselves and therefore presented fundraising as a possibility of donating their own time. Others talked about fundraising as the only way of being able to impact due to their age, as illustrated below:

Heidi: So do you think that collecting money, is that a good way to influence? Why or why not?

Benjamin: Well at least you are able to influence in SOME way, because there’s not, otherwise we wouldn’t have any other way of influencing really, since we’re still underage, so this way we at least get to influence, a little

Heidi: Mm right, what do the rest of you think?

Felix: Well the same, that I don’t know what other way there would be to help them

(Group interview 1, lower secondary school)

Although these students explicitly connected fundraising with being able to influence global problems, they were significantly more sceptical towards what they learned through these NGO campaigns. When fundraising becomes a yearly tradition in schools, the teachers might perceive the event as a routine that does not require much preparation and discussions with the students. In one school, the Red Cross was going to present the Hunger Day campaign to the whole school, but due to a misunderstanding the teachers were left in charge. All the student groups interviewed in this school expressed a lack of information about the campaign, as exemplified below:

Johannes: They didn’t really tell us anything

Benjamin: Yeah, we should maybe have known were those [collected

312 The notions of doable and undoable are discussed in section 4.2

funds] are going and stuff -

Felix: - Yes, like they didn't tell us nothing, they just said to us that "this and this lesson when you come to school you're going to collect money for this hunger day collection"

Heidi: Yeah?

Felix: Nothing else did they tell us

(Group interview 1 with lower secondary students)

In this sense, the global connection³¹³ in the fundraising campaigns will probably be weak because of practical and/or organizational problems in preparing the students for their task. Some of the students I interviewed questioned the implementation of the UNICEF walk for similar reasons, as illustrated below:

Heidi: So what do you think about [the UNICEF walk] as an activity?

[...]

Sanni: Well in our school *it turned into this contest, who runs to most, who gets the most money*

Alma: But then it's not so nice when at least in primary school, or actually especially in lower secondary school, people did not participate in [the Unicef walk] out of their own free will, but everyone was forc... or not forced to send money but forced to walk the laps, so maybe it undermines the objective of the activity a bit if you're forced into it. I think it would have been better if we first had been told that "hey, now you have a chance to save the world" *((laughs))* or to raise money for a good cause, why this must be done, where this money is going and where [the money] helps. After that people might have been interested in participating out of their own free will, and not like "ok, now the Unicef-walk, off you go to the school yard" *((laughs))* because then many are against it, they can't be bothered

(Group interview 5, upper secondary school)

In this extract, Sanni's comment suggests that the fundraising event in her school resembled a track and field contest rather than a form of citizenship education, showing how school-like practises such as outdoor events and competitions might overshadow the global linkage that the NGOs

313 The global connection is presented as an important dimension of global citizenship in the analytical model in section 12.2.1

strive at constructing. Another interpretation is that the competitive mentality that this event provokes within (some) schools goes hand in hand with the idea of raising a maximum amount of funds. Alma, on her part, argues that students lack motivation for the Unicef walk precisely because it is *not* presented as a form of civic action, but as yet another out-door day. By referring to “forcing” and “free will”, I interpret that Alma questions the agency available for students in this type of event. The agency that this type of NGO school interaction offers students is indeed restricted, since it entails everyone doing the same thing according to pre-formulated rules and instructions. However, with this kind of limited agency, the activity remains safe and relatively predictable, which makes these types of activities easy to integrate in schools.

Further, it is problematic to assume all students happily engage in fundraising campaigns, even though the school were to have a long tradition of participating in them. Below, I provide an extract from my fieldnotes, where a class is preparing for the Hunger Day collection, and some of the students question the role they are given:

The students are gathering in the school yard, while their teacher gives practical instructions, such as to be polite, to mind their posture and not to play with their phones. Many students chat with each other, laugh, take selfies and walk in and out of the school building. I stand by the entrance and hold the door for them.

Lucas: Why does it say volunteer when I have to do this? *((turns to Kenneth and points at the name tag on his Red Cross vest.))*
Kenneth: *((to the teacher))* Isn't it a bit weird that we are representing the Red Cross even though we are not from there? We are just students. Isn't it kind of a big responsibility?

Teacher: Yes, but our task is also to socialize you into society

Kenneth: Communism

Teacher: But now we need to keep in mind that the Red Cross is a non-aligned organization that does not represent any interest in particular

Kenneth: Still sounds like communism to me

Someone asks where the money goes.

Teacher: I don't remember exactly where the money goes this year, do

you? *((turns to me))*

I am somewhat overwhelmed, then I clarify that I am not from the Red Cross before telling the students what I know about this year's collection.

(Field notes, Hunger Day Collection at lower secondary school)

In this scene, Lucas and Kenneth challenge the alleged neutrality of the fundraising campaign. Their questions might be dismissed as "just" an adolescent way of testing school authority, but I interpret them as expressions of the students' sincere interrogations that they want to make sense of by turning to the teacher. For both Lucas and Kenneth, pulling a Red Cross West over their own clothes is not a neutral act, but can in some sense be experienced as a threat to their individuality and thus, their participation requires a valid justification. Kenneth meets the teacher's response about the schools socializing task with scepticism and calls it "communism". Partly, I read the reference to communism as another reflection of individualization, in the sense that Kenneth finds it inappropriate for the school to expect him and the others to adhere to a collective that they have not chosen themselves. Simultaneously, Kenneth's response is a way of politicizing the fundraising activity, in showing that it can be viewed as debatable. The teacher's response is to refer to the Red Cross as "nonaligned" – which is of course how the Red Cross presents itself – but in this context, it also functions as a way of warding off the students' attempts to politicize the activity and re-establishing the school as neutral.

The downplaying of the political side of fundraising is also connected to how students often view these campaigns primarily as a different kind of school day. In the case of the Hunger Day collection and the A Day's Work campaign, it is also an opportunity to get away from school for a while. One group of lower secondary school students express this in the following way:

Heidi: So, what do you think about participating in the Hunger Day collection?

Jonathan: Well, it's quite fun that you like get to skip class

Felix chuckles, the others start laughing too.

Jonathan: And then, how do you say, raise money for those who like need it

Heidi: Yeah?

The boys laugh and look at each other, avoiding eye contact with me.

[...]

Felix: *((whispers))* “skip class” *((laughs))*

Heidi: Right, so it’s also a nice thing to get out of school, is it?

All: Yes

Felix: Yes, to do something else as well

Benjamin: Yeah, not just sit in school

(Group interview 1, lower secondary school)

In this extract, Jonathan’s first answer to my question is that “skipping class” is the best part about the fundraising, but he also hurries to say that raising money is also important, as if to give an appropriate answer in the interview situation. During the Hunger Day campaign, students go out in pairs or groups of three without teacher supervision. This gives the lower secondary students a sense of freedom that might otherwise be absent during the school day. These students use this relative freedom in different ways, which I got to observe as I hung out in the lobby near the school’s main entrance. While some groups came back proudly telling the teachers how much they had collected, others came in with empty McDonalds bags and a smell of fast food, suggesting that the primary meaning of this opportunity was to do something fun among friends. During my fieldwork, I also encountered a case where two students tried to steal money from the collection box. Through the field notes below, I describe what happened when these students were caught:

In the common room, the principal and the teachers have lively discussions about the incident and its repercussions for the students. The principal has informed the Red Cross, who in turn, has reported the occurrence to the police. The principal also tells us that he went to these students’ class and took them out for a “serious talk”. One of the students had been appointed a special position of responsibility in school, but the principal says that as a punishment, this student will now lose the position. The other teachers agree with this and say they deserve to

be punished. Two of the teachers want to go in to their classroom again, to inform them about the punishment immediately.

(Fieldnotes, Hunger Day collection in lower secondary school)

This episode is an example of how fundraising functions as citizenship education in quite a different sense than generally discussed in the context of global education. Rather than teaching the students about global challenges and international solidarity, the educators need to handle the task of teaching their students basic principles of trust and personal responsibility. By involving the police, the students are faced with the legal aspects of their citizenship, and simultaneously, they become a cautionary case for the rest of the school. My interpretation is that the principal uses this incident to set an example of the consequences of unlawful behavior, which is reinforced by the staff claiming additional repercussions for these students. Hence, these students' process of becoming citizens is marked by the school staffs' use of punishments and cautionary examples as fostering methods. In this particular situation, my feelings ranged from recognizing these students' actions as obviously wrong, to a sense of trying to see them as adolescents acting out in pursuit of attention, status or even guid

ance. Below, I provide an account of my interaction with the teachers in the common room:

At one point of the discussion, I comment that similar incidents have probably occurred during school fundraising campaigns before. "Not in our school!", one teacher exclaims. Another teacher is noticeably enraged: "How low can you go? Like, stealing money from the Red Cross?". These teachers continue by talking about how young people are increasingly losing their respect for others and their sense of responsibility. I say something about individualism as a broader social change. One of the teachers agrees, but sustains that the students' behaviour gets worse year by year, "it's just me, me, me".

(Fieldnotes, Hunger Day collection in lower secondary school)

In this extract, I try to understand the occurrence as something that might happen when young people are testing their boundaries. One teacher is quick to respond that this type of things do *not* happen in *their* school, which frames the incident as shameful for the school's reputation. The Red Cross is also presented as almost sacred, something you simply do not disrespect, which frames the episode as something that goes beyond individual wrongdoings. The teachers then relate this event to young people's worsened behavior in general, which I read as a way for them to express their sense of loss of authority as teachers. Thus, punishing these students has the broader function of reaffirming the position of the school as a mor-

al authority that teaches students a sense of civic responsibility that they allegedly lack to a growing degree.

What I also find interesting in relation to fundraising is the broad range of ways in which the students narrate their experiences of “becoming” citizens, which go beyond the act of collecting money for humanitarian or developmental needs. One of these aspects concerns their future as “worker citizens” (Ylöstalo, 2014; Ekholm & Teittinen, 2014), a term which I connect especially with ODW’s a Day’s Work campaign³¹⁴. For some of the students, taking part in working life for one day was a meaningful experience, as illustrated in the interview extract below where we talk about what the students did during the last ODW day at their school:

Marcus: I was at my dad’s work place, he’s a chef at [name of the restaurant] so I was there

Heidi: Okey

Marcus: For like seven hours [...] I was the only one who worked!

(Group interview 3, lower secondary students)

In this example, Marcus distinguishes himself from his classmates by saying that he was the only one working at an actual workplace, in contrast to many of his schoolmates who stayed at home³¹⁵. While his comment might be interpreted as an expression of injustice of having to work harder than the others, I also think that Marcus expressed a sense of pride in complying with what he understood to be the core of the ODW day, that is, to get a glimpse of actual working life, which he did by working with his father. Further, some students tell me that the ODW day gave them direction regarding what kind of careers *not* to pursue:

Heidi: What does one learn from this ODW campaign, do you think?

Kenneth: That I don’t want to be a lumberman *((laughs))* -

Lucas: - *((surprised tone))* What does one learn?

Kenneth: Well actually it was quite fun to cut down trees, but probably that working life will be a bit like “yey”

314 For another example of how the global citizen and the worker citizen intersect, see the fundraiser type in section 12.2.2

315 Most of the students I interviewed told me that they stayed at home during A Day’s Work campaign; some of them had done household chores like washing windows or vacuum cleaning, others had not done any special chores.

Heidi: *((laughs))* What does “yey” mean, or?

Kenneth: Well that it’ll be more physical work if one chooses a sector like lumbering, not so much in front of the computer or writing papers or stuff like that

(Group interview 3, lower secondary students)

On the one hand, an interesting observation in this extract is that Lucas repeats my question sounding surprised, which indicates that students are unfamiliar with reflecting on the educative purposes of fundraising campaigns. As discussed above, the ODW day is first and foremost a day off school for many students. Kenneth, on the other hand, responds by connecting his learning experience to the idea of himself as a future worker citizen. For him, becoming a lumberman does not seem like an attractive career choice, in contrast to more white-collar jobs. I interpret this account as Kenneth’s expression of his upper middle-class background, where pursuing an academic career is almost a naturalized pathway, confirmed by the “fun” but overall unappealing working experience as a lumberman. Thus, the fundraising campaign also directs the students’ views on their future roles in working life.

Returning to the Hunger Day collection, I argue that a central component of the citizenship education it entails is that the students come in contact with people on the streets in a way that differs from their everyday patterns of interaction in public spaces. When I asked the students about how they felt when they were out with the collection box, they generally told me about different kinds of encounters with people:

Sara: There was this family, or a mother with a child that walked by and this mother said “don’t look at them” and that made me quite angry that she would teach her child in that way, and I just don’t get why she said that [...]

Kenneth: I don’t know, was she foreign maybe?

Sara: Well, like no, she was totally Finnish

Kenneth: Yes, well then it was probably that she had grown up - or that she didn’t have much money so she just wants her kid to grow up knowing not to look at beggars, or you know that sort of thing, because if you make eye contact than you feel much more obligated to give, you know

Heidi: Mm, and did the rest of you get positive or negative comments today when you were out there?

Marcus: My group got *((pauses))* A FINGER pointed at us *((laughs))*

Heidi: Ah *((smiles))* a certain one between your index and –

Marcus: - But we also got many smiles -

Kenneth: - Why did you get that?

Marcus: I don't know

(Group interview 3, lower secondary school)

The point of this extract is to show that these fundraising encounters provide young students with important glimpses of micro-level public behavior, which I understand as meaningful for the students as they collectively started interpreting these strangers' actions during the interviews. These interpretations tell us something both about the students' own self-image and about their pre-conceptions of other people. Above, Sara says that she got angry because of the encounter she had with a mother and her child. Sara had previously told me that fundraising campaigns are important for her, and she takes part in them outside school hours also, which is why she could not understand why some people would teach their children to look away instead of donating. Kenneth seems to have the preconception that "foreign" people are less likely to donate, an argument that he needs to reformulate when Sara describes the mother as "totally Finnish". Marcus' comment about being shown the finger is just one example of the unpleasant reactions that the students got from passersby. Many students told me about rude and hostile reactions, for instance, being told to "fuck off". These reactions seemed to somewhat confuse the students, since they were not sure whether these people were angry at the Red Cross, at them as adolescents or both. In the common room I also got to know how students with immigrant background had been verbally abused during a previous collection. However, especially the boys I interviewed would often brush off these comments and/or naturalize them as "nothing special". But since these encounters are part of the process of becoming citizens, also the negative experiences would be important to reflect upon both before and after the collection. This aspect of fundraising would probably deserve more attention in schools in the form of discussions on different civic dispositions and again, about fundraising as a debatable question in society.

12.4.3 Learning about privilege through the refugee crisis

At the time I conducted the fieldwork in schools, in 2017-2018, the global refugee crisis was a topical issue in Finland, largely because of the rising, although still comparatively low number of asylum seekers entering the country. During this time, several NGOs developed campaigns and educational materials in order for schools to discuss these questions. One of these NGOs was the Red Cross, that was, and continues to be, actively involved in receiving the asylum seekers and managing reception centres across the country. In this section, I analyze the Red Cross's school interaction on the topic of refugees in the context of two optional courses that I attended in upper secondary schools.

In one of the courses, the idea was the students would engage in voluntary work with asylum seekers, for instance, by playing with the children in a reception center, or by practising Finnish language with the asylum seekers. At the course start, a Finnish Red Cross worker and a young, male asylum seeker gave a talk about the local reception center:

The NGO worker tells the students that in principle, anyone can visit the reception center, but only if you have something relevant to do there, for example visiting a friend. She emphasizes that you cannot go there to glare at people:

NGO worker: Like you can't go there and be like "ooh what are you doing here and what are you eating". It's still people's home.

The NGO worker asks if any of the students have visited the reception center. One student raises his hand.

Adam: Well, I've lived there too. It's quite different from a normal home

Asylum seeker: Yeah *((smiling at the student))*

The NGO worker explains that it is a big place with shared showers and shared kitchens.

Asylum seeker: And lots of noise *((laughs))*

The student smiles. The NGO worker says that it's good to keep in mind that the asylum seekers, on top of having difficult experiences from their home countries and a tough, dangerous journey behind them, also suddenly need to share their home, kitchen and toilet with strangers.

(Field notes, NGO workshop in upper secondary school)

In this sequence, the NGO worker takes charge of describing the reception center and directs the description to a presumably native Finnish audience without refugee experiences. When one of the students shares that he has lived in the place being described, there is a short but noticeable moment of mutual recognition and identification between the student and the asylum seeker, composed of sharing embodied knowledge of the everyday life in the reception center. This allows them to contribute to the NGO worker's more professional account; the asylum seeker by emphasizing the noisiness of the place, and the student by distinguishing the reception center from a "normal home". I interpret the contribution of this student as important not only for himself and the asylum seeker, but for the (mostly native Finnish) body of students who got a more personalized account from asylum seekers in their hometown. Moreover, I understand this kind of detailed description of everyday life as a fruitful way of addressing questions of equality and privilege in the Finnish context.

Moving the discussion on refugees from a personalized level to a political level is not necessarily an easy task in the classroom, with I exemplify next. In the same workshop that I described above, the asylum seeker gave a presentation, where they told the students about their background and their journey to Finland. At the end of the presentation, they posed the students the following four questions, which they wanted the students to discuss in class:

- Do Finland and the Finnish authorities have a responsibility to help immigrants and integrate them?
- How can one help immigrants? The authorities? You?
- Should Finland receive more refugees?
- Should the countries of Europe receive more refugees?

These questions are followed by a long, complete silence in the classroom. The students are avoiding eye contact with both the asylum seeker and the NGO worker.

(Field notes, NGO workshop in upper secondary school)

I interpret this silence as an expression of the students' unpreparedness and perhaps their lack of tools to discuss this type of politically burning questions in school. The slightly uncomfortable silence is broken by the teacher, who takes charge of the situation in the following way:

The teacher, sitting in the front row, turns to the students and asks whether they have any questions for the asylum seeker. Now, a couple of hands are timidly raised. The students ask the asylum seeker questions like: "Did you know anything about Finland before coming here?", "How long was your trip?" and "Is the Finnish language difficult?". An

intern from the Red Cross asks them “How are you feeling now?”. To this, the asylum seeker responds: “Better not to talk about that”.

(Field notes, NGO workshop in upper secondary school).

I read this scene as a case of “avoiding politics” (Eliasoph, 1997), where both the teacher, through the formulation of a new question, and the students, through their silence and later through their participation, contribute to maintaining the discussion on a personal level. The teacher does not, for instance, make an attempt to facilitate a discussion on the role of Finnish authorities or European refugee politics. This could be read as way of rapidly overcoming the awkward silence and/or as an attempt to keep the topic “accessible” for students. Either way, the asylum seeker’s explicit wish to engage the students in a societal debate on refugees is not supported in the classroom and the attention is brought back to them as an individual. A problem with this is that it turns away the attention from ourselves, and our complicity in the asylum seekers’ challenging situation in Europe. In this case, the attention was turned away from these student citizens in the making, and their role in taking a political stance in relation to the refugee situation. Indeed, the scene changed from an opportunity to discuss politics collectively, to an occasion of glaring and exploring the asylum seeker as “the Other”.

In this situation, I expected the NGO worker to take up the asylum seeker’s questions for discussion, or at least comment on the legal framework around them, but they started wrapping up the workshop. With the four questions still showing on the power point, I raised my hand and said I thought that the questions they posed are good and worth commenting on. Then I briefly presented viewpoints on the responsibilities of the authorities and on the low number of refugees that Finland (and Europe) receives when compared on a global scale. This account serves as an example of my way of positioning myself in the field, that is, to raise comments or try to spark discussion on topics that I feel are evaded, problematically framed or under-discussed.

In another Red Cross workshop, I also took a more active role in an exercise that made me feel uncomfortable. The topic was humanitarian aid, and the Red Cross worker discussed both natural disasters, armed conflicts and refugee camps. In the extract below, I explore how the students’ views on human needs clash with the classroom exercise of determining the minimal conditions for human survival:

Three students and I are sitting around a table. We are given a list of 16 words related to human life, ranging from freedom and self-determination to food and water. The NGO worker instructs us to choose only 8 of them that we consider a minimum for what a human being needs. We

look at the list quietly for a while.

Robin: Well, I don't know what you think but I would eliminate science, culture and entertainment from there

NGO worker: Why is that?

Robin: Well, you can live without them *((laughs a bit sarcastically))*

NGO worker: What else?

No one says anything for a while.

Jenni: But these really intersect a lot, like one is dependent of the other. It all depends on what you mean by these

Heidi: Yeah, for instance, "humanity" *((reading off the list))*, it depends on what you read into that

NGO worker: Well what DO you read into that? What do you *((turns to Jenni))* think that humanity entails?

Jenni: *((somewhat timidly))* Well, freedom, and safety, and self-determination

[...]

NGO worker: So what else [are you eliminating from the list]?

Jenni: All of these are important

[...]

We reluctantly remove some words from the list.

Selma: Maybe we take out "education". If we already took away "work" and "salary", what do we need education for? *((laughs))* How awful!

We cross education from the list.

NGO worker: Okey, one more needs to go

A complete silence again. This time the NGO worker's question is fol-

lowed by quite a long and awkward pause. I struggle to wait how the students respond, but I think the exercise feels absurd, especially since the students have expressed their thoughts on the importance of all of the words, especially the remaining ones. Finally, when no one says anything, I break the silence:

Heidi: We don't want to eliminate anything more

The students laugh timidly. I presume they agree with me?

NGO worker: *((decisively))* You have to take out one more

Another moment of silence.

Selma: Ok, I'm counting to three and then you all shout out what you think

Silence. Selma does not count and nobody shouts out anything.

Robin: I would take away self-determination, but I don't know what the rest of you think

Selma: If we take away self-determination *((looks at the list))*

Heidi: Then we still have freedom left

Robin makes a gesture expressing "that's what I meant" followed by laughter from the others.

NGO worker: It's a bit like exchanging Pokemon cards *((laughs))*

The NGO worker looks at me as if for approval for this comment. I force myself to smile even though I find the situation uncomfortable. Selma crosses the word "self-determination" from the list.

NGO worker: And then one more

Selma: I knew it *((sighs))* so this will end with just food and water left

The other students seem to agree with Selma's conclusion. Selma starts crossing off the rest of the words without asking, until only food and water remains.

NGO worker: And then still one more

Robin: Cross off food -

Jenni: - Because you can survive longer without food than water

(Field notes, NGO workshop in upper secondary school)

In this scene, the NGO worker firmly goes through the exercise, despite the more or less explicit protests from the student and myself. My view is that the students had a strong sense of all of the things on the list as indispensable for all human beings, and that they felt awful when trying to determine which ones to eliminate, especially since they knew that this ranking did not concern themselves but people in conflict areas. Hence, the students' notion of equity did not allow for such a game to be played on the expense of other people's rights, not even in the form of a hypothetical exercise. What makes the situation even more problematic is that the exercise was not followed by any collective discussion. Nor did the NGO worker comment on it, but moved forward to speak about how the Red Cross helps people in conflicts by providing them with medical care, food supplies and water. Presumably, the point of the exercise was to illustrate that all the things that privileged Finnish students take for granted are far from evident in some contexts. Nevertheless, turning these rights into a game and putting the students in the position of slashing others rights risks reinforcing the idea that supplying these people with water and shelter is already enough /lowering the bar for global solidarity to supplying these people with water and shelter.

However, in the NGO workshops, there were also exercises that made the students reflect on their privilege in perhaps more constructive ways. Together with a non-Finnish Red Cross school visitor, the students engaged in the exercise called "the privilege walk"³¹⁶, where each student was given a fictive character living in Finland, including asylums seekers, refugees and immigrants but also so-called native Finns. When I interviewed the students afterwards, they told me that the exercise had an impact on their thinking:

Heidi: So, what kind of feelings did today's workshop evoke? What parts of it? (*short silence*) or did it provoke any feelings at all?

316 Different versions of the privilege walk are discussed in section 11.4.2 and 12.2.7 respectively

Kia: Well, the privilege walk, I mean everyone is conscious about it, but there [in the exercise] they are so concrete, the differences, that since those people are of that [skin]colour, they have less rights, when the Finns Party³¹⁷ just think that I am not moving because I'm this kind of person

[...]

Sanni: Yeah and it really changed my conception of it, of how the situation for asylum seekers really is, because maybe I'm, maybe my own opinion has come from like other people's opinions, but now I'm starting to have like my own opinion on the matter

(Group interview 4, upper secondary school)

These girls express that the privilege walk, together with meeting asylum seekers, gave them a more concrete picture of the inequalities in the Finnish society. Kia's reference to the Finns Party's denial of structural inequalities could also be interpreted as an expression of a broader discourse on individualism and meritocracy, that often overshadows a more critical view on equity in Finnish society. For Sanni, the experience was plausibly even more effective, since she expresses that she has not independently reflected on the asylum seekers' situation from their perspective. Thus, for Kia and Sanni, becoming more aware of the privileges they have as white, blond Finnish students, allows them to construct a sense of self-reflexivity in line with the notion of critical global education.

Further, the NGO workers also strived at deconstructing possible pre-conceptions of asylum seekers or immigrants in a broader sense as a uniform group that is somehow essentially different from Finnish people. When the class discussed the importance of Finns and immigrants interacting with each other, the NGO worker emphasized the following:

You don't always need to approach immigrants as foreigners or explicitly as immigrants, because people are so much more. Everyone has different identities, and, for instance, asylum seekers are not a homogeneous group. So, when people want to know for example what "what asylum seekers think" about this or that, well, that's impossible.

(NGO worker, workshop in upper secondary school)

Hence, the workshops on refugees provided the students with opportunities to reflect on their own position and privileges, but also on their pre-conceptions of others. According to the students I interviewed, the course³¹⁷ The Finns Party (in Finnish: Perussuomalaiset) is a Finnish populist party using nationalist and racist discourse, critical view on immigration and with connections to neo-nazi groups

es with the Red Cross gave them information and perspectives that they would not receive from school otherwise:

I don't think refugees have been discussed at all during any course. Like they are mentioned, but never with an explicit focus or, why there are refugees or where the majority of refugees come from and stuff, so in that sense this has been different from normal courses

(Robin, upper secondary school)

In a similar manner, Jenni stated that she thinks a course on refugees should be mandatory for the whole school, or preferably for the whole country, since, as she explains, education affects people's political behavior:

People should just KNOW, because when people vote about things that affect other people, then they should be more informed in like – well, there's tons of things that they don't know! Older people who haven't had this at school at all, and they don't know an awful lot about this, so they have tons of prejudices because of that.

(Jenni, upper secondary school)

I interpret Jenni's statement as an expression of her concern about the popularity of anti-immigration agendas in Finnish politics, which she connects to people being un-informed and left without education on the topic of refugees and migration. Thus, to conclude, the NGO workshops gave the students a chance to reflect not only on the topic at hand, but also on the complex relation between schooling and politics.

12.5 Summary

The findings in this chapter can be summarized in the following points: that there are important variations in how NGOs promote global citizenship in Finnish schools; that students hope for more discussions on topical questions in class; and that enacting NGO school interaction involves a process of translation which means that the outcome can include both expected and unexpected elements.

Based on the NGOs' educational materials, I constructed a typology of five different global citizenships: the fundraiser, the negotiator, the consumer, the activist and the equity promoter. The findings are summarized in Table 17 (see section 12.2.8). The typology illustrates the diverse and sometimes conflicting approaches to what kind of agency students are encouraged to take in order to tackle global challenges. Following the analytical model presented in Figure 3, I illustrate how particular types of

identification are connected to particular political positionalities and thus to different levels and forms of civic participation. For instance, the agency of the fundraiser and the negotiator is controlled and formalized, while the consumer, the activist and the equity promoter represent freer and more individualized forms of agency; especially the latter two are associated with courageous and critical positionalities, while the former represent more docile, conformist citizenship.

The students' perspectives on global citizenship education in school varied, but in general terms the interviews show that students are eager to learn about the world around them, and want to engage with different perspectives on controversial topics. Many students expressed that global topics and citizenship education is only given on a theoretical level, while the opportunities to practice citizenship and engage in debates were seen as scarce. Further, the interviews illustrate that both family and peer relations play a crucial role for the students' self-image as citizens, and that their sense of citizenship is also strongly connected to their future professional careers.

Integrating NGO campaigns or workshops in school routines involves many choices. These choices relate to school schedules and the teacher's priorities; for instance, whether they take the time to prepare students for the upcoming NGO visit or not. It was also interesting to observe that teachers sometimes favor what they perceive as "neutral" NGOs in order not to face questions or be portrayed as biased. The teachers and students are also involved in shaping the discussions and the fostering processes during NGO visits, which might redirect the attention in ways that the NGOs had not intended. In particular, when it comes to fundraising campaigns, the NGOs' objective to teach students about global challenges is often downplayed in practice. Finally, the NGOs' school visitors of course play a key role when it comes to the implementation of the workshops and campaigns. My analysis shows that there are important variations in these visitors' pedagogical experience, and also in their positionality in terms of soft versus critical approaches to global education.

13. Conclusions and discussion

13.1 Central results

13.1.1 Back to theory – situating the findings

In this study, I have explored the role of NGOs in the enactment of global education in Finland, revolving around two broad questions; the first question being about how “the global” is constructed in schools, and the second question concerning the interaction between NGOs and schools. Empirically, I have studied this topic through different ways in which NGOs interact with the school world: curriculum reforms, textbook advocacy, teacher education and school campaigns. The empirical material has been explored through three theoretical perspectives: governance theory, social movement theory and decolonial theory. These theoretical strands have shaped my research questions, guided my attention towards particular aspects of the field and importantly, provided me with analytical tools for generating findings from the abundance of ethnographic material. What qualifies as a finding depends on the theoretical perspective in use, which is why I shortly discuss how each perspective has been useful in the analytical process.

The governance perspective was fruitful for analyzing which kinds of knowledge-related processes are involved in Finnish educational policy-making and the role of NGOs in this process, with the example of how the Global Education Network participated in the curricular reforms of 2014 and 2015 in Finland. Further, I used governance theory to illustrate how advocacy for global education functions outside of policy contexts, such as in textbook advocacy or within teacher education. Particularly with the help of the epistemic governance framework (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2014; 2016; Alasuutari, Syväterä & Rautalin, 2016), I showed how NGOs build their authority and illustrated what kind of justifications are mobilized in favor of global education.

Social movement theories, in turn, enabled me to demonstrate in what ways global education is part of a broader movement for global social justice, which in different ways is positioned in protest towards the dominant global order of financial capitalism, consumption culture, inequalities and violent conflicts. The theoretical point is that such a movement needs a sense of collective identity and collective action frames in order to engage and commit people; and my material shows that this is also the case in the school world. Not all teachers nor all students identify with this movement, and they will not automatically engage with global education just because it is included in the UN’s Agenda 2030 and the national core cur-

riculum. For active engagement with global education, a sense of identification and a shared cause seem to be more important than policies. In this sense, it is understandable that the NGOs strive to frame global education in ways that would resonate with as many as possible. With the help of actively involved teachers, the NGOs are trying to build an inclusive movement that would permeate formal education.

Finally, the decolonial perspective led me to demonstrate two different tendencies within the NGOs' advocacy for global education. On the one hand, I found Eurocentric and salvationist traits in global education materials and workshops. On the other hand, I illustrated how NGOs sometimes adopt decolonial approaches in their advocacy, for instance, by challenging problematic representations of the global South or by advising textbook publishers to include indigenous knowledge alongside with the colonizer's view. A general conclusion is thus that Finnish NGOs are generally aware of the decolonial critique of global education (Andreotti 2006; Andreotti & de Souza, 2012), but that this awareness is manifested differently depending on the discursive context in which they operate.

In the following sections, I discuss the central findings of the study by drawing theoretically informed and empirically anchored conclusions that concern chapters 9-12. In order to avoid repetition, I only briefly present findings from particular chapters, such as the authority types (see section 9.4), the collective action frames (see section 10.3), the teacher types (see section 11.5) and the types of global citizenship (see section 12.2), since I have already discussed these in the summaries of each empirical chapter. Here, the focus is on cross-cutting tendencies and tensions that characterize global education in the context of NGO school interaction. After the central findings, I evaluate this study's contribution to the scientific community. Finally, I provide suggestions for different sectors working with global education in the Finnish context.

13.1.2 The multiple roles of NGOs in formal education: grassroots participation overshadowed by professionalization

In previous Finnish research, NGOs have generally been described as important partners for schools, but their multifaceted relation to formal education has only scarcely been studied³¹⁸. Through empirical examples, I have illustrated the complexity of this relation from the perspective of NGO workers as well as from the perspective of textbook publishers, teachers and students. The NGO perspective is primarily analyzed through the theoretical lens of epistemic governance and summarized in

318 For these studies, see section 6.3

the typology presented in section 9.4, where I discuss the four different authority types which NGO workers use to justify why NGOs are needed in the school world: 1) professional, 2) legal, 3) democratic and 4) advocacy-based authority. The two first types, professional and legal authority, were the most commonly used sources of authority in the interview material; these are based on the NGOs expert knowledge and watchdog role, *i.e.*, making certain that other educational actors fulfill the existing legal and professional requirements. I argue that the broad usage of this type of legitimation in the interviews reflects the kind of public image that NGOs need to construct of themselves in order to be seen as relevant and credible actors in the school world.

My findings suggest that NGOs perceive teachers, policymakers and textbook publishers as increasingly important target groups alongside with, or even overriding the students (see also Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020). In my material, a few interviewees did justify their school involvement with what I call democratic authority by referring to the intrinsic value of civil society, but this type was marginal in the interview material. This does not mean that students would not be important for NGOs. On the contrary, in light of my interviews with NGO workers, enhancing students' active citizenship is one of the NGOs' most central objectives. Rather, this finding reflects a change in *how* NGOs pursue this objective, *i.e.*, through teacher education or textbook advocacy rather than directly in schools, and *to whom* they feel they need to justify their actions, *i.e.*, to policymakers or teachers rather than to students.

Indeed, in recent years, there has been a gradual shift in the NGOs' emphasis from school campaigns to other types of educational advocacy, further away from classroom encounters with students. During 2015-2020, the number of NGO projects³¹⁹ in teacher education seems to have increased to more or less on the same level as projects with students as the primary target group (Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020, p.19). Roughly during the same timespan, NGOs have also started focusing on textbook advocacy. The NGO workers I interviewed often motivated this shift away from the classroom with terms like "efficiency" and "impact", for instance, with the argument that by educating teachers the impact of their work is easily multiplied as one teacher passes forward what he or she has learned to various student groups over the years. In my view, this illustrates how the NGOs (need to) conform with the managerial discourse stemming from New Public Management. With the discursive imperative of being efficient, state funding requires the NGO projects to be based on results-

319 Here, I refer to projects funded by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs' Communications and Global Citizenship subsidy, which was evaluated in 2020 (see Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020).

based steering in NGO projects, and the NGOs, in turn, reformulate their role as influential professionals, rather than grassroots volunteers. In light of governance theory, this development is neither surprising³²⁰, nor necessarily problematic in terms of spreading global education within formal education. On the contrary, NGOs surely make important contributions to both teacher education and educational policymaking through their broad expertise.

However, I argue that a possible long-term consequence of this tendency is that the democratic dimension of NGO school interaction weakens, if students are not familiarized with NGOs as collective actors of civil society, in which anyone in society, often also minors such as the secondary students themselves, can participate as citizens without any professional expertise. My worry is thus that the attention on citizenship skills and collective action diminishes if the NGOs advocacy is increasingly distanced from classroom level and direct encounters with students. Although the objective of NGOs is that their global citizenship initiatives would dismount from their advocacy statements or teacher seminars to the students, but as I have shown throughout the different chapters, the NGOs' proposals are only selectively included for school use³²¹ and only a part of the teachers are actively integrating global education in their teaching. Also, in light of research literature (see Cantell, 2005, Nieminen & Mankki, 2019), teachers in Finland are not known for their ability to encourage civic engagement among students, and teachers are particularly unlikely to promote activism or other forms of civic action considered controversial in the Finnish context.

Another cross-cutting question in this study has been whether these NGOs are to be considered conformist or autonomous in relation to the state (Biccum, 2015; Bryan, 2011; McCloskey, 2011). A starting point in the case of NGO school interaction in Finland has been that the NGOs at some level need to conform to the school as a public institution and to public funding which is a prerequisite for almost all of the NGOs included. My analysis of the empirical material suggests, on the one hand, that these NGOs actively and consciously strive to align their initiatives with state policies, for instance, the national core curricula, development policy strategies and updates in legislation on anti-discrimination. The NGO workers are mostly pleased with the existing national policy frameworks that are relevant to their work, and they are happy to support the implementation of these policies.

320 See the discussion in section 3.2

321 I continue this argument in section 13.1.4

However, in line with the policy enactment theory, these NGOs are not simply carriers that transport state policies to the school world. Rather, I found that NGOs selectively incorporate, broaden or re-direct the often abstract and vague policy texts through their own viewpoints. A case in point is the CGE funding instrument, which connects the NGOs' global education to Finland's ambiguous development policy, in which a social justice agenda is combined with Finnish competitiveness and effectiveness (see also Biccum, 2015, p.327). The NGOs I have studied generally emphasize the justice-oriented parts and also concretize what the abstract policy objectives could entail in terms of educational practice.

Finally, I also found that NGOs sometimes make use of what I call advocacy-based authority in order to illustrate a conflict between their own viewpoint or value base and that of, for instance, state authorities or teachers. Usually, this more conflictive stance was deployed in back-stage scenes, where the NGO workers among insiders of global education affirmed their critical and autonomous positionality in relation to dominant actors. In particularly threatening situations, however, the NGOs can also defy the state's policy reforms in front-stage scenes, which in my material is exemplified with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' plan to degrade NGOs from independent project initiators to partners in municipal projects, and the NGOs' mobilization to reverse this plan³²². This example shows that the NGOs' position as autonomous civil society actors should perhaps not be taken for granted; a question I return to in section 13.3.1.

In addition, I maintain that the NGOs' participation in curricular reform processes could also be recognized as an example of an advocacy-based positionality; these NGOs do not passively accept the curriculum but proactively strive to influence it, both by the means of more official cooperation through the umbrella NGO Fingo and through individual responses to open calls for comments. To conclude, the NGOs take advantage of their possibility to challenge and transform Finnish formal education, but they simultaneously make sure that their advocacy does not jeopardize their position as trusted collaborators.

322 See section 9.5

13.1.3 Diversified resistance: the political character of global education beyond the soft versus critical distinction

Andreotti's (2006) ideal type distinction between "soft" and "critical" approaches to global education has inspired my analytical framework since the very beginning of this research. During the research process, however, this categorization presented itself in an awkward relationship to my material. I quickly confirmed that: 1) it was impossible to characterize Finnish global education as either soft or critical, because of the multiple and heterogeneous actors involved, 2) since NGOs promote global education on different levels and in various constellations, it was far from straightforward to categorize particular NGOs according to these types, and 3) it was challenging to define what counts as soft or critical in a given context. Similarly to the argument of Oxley & Morris (2013) in their typology of global citizenships, I found that an NGO initiative was perhaps critical in relation to gender, but soft in relation to global development, or vice versa.

For these reasons, I found it fruitful to approach global education as part of a broader movement for global justice, and more specifically map how this movement manifests itself in the context of NGO school interaction. Theoretically, I resolved the problematics³²³ of the soft versus critical distinction by conceptualizing resistance against the hegemonic global order as *diverse*, and partly immersed in the dominant order, making it hard to distinguish as resistance³²⁴. This conceptualization was also informed by the work of Andreotti et al. (2016) as well as Pashby et al. (2020) who, alongside with mapping different types of global education, also highlight their intersections as well as new forms of co-optations such as neo-conservatism. In my material, neo-conservatism could be exemplified by, for instance, discourses on immigrants as a threat to national security. When neoliberal and neoconservative agendas gain terrain, it also changes the social-justice-oriented initiatives. Thus, what was perhaps a critical standpoint or "counter-hegemonic" a decade ago is now increasingly a part of mainstream educational policy³²⁵. With this starting point, I focused on empirical expressions of *politicizations*, *i.e.*, making the political explicit, and *de-politicizations*, *i.e.*, overlooking or concealing the political, in order to map the contours of the struggle for global justice as it appeared in my material.

323 Another solution was that I used a number of other conceptual tools in my analysis, such as legitimation, collective identity and citizenship, which allowed me to show a more complex picture of the soft vs. critical divide.

324 For this discussion, see section 4.2

325 See the discussion on the similarities between different agendas for global education in section 3.2

From a decolonial perspective, following Andreotti & Souza (2012, p.2), a central finding was the different manifestations of the NGOs' usage of *post-structural* versus *historical-materialist* approaches³²⁶ when politicizing global education. The post-structural approach, which includes challenging dichotomic relations such as "helper/victim" and deconstructing stereotypes about the Other, was widely deployed on all levels of NGO advocacy towards the school world³²⁷: in advocacy statements, within teacher education and in school campaigns, as well as in the interview material. As examples of the post-structural approach, I presented *the representational frame* in section 10.4, *the critical approaches to development* in section 11.3 as well as *the equity promotor* in section 12.3; all of these reflect the post-structural approach albeit in slightly different ways.

By contrast, the historical-materialist approach, which builds on a Marxist tradition focused on class conflict and emphasizing material structures of injustice, was much more scarcely and selectively used by the NGOs. Only in the textbook advocacy, in *the economic-materialist frame* presented in section 10.4, is this type of approach developed in detail through the NGOs' exhaustive argumentation, scientific references and critical positionality. This frame, used by the NGOs in some of their written statements, challenges economic growth, problematizes unjust debt arrangements with the global South, emphasizes the role of combating tax evasion and calls out the complicity of the Finnish state and the European Union in maintaining these injustices. This type of politicizations of the global economy are largely absent in other forms of NGO school interaction, in light of my material. Within NGOs' teacher education, for instance, my findings were that this type of topics were avoided by the NGO workers rather than welcomed for discussion. In the NGOs' school campaigns, however, a few materials combining post-structuralist and historical-materialist approaches were found, especially when dealing with consumer items and production chains³²⁸.

The post-structural approach seems to be understood by the NGOs as a more appropriate and updated way of framing injustices compared to historical-materialism. In order to explain and understand this finding, several aspects need to be taken into account. In Finnish society more broadly, I argue that the current discursive order is more favourable to post-structural framings because these, despite their crucial importance for social justice struggles, do not necessarily threaten the capitalist system of production in any immediate sense. Finnish educational discourse has adopted elements of the post-structural perspective from other in-

326 See also the discussion in section 5.5

327 However, stereotypes and dichotomic relations were also to some extent present, non the least in NGOs' fundraising campaigns

328 See sections 12.2.5 and 12.2.6

stitutions such as media and politics, making it acceptable for the school world as well (see *e.g.* Cole, 2010). By contrast, a critique of capitalism inspired by Marxism is often automatically perceived as inappropriate for schools for being political in a pejorative sense.

I would argue that the NGOs are partly complicit in de-politicizing materialist dimensions of global inequalities through their downplaying of economic structures and by the relative absence of discussions on alternative forms of organizing the global economy. I am not suggesting that this depoliticization is necessarily deliberate or conscious. The reasons are surely manyfold; while some NGOs simply do not support anti-capitalist agendas and rather support more mainstream development agendas, others might lack knowledge or feel unsure about what kind of alternative perspectives to offer their target groups.

Further, I argue that the post-structural approach was salient in my material because it resonates with the notion of multiple forms of resistance inherent in the global justice movement (see della Porta, 2007; Wennerhag, 2008). Through this approach, the NGOs are able to politicize questions as diverse as binary gender conceptions, Finnishness and equal treatment policies in schools. Politicization, within this approach, often meant that NGOs challenged the language and terminology commonly used in schools, such as “girls/boys”, “immigrant” or “normal”, but it also meant challenging everyday school practices, such as inclusive and student-centered solutions and active affirmations of diversity.

Yet, alongside with this tendency, I also found expressions of depoliticizations where the NGOs would naturalize certain relations or issues as evident, rather than complex and debatable. Examples of this include presenting Finnish students as benevolent helpers without complicity in global inequality, portraying Malawians as backward in comparison to Europeans, or positioning non-Finnish performers as mere entertainment. These findings challenge the notion of NGOs as critical in any straightforward way. Global education in Finland still in many ways reproduces an image of Finland as superior in terms of know-how, and Finnishness and Europeanism as indicators for progress and prosperity.

13.1.4 Selective enactments: the dilution of NGO advocacy towards classroom level

I have used the concept of policy enactment in order to illustrate the dynamic process of putting a particular policy into educational practice (Ball et al., 2012). This study has shed light on both how NGOs enact global education and how multiple other actors react to and interact with the NGOs' advocacy. A central finding is that the NGOs' proposals are always only selectively incorporated by other actors. In the previous section, I argued that the distinction between soft and critical approaches to global education in many ways fails to grasp empirical complexity; yet, I find these ideal types useful for pinpointing an empirical tendency, which is that the NGOs educational advocacy to some extent *dilutes* towards the classroom level. Dilution, in light of my material, means two things: first, the gradual softening of the NGOs' critical edge, and secondly, the partial abandonment of the NGOs integrative objectives, such as connecting their school visits with ongoing activities in the school.

In chapter 10, I showed how the NGOs' advocacy statements had succeeded in making changes in curricular documents and secondary school textbooks, but also that many of the NGOs' comments and suggestions had been left out or modified along the way. When it comes to the national core curriculum for basic education (EDUFI, 2014), the NGOs mainly strived at complementing what they perceived as an already progressive policy document, aligned with the NGOs' emphasis on human rights, diversity and sustainability. Hence, the NGOs' advocacy has mainly been incorporated in the form of particular terminology, with the inclusion of the term global education as the most relevant example. Overall, the final version of the curriculum remains quite abstract, and is perhaps not as focused on global education as many NGO workers optimistically perceived. As illustrated in the fieldwork material, the curriculum also emphasizes, for instance, digitalization, entrepreneurialism and virtue pedagogics, which the NGOs either need to distance themselves from or incorporate in their global education.

Concerning textbook advocacy, my findings show that textbook publishers only selectively made changes according to the NGOs' comments, for instance, adding a short sentence but leaving the text otherwise unmodified, or by replacing a particular illustration with another. The textbook publishers hold on to an image of neutrality and expert knowledge, based on which they choose how to portray the subject content. In my analysis, I found that the NGOs strive at *resonating* with this quest for neutrality by referring to human rights treaties, the national core curriculum or scientific research in their comments, thus framing their claims in accordance

with broadly respected sources of authority. To some degree, the NGO also use decolonial and economic-materialist frames in their textbook statements, but these comments seemed to be only cautiously and partially incorporated in the final versions of the textbooks. Hence, although NGOs can rightfully be characterized as having an active role in shaping both curricular documents and textbooks, their impact especially concerning critical perspectives should not be overstated.

Teachers are of course central to the enactment of the NGOs' initiatives at classroom level. Yet, in the NGOs' teacher education seminars, a noteworthy finding is that questions of international division of labour, tax havens and colonial complicity are not often brought up. Much more common are questions of diversity in the classroom, human rights in education and humanitarian approaches to development. Thus, the NGOs' counter-hegemonic potential is only partially enhanced through their teacher education. Further, the typology in section 11.4 illustrates that teachers position themselves very differently in relation to global education; whereas promotor teachers align themselves with the NGOs and whole-heartedly engage their students and colleagues, on the other end, the sceptics find the NGOs' advocacy intrusive and global education at least in some regards as irrelevant for their professional role. An important (although not necessarily surprising) finding was also that some teachers perceive the NGOs' pedagogical suggestions as political in a pejorative sense, for instance, supporting a non-binary student's gender expression, or critically reviewing textbooks in class. In this sense, a conservative or conformist teacher identity contributes to the dilution of critical NGO approaches. This also relates to the example of the teacher who would only invite "neutral" NGOs to school in order to avoid being questioned.

In chapter 12, I analyzed how NGO workshops are integrated with school routines, and found that it was challenging to fit together NGO visits with ongoing teaching due to both the NGOs schedules and the teachers' workload. On the one hand, teachers do not necessarily have time or devotion to prepare their students for upcoming NGO visits, *e.g.*, by discussing similar questions or doing pre-tasks sent out by the NGO. On the other hand, the local school visitors do not always connect their own contents to curricular or subjective specific contents even if the NGOs explicitly markets their school campaigns as curriculum-based. My findings show that the autonomy of individual school visitors entails an open-endedness as to which aspects of the NGOs' agenda are enacted in the classroom.

The school visitors differ significantly from one another: some are paid employees while others are volunteers; some have degrees in pedagogics and/or years of working experience with young people, while others are

young, often students; and in the case of my fieldwork experience, often with little experience of the NGO and of carrying out workshops in schools. The school visitors also possess varying skills for sparking discussions based on the students' more subtle reactions or jokes, which I believe would be important considering typical classroom interaction especially in lower secondary school. What I found especially interesting was that not all school visitors were familiar with critical approaches to their workshop content, which sometimes leads to "soft" versions of global education in the classroom.

Finally, the presence of the teacher in class also affects the "soft" versus "critical" dynamics during NGO workshops. As some of my empirical examples show, teachers can at times be complicit in diluting critical initiatives from the NGOs, whereas in other cases, the teachers support and complement the school visitor's viewpoints.

13.1.5 Educating global citizens: the challenge of fostering civic participation in Finnish schools

An initial assumption for this study was that Finnish schools, in spite of doing well in learning outcome measurements, have a long way to go when it comes to fostering active and engaged citizens (Sahlberg, 2011a; Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2010). My findings in different ways support this perception; on the one hand, the students I interviewed told me that their schooling is focused on learning for the exam and that they wish that their teachers would engage in discussions on topical questions in society³²⁹. On the other hand, some teachers felt that the pressure to teach for the exam comes from the students' side, arguing that students put good grades and academic ambitions before reflections and discussions³³⁰. Both of these accounts reflect a strong discourse in Finnish society which delimits the school's objective to teach measurable, "neutral facts" and to rank students for future academic and working life.

I want to emphasize, in light of my findings, that this discourse remains dominant in the school world in spite of international and national policy frameworks that postulate global citizenship education as a cross-cutting feature of schooling. During my fieldwork, teachers interested in global education talked about the resistance they faced from their colleagues in the form of both disinterestedness and suspicion. Teachers told me about their hectic work pace and about all the curricular requirements they needed to fulfil and the school specific projects they were expected to engage in; and expressed that global citizenship education belongs to the fuzzier content

329 See section 12.3.1

330 See section 11.2.2

that is easier to skip. Based on my fieldwork, the impression is that teachers need to be reassured that fostering civic skills and attitudes is indeed an important part of their profession, which I return to in section 13.3.3.

Moreover, this study provided insights to the various ways in which NGOs are involved in shaping the notion of global citizenship in Finnish schools. NGOs' fundraising campaigns are broadly accepted in Finnish schools and comply with dominant conceptions of global responsibility in Finnish society. An interesting observation in my study was that fundraising campaigns as educational events often bear meanings for the students that go beyond the NGOs' objective to generate a sense of global responsibility; in fact, this primary objective might often be quite marginal particularly if the students are not pedagogically engaged with the context of the campaign. Depending on the type of fundraising, students saw these campaigns as contests, as an opportunity to rebel or as a way of reflecting on their future as worker citizens. While I argue that schools could take better advantage of fundraising events as a multidimensional form of citizenship education, from a critical perspective, I also sustain that it is not the best way to promote global responsibility since global power relations are often not the focus of this type of campaigns.

Based on the two optional NGO courses I attended, and the consequent interviews I conducted with students, an important finding is that exercises that deal with privilege and encounters with the people from different backgrounds seem to affect how students think about their agency in the global world. Overall, the students wondered why topics such as the refugee crisis were not talked about more in school, and expressed that all of their schoolmates would benefit from participating. Also, in light of my fieldwork in teacher education, I argue that people with immigrant background have a lot to contribute when it comes to global citizenship, *e.g.* by questioning Finnishness as a norm for a full citizen, and by embodying transnational identities³³¹.

In chapter 12, I describe five different types of global citizenship that the NGOs promote: the fundraiser, the negotiator, the consumer, the activist and the equity promotor. With this typology, I show that the NGOs' constructions of "the global" differ significantly between the different types, and that these differences are reflected in the kind of agency promoted within each type. Some of the types entail a politically risk-free agency controlled by adults, while others allow for more freedom and encourage the students to be critical. Further, in many types, the NGOs balance between one-off, low-threshold participation and long-term, high-threshold participation.

331 See section 11.3.3

On the one hand, I understand the variations in the NGOs' global citizenship education as a reflection of the broader process of individualization; civic action is to a growing extent about personalized life-style choices and global responsibility is placed on the shoulders of the individual. On the other hand, the NGOs are striving to create and uphold collective identities that provide students with sources of identification and place the students' individual actions as a part of larger movement where various actors collaborate towards shared objectives concerning social transformation. The students know that global problems are not solved by themselves alone; that organized collective action is needed – and here I believe that NGOs could play even a bigger role in pointing out the power of the masses, instead of remaining at the level of what an individual or a single school can do. Of course, students need to know what they themselves can do in terms of global solidarity responsibility right here and now, but they should also be encouraged to think together, and think big, with the support and collaboration of their teachers, NGO visitors and other adults. I return to these reflections in section 13.3.

13.2 The academic significance of the study

13.2.1 Validity and generalizability

Validity, in short, is about studying what one proclaims to study. In a qualitative study as this one, I understand validity in terms of coherence and credibility, that is, a research design where theory, research questions, material and methods fit together, and the analysis and conclusions give convincing answers to the research question (*e.g.* Johnson, 1997). Yet, what counts as credible varies between different epistemological views; for instance, it is not uncommon that validity judgements about *interpretative validity* in qualitative research are based on how accurately the researcher was been able to understand the participants inner worlds (see Johnson, 1997), but this has not been my aim. Rather, I have strived to enhance, on the one hand, the *descriptive validity* of the study, for instance, by combining fieldnotes with interviews and recordings from the field. On the other hand, the *theoretical validity* of this study stems from combining different theoretical tools and being clear about the theoretical perspectives that have informed my interpretative claims (Polkinghorne, 2007, p.484). Following Polkinghorne (2007, p.476), I understand the validation of my findings as an argumentative practice, where I provide the reader with evidence (quotations from the collected material) in support of my claims, together with theoretically driven interpretations and empirically informed contextualizations.

Regarding generalization, I follow Larsson's (2008) categorization of three lines of reasoning when discussing the generalizability of my findings: 1) enhancing generalization potential by maximizing variation, 2) generalization through context similarity, and 3) generalization through recognition of patterns. The idea with maximizing variation is to consciously include diverse cases (*e.g.* informants, organizations or statements) to illustrate complexity and different viewpoints regarding the phenomenon studied, and in this sense, it is important to include uncommon cases alongside with typical cases. In my research design, I have applied this line of reasoning by covering *a variation of actors involved* (NGO workers, teachers, students, others), *a variation of NGOs* (big and small ones, with different orientations) as well as *a variation of ways in which NGOs approach the school world* (school campaigns, teacher education, advocacy statements). In terms of the generalizability of my findings, this study suggests that variation is expected to be found also in other (national) contexts of NGO school interaction. However, it also shows that variation is not constrained to variables pre-defined by the researcher, such as the size of an NGO, but variations can be found within and across variables in surprising and often unsystematic ways. While Larsson (2008, p.32) seems to perceive these surprises as problematic from a generalizability point of view, I see them as important results.

The second line of reasoning, context similarity, is about what is also referred to as "transferability", that is, whether similar findings could be made in comparable settings. In the case of this multi-sited ethnography, "context" can of course mean many things. From a global perspective, similar constructions of "the global" can plausibly be found in many countries in the global North, particularly in the Nordic countries that tend to build their sense of global responsibility on benevolent humanitarianism and developmentalism while distancing themselves from colonial complicity (see Loftsdottir & Jensen, 2012). On a national policymaking level, the generalizability claim I want to make is that similar findings could be made in other countries where NGOs and the state are in such a close relationship as in Finland (see also Seikkula, 2019; Luhtakallio, 2010; Stenius, 2010). On the level of the classroom, my findings about students wanting more engagement with global challenges is likely to be found in all classrooms contexts where teachers are insufficiently prepared or encouraged to discuss complex and controversial topics with their students.

The third line of reasoning, the recognition of patterns, is a variant of generalization which is about communicating particular interpretations of the empirical material that can then potentially be used also to make sense of other empirical phenomena. Examples of such potentially useful patterns that I have illustrated include, for instance, the evasion of politically

uncomfortable questions and the widespread deployment of the post-structural approach at the expense of a historical-materialist approach to global inequality. This line of reasoning could also include the typologies³³² I have constructed in each empirical chapter: the authority types, the collective action frames, the teacher types and the types of global citizenship can all be useful for studying other empirical phenomena; as analytical starting points that can then be modified according to new empirical contexts and theoretical viewpoints.

Finally, I agree with Larsson (2008) who stresses that the researcher cannot predict how and when a qualitative study can be considered generalizable, in the sense of being useful to the reader; it is largely up to the reader to judge, for instance, the similarity of context or the suitability of an interpretative framework. In this sense, the qualitative researcher's - especially the ethnographer's - task is to provide descriptions that make such judgements possible (Larsson 2008, 32). Thus, I have strived at providing thick descriptions and situated interpretations that enable the reader - whether a teacher, a student or an NGO worker or a fellow researcher - to "transfer" my findings in ways that *they* find appropriate and useful.

13.2.2 Theoretical and methodological contributions

In addition to the central empirical findings outlined in section 13.1, I briefly discuss the more general academic contributions of this study, both in terms of theory and methodology. First of all, although there is a growing body of research on global education, social movement perspectives have been somewhat lacking in this field. This is presumably because a significant part of global education research³³³ is conducted by scholars from the educational field with educational points of view. As a sociologist, I found it fruitful to relate the NGOs educational initiatives, and the promotion of global education in general, to struggles for social justice outside of school and hence also use concepts from social movement theory, such as collective action frames and collective identity, in the analysis.

A social movement perspective entails the notion of more or less closely networked action taking place on different levels of society, from individual choices to international policymaking. Similarly, the notion of governance, at least in a Foucauldian sense, can be used to explain how society is steered on all levels through knowledge-making processes where different actors participate. Theoretically, I found that a governance theory and so-

332 For my usage of typologies and the notion of ideal types, see section 8.5

333 For some exceptions, see research review in chapter 6

cial movement theory partially overlap but also importantly complement each other, particularly when it comes to analyzing NGOs. While a social movement perspective places the NGOs as actors of protest coming from an underdog position, governance theory highlights that NGOs are not free from being governed. Also, many international NGOs are serious players in the policymaking arena and should not be confused with grassroots resistance from the global South.

A methodological insight of this study has been that tracing the NGOs' advocacy on different levels, from curricular reforms to classroom practices, gives a much more complex picture of the relationship between NGOs and schools. To begin with, NGOs are not just partners or service-providers that equip teachers with ready-chewed content for theme days; they are involved in national level negotiations over what Finnish schools should teach and what perspectives should be included in school textbooks. The other strength of this tracing method was that I was able to show that not all of the content of the NGOs' advocacy statements are equally transmitted to their teacher education or their school campaigns. Thus, by including these different levels, it was possible to say something about the boundary-making in different educational settings and how the NGOs discursively regulate themselves depending on the context in which they operate.

Another contribution, connected to the ethnographic approach in this study, has been the analytical focus on *enactments* of global education, which I have used to illustrate, on the one hand, patterns of how global education policy is put into practice, and on the other hand, scenes that somehow stand out as surprising or unusual. As a result of looking for recurring enactments, I have been able to discern patterned ways in which teachers and NGO workers tend to interpret or articulate objectives of global education, an example of this being the tendency to individualize the notion of global responsibility. As a consequence of giving particular scenes analytical weight, it has been possible for me to illustrate the open-endedness of NGO school interaction. Especially in scenes where something awkward or unexpected happened, I have been able to demonstrate several examples where global education does not follow a systematic outline and where objectives developed at NGO meetings are not delivered unmodified to the students. Indeed, what I have contributed to is the awareness that the construction of global education is a continuous and dynamic process, which cannot be captured only through studying policy programs or strategies, but needs to be explored also in educational settings, in the interaction between different actors.

Finally, this study partially responds to the critique that theoretical work on global education is often “too removed from classroom-based research” and “not always helpful” for teachers trying to engage their students with questions of global justice (Marshall 2011). Although I maintain that theory is absolutely central for more informed and reflexive educational practices, it needs to be recognized that translating critical theory into classroom practice is always complex and messy (see also Pashby, 2012, p.23). In this sense, my contribution has been to open up this messiness of the empirical world, to carefully document it, and to describe the complexity and ambiguity involved in detail. As pointed out in section 13.2.1, this type of ethnographic research can potentially help teachers, NGO workers and other readers to interpret their own experiences or perhaps equip them with perspectives on future engagements with global education.

13.2.3 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research

My choice to include multiple forms of NGO school interaction in a single study can be considered both a strength, as discussed in the section above, and a weakness, in terms of how well the different parts of the study constitute comprehensive and convincing sections on their own. In this regard, my assessment is that some sections do suffer from the somewhat asymmetric multisitedness of the fieldwork, meaning that I did not have resources or opportunities to spend as much time in the different settings of NGO school interaction as would have been optimal for acquiring a more comprehensive picture of the field. As a result, the study lacks, for instance, observations from school workshops promoting the activist or the consumer type of global citizenship³³⁴.

Another limitation of this study is I did perhaps not enjoy the kind of confidence with the interviewees that I could have had, had I opted for a more conventional ethnographic study. Nor did I reach a more in-depth view on the cultures of the schools I visited or the NGO offices where I conducted interviews. Thus, regarding the need for future research, there is definitely a call for empirically more delimited case studies (see also Marshall, 2011, Pykett et al., 2010).

In terms of how global education is enacted in the school world, case studies in particular schools are needed. Concerning the interaction between NGOs and schools, I would recommend choosing specific NGO projects as cases. Educational research would benefit from studies that focus on, for instance, the pedagogical process, learning outcomes, and teaching materials and methods. Also, action research in the form of pedagogical

334 This is also discussed in section 12.1.

interventions would provide useful knowledge for teachers, NGO workers and other professionals within education. In this type of research, designing the framework, objective and methods of the research project could be conducted as a collaborative and participatory endeavour between researchers, practitioners and students. This way, also researchers would engage in putting into practice the democratic ideals of global education. Engaging students in defining the ideals of global responsibility, active citizenship and democratic school culture is also central. Currently, there are some ongoing projects of this kind in Finnish universities (Rajala et al. 2020; All youth project).

Research with a more social scientific approach would benefit from case studies that explore the conditions and context that shape the NGO's school interaction, including project planning, applying for funding, choosing partners to collaborate with, training staff, conducting the collaboration and reporting the results. In some respects, the wide range of NGOs included in this study is also a limitation, since I have not been able to give a complete picture of the school interaction of any single NGO. However, I argue that it was in many ways fruitful to include several NGOs in the same study. It allowed me to illustrate the importance of cooperation in NGOs' advocacy work, the heterogeneity of the NGOs' resources as well as the differences in their approaches to global education. Yet, in future research it could be good to focus on the one or two NGOs at a time.

A related path for further social scientific research would be to study the relation between an NGO's school involvement and the rest of the NGO's activities, which would allow for analysis of which parts are selected as suitable and relevant for the school as a target group, and which parts of the NGOs' repertoire are re-framed, downplayed or excluded from the educational campaigns. This type of studies could provide fruitful insights into the dynamic connections between civic advocacy and educational projects.

Another idea for future research is a quantitative analysis of different factors that affect the NGOs' work. In this study, I have quantitatively illustrated the differences between the resources of NGOs³³⁵, such as funds and number of staff, and I have also suggested that these variables are in some cases reflected in how the NGO workers talk about their role in the school world³³⁶. However, I have not systematically explored how these quantitative differences correlate with different approaches to global education. In future research projects, this type of questions could be further explored.

Throughout this study, I have critically discussed the Eurocentric traits

335 See table 9

336 See especially section 9.4

of global education in Finland and illustrated attempts of more decolonial educational approaches. If one of the aims of global education is to decolonize the minds of educators and students in the global North, which I think it should be, studies on critical educational practices from the global South are needed. By learning from multivocal examples from regions that are particularly disadvantaged by colonial injustices and global capitalism, dominant ways of depicting sustainability, human rights or social justice can be challenged and rearticulated also in the North. This way, global solidarity is based on recognition and respect, rather than pity and paternalism.

Finally, global education is just one example of an area in which NGOs cooperate with schools in Finland. Thinking about the role of NGOs in formal education more broadly, it would be interesting to study other examples of NGO advocacy, for instance, drug prevention programs, art projects or extra-curricular activities of different kinds.

13.3 Societal proposals based on the study

13.3.1 Suggestions for policy makers: Towards policies for pluralistic and sustainable NGO school interaction

Providing stable forms of funding for NGOs working with global education and securing their autonomy has not seemed to a priority for the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, even though Finnish policy documents characterize NGOs as central for putting global education into practice. As shown in section 10.5, the NGOs have actively defended the Communications and Global Education subsidy (CGE subsidy) against both cuts and modifications. The same worries that the NGO workers expressed in 2018, *i.e.*, that the resources and conditions for developing critical and pluralistic forms of global education are threatened, are also articulated in a recent evaluation report on the CGE subsidy (Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020). Pensala and Silfverberg's report was published at the final stages of my doctoral study, but I find it important to present the report here at some length because its findings support and complement the results of this study and constitute a central basis for a discussion on future policy work around global education.

The report illustrates how the CGE subsidy has gradually declined since 2015, while the requisites for both applications and reporting has grown and the workload related to the funding instrument has increased (Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020, p.6, p.15). This has significantly decreased the number of NGOs funded by the GCE subsidy: from 82 projects in 2011 to only 14 projects in 2018 (Pensala & Silfverberg 2020, p.21, p.24). At the same

time, funding has been concentrated almost exclusively to professional NGOs, since the increased bureaucracy constitutes a challenge particularly for small NGOs, which is visible also in declining numbers of applications (Pensala & Silfverberg 2020, p.15). For instance, in 2018, no small, voluntary-based NGOs was funded through the CGE instrument, and “newcomers”, *i.e.*, first-time applicants, struggle to enter the field (Pensala & Silfverberg 2020, p.21, p.24). This is completely in line with the broader trend of resources being concentrated into the hands of big, established and highly professionalized NGOs (see discussion in section 3.2). As a result of this development, Pensala & Silfverberg (2020, p.6) state that the diversity and multivocality of school interaction projects is narrowed down.

In light of these findings, and the conclusions of this study (see sections 13.1.2 and 13.1.3), it would be advisable to develop funding instruments that would enable also smaller, local and/or mostly voluntary-based NGOs to engage in global education from their own perspectives and starting points and perhaps on topics that are not covered by bigger NGOs. Currently, the CGE subsidy requires a developing country perspective according to OECD-DAC³³⁷ criteria (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2020, p.2), which shows how Finnish NGOs need to align their global education with the policies of international organizations like the OECD. The objectives for global education set up by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs include “enhancing Finnish people’s awareness of questions of development” and “activating citizens into development cooperation” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2020, p.1).

I maintain that this type of pre-determined frameworks might restrict the diversity among applicants and the contents of the projects in ways that are not purposeful from the viewpoint of enhancing critical, pluralistic global education in schools. My suggestion is that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ objectives for global education could be reformulated in order to encourage multiple perspectives on “the global”, instead of exclusively focusing on *development*. From a decolonial perspective, the objectives could be replaced by formulations that acknowledge imbalances in global power relations, such as “enhancing people’s awareness about *global inequalities*”, or by specifying and explicitly underlining structural challenges for global justice, such as debt arrangements, tax havens, financial speculation and arms trade, as relevant topics for global education. As long as funding for global education is restricted to a development framework, it is not surprising if soft approaches dominate among NGOs (see also section 13.1.3). Especially considering Finland’s position as a rich country in the global North that benefits from the unequal global division of power, it would be important to bring forward alternatives, such as those

337 Development Assistance Committee

discussed in section 5.2, to the dominant understanding of development. In a world marked by a range of massive global challenges ranging from the COVID-19 pandemic to climate change, it should be in the interest of policymakers and NGOs alike to more seriously explore alternatives such as degrowth in the Finnish context, or to study conceptualizations of life quality from the global South.

Further, with secondary students in mind, I would also suggest that policymakers pay more attention to the multiple roles that NGOs embody in their interaction with the school world; and place value not only on professionalism and efficacy, but on the NGOs' roles as watchdogs and as promoters of democratic participation. From the point of view of activating young people's civic interest and sparking social transformation, policies and funding need to support emerging grass-roots initiatives alongside with professional, international NGOs.

Increasingly, global education is funded in the form of cooperative projects either between different NGOs or between NGOs and other types of actors, such as the municipal educational sector, the private sector and universities. On the one hand, this may be a good way for new and/or small NGOs to obtain their share of funding, to increase their visibility and also to diversify the approaches of established NGOs. On the other hand, smaller actors might struggle with the extensive project planning and administration often involved in collaborative projects, or they might feel like they do not have a say. Moreover, joint projects might also domesticate critical voices as they are merged in a common ground with the logics of for-profit companies.

A final proposal for Finnish policymakers is to revise responsibilities and tasks regarding global education and related fields. Already in 2004, an evaluation of the state of global education in Finland (North-South Centre of the Council of Europe, 2004), encouraged Finland to review its administrative structure for global education and to create a strategy for the implementation of global education. A national policy strategy was indeed published in 2007 (Kaivola & Melén-Paaso, 2007)³³⁸, but this strategy is no longer in use (Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020, p.26). Since 2020, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the National Agency for Education have coordinated a network for policymaking concerning the target 4.7 of the Agenda 2030 (Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020, p.18). This network could provide a good ground for more integrated policies regarding planning, funding and cooperation.

338 This strategy is shortly presented in section 2.

Currently, global education and its closely related educational currents such as democracy education and human rights education are coordinated by different ministries, which means that all policymakers do not necessarily see how these relate to and complement each other. From a policy perspective, it might make sense to draw a line between climate education belonging to the Ministry of Environment, anti-racism education belonging to the Ministry of Education and Culture, and development education belonging to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Yet, for many NGOs, these lines are artificial and create more confusion than coherence. A joint source of funding from all ministries for NGOs in the area of (a broadly defined) citizenship education, could be one way to go forward. This source would need to have sufficient resources and an understanding of the plurality of actors in the NGO sector.

13.3.2 Suggestions for NGOs: sustaining a critical and democratic NGO sector

This study has illustrated the plurality of Finnish NGOs engaged in global education: big and small ones; old and comparatively new ones. For the sake of providing broad and multivocal perspectives on “the global”, this plurality is indispensable. The NGOs that work closely with school interaction can mostly be categorized as development organizations, human rights organizations, peace organizations or environmental organizations. In addition to these, I maintain that it would be fruitful if also other types of NGOs engaged with students and school staff, since these could bring new and important perspectives to the area of global education. For instance, labor rights and trade organizations, organizations specialized in participatory democracy, minority organizations including indigenous and immigrant organizations, or organizations promoting sustainable agriculture and/or self-sufficiency would provide alternative framings for “the global” and other types of agencies for the global citizen. These kinds of organizations can indeed be found among the members of the Finnish Global Education Network, but their role in school interaction is currently marginal. Outside the Global Education Network there is a multitude of other NGOs that promote similar objectives but that are not oriented towards the educational sector at all. Hence, one step in the direction of more pluralistic global education could be to actively involve these NGOs in the joint effort around global education.

Further, what this study has shown is that NGOs differ in which kinds of resources they possess for their school interaction. As discussed in the section above, professionalization and increased competition over funding are longstanding trends which pose severe challenges especially for small,

voluntary-based NGOs with limited resources. Yet, as the NGOs themselves underline in their joint statement³³⁹ to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, these NGOs often have important and unique perspectives on global development. NGOs, with the support of the umbrella organization Fingo, should actively hold on to this standpoint and persistently defend the role of small NGOs.

Moreover, I warmly encourage NGOs to continue developing their forms of school involvement, especially when it comes to direct interaction with students. Although it can be argued that teacher education is a more efficient way of changing the school world, I would highlight the value of face-to-face encounters with students. If NGO school interaction is increasingly focused on teacher education, there is a risk that the civic side of NGOs' input is downplayed. In line with one of the NGO interviewees, I argue that an important function of NGOs' school interaction is to introduce students to collective actors of civil society and to give concrete examples of ways of being an active citizen. In order to succeed in this task, it is important to invest in volunteer training, so that the school visitors are equipped with the capacity to engage students in participatory assignments. Overall, NGOs need to recognize the crucial role that the school visitors play in enacting the NGOs' particular objective. As discussed in chapter 12, the outcome of a classroom workshop depends a lot on the school visitor, which is why some teachers find it risky to invite an NGO to their class. Not all school visitors with only a short training have internalized the starting points of critical global education, which means that even NGOs with a formally critical orientation might result in soft enactments in classroom situations. One might of course argue, that in order to enhance the voluntary participation of "ordinary people" as school visitors, it is contradictory to expect them to professionally reproduce the officially critical agendas of the NGOs. From this perspective, the diversity among volunteering school visitors in approaches and prior knowledge is of value in itself. Yet, I maintain that critical perspectives and the notion of the importance of ordinary people's participation in society are not mutually exclusive. Volunteers can surely in many cases be better prepared to communicate a critique of the current global order in class or be better equipped to answer the students' worries about global challenges.

NGO school interaction could also be more integrated in the surrounding society by enabling different types of "service-learning", *i.e.*, students to participate in civic action that takes place outside of school. An example of this comes from Catalonia in Spain, where NGOs, schools and third parties in a triangular manner, so that the NGO coordinates and facilitates student engagement with actors such as neighbourhood associations, social

339 See section 9.5.6

service institutions or cooperatives³⁴⁰. This approach functions as a way of making citizenship education something very concrete and it also helps to anchor the understanding of the global in the local and vice versa.

Finally, I encourage the NGOs to actively continue taking part in commenting all national level policymaking that relate to global education and also to think about where global education is currently non-existent or only narrowly described, for instance, in policy documents concerning vocational education (see Suhonen, 2020). Another task for NGOs could be to advocate also on local level policymaking, in order to make sure that national level objectives are included in municipal educational strategies and curricula. Equally important is that NGOs dare to question policies that promote global education, if these policies seem narrow, soft, or otherwise problematic. In my view, NGOs are needed continuously in order to push for the inclusion of perspectives that would otherwise fall outside the officially formulated agendas (see also Pensala & Silfverberg, 2020, p.20). This is the role that NGOs should courageously embrace, if they are to be more than service producers in relation to the state.

13.3.3 Suggestions for the school world: engagement with social justice pedagogies and collective action

The Finnish school world needs interventions and collaborations that connect the school to the complex world which it is an integral part of. Environmental destruction, global inequalities and human rights struggles are not external to school, but in different ways intertwined with what the school is and does. Our educational system has the double function of making students adapt to the surrounding society, however flawed this society is, and simultaneously of preparing students to make society better for us all (Riitaoja, 2013). In order to advance the school's change-making potential in the direction of global social justice, several actors involved need to be engaged. In accordance with the policy enactment perspective, changes in policies (discussed in section 13.3.1) will never be a satisfactory solution on its own. Also, I maintain that the school world cannot and should not rely solely on NGOs to provide input on global education. Nor can the responsibility be left on the shoulders of a few individual teachers.

For a broad and long-term change to take place, teacher education holds a crucial role. Initially, it must be noted that the Finnish teacher education system, where all teacher education programs starting from primary education are master's level, has been glorified as one of the key factors in the Finnish educational success story (Sahlberg, 2011a; Lehtomäki &

340 During my research, I visited Lafede, the regional umbrella organization for global education NGOs, and interviewed one of the coordinators.

Rajala, 2020). However, Finnish teacher education has also been characterized as very focused on didactics and negligent of learning environments and the school as a social space (Simola, 2014). If we want to value education in terms other than those proposed by international rankings, we need to dare to question if current teacher education curricula enable alternatives to the dominant ideal of the teacher as a *didactic* professional providing *individualized* teaching. I am not suggesting that global education is the only thing missing, but certainly teacher students need more awareness and preparation for their task in fostering active and responsible citizens. Similarly, providers of in-service education for teachers could bear in mind the dimensions of global education alongside with didactically oriented contents. As discussed in section 2.1, teachers in Finland are relatively autonomous professionals, which entails that the focus in training is perhaps best placed on the level of shaping values and attitudes among future teachers, *i.e.*, reassuring teachers that fostering civic participation is indeed part of their professional task, alongside with providing them with more practical guidance for doing so. Additionally, it is worth noting that since teachers position themselves very differently in relation to global education, their needs for training and support also differ.

I would also like to stress the importance of decisions that are made and action that is taken at school level. The relative autonomy that all Finnish schools have makes it possible for every single school to collectively construct a kind of ethos and action-plan for engaging with the surrounding society and working with more social justice-oriented pedagogies. At this level, school leadership plays a crucial role; previous Finnish research on sustainability education (Saloranta, 2017) has shown that principals are important for a continuous implementation of programs and activities related to sustainability. If principals and municipal educational leaders do not support global education, it is easily left on the shoulders of a few invested individuals, such as the promoters discussed in section 11.5.2.

Finally, I return to the students. The interviews I conducted in secondary schools show that students are interested in understanding the world around them and in solving global problems, but feel like the school is not supporting them in the right ways. Hence, I want to emphasize the importance of actively and inclusively engaging students in the whole process of constructing a school that works for global social change. If allowed and encouraged, students have enormous potential to try new and participatory ideas. As seen in the case of Greta Thunberg and the #FridaysForFuture movement, young people themselves are often the best examples for their peers. However, I recognize that adopting student-centered approaches to global education can arguably be a messy and unpredictable

road (Pykett et al., 2010; Pashby, 2012). Educators, including the ones working with critical perspectives, might struggle with the open-endedness of such a process. Yet, only through the broad engagement of the younger generations, the citizens-in-the-making, can we realistically envision school as a place where democracy, social justice and sustainability are *practiced*, not only taught, memorized and assessed for the sake of credentials.

References

- Abdallah, S., Thompson, S., Michaelson, J., Marcs, N. & Steuer, N. (2009). *The Happy Planet Index 2.0: Why good lives don't have to cost the Earth*. London: New Economics Foundation.
- Åberg, Pelle (2008) *Translating Popular Education. Civil society Cooperation between Sweden and Estonia*. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press
- Aberle, D. (1966). *The peyote religion among the Navaho*. Chicago: Aldine.
- About GENE (n.d.) GENE brings together ministries and agencies with national responsibility for funding, coordination, policy-making and support in the field of Global education. Global education network Europe website. Retrieved 7.8.2021 from <https://www.gene.eu/what-we-do>.
- Acquah, E. & Commins, N. (2013). Pre-service teachers' beliefs and knowledge about multiculturalism. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 36 (4), 445-463.
- Acquah, E. & Commins, N. (2015). Critical reflection as a key component in promoting pre-service teachers' awareness of cultural diversity. *Reflexive practice*, 16(6), 790-805.
- Ahmed, S. (2017) *Living a Feminist Life*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Ahonen, S. (2014). Historia: konfliktintekijä vai sovittaja? *Kosmopolis*, 44(1), 59-74.
- Ahorro, J. (2008). *The waves of post-development theory and a consideration of the Phillippines*. Edmonton: University of Alberta.
- Ainamo, A. & Lindy, I. (2013). Lähetykseurasta kaupan tueksi: Suomalaisen kehitysyhteistyön institutionaalinen historia. *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka*, 78(1), 65-80.
- Aito Avioliitto ry n.d. Mitä tarkoittaa käsite "sukupuoli"? Retrieved from <https://sukupuoli.fi/>
- Alapuro, R. (2015). Det nordiska civilsamhället från ett komparativt perspektiv. In K. Creutz & M. Helander (eds.) *Festskrift till Tom Sandlund. Tala om mångfald! : medborgarsamhället, media, universitet* (102-112). Helsinki: Svenska Social- och Kommunalhögskolan vid Helsingfors universitet (SSKH Meddelanden no. 79).
- Alasuutari, H (2011) 'Conditions for mutuality and reciprocity in development education policy and pedagogy', *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning*, 3(3), 65-78.
- Alasuutari, H. (2015). *Towards more ethical engagements in North-South education sector partnerships*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Oulu
- Alasuutari, P. & Qadir, A. (2014). Epistemic governance: An approach to the politics of policy-making. *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, 1(1), 67-84.

Alasuutari, P. & Qadir, A. (2016). Imageries of the social world in epistemic governance. *International Sociology*, 31(6), 633–652. DOI:10.1177/0268580916662386.

Alasuutari, P., Rautalin, M. & Syväterä, J. (2016). Organisations as epistemic capital: The case of independent children's rights institutions. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 29(1), 57-71. DOI: 10.1007/s10767-015-9205-3

Allahwerdi, H. (2001). *Kansainvälisyyskasvatuksen suosituksista maailmankansalaisen kypsyyskokeeseen. Suomen YK-liitto kansainvälisyyskasvattajana 1970-2000*. Doctoral dissertation. Helsingin yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitoksen tutkimuksia 230. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.

Althusser, L. (2014) *On the reproduction of capitalism: ideology and ideological state apparatuses*. London: Verso.

Aminkeng Atabong, A. & Dervin, F. (2016). "If an apple is a foreign apple you have to wash it very carefully": Youth discourses on racism. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 11(3), 199-212.

Aminkeng Atabong, A. & Mafi, B. (2018). Antiracism Education? A study of an Anti-racism workshop in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*. 62(2) 186-199.

Aminkeng Atabong, A. (2016). *Is there such a thing...? A study of antiracism education in Finland*. Doctoral dissertation. Helsingin yliopisto opettajankoulutuslaitos.

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andreotti, A., Stein, S., Pashby, K. & Nicolson, M. (2016). Social cartographies as performative devices in research on higher education. *Higher education research & development*, 35(1), 84-99.

Andreotti, V. & Biesta, G. & Ahenakew, C. (2015). Between the nation and the globe: education for global mindedness in Finland. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 13(2) 246-259.

Andreotti, V. & Souza, L.M. (eds.) (2012). *Postcolonial perspectives on global citizenship education*. New York: Routledge.

Andreotti, V. (2006). Soft versus critical global citizenship education. *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, 3, 40-51.

Andreotti, V. (2011). (Towards) decoloniality and diversity in global citizenship education *Globalisation, Societies & Education*, 9(3-4), 381–397. DOI: 10.1080/14767724.2011.605323

Andreotti, V. (2014). Conflicting epistemic demands in poststructuralist and postcolonial engagements with questions of complicity in systemic harm. *Educational Studies*, 50(4), 378-397.

- Andreotti, V. (2014). Critical and transnational literacies in international development and global citizenship education. *Journal of Education*, 2(3), 32–50.
- Andreotti, V. (2016). The educational challenges of imagining the world differently. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 37(1), 101–112.
- Antikainen, A. (1990). The rise and change of comprehensive planning: the Finnish experience. *European Journal of Education*, 25(1), 75–82.
- Antikainen, A. (2011). *Kasvatussosiologiaa etsimässä: työelämäkerta*. Tampere: University of Tampere Press.
- Antikainen, A. (2010). The Capitalist State and Education: The case of Restructuring the Nordic Model. *Current Sociology* 58(4), 530–550.
- Anttiroiko, A-V., Haveri, A., Karhu, V., Ryyänen, A., & Siitonen, P. (2007). *Kuntien toiminta, johtaminen ja hallintasuhteet*. Tampere: Tampereen yliopistopaino.
- Appiah, K. (2006). *Cosmopolitanism: ethics in a world of strangers*. New York: Norton.
- Aquah, E. (2015). *Responding to changing student demographics in Finland: A study of teachers' developing cultural competence*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Turku.
- Arato, A. & Cohen, J. (1988) Civil Society and Social Theory. *Thesis Eleven*, (21), 40–64.
- Atjonen, P., Halinen, I., Hämäläinen, S., Korkeakoski, E., Knubb-Manninen, G., Kupari, P., Mehtäläinen, J., Risku, A-M., Salonen, M. & Wikman, T. (2008). *Tavoitteista vuorovaikutukseen. Perusopetuksen pedagogiikan arviointi*. Koulutuksen arviointineuvoston julkaisuja 30. Jyväskylä.
- Atkinson, P. (1992). *Understanding ethnographic texts*. Qualitative research methods series 25. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Auld, E. & Morris, P. (2019). Science by streetlight and the OECD's measure of global competence: a new yardstick for internationalisation? *Policy futures in education*, 17(6) 677–698.
- Bacchi, C. (2009). *Analyzing policy: what is the problem represented to be?* London: Pearson.
- Bajaj, M. (2011). Human Rights Education. Ideology, Location, and Approaches. *Human Rights Quarterly*. 33, 481–508. doi: 10.1353/hrq.2011.0019.
- Bakker, J. (2007). *Langue and Parole*. Malden: The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology.
- Ball, S. & Maguire, M. & Braun, A. (2012). *How schools do policy. Policy enactments in secondary schools*. London: Routledge.
- Banks, J. (2004). Teaching for Social Justice, Diversity, and Citizenship in a Global World. *The Educational Forum*, 68, 289–298.

- Barretto, J-M. (2014). Epistemologies of the South and human rights: Santos and the quest for global and cognitive justice. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 21(2), 395-422.
- Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalization: the human consequences*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Beck, U. & Beck Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization: institutionalized individualism and its social and political consequences*. London: Sage.
- Beck, U. (1999). *What is globalization?* Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Benford, R. & Snow, D. (1988). Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization. *International Social Movement Research*, 1(1), 197-217.
- Benford, R. & Snow, D. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: an overview and assessment. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, 26, 611-639.
- Bennett, L. (2012). The personalization of politics: political identity, social media and changing patterns of participation. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), 20-39.
- Berg, G. (2003). *Att förstå skolan. En teori om skolan som institution och skolor som organisationer*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Bergmüller, C. (2016). Global education and the cooperation of NGOs and schools: A German Case study. *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning*. 7(3), 47-62.
- Bernstein, M. (2005) Identity politics. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 31,47-74.
- Bhabha, H. (1996). Culture's in-between. In S. Hall & P. du Gay (eds). *Questions of cultural identity* (53-60). Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Bhabha, H. (1999) Culture's in-between. In D. Bennett (ed.) *Multicultural states: re-thinking difference and identity*. London: Routledge.
- Bhambra, G. (2014). *Connected Sociologies*. Bloomsbury. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Bhambra, G. (2016). 'Undoing the Epistemic Disavowal of the Haitian Revolution: A Contribution to Global Social Thought'. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37(1), 1-16. doi: 10.1080/07256868.2015.1122578
- Biccum, A. (2015). The politics of education for globalisation: managed activism in a time of crisis. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 69 (3), 321-338. doi: 10.1080/10357718.2014.962483
- Blanchard, R. A. (2016). Mainstreaming human rights education: what's radical about that? *Radical Teacher: A Socialist, Feminist, and Anti-Racist Journal on the Theory and Practice of Teaching*, 104, 4-12.
- Blee, K. & MacDowell, A. (2012) Social Movement Audiences. *Sociological Forum*, 21(1), 1-20.

- Börjesson, M. & Palmblad, E. (2007). Introduktion. I M. Börjesson & E. Palmblad (red). *Diskursanalys i praktiken* (7-28). Helsingborg: Liber.
- Boswell, J., Corbett, J., Rhodes, R. A. W., & Wood, M. et al. (2017). What can political ethnography tell us about anti-politics and democratic disaffection? *European Journal of Political Research*, 58(1), 56-71.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. E. Richardson (eds.) *Handbook of theory of research for the sociology of education*. (46–58). Paris: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2013). Symbolic capital and social classes. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 13(2), 292-302.
- Bourn, D. (2008). Development education: towards a re-conceptualization. *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning*. 1(1), 5-22.
- Bourn, D. (2014). *The theory and practice of global learning*. Development Education Research Centre. Research paper no. 11. Institute of Education. University of London.
- Bourn, D. (2015). *The theory and practice of development education: A pedagogy for global social justice*. London: Routledge.
- Bourn, D. (2020a). Global and Development Education and Global Skills. *Educar*, 56(2), 279-295.
- Bourn, D. (ed.) (2020b). *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning*. London: Bloomsbury
- Bourn, D., Hunt, F., & Bamber, P. (2017) *A review of education for sustainable development and global citizenship education in teacher education*. UNESCO GEM Background Paper. UNESCO: Paris, France.
- Bowles, S. & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Broady, D. (1981). *Den dolda läroplanen*. Stockholm: Symposion.
- Bromseth, J. & Darj, F. (2010). Inledning. In J. Bromseth & F. Darj (eds.) *Normkritisk pedagogik. Makt, lärande och strategier för förändring* . (11–19). Uppsala: Uppsala universitetstryck.
- Brown, E. (2018). Practitioner perspectives on learning for social change through non-formal global citizenship education. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 13(1) 81-97
- Bryan, A. (2011). 'Another cog in the anti-politics machine? The 'de-clawing' of development education', *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, 12, 1–14.
- Buire, C. & Staeheli, L. (2017). Contesting the "active" in active citizenship: youth activism in Cape Town, South Africa. *Space and Polity*, 21(2), 173-190.

- Bullivant, A. (2020). *From development education to global learning: exploring conceptualisations of theory and practice amongst practitioners in DECs in England*. Doctoral thesis. Lancaster University.
- Burnell, P. & Calvert, P. (2004). *Civil Society in Democratization*. London: Routledge.
- Buth, V. (2011). *Professionalisation of NGOs: friend or foe of grassroots representation?* Conference paper. ECPR General Conference Reykjavik 25-27.8.2011.
- Buth, V. (2012). *Speak to me only with thine eyes? The representativeness of professional EU advocacy groups*. Doctoral thesis. Norwich: University of East Anglia.
- Butler, J. (2007). *Genustrubbel. Feminism och identitetens subversion*. Göteborg: Daidalos.
- Cantell, H. & Cantell, M. (2009). Global education in a multicultural school. In M-T. Talib, J. Loima, H. Paavola & S. Patrikainen (eds.). *Dialogues on diversity and global education* (51-64). Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Camtell, H. (2005). Aktiivinen kansalaisuus – nuoret ympäristövaikuttajina. In T. Ojanperä (ed.) *Näkökulmia aktiiviseen kansalaisuuteen* (42-56). Helsinki: Viikki TTS Publications.
- Carastathis, A. (2016) *Intersectionality: Origins, Contestations, Horizons*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Caria, S. & Dominguez, R. (2015). Ecuador's Buen Vivir: A New Ideology for Development. *Latin American Perspectives*, 43(1), 18-33.
- Carroll, W. & Sapinski, J. (2015). Transnational alternative policy groups in global civil society: enablers of post-capitalist alternatives or carriers of NGOization? *Critical sociology* 43(6), 875-892.
- Castro-Gómez, S. & Grosfoguel, R. (2007). Prólogo: Giro decolonial, teoría crítica y pensamiento heterárquico. In S. Castro-Gómez & R. Grosfoguel (eds.) *El giro decolonial: Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global*. (9-24). Bogotá: Siglo del hombre Editores,
- Castro-Gómez, S. (2000). Ciencias sociales, violencia epistémica y el problema de la "invención del otro". In E. Lander (eds.) *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas Latinoamericanas* (145–161). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Castro-Gómez, S. & Grosfoguel, R. (2007) *El giro decolonial: Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global*. Bogotá: Siglo del hombre Editores.
- Césaire, A. (2000). *Discourse on colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Chung, J. (2017). Exporting Finnish Teacher Education: Transnational Pressures on National Models. *Nordic Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 1(1) 36-52.
- Cohen, J. & Arato, A. (1995). *Civil society and political theory*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Connolly, J., Lehtomäki, E. & Scheunpflug, A. (2018). Measuring global competencies: A critical assessment. *ANGEL Network briefing paper*. Retrieved from: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5f6decace4ff425352eddb4a/t/5fc8eeb922891c6875c8a465/1637594418818/measuring-global-competencies.pdf>
- Coombs, P. (1985). *The world crisis in education. The view from the eighties*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crenshaw, K. (1994). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. In M. Albertson Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (eds.) *The Public Nature of Private Violence* (93-118). New York: Routledge.
- Crenshaw, K., Harris, L., HoSang, D., & Lipsitz, G. (2019) (eds.) *Seeing race again: countering colorblindness across the disciplines*. University of California Press.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989) "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1, 139-167.
- Cruft, R (2006). Human Rights, Individualism and Cultural diversity. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*. 8(3) 265-287.
- Czarniawska, B. & Sevón, G. (2005). Translation is a vehicle, imitation its motor and fashion sits at its wheel. In B. Czarniawska & G. Sevón (eds) *Global ideas. How ideas, objects and practices travel in the global economy*. (7-14). Malmö: Liber & Copenhagen Business School Press.
- Czarniawska, B. & Sevón, G. 2005) (eds.) *Global ideas. How Ideas, Objects and Practices Travel in the Global Economy*. Malmö: Liber & Copenhagen Business School Press.
- Dados, N. & Connell, R. (2012). "The Global South." *Context*, 11(1), 12-13.
- Dahlstedt, M. & Fejes, A. (2017). Shaping entrepreneurial citizens: a genealogy of entrepreneurship education in Sweden. *Critical studies in education* 60(4), 462-467.
- Dalton, B. (2014). Civil society: Overlapping frames. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 6(2), 40-69.
- Davies, G. & Burgess, J. (2004). Challenging the 'view from nowhere': citizen reflections on specialist expertise in a deliberative process. *Health & Place* 10(4), 349-361.
- Davies, I., Evans, M. & Reid, A. (2005). Globalising citizenship education? A critique of 'global education' and 'citizenship education'. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53(1) 66-89.
- Davis, T. & Francis, J. (2014). The young consumer-citizen: nationhood and environmentalism in children's identity narratives. *Marketing theory*, 14(4), 417-429.
- de la Cruz Flores, G. (2017). Igualdad y equidad en educación: tensiones y transiciones. *Educación*, 26(51) 159-174.
- de Nardis, F. (2017). The concept of de-politicization and its consequences. *Partecipazione & Conflitto*, 10(2), 340-356.

della Porta, D. & Diani, M. (1999). *Social movements: An introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

della Porta, D. & Diani, M. (2015). Introduction: The field of social movement studies. In D. della Porta & M. Diani (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of social movements*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

della Porta, D. & Rucht, D. (2013). *Meeting democracy: power and deliberation in global justice movements*. Cambridge University Press

della Porta, D. (2006). *Globalization from below: transnational activists and protest networks*. University of Minnesota Press.

della Porta, D. (ed.) (2007). *Global justice movement: Cross-national and transnational perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Demaria, F. & Kothari, A. (2017). The post-development dictionary: paths to the pluriverse. *Third World Quarterly*, 28(12): 2588-2599.

Denzin, N. (1997). *Interpretative ethnography. Ethnographic practices for the 21st century*. London: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. (2003). *Performance ethnography*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Depaigne, V. (2005). Individualism, Human Rights and Identity. *Human Rights Law Commentary*, 1. University of Nottingham.

Dervin, F. (2010). Assessing intercultural competence in language learning and teaching: a critical review of current efforts. In F. Dervin & E. Suomela (eds.) *New approaches to assessment in higher education* (157-173). Bern: Peter Lang,

Dewey, J. (1990) *The school and society: the child and the curriculum*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Djelic, M.-L. & Sahlin-Andersson, K. (2006). Introduction: A world of governance: The rise of transnational regulations. In M-L. Djelic & K. Sahlin-Andersson (eds.) *Transnational governance: Institutional dynamics of regulation* (1-47). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Donald, K. (2016). Accountability for the Sustainable Development Goals: a lost opportunity? *Ethics and International Affairs*, 30(2), 201-213.

Dumbrajs, S., Keinonen, T., Kinnaslampi, A. & Kinnaslampi, H. (2010). Pre- and In-service Teachers' Conceptions about Teachership. *The international Journal of Learning*. 17(1), 455-466.

Durkheim, E. (2006). Education: its nature and its role. In H. Lauder, H., P. Brown, P., J. Dillabough & A. Halsey (eds.) *Education, Globalization and Social Change* (76-87). Oxford University Press.

Eberwein, W-D. & Saurugger, S. (2013). The professionalization of international non-governmental organizations. In B. Reinalda (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of International Organization*. London: Routledge.

EDUFI (2014a). Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet. *Finnish National Agency for Education*. Määräykset ja ohjeet, 2014: 96.

EDUFI (2014b). Opetussuunnitelmien perusteet luonnokset lausunnoille 2014. Verkko-uutinen 19.9.2014. *Finnish National Agency for Education*. Retrieved 07.05.2019 at: https://www.oph.fi/ops2016/103/0/opetussuunnitelmien_perusteiden_luonnokset_lausunnoille

EDUFI (2015). Lukion opetussuunnitelman perusteet. *Finnish National Agency for Education*. Määräykset ja ohjeet 2015: 48.

Edwards, A. (2011). *Violence against women under International Human Rights Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ekhholm, E. & Teittinen, A. (2014) *Vammaiset nuoret ja työntekijäkansalaisuus. Osallistumisen esteitä ja edellytyksiä*. Kela: Sosiaali- ja terveysturvan tutkimuksia 133.

Eliasoph, N. (1997). "Close to home": The work of avoiding politics. *Theory and Society*, 26(5), 605-647.

Elo, J. & Nygren-Landgärds, C. (2020). Teachers' perceptions of autonomy in the tensions between a subject focus and a cross-curricular school profile: A case study of a Finnish upper secondary school. *Journal of Educational Change*, 2, 423-445.

Enge Bertelsen, B. (2014). Norwegians navigating colonial orders in Africa and Oceania: an Introduction. In K. Alsaker Kjerland & B. Enge Bertelsen (eds). *Navigating Colonial Orders. Norwegian Entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania*. New York: Berghahn.

Englund, T. & Solbrekke, T. D. (2015). Om innebörder i lärarprofessionalism. *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige* 20(3-4), 168-194.

Ergas, Z. (1980). Why did the Ujamaa village policy fail? Towards a global analysis. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 18(3), 387-410.

Erlingsdottir, G. & Lindberg, K. (2005) Isomorphism, isopraxis and isonymism. Complementary or competing processes? In Czarniawska, Barbara & Sevón, Guje (eds.) *Global ideas. How Ideas, Objects and Practices Travel in the Global Economy*. Malmö: Liber & Copenhagen Business School Press.

Erss, M. (2018). 'Complete freedom to choose within limits' – teachers' views of curricular autonomy, agency and control in Estonia, Finland and Germany. *Curriculum Journal*, 29(2), 238-256.

Escobar, A. (1995) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Esteva, G. & Prakash, M.S. (1998). *Grassroots Post-modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures*. London: Zed

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2018). *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Being Black in the EU*. Luxembourg: Publications Office at the European Union.

Eurostat (2020). *Migration and migrant population statistics*. Retrieved 17.8.2020 from. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics#Migration_flows:_Immigration_to_the_EU-27_from_non-member_countries_was_2.4_million_in_2018

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Featherstone, M., Lash, S. & Robertson, R. (1995) *Global modernities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Fehling, M., Nelson, B. & Venkatapuram, S. (2013). Limitations of the Millennium Development Goals: a literature review. *Global Public Health* 8(10) 1109-1122.

Feldmann-Wojtachnia, E., Gretschel, A., Helmisaari, V., Kiilakoski, T. Matthies, A-L., Meinhold-Henschel, S., Roth, R. & Tasanko, P. (2010). *Youth Participation in Finland and in Germany – status analysis and data based recommendations*. The Finnish Youth Research Society. Internet Publications 32.

Ferguson, J. (1994). The anti-politics machine: "Development and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho. *The Ecologist* 24(5), 176-181.

Ferón, H. (2014). Human rights and faith: a 'world-wide secular religion'? *Ethics & Global Politics*, 7 (4), 181-200.

Flesher Fominaya, C. (2010). Collective identity in social movements: central concepts and debates. *Sociology Compass*, 4(6), 393-404.

Flowers, N. (2015). The Global movement for Human Rights Education. *Radical teacher*, 103, 5–17. doi: 10.5195/rt.2015.237

Foladare, I. (2016). A clarification of "ascribed status" and "achieved status". *The sociological quarterly*, 10(1), 53-61.

Fornaciari, A. & Männistö, P. (2015). Yhteiskunta- ja demokratiakasvatuksen sudenkuoppa: opettajien avulla kohti kriittisempää kansalaisuutta. *Kasvatus ja aika*, 9(4), 72-86.

Forslund Frykedal, K. & Hammar Chiriack, E. (2014). Group work management in the classroom. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 58 (2), 222-234.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (2001). *Power. Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984*. London: Penguin Books.

Fountain, P. & Throughton, G. (2019). Christianity and Development in the Pacific: An introduction. *Sites: New Series*, 16 (1), 1-23.

Freedman, E. (2007). Is teaching for social justice undemocratic? *Harvard Educational Review* 77 (4), 442-473.

Freire, P. (1969). *Pedagogía del oprimido*. Montevideo: Tierra Nueva.

Freire, P. (2005). *Pedagogía de la esperanza: un reencuentro con la pedagogía del oprimido*. México DF: Editores siglo veintiuno.

Frostell, K. (2017). Mänskliga rättigheter i den nya läroplansgrunden för den grundläggande utbildningen – skolans och individens ansvar. In C. Hilli & C. Kronqvist (eds.) *Ungas rätt till samtal – en antologi om människorättsfostran*. Åbo Akademi.

Fukuda-Parr, S. (2016). From the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals: shifts in purpose, concept, and politics of global goal setting for development. *Gender & Development*, 24(1), 43-52.

Furtado, C. (1983). *Accumulation and development*. Oxford: Martin Robertson

Gamson 1999. Beyond the Science-versus-Advocacy Distinction. *Contemporary Sociology*, 28(1), 23-26.

Gamson, W.A. (1992). The social psychology of collective action. In A.D. Morris and C. Mueller (eds.) *Frontiers in social movement theory* (53-76). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Garces, F. (2007). Las políticas del conocimiento y la colonialidad lingüística y epistémica. In S. Castro-Gómez & R. Grosfoguel (eds.) *El giro decolonial: Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global*. (217-242). Bogotá: Siglo del hombre Editores.

Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Gaudelli, W. (2003). *World Class: teaching and learning in global times*. New York: Routledge.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. London: Palgrave.

Global school (n.d) Global school website. <https://maailmankoulu.fi/svenska/> Retrieved 3.10.2021.

Goffman, E. (1956). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

- Goodwin, J. & Jaspers, J. (2003). *Rethinking social movements: structure, meaning and emotion*. Lanhan: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Gordenker, L. & Weiss, T. (1995). Pluralising global governance: analytical approaches and dimensions. *Third World Quarterly*, 16(3), 357-387.
- Gordon, T., Holland, J. & Lahelma, E. (2000). Introduction: Do you wanna dance? In T. Gordon, J. Holland & E. Lahelma (eds.) *Making spaces. Citizenship and Difference in Schools*. London: MacMillan.
- Goren, H. & Yemini, M. (2017). Global citizenship education redefined – A systematic review of empirical studies on global citizenship education. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 82, 170-183.
- Gramsci, A. (1999). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: ElecBook.
- Grant, C. & Sleeter, C. (2011). *Doing multicultural education for achievement and equity*. London: Routledge.
- Green, A. (2006). Education, globalization and the nation state. In H. Lauder, H., P. Brown, P., J. Dillabough & A. Halsey (eds.) *Education, Globalization and Social Change*, (192-197). Oxford University Press.
- Grönfors, M. (1982). *Kvalitatiiviset kenttätutkimusmenetelmät*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Grosfoguel, R. (2007). Decolonizando los universalismos occidentales: el pluri-ver-salismo transmoderno decolonial desde Aimé Césaire hasta los zapatistas. In S. Castro-Gómez & R. Grosfoguel. (eds). *El giro decolonial: Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global* (63-78). Bogotá: Siglo del hombre Editores.
- Haas, P. (1992). Epistemic communities and international policy coordination. *International Organization*, 46(1), 1-35.
- Haikkola, L. (2012)- *Monipaikkainen nuoruus: toinen sukupuoli, transnationaalisuus ja identiteetit*. Doctoral dissertation. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Hakala, K. & Hynninen, P. (2007). Etnografisesta tietämisestä. In S. Lappalainen, P. Hynninen, T. Kankkunen, E. Lahelma & T. Tolonen (eds.) *Etnografia metodologiana: Lähtökohtana koulutuksen tutkimus*. (209-225). Tampere: Vastapaino,
- Hakkarainen, O., Tammilehto, O. & Wallgren, T. (1991) *Imperiumin ulkopuolelta. Kehityskriittisiä puhevuoroja*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Hargreaves, A. & Shirely, D. (2008). *The fourth way: the inspiring future for educational change*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hargreaves, A. (2007). *School leadership for systemic improvement in Finland*. OECD report. Retrieved from: <http://www.oecd.org/education/school/39928629.pdf>
- Harinen, P., Honksalo, V., Souto, A. & Suurpää, L. (2009). *Ovet auki! Monikulttuuriset nuoret, vapaa-aika ja kansalaistoimintaan osallistuminen*. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusseura.

Harni, E. & Pyykkönen, M. (2018). Yrittäjyyskasvatus ja kansalaisuuden eetos. *Sosiologia*, 3, 281-297.

Heinonen, J-P. (2005). *Opetussuunnitelmat vai oppimateriaalit. Peruskoulun opettajien käsityksiä opetussuunnitelmien ja oppimateriaalien merkityksestä opetuksessa*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki.

Helander, M. (2004). *Fenomenologisk globalisering: Vardaglig nationalism bland transnationellt aktiva svenska och finländska företagsledare som globala epokens ofullbord*. Doctoral dissertation. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D. & Perraton, J. (1999). *Global transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Henriksson, H. & Häger, A. (2019). Education, gender diversity and civil society: A Finnish case of conservative religious advocacy in schools. Paper presentation at ISSR conference 9-12.7.2019 in Barcelona, Spain.

Henriksson, H. (2017a). Kansalaisjärjestöt ja valtavirtaistuvan globaalikasvatuksen episteeminen hallinta. *Kasvatus*, 49(5), 429-441.

Henriksson, H. (2017b). Medborgarorganisationer som (globala) människorättsfostrare. In C. Hilli & C. Kronqvist (eds.) *Ungas rätt till samtal – en antologi om människorättsfostran*. Åbo Akademi. Retrieved from: <https://manniskorattsfostran.wordpress.com/2017/03/02/medborgarorganisationer-som-globala-manniskorattsfostrare/>

Henriksson, H. (2018). Koulu maailmaa muuttamaan – hankkeen (2016-17) loppuevaluatio. Commissioned by Kehitysyhteistyön palvelukeskus Kepa. [unpublished]

Henriksson, H. (2019). Maailmankansalaisuustyypit kansalaisjärjestöjen kouluyh-teistyössä. *Kasvatus* 50(5), 446-460.

Heyneman, Stephen, (2001). The growing international commercial market for educational goods and services. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 21(4) 345-359.

Hieta, P., Johansson, M., Kokkonen, O. Peikkola-Fabrin, H. & Virolainen, M. (2018). *Yhteiskuntaopin taitaja 9*. Helsinki: Sanoma Pro.

Hollington, A., Tappe, O., Salverda, T. & Schwartz, T. (2015). Introduction. In A. Hollington, O. Tappe, T. Salverda & T. Schwartz (red.) *Concepts of the Global South*. Global South Studies Center. Retrieved 24.8.2021 from: <http://gssc.uni-koeln.de/node/451>.

Honkasalo, V. (2011). *Tyttöjen kesken: Monikulttuurisuus ja sukupuolten tasa-arvo nuorisotyössä*. Doctoral dissertation. Nuorisotutkimusseuran julkaisuja 109.

Hood, C. (1991). A public management for all seasons? *Public Administration* 69(1), 3-19.

hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: education as the practice of freedom*. New York: Routledge.

- Höyssä, A., Lahtinen, A., Ripatti, E. & Similä, J. (2017). *Historia Ajassa 4: Eurooppalaisen maailmankuvan kehitys*. Helsinki: Sanoma Pro.
- Huotari, K., Törmä, S. & Tuokkola, K. (2011). *Syrjintä koulutuksessa ja vapaa-ajalla. Erityistarkastelussa seksuaali- ja sukupuolivähemmistöihin kuuluvien nuorten syrjintäkokemukset toisen asteen oppilaitoksissa*. Syrjintäselvitys 2010. Sisäasianministeriön julkaisu 11/2011.
- Huttunen, L. (2010). Tiheä kontekstointi: Haastattelu osana etnografista tutkimusta. In J. Ruusuvoori, P. Nikander & M. Hyvärinen (eds.) *Haastattelun analyysi*. (39-63). Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Ibrahim, T. (2005) Global citizenship education: mainstreaming the curriculum? *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 35(2),177-194.
- Illich, I. (1971). *Deschooling society*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Isotalo, A. (2015). *Mistä on hyvät työt tehty? Somalityöt ja maineen merkitykset*. Doctoral dissertation. Turku: University of Turku.
- Jääskeläinen, L. & Repo, T. (2011). *Koulu kohtaa maailman. Mitä osaamista maailmankansalainen tarvitsee?* Opetushallitus. Oppaat ja käsikirjat 2011: 16.
- Jackson, A. & Mazzei, L. (2013) Plugging one text into another: Thinking with theory in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 19(4), 261-271.
- Jackson, P. (1968) *Life in classrooms*. New York: Teachers College University Press.
- Jackson, S. (1997). Crossing borders and changing pedagogies: From Giroux and Freire to feminist theories of education. *Gender & Education*, 9 (4), 457-468.
- Jefferess, D. (2012). Unsettling cosmopolitanism: Global citizenship and the cultural politics of benevolence. In V. Andreotti & M. de Souza (eds.) *Postcolonial perspectives on global citizenship education*. (27-46) New York: Routledge.
- Johnson, R.B. (1997). Examining the validity structure of qualitative research. *Education*, 118 (2), 282-292.
- Jokiaho, M. & Putus-Hilasvuori, T. (2017). *Historia ajassa 6: Maailman kulttuurit kohtaavat*. Helsinki: Sanoma Pro.
- Jokikokko, K. (2010). *Teachers' intercultural learning and competence*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Oulu.
- Jokinen, P. & Itkonen, A. (2019). Greta Thunberg ja toisin tekemisen mahdollisuudet: Mietteitä kasvatuksen tulevaisuudesta kaikkiruokaisen kapitalismin runtelemalla planeetalla. *Kasvatus* 50(3), 249-253.
- Julkunen, R. (2006). *Kuka vastaa? Hyvinvointivaltion rajat ja julkinen vastuu*. Helsinki: Stakes.
- Kaivola, T. & Mélen-Paaso, M. (eds.) (2007). *Education for Global Responsibility – Finnish Perspectives*. Opetusministeriön julkaisu 2007:31.

- Kallio, A. & Länsman, H. (2018). Sámi re-imaginings of equality in/through extracurricular arts education in Finland. *International Journal of Education & the Arts*, 19(7), 2-22.
- Kallio, K., Häkli, J. & Bäcklund, P. (2015) Lived citizenship as the locus of political agency in participatory policy. *Citizenship studies*, 19(1), 101-119.
- Kallis, G. (2011). In defence of degrowth. *Ecological Economics*, 70(5) 873-880.
- Kamens, D. (2012). *Beyond the Nation-state: the reconstruction of nationhood and citizenship*. Bingley: Emerald.
- Kauranen, H. (2019). *Terveystiedon oppikirjauudistukset suhteessa opetussuunnitelmauudistukseen*. Pro gradu -tutkielma. Tampereen yliopisto.
- Kay, C. (1989). *Latin American theories of development and underdevelopment*. London: Routledge.
- Kepa ry (2014b). Globaalikasvatusverkoston kommentit Opetussuunnitelma 2016-perusteiden uudistukseen 15.4.2014. Retrieved 21.8.2017 from: http://www.gloaalikasvatus.fi/tiedostot/gloaalikasvatusverkoston_ops-kommentti.pdf
- Kepa ry (2014a) Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet: Globaalikasvatusjärjestöjen kommentit luonnokseen.15.10.2014.Retrieved 21.8.2017 from: http://www.gloaalikasvatus.fi/tiedostot/kepa_kommentit_15102014.pdf
- Keskinen, S., Tuori, S., Irni, S. & Mulinari, D. (2009). Introduction: Postcolonialism and the Nordic Models of Welfare and Gender. In S. Keskinen, S. Tuori, S. Irni & D. Mulinari (eds.) *Complying with colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic region*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Keskinen, S., Tuori, S., Irni, S. & Mulinari, D. (eds.). (2009). *Complying with colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic region*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Keskitalo, P., Määttä, K. & Uusiautti, S. (2012). Re-Thinking Sámi Education. *Linguistics, Culture and Education*. 1(1), 12-41.
- Kiilakoski, T. (2014). Monenkirjavaa vaikuttamista: Nuorten useista kansalaisuuksista. In S. Myllyniemi (ed.) *Vaikuttava osa. Nuorisobarometri 2013*. (103-106). Helsinki: Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö, Nuorisosaian neuvottelukunta & Nuorisotutkimusverkosto,
- Kivisto, P. & Wahlbeck, Ö. (2003). Debating multiculturalism in the Nordic welfare states. In P. Kivisto & Ö. Wahlbeck (eds). *Debating multiculturalism in the Nordic welfare states*. (1-21). London: Palgrave.
- Klinkmann, E., Henriksson, B. & Häger, A. (2017). *Föreställda finlandssvenskheter: Intersektionella perspektiv på det svenska i Finland*. Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland.
- Kokko, H. (2010). Sivistyksen varhaista käsitehistoriaa. *Kasvatus ja aika*, 4(4) 7-23.

- Korhonen, J. (2017). Vem får tala, vems röst blir hörd? I N-E. Forsgård (red.) *Demokratins öde*. Tankesmedjan Magma. Helsingfors: Förlaget.
- Koskinen, A. L. (2019). Osa nuorista pelkää, uskaltaako perjantain ilmastolakkoon osallistua koulun asenteen takia: Näin rehtorit yrittävät suitsia lakkoilijoita. Yle Uutiset 13.3.2019, Ilmasto. Retrieved 22.5.2019 from: <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10685882>.
- Kothari, R. & Pillai, V. (1991). Kehityksen problematiikka. I O. Hakkarainen, O. Tam-milehto & T. Wallgren (red.) *Imperiumin ulkopuolelta. Kehityskriittisiä puheenvuoroja*. (20-54). Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Kuipers, G. (2008) The sociology of humor. In V. Raskin (ed.) *The Primer of Humor Research*, (365-402). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kumashiro, K. (2002). *Troubling education: "Queer" activism and anti-oppressive pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.
- Kuokkanen, R. (2007). Saamelaiset ja kolonialismin vaikutukset nykypäivänä. In J. Kuortti, M. Lehtonen & O. Löytty (eds.) *Kolonialismin jäljet. Keskustat, periferiat ja Suomi*. (142-155) Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Kuortti, J. Lehtonen, M. & Löytty, O. (2007). *Kolonialismin jäljet. Keskustat, periferiat ja Suomi*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Kwak, L. (2018). Still making Canada white: racial governmentality and the "Good immigrant" in Canadian parliamentary immigration debates. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, 30(3) 447-470.
- Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship: a liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford University Press
- Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (2008). *Hegemonin och den socialistiska strategin*. Göteborg: Vertigo.
- Laclau, E. (2007). *On populist reason*. London: Verso.
- Lagerspetz, M. (2018). Estonian NGOs at the crossroads of professionalization and grassroots activism. In D. Horton Smith, A. Moldavanova & S. Krasynska (eds.) *The Non-Profit Sector in Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lahti, J. & Kullaa, R. (2020). Kolonialismin monikasvoisuus ja sen ymmärtäminen Suomen kontekstissa. *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja*, 118(4), 420-426.
- Laitinen, H. (2018a). Empowering new agents of civil society or fostering good citizens? Framing Youth Participation in Finnish Youth Organizations. *Journal of Civil Society*, 14(4), 328-345
- Laitinen, H. (2018b). Miten ja kenelle valtakunnalliset nuorisojärjestöt legitimoivat toimintaansa? *Sosiologia* 55(1), 28-44.
- Laki transseksuaalin sukupuolen vahvistamisesta (563/2002). Retrieved from: <https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2002/20020563>

- Lampinen, J. & Melén-Paaso, M. (eds.) (2009). *Tulevaisuus meissä: kasvaminen maailmanlaajuiseen vastuuseen*. Opetusministeriön julkaisuja 2009: 40.
- Lampinen, J. (2013). *Vähemmistöt oppikirjoissa – erilaisuutta etäältä tarkasteltuna? Ihmisoikeusliiton selvitys 1/2013*.
- Lampinen, J. (2009). Kasvatusta kansainväliseen ymmärrykseen, yhteistyöhön ja rauhaan. In J. Lampinen & M. Melén-Paaso (eds.) *Tulevaisuus meissä. Kasvaminen maailmanlaajuiseen vastuuseen. Opetusministeriön julkaisuja 2009:40*. Helsinki: Opetusministeriö, 11–16.
- Lappalainen, R., Luukkainen, O., Similä, T. et al. (2017). *Hyvä opetusministeri Sanni Grahn-Laaksonen*. Letter to the Minister of Education signed by 30 NGO representatives. 30.5.2017. Retrieved 9.8.2019 from: <https://www.fingo.fi/sites/default/tiedostot/kirjeministeri-grahn-laasonen.pdf>
- Lappalainen, S. (2007a). Johdanto: mikä ihmeen etnografia? In S. Lappalainen, P. Hynninen, T. Kankkunen, E. Lahelma & T. Tolonen (eds.) *Etnografia metodologiana: Lähtökohtana koulutuksen tutkimus*. Tampere: Vastapaino,
- Lappalainen, S. (2007b). Havainnoinnista kirjoitukseksi. In S. Lappalainen, P. Hynninen, T. Kankkunen, E. Lahelma & T. Tolonen (eds.) *Etnografia metodologiana: Lähtökohtana koulutuksen tutkimus*. (113-134). Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Lappalainen, S., Hynninen, P., Kankkunen, T., Lahelma, E. & Tolonen, T. (eds.). (2007). *Etnografia metodologiana: Lähtökohtana koulutuksen tutkimus*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Larsson, S. (2008). A pluralist view of generalization in qualitative studies. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 32(1), 25-38.
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social. An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Le Bourdon, M. (2018). Informal spaces in global citizenship education. *Policy & practice: a development education review*. 26, 105-121.
- Lehtomäki, E. & Rajala, A. (2020). Global education research in Finland. In D. Bourn (eds.) *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning*. (105-120). Bloomsbury Academic.
- Letseka, M. (2011). In defense of Ubuntu. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*. 31(1), 47-60.
- Lichterman, P. & Eliasoph, N. (2014). Civic action. *American Journal of Sociology*, 120(3), 798-863
- Lind, K. (2020). *Kenen äänellä, millä asialla? : sosiaali- ja terveysjärjestöjen edustuksellisuus, toimintaympäristön muutokset ja operatiivisen johdon toimijuus*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Jyväskylä.
- Linton, R. (1945). *The cultural background of personality*. Appleton-Century.

- Löfström, J. (2014). Edistävätkö historialliset anteeksipyyntöt rauhaa ja sovintoa: suomalaislukiolaisten ajattelun analyysiä. *Kosmopolis*, 44(1), 25-43.
- Loftsdottir, K. & Jensen, L. (2012). Introduction: Nordic exceptionalism and the Nordic "others". In K. Loftsdottir & L. Jensen (eds). *Whiteness and postcolonialism in the Nordic region: exceptionalism, migrant others and national identities*,(1-11). London: Ashgate.
- Lopes, A. (2016). The theory of enactment by Stephen Ball: And what if the notion of discourse was different? *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 24, 1-19.
- Lösch, B. (2011). The Political Dimension of Global Education: Global governance and Democracy. *Journal of Social Science Education*, 10(4), 50-58.
- Löytty, O. (2006). *Ambomaamme. Suomalaisen lähetyskirjallisuuden me ja muut*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Luhtakallio, E. (2010). *Local politicizations: a comparison of Finns and French practicing democracy*. Sociology Research Reports. Helsinki: University of Helsinki
- Lykke, N. (2003). Intersektionalitet – ett användbart begrepp för genusforskningen. *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift*, 1 (3), 47-56.
- Macgilchrist, F. & Christophe, B. (2011). Translating globalization theories into educational research: Thoughts of recent shifts in Holocaust education. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education*, 32(1), 145-158.
- Madison, S. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Madsen, D. & Snow, P. (1983). The dispersion of charisma. *Comparative Political Studies*, 16(3), 337-362.
- Mahler, A. (2018). *From the Tricontinental to the Global South: Race, Radicalism, and Transnational Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Maldonado-Torres, N. (2017). On the coloniality of human rights. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 114, 117-136.
- Mannion, G. (2003) Children's participation in school grounds developments: creating a place for education that promotes children's social inclusion. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 7(1), 1-18.
- Mannion, G. Biesta, G. Priestly, M. & Ross, H. (2011). The global dimension in education and education for global citizenship: genealogy and critique. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*. 9(3-4), 443-456.
- Marshall H., Arnot M. (2008) The Gender Agenda: The Limits and Possibilities of Global and National Citizenship Education. In: Zajda J., Davies L., Majhanovich S. (eds) *Comparative and Global Pedagogies. Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research, vol 2*. Dordrecht: Springer.

- Marshall, H. & Arnot, M. (2007). Globalizing the school curriculum: gender, EFA and global citizenship education. *RECOURP* Working paper 17. University of Cambridge.
- Marshall, H. (2005). Developing the Global Gaze in Citizenship Education: Exploring The Perspectives of Global Education NGO workers in England. *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, 1(2), 76–92.
- Marshall, H. (2009). Educating the European citizen in the global age: engaging with the post-national and identifying a research agenda. *Journal of curriculum studies*. 41(2), 247-267.
- Marshall, H. (2011). Instrumentalism, ideals and imaginaries: Theorising the contested space of global citizenship education in schools. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 9(3–4), 411–426.
- Martin, Rod A., (2007), *The Psychology of Humor: An Integrative Approach*, Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Martínez-Alier, J., Pascual, U., Vivien, F-D. & Zaccai, E. (2010). Sustainable de-growth: mapping the context, criticisms and future prospects of an emergent paradigm. *Ecological economics* 69, 1741-1747.
- Matilainen, M. (2011). *Ihmisoikeuskasvatus koulussa - outoa ja itsestään selvää*. Doctoral dissertation. Helsingin yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitos.
- Mattila, P. (2015). Opetushallituksen tukemien kv-hankkeiden koordinointi: kokonaiskehittämisen viisi ensimmäistä vuotta. Retrieved from: https://static.secure.website/wscfus/8595229/uploads/Koordinoinnin_lyhyt_historia.pdf
- Mayo, P. (2015). Antonio Gramsci's impact on critical pedagogy. *Critical Sociology*, 4 (7-8), 1121-1136.
- McCall, G. & Simmons, J. (1978). *Identities and Interactions: an examination of human associations in everyday life*. New York: Free Press.
- McCarthy, J. (1997). The globalization of social movement theory. In J. Smith, C. Chatfield & R. Pagnucco (eds). *Transnational social movements and global politics*. (243-260). Syracuse: Syracuse University Press,
- McCloskey, S. (2011). Rising to the challenge: Development education, NGOs and the urgent need for social change. *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, 12, 32-46.
- McCloskey, S. (2015). From MDGs to SDGs: We need a critical awakening to succeed. *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, 20, 186-194.
- McLoughlin, D. (2016). Post-marxism and the Politics of Human Rights. Lefort, Badiou, Agamben, Ranciere. *Law & Critique*, 27, 303-321.
- Melén-Paaso, M. (2011). *Kasvaminen maailmanlaajuiseen vastuuseen. Projektin 2007-2009 keskeiset tulokset*. Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön julkaisuja 2011:13.

Melucci, A. (1995) The process of collective identity. In H. Johnston & B. Klandermans (eds). *Social movements and Culture*. (41-63). University of Minnesota Press.

Melucci, A. (1991). *Nomader i nuet. Sociala rörelser och individuella behov i dagens samhälle*. Göteborg: Daidalos.

Meyer, J.W., Boli, J., Thomas, G.M. & Ramirez, F. (1997). World society and the nation state. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103(1), 144-181.

Meyer, John W. & Brian Rowan (1977) Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83, 340-63.

Miettinen, A. (n.d.) Maahanmuuttajien määrä. Väestöliitto. Retrieved 17.8.2020 from: https://www.vaestoliitto.fi/tieto_ja_tutkimus/vaestontutkimuslaitos/tilastoja/maahanmuuttajat/maahanmuuttajien-maara/

Mignolo, W. (2007). DELINKING. *Cultural Studies*, 21 (2), 449-514.

Mikander, P. & Holm, G. (2014). Constructing threats and a need for control: textbook descriptions of a growing, moving world population. *Review of International Geographical Education Online*, 4(1) 7-25.

Mikander, P. & Zilliacus, H. (2016). A postcolonial discourse analysis of Finnish school textbooks: learning about the world from a tourist perspective. *Journal of International Social Studies*, 6(2), 96-108.

Mikander, P. (2015). Colonialist "discoveries" in Finnish textbooks. *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, 4, 48-65.

Mikander, P. (2016a). *Westerners and others in Finnish school textbooks*. Doctoral dissertation. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press.

Mikander, P. (2016b). Globalization as Continuing Colonialism: Critical Global Citizenship Education in an Unequal World. *Journal of Social Science Education*, 15(2), 70-79.

Mikander, P., Zilliacus, H. & Holm, G. (2018). Intercultural education in transition: Nordic perspectives. *Education Inquiry*, 9(1), 40-56.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs (2018) Ulkoministeriö jatkaa viestintä- ja globaalikasvatustukien myöntämistä järjestöille. Tiedote 6.2.2018. Retrieved 9.8.2019 from: https://um.fi/ajankohtaista/-/asset_publisher/gc654PySnjTX/content/ulkoministerio-jatkaa-viestinta-ja-globaalikasvatustukien-myontamista-jarjestoille?curAsset=0&stId=47307

Ministry for Foreign Affairs, (2016). Finland's Development Policy. Government report to parliament. Retrieved 9.8.2019 from: <https://um.fi/documents/35732/0/Finlands+development+policy+2016.pdf/ebf6681d-6b17-5b27-ca88-28eae361a667?t=1561448337759> Retrieved 9.8.2019

- Ministry for Foreign Affairs, (2020). Hakukierros suomalaisten kansalaisjärjestöjen viestintä- ja globalikasvatushankkeiden tukemiseen on käynnissä 30.9.2020-16.11.2020. Retrieved 4.2.2022 from: <https://um.fi/documents/397000/0/VGK+Hakuilmoitus+2020+%281%29.pdf/b1830894-88f6-6eec-e703-2e5282992598?t=1601384267801>
- Ministry of Education (2007). *Kansainvälisyyskasvatus – Fostran till internationalism 2010*. Opetusministeriön julkaisuja / Undervisningsministeriets publikationer 2007: 11.
- Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (2018). *Suomen romanipolittinen ohjelma (ROMPO) 2018-2022*. Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden ministeriön julkaisuja 3/2018.
- Mohanty, C. (2003). *“Under western eyes” Revisited: Feminist solidarity through anti-capitalist struggles*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mok, On Nei Annie (2011) Non-formal learning. Clarification of the concept and its application in music education. *Australian Journal of Music Education*, 1, 11-15.
- Mundy, K. & Murphy, L. 2006. Transnational advocacy, global civil society? Emerging evidence from the field of education. In H. Lauder, H., P. Brown, P., J. Dillabough & A. Halsey (eds.) *Education Globalization and Social Change*, (991-1015). Oxford University Press.
- Myllyniemi, S. & Kiilakoski, T. (2019). Vaikuttaminen ja politiikka. In E. Pekkarinen & S. Myllyniemi (eds.) *Nuorisobarometri 2018: Vaikutusvaltaa Euroopan laidalla*. (19-40.) Nuorisotutkimusverkosto.
- Nash, K. (2000). *Contemporary political sociology: globalization, politics and power*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Nash, K. (2015). *The Political Sociology of Human Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- New Economics Foundation (2016). Happy Planet Index 2016. Methods paper. Retrieved 24. 8.2021 from: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5735c421e321402778ee0ce9/t/578dec7837c58157b929b3d6/1468918904805/Methods+paper+2016.pdf>.
- Niemi, H., Lavonen, J., Kallioniemi, A., & Toom, A. (2018). The Role of Teachers in the Finnish Educational System: High Professional Autonomy and Responsibility. In H. Niemi, A. Toom, A. Kallioniemi, & J. Lavonen (Eds.), *The Teacher’s Role in the Changing Globalizing World: Resources and Challenges Related to the Professional Work of Teaching* (47-61). Leiden: Brill Sense.
- Nieminen, T. & Mankki, V. (2019). Opettaja-aktivismi opettajankoulutuksen opetussuunnitelmissa. *Kasvatus*, 50(3), 216-225.
- Nikkanen, H. (2019). Double agent? Ethical considerations in conducting ethnography as a teacher-researcher. In H. Bushner & A. Fox (eds.) *Implementing Ethics in Educational Ethnography*. London: Routledge.

- Nivala, E. (2008). *Kansalaisuuskasvatus globaalien ajan hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa: kansalaiskasvatuksen sosiaalipedagoginen teoriakehitys*. Doctoral dissertation. Kuopio: Snellman-instituutti.
- Noh, J-E. (2018). Global Citizenship Education in South Korea: The Roles of NGOs in Cultivating Global Citizens. In A. Peterson et al. (eds.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Citizenship and Education*. London: Palgrave.
- Noh, J-E. (2019). The legitimacy of development nongovernmental organizations as global citizenship education providers in Korea. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 14(3), 241-259.
- Nordzell, A. (2007). Kategoriseringsarbete i skolledarmöten – En samtalsanalys. I M. Börjesson & E. Palmblad (red). *Diskursanalys i praktiken*. Helsingborg: Liber.
- North-South Centre of the Council of Europe (2004). Global education in Finland. The European Global Education Peer Review Process. National report on Finland.
- Nummensalo, K. (2019). Sananvapaus kaventuu. Retrieved from: <https://aitoavio-liitto.fi/>
- Nussbaum, M. (2002). *For love of country? Debating the limits of patriotism*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Nussbaum, M. (2010) *Not for Profit. Why democracy needs the humanities*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- O'Loughlin, E. & Wegimont, L. (2003) (eds.) *Global Education in Europe to 2015. Strategy, policies and perspectives*. North-South Centre of the Council of Europe.
- OAJ (2020). Perusopetuksen oppilasarviointi uudistuu – tässä 5 pääasiaa. Retrieved 11.2.2020 from. <https://www.oaj.fi/ajankohtaista/nakemyksemme/2020/perusopetuksen-oppilasarviointi-uudistuu--tassa-5-paaasiaa/>
- OECD (2019). Results from PISA 2018. Country note, Finland. Retrieved 4.2.2022 from https://www.oecd.org/pisa/publications/PISA2018_CN_FIN.pdf
- OECD (2018). PISA. Preparing our youth for an inclusive and sustainable world. The OECD PISA global competence framework. Retrieved from: <https://www.oecd.org/pisa/Handbook-PISA-2018-Global-Competence.pdf>
- Ofstad, S. & Marin, A. (2019). "What exactly are we part of now?" Norwegian NGOs' engagement with state governmentality. *Forum for Development Studies*, 46(3), 429-450.
- Ojala, H., Palmu T. & Saarinen, J. (2009). Paikalla pysyvää ja liikkeessä olevaa – Feministisiä avauksia toimijuuteen ja sukupuoleen. I H. Ojala, T. Palmu. & J. Saarinen (red.) *Sukupuoli ja toimijuus koulutuksessa*. Tallinn: Vastapaino.
- Oliver, P. and Johnston, H. (2000). What a good idea! Ideologies and frames in social movement research. *Mobilization*, 5, 37-54.

Opetushallitus (2006). Kestävää kehitystä edistävän kasvatuksen ja koulutuksen strategia ja sen toimeenpanosuunnitelma vuosille 2006-2014. Retrieved 18.5.2017 from: http://www.oph.fi/download/110201_kekestrategia.pdf

Oppivelvollisuuslaki (2020/1214). Retrieved from: <https://finlex.fi/fi/laki/alku/2020/20201214>

Osler, A. & Starkey, H. (2009). Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: theoretical debates and young people's citizenship. *Educational Review* 55(3), 243-254.

Osler, A. & Vincent (2002). *Citizenship and the challenge of global education*. London: Trentham Books.

Österlund, M. (2001). *Politics in the midst of terror: religious beliefs and political action in the Peruvian Andes*. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters.

Owens, T., Robinson, D. & Smith-Lovin, L. (2010). Three Faces of Identity. *The Annual Review of Sociology*, 36, 477-99.

Oxley, L. & Morris, P. (2013): Global citizenship: a typology for distinguishing its multiple concepts. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 61(3), 301-325.

Ozga, J. & Jones, R. (2006). Travelling and Embedded Policy: the case of knowledge transfer. *Journal of Education Policy*, 21(1), 1-17.

Pachter, H. (1974). The idea of progress in marxism. *Social Research* 41(1), 136-161.

Palmu, T. (2007). Kenttä, kirjoittaminen, analyysi – yhteenkietoutumia. In S. Lappalainen, P. Hynninen, T. Kankkunen, E. Lahelma & T. Tolonen (eds.) *Etnografia metodologiana: Lähtökohtana koulutuksen tutkimus*. (137-150). Tampere: Vastapaino.

Papadopoulos, G.S. (1994). *Education 1960-1990: The OECD perspective*. Paris: OECD.

Papakostas, A. (2011). The rationalization of civil society. *Current Sociology* 59(1), 5-23.

Pashby, K. (2012). Questions for global citizenship education in the context of the "new imperialism": for whom, by whom? In V. Andreotti & L.M. Souza (eds). *Postcolonial perspectives on global citizenship education*. New York: Routledge.

Pashby, K. & Sund, L. (2020) Decolonial options and foreclosures for global citizenship education and education for sustainable development. *Nordic Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 4(1), 66-83.

Pashby, K. (2015). Conflations, possibilities, and foreclosures: Global citizenship education in a multicultural context. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 45(4), 345-366.

Pashby, K., da Costa, M., Stein, S. & Andreotti, A. (2020). A meta-review of typologies of global citizenship education. *Comparative education*, 56(2), 144-164.

Pastor Homs, M.I. (2001) La necesidad de planificación y evaluación educativas en la educación no formal. Algunas propuestas. *Educació i Cultura*, 14, 87-99.

Pensala, V. & Silfverberg, P. (2020). *Ulkoministeriön viestintä- ja globaalikasvatuksen (VGK) tuen evaluointi 2015-2020*. Arvointiraportti 2.9.2020. Kehitysyhteistyötoimisto ZULU.

Pereira, C. & Bernete, F. (2017). Comunicación y Marcos de Acción Colectiva en el Movimiento Global de Ecoaldeas. *Mediaciones sociales*, 6, 11-26.

Pietarinen, J. Pyhältö, K. & Soini, T. (2017). Large-scale curriculum reform in Finland – exploring the interrelation between implementation strategy, the function of the reform, and curriculum coherence. *The Curriculum Journal*, 28(1) 22-40.

Piipponen, O. & Karlsson, L. (2019) Children encountering each other through storytelling: promoting intercultural learning in schools. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 112 (5), 590-603.

Piispa, M. Ojajärvi, A. & Kiilakoski, T. (2020). *Tulevaisuusko hukassa? Nuoret ilmas-toaktivistit ja keskustelu tulevaisuudesta*. Helsinki: Sitra.

Pike, G. (2008). Citizenship Education in a Global Context. *Brock Education Journal*, 17(1), 38-49.

Pirjatanniemi, E. (2017). Om språkets makt och hatiskt prat. In C. Hilli & C. Kronqvist (eds.) *Ungas rätt till samtal – en antologi om människorättsfostran*. Åbo Akademi.

Polkinghorne, D. (2007). Validity issues in Narrative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13(4), 471-486.

Polletta, F. & Jasper, J. (2001) Collective identity in social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27(1), 283-305.

Polletta, F. & Kai Ho, M. (2009). Frames and their consequences. In R. E. Goodin & C. Tilly (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*. (187-209). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Prebisch, R. (1948). *El Desarrollo económico de la América Latina y algunos de sus principales problemas*. Naciones Unidas, CEPAL.

Prime Minister's Office (2015). Finland, a land of solutions. Strategic Programme of Prime Minister Juha Sipilä's government. Retrieved 9.8.2019 from: https://valtioneuvosto.fi/documents/10184/1427398/Ratkaisujen+Suomi_EN_YHDISTETTY_netti.pdf/8d2e1a66-e24a-4073-8303-ee3127fbfcac/Ratkaisujen+Suomi_EN_YHDISTETTY_netti.pdf.pdf

Pudas, A-K. (2013). Investigating possibilities to develop textbooks to implement global education in basic education instruction. *IARTEM e-Journal* 5(2), 1-22.

Pudas, Anna-Kaisa (2015) *A moral responsibility or an extra burden. A study of global education as part of Finnish basic education*. Doctoral dissertation. Oulu: University of Oulu Press

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster

- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Pykett, J. Cloke, P. Barnett, C. Clarke, N. & Malpass, A. (2010) Learning to be global citizens: the rationalities of fair-trade education. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28 (3), 487-508.
- Quijano, A. (2000). *Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America*. Nepantla: views from the south 1:3. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Räsänen, R. (2009a). Transforming Global Education and Learning in Teacher Education in Finland. *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning*, 1(2), 25-40.
- Räsänen, R. (2009b). Teachers' intercultural competence and education for global responsibility. In M-T. Talib, J. Loima, H. Paavola & S. Patrikainen (eds.) *Dialogs on Diversity and Global Education*. (29-50). Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Ramos, V. (1982). The concepts of ideology, hegemony and organic intellectuals in Gramsci's Marxism. *Theoretical Review*, 27. Retrieved 15.1.2022 from: <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/periodicals/theoretical-review/1982301.htm>
- Rastas, A. (2007). *Rasismi lasten ja nuorten arjessa: transnationaaliset juuret ja monikulttuuristuva Suomi*. Doctoral dissertation. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Rastas, A. (2012). Reading history through Finnish exceptionalism. In K. Loftsdottir & L. Jensen (eds.) *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region*. (89-103). Burlington: Ashgate.
- Rautalin, M. & Alasuutari, P. (2007). The curse of success: The impact of the OECD:s Programme for International Student Assessment on the discourses of the teaching profession in Finland. *European Educational Research Journal*, 6(4), 348-363.
- Rautalin, M. (2018). PISA and the criticism of Finnish education: justifications used in the national media debate. *Studies in Higher Education*, 43(10), 1778-1791.
- Reinikainen, P. (2012). Amazing Pisa results in Finnish comprehensive schools. In H. Niemi, A. Toom & A. Kallioniemi (eds.) *Miracle of Education*. Sense Publishers.
- Rekola, S. (2017). Järjestöjen VGK-tuki uhattuna. Retrieved 9.8.2019 from: <https://www.fingo.fi/ajankohtaista/tiedotteet/jarjestojen-vgk-tuki-uhattuna>
- Reynolds, R., Bradbery, J., Brown, K., Carroll, K., Donnelly, D., Ferguson-Patrick, K. & Macqueen, S. (2015). *Contesting and Constructing International Perspectives in Global Education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers
- Riddell, A. & Niño-Zarazua, M. (2016). The effectiveness of foreign aid to education. What can be learned? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 46, 23-36.
- Rigg, J. (2015). The Global South. I A. Hollington, O. Tappe, T. Salverda & T. Schwartz (eds.) *Concepts of the Global South*. Global South Studies Center Cologne.

Riitaoja, A.-L. (2011). Maailmankansalaisuuden ja globaalikasvatuksen viitekehykset. Maailmankansalaisena Suomessa –hanke. Retrieved from: http://www.oph.fi/download/139619_Maasu_Maailmankansalaisuus_gloaalikasvatus.pdf

Riitaoja, A.-L. (2013). *Toiseuksien rakentuminen koulussa: tutkimus opetussuunnitelmista ja kahden helsinkiläisen alakoulun arjesta*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki.

Rinne, R. & Järvinen, T. (2010.) The 'losers' in education, work and life chances – the case of Finland. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, 56(4), 512-530.

Rizvi, F. & Lingard, R. (2006). Globalization and the changing nature of the OECD's educational work. In H. Lauder, H., P. Brown, P., J. Dillabough & A. Halsey (eds.) *Education Globalization and Social Change* (247-260). Oxford University Press.

Robertson, R. (1992) *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Robertson, R. (1995). Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity. I Featherstone, Lash & Robertson (edsd.) *Global Modernities*. London: Sage Publications.

Rosén, M. (2010). Likabehandlingslagstiftning och normkritisk potential - möjligheter och begränsningar. I J. Bromseth & F. Darj (red.) *Normkritisk pedagogik: makt, lärande och strategier för förändring*. (55-84). Uppsala: Uppsala universitet.

Rossi, L.-M. (2009). Licorice boys and female coffee beans: representations of colonial complicity in Finnish visual culture. In S. Keskinen, S. Tuori, S. Irni & D. Mulinari (eds.) *Complying with colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic region*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Rowley-Jolivet, E. (2000). Image as Text. Aspects of the shared visual language of scientific conference participants. *ASp*, 27(27-30), 133-154.

Rucht, D. (2013). Types and patterns of intragroup controversies. In D. della Porta & D. Rucht (eds) *Meeting democracy: power and deliberation in global justice movements*. (47-71) Cambridge University Press.

Ryle, G. (1968). The thinking of thoughts. What is "Le Penseur" doing? University lectures n0 18. Retrieved 30.8.2021 from <https://www.scribd.com/document/260839886/The-Thinking-of-Thoughts>.

Rytioja, A. & Kallio, K. P. (2018). Opittua käsitteistöä vai koettua yhteiskunnallisuutta? Pohdintoja nuorten kansalaisuudesta politiikkakyselyjen valossa. *Sosiologia*, 55(1), 6-27.

Saari, A., Salmela, S. & Vilkkilä, J. (2017). Bildung- ja curriculum-periaatteet suomalaisessa opetussuunnitelma-ajattelussa. In T. Autio; L. Hakala & T. Kujala (eds.) *Opetussuunnitelmatutkimus. Keskustelunavauksia suomalaiseen kouluun ja opettajankoulutukseen*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Sagar, A. & Najam, A. (1998). The human development index: a critical review. *Ecological economics*, 25, 249-264.

- Sahlberg, P. (2001). Kansalaisjärjestöt ja oppilaitokset yhdessä oppimisen siltojen rakentajina. Helsinki: Nuorten Akatemia.
- Sahlberg, P. (2011a). PISA in Finland. An education miracle or an obstacle to change? *CEPS Journal*, 1(3), 119-140.
- Sahlberg, P. (2011b). The fourth way of Finland. *Journal of Educational Change*, 12(2), 173-185.
- Salo, P. (2002) *Skolan som mikropolitisk organization: En studie i det som skolan är*. Åbo: Åbo Akademis förlag.
- Salo, U-M. (1999). *Ylös tiedon ja taidon ylämäkeä: tutkielma koulun maailmoista ja järjestyksistä*. Rovaniemi: Lapin yliopisto.
- Salokangas, M. & Wermke, W. (2020). Unpacking autonomy for empirical investigation. *Oxford Review of Education*, 46(5), 563-581, DOI: [10.1080/03054985.2020.1733514](https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2020.1733514)
- Salokangas, M., Wermke, W. & Harvey, G. (2019). Teachers' autonomy deconstructed: Irish and Finnish teachers' perceptions of decision-making and control. *European Educational Research Journal*, 19(4), 329-350.
- Saloranta, S. (2017). *Koulun toimintakulttuurin merkitys kestävän kehityksen kasvatuksen toteuttamisessa perusopetuksen vuosiluokkien 1-6 kouluissa*. Doctoral dissertation. Helsingin yliopisto.
- Sant, E., Davies, I., Pashby, K. & Schultz, L. (2018). *Global citizenship education. A critical introduction to key concepts and debates*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Santos, B. (2016). *Epistemologies of the South: justice against epistemicide*. London: Routledge.
- Sarja, J. (1994). *Fritt bildningsarbete I Svenskfinland: en utvärderande lägesbeskrivning*. Vasa: Åbo Akademis förlag.
- Saukkonen, P. (2012). Monikulttuurisuus ja multikulturalismi. *Alue ja ympäristö* 41(1), 118-123.
- Saukkonen, P. (2013). *Politiikka monikulttuurisessa yhteiskunnassa*. Cupore: Helsinki.
- Saussure, F. (1966). *Course in General Linguistics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Schaffar, B. (2017) Samtal som riskerar att inte bli av inom yrkesutbildning. In C. Hilli & C. Kronqvist (eds.) *Ungas rätt till samtal – en antologi om människorättsfostran*. Åbo Akademi.
- Schattle, H. 2008: Education for global citizenship: Illustrations of ideological pluralism and adaptation. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 13, 73-94.
- Seikkula, M. (2019). Adapting to post-racialism? Definitions of racism in non-governmental organization advocacy that mainstreams anti-racism. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 22(1), 95-109.

- Seikkula, M. (2020). *Different anti-racisms. Critical race and whiteness studies perspectives on activist and NGO discussions in Finland*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki.
- Shiva, V. (2017). Swaraj: From Chipko to Navdanya. In J. Hart (ed.) *Religion and Ecology* (12-19). Oxford: Wiley.
- Shukla, N. (ed.) (2017). *The good immigrant. 21 writers reflect on race in contemporary Britain*. London: Unbound.
- Sigurdson, O. (1995). *Det rätta eller det goda? Om liberalism, kommunitarism, postmodernism och demokratisk fostran i Lpo 04*. Göteborgs universitet.
- Sigurdson, Ola (1995). *Det rätta eller det goda? Om liberalism, kommunitarism, postmodernism och demokratisk fostran i Lpo 94*. Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet.
- Siisiäinen, M. & Blom, R. (2009) Associational Activeness and Attitudes towards Political Citizenship in Finland from a Comparative Perspective. *Journal of Civil Society*, 5(3), 265–281.
- Silverman, D. (1985). *Qualitative methodology & sociology*. Brookfield: Gower Publishing Company.
- Simmons, B. & Elkins, Z. (2005). On waves, clusters, and diffusion: a conceptual framework. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 598, 33-51.
- Simola, H. (2005) The Finnish Miracle of PISA: historical and sociological remarks on teaching and teacher education. *Comparative education*, 41(4), 455-470.
- Simola, H. (2015a). *Koulutusihmeen paradoksit – Esseitä suomalaisesta koulutuspolitiikasta*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Simola, H. (2015b). *The Finnish Education Mystery: historical and sociological essays on schooling in Finland*. London: Routledge.
- Simola, H., Kauko, J., Varjo, J., Kalalahti, M., & Sahlström, F. (2017) *Dynamics in education politics: understanding and explaining the Finnish case*. New York: Routledge.
- Simpson, A. & Dervin, F. (2019). Global and intercultural competences for whom? For what purpose? : an example from the Asia society and the OECD. *Compare*, 49(4), 672-677.
- Simpson, J. (2017) 'Learning to Unlearn' the charity mentality within schools. *Policy & Practice: A development education review*, 25, 88-108.
- Skinner, A. & Baillie Smith, M. (2015). *Reconceptualising global education from the grassroots: the lived experiences of practitioners*. DEEEP, Research 6. Concord DARE Forum.
- Slotte, P. (2005). *Mänskliga rättigheter, moral och religion. Om de mänskliga rättigheterna som moraliskt och juridiskt begrepp i en pluralistisk värld*. Doctoral dissertation. Åbo: Åbo Akademis förlag.

Smith, D.H. (2010). Membership and Membership Associations. *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*. New York: Springer.

Smith, M. K. (2001). 'What is non-formal education?'. *The encyclopaedia of informal education*. Retrieved 4.8.2016 from: <http://infed.org/mobi/what-is-non-formal-education/>.

Smith, S. (2014). Hybridity and non-profit organizations: the research agenda. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 58(11), 1494-1508.

Snow, D., Vlieghehart, R. & Ketelaars, P. (2019). The framing perspective on social movements: its conceptual roots and architecture. In D. Snow, S. Soule, H. Kriesi & H. McCammon (eds.) *The Wiley Companion to Social Movements* (2nd edition, 392-410). Wiley-Blackwell.

Snow, D. & Corrigall-Brown, C. (2015). Collective identity. In J. Wright (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, (2nd edition, 174-180). Oxford: Elsevier.

Soini, T. Pietarinen, J. & Pyhältö, K. (2018). Shared sense-making strategies in curriculum reform: District-level perspective. *Improving schools*, 21(2), 111-126.

Souto, A-M. (2011). *Arkipäivän rasismi koulussa. Etnografinen tutkimus suomalais- ja maahanmuuttajanuorten ryhmäsuhteista*. Doctoral dissertation. Nuorisotutkimusverkoston julkaisuja.

Spector, M. & Kitsuse, J.I. (2001). *Constructing Social Problems*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Spivak, G. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (eds.) *Marxism and the interpretation of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Sprecher, K. (2011). *Decolonial Multiculturalism and Local-Global Contexts: A Post-Critical Feminist Bricolage for Developing New Praxes in Education*. University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Standish, A. (2014). What is global education and where is it taking us? *The Curriculum Journal*, 25(2), 166-186.

Starck, A. & Nevalainen, H. (2016). Globaalikasvatuksen rahoituksesta leikkattiin 65 prosenttia. Tiedote 23.12.2016. Retrieved 9.8.2019 from: <https://www.fingo.fi/ajankohtaista/tiedotteet/gloaalikasvatuksesta-leikkattiin-65-prosenttia>

Starck, A. (2016). Pieniltä on helpoin leikata. Blog text 1.7.2015. Retrieved 9.8.2019 from: <https://www.fingo.fi/ajankohtaista/blogit/pienilta-helpoin-leikata>

Statistics Finland (2020). Koulutukseen hakeutuminen. Helsinki: Tilastokeskus Retrieved 18.7.2021 from: http://www.stat.fi/til/khak/2019/khak_2019_2020-12-10_tie_001_fi.html

Statistics Finland (2019). Esi- ja peruskouluopetus 2019. Retrieved 18-7-2021 from: https://www.stat.fi/til/pop/2019/pop_2019_2019-11-14_fi.pdf

Stenius, H. (2010). Nordic Associational Life in a European and an Inter-Nordic Perspective. In R. Alapuro & H. Stenius (eds.). *Nordic Associations in a European Perspective*. (29-86). Munich: Nomos.

Strandell, H. (1994). *Sociala mötesplatser för barn. Aktivitetsprofiler och förhandlingsskulturer på daghem*. Helsingfors: Gaudeamus.

Struckmann, C. (2018). A postcolonial feminist critique of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: A South African application. *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equality*, 31(1), 12-24.

Suhonen, R. (2020). Constructing global citizenship in vocational education: critical analysis of the future competency needs of the working life. Paper presentation at ANGEL Early Career Researchers' conference 11-12.6.2020.

Suomen Unesco-toimikunta (1992) *Kansallinen ympäristökasvatusstrategia*. Suomen Unesco-toimikunnan julkaisuja 59. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Suoranta, J. (2005). *Radikaali kasvatus*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Suutarinen, S. (2006). Tietopainotteisen kansalaiskasvatuksen aika Suomessa ohi – miten kansalaiskasvatus uudistetaan? In S. Suutarinen (toim.) *Aktiiviseksi kansalaiseksi: kansalaisvaikuttamisen haaste*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus.

Takayama, K., Waldow, F. & Sung, Y-K. 2013. Finland has it all? Examining the media accentuation of "Finnish education" in Germany, Australia and South Korea. *Research in Comparative and International Education* 8(3), 307-325.

Talib, M-T., Loima, J., Paavola, H. & Patrikainen, S. (eds.) (2009). *Dialogs on Diversity and Global Education*. Berlin: Peter Lang.

Tallon, R. Milligan, A. & Wood, B. (2016). Moving beyond fundraising and into...what? Youth transitions into higher education and citizenship identity formation. *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, 22, 96-109.

Tansel, C. (2018) Passive revolutions and the dynamics of social change in the peripheries. *Review of African Political Economy*, 45(155), 115-124.

Tavory, I. & Timmermans, S. (2013). A pragmatic approach to causality in ethnography. *American Journal of Sociology*, 119(3), 682-714.

Taylor-Gooby, P. (2015) Making the case for the welfare state. *Policy and Politics*, 43(4), 597-614.

Telleria, J. (2017). Power relations? What power relations? The de-politicising conceptualisation of development of the UNDP. *Third World Quarterly*, 38(9), 2143-2158.

- TENK (2009). Humanistisen, yhteiskuntatieteellisen ja käyttäytymistieteellisen tutkimuksen eettiset periaatteet ja ehdotus eettisen ennakoarvioinnin järjestämiseksi. Tutkimuseettinen neuvottelukunta. Retrieved from: <https://www.tenk.fi/sites/tenk.fi/files/eettisetperiaatteet.pdf>
- Thomas, P. (2018). Gramsci's revolutions: passive and permanent. *Modern Intellectual History*, 17(1): 1-30.
- Thomassen, L. (2005). Antagonism, hegemony and ideology after heterogeneity. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 10(3), 289-309.
- Thompson, J. (2014). The contradictions of liberal multiculturalism. Book review of Patten, A. (2014) *Equal recognition: The Moral Foundations of Minority Rights*. Retrieved 24.8.2021 from: <https://insidestory.org.au/the-contradictions-of-liberal-multiculturalism/>
- Tilly, C. (2002). *Stories, Identities and Political Change*. Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield.
- Tilly, C. (2004). Social movements and democratisation. In A-M. Castrén, M. Lonkila & M. Peltonen (eds.) *Between Sociology and History*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Tomperi, T. & Piattoeva, N. 2005. Demokraattisten juurten kasvattaminen. In T. Kiilakoski, T. Tomperi & M. Vuorikoski (eds.). *Kenen kasvatus? Kriittinen kasvatus ja toisin kasvatuksen mahdollisuus*. Tampere: Vastapaino
- Törnroos, J. (2005). *Opetussuunnitelma, oppikirjat ja oppimistulokset – seitsemännen luokan matematiikan osaaminen arvioitavana*. Finnish Institute for Educational Research. University of Jyväskylä.
- Torres, C.A. (2017). *Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Critical Global Citizenship Education*. New York: Routledge.
- Trewby, J. (2014). *Journeys to engagement with the UK global justice movement: life-stories of activist-educators*. Doctoral thesis, UCL Institute of Education.
- Trost, J. (2005). *Kvalitativa intervjuer*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Tuori, S. (2009). *The politics of multicultural encounters. Feminist postcolonial perspectives*. Doctoral dissertation. Turku: Åbo Akademi University Press.
- Turner, B. (1990) *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ubani, M., Rissanen, I. & Poulter, S. (2019). *Contextualising Dialogue, Secularization and Pluralism: Religion in Finnish Public Education*. Münster: Waxmann.
- UNDP (2015). *Mainstreaming the Agenda 2030 for sustainable development*. Interim Reference Guide to UN country teams. United Nations Development Group. Retrieved 4.2.2022 from <https://unsdg.un.org/resources/mainstreaming-2030-agenda-sustainable-development-reference-guide-un-country-teams>
- UNESCO (1974). *Records of the general conference, 18th session, Paris, 17 October to 23 November 1974, v. 1: Resolutions*.

UNESCO (2017) Unpacking sustainable development goal 4. Education 2030: Guide. Retrieved 7.8.2021 from: <https://www.campaignforeducation.org/docs/post2015/SDG4.pdf>

United Nations (1948). Universal Declaration of human rights. Retrieved 28.8.2021 from: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>

United Nations (1997). Guidelines for national plans of action for human rights education. Retrieved 4.2.2022 from: [https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/GuidelinesforNationalPlansofActionforHumanRightsEducation\(1997\).aspx](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/GuidelinesforNationalPlansofActionforHumanRightsEducation(1997).aspx)

United Nations (2013). *A new global partnership: eradicate poverty and transform economies through sustainable development*. The report of the high-level panel of eminent persons on the post-2015 development agenda. New York: United Nations Publications.

United Nations Development Programme (2019). *Human Development Report 2019. Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: inequalities in the human development in the 21st century*. Retrieved 5.4.2017 from: <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2019.pdf>

United Nations (2015). *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 25 of September 2015. Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. Retrieved 5.4.2017 from: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E

Urry, J. (2003) *Global complexity*. Cambridge: Polity.

Vaccari, V. & Gardinier, M. (2019). Toward one world or many? A comparative analysis of OECD and UNESCO global education policy documents. *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning* 11(1), 68-86.

Vaggione, J. (2018). Sex education in Argentina: Ideological tensions and critical challenges. In F. Sanjakdar & A. Kam-Tuck Yip (eds.) *Critical pedagogy, sexuality education and young people*. (35-48). New York: Peter Lang.

Väisänen, J. (2005). *Murros oppikirjojen teksteissä vai niiden taustalla? 1960- ja 1990-luvun historian oppikirjat kriittisen diskurssianalyysin silmin*. Joensuun yliopisto. Kasvatustieteellisiä julkaisuja 107.

Vitikainen, A. (2013). *The limits of liberal multiculturalism*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki.

Vuorela, U. (2009) Colonial complicity: The 'Postcolonial' in a Nordic context. In Keskinen, S., Tuori, S., Irni, S. & Mulinari, D. (eds.) *Complying with colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic region*. (19-33). Farnham: Ashgate.

Vuorinen, K. (2016). Positiivinen pedagogiikka ja luonteenvahvuudet. Presentation 16.3.2016. Retrieved 25.9.2021 from: https://kaisavuorinen.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/erkkaaverkossa_vuorinen.pdf

- Vuorinen, K., Erikivi, A. & Uusitalo-Malmivaara, L. (2018) A character strength intervention in 11 inclusive Finnish classrooms to promote social participation of students with special educational needs. *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, 19(1), 45-57.
- Weaver, S. (2010). Liquid racism and the Danish Prophet Muhammad Cartoons. *Current Sociology*, 58(5), 675-692.
- Weber, H. (2017). Politics of "Leaving No One Behind": Contesting the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals Agenda. *Globalizations*, 14(3), 399-414.
- Weber, M. (1977). *Vetenskap och politik*. Göteborg: Korpen.
- Weber, M. (1983). *Ekonomi och samhälle. Förståelsesociologins grunder 1: Sociologiska begrepp och definitioner*. Lund: Argos.
- Weiler, K. (1991). Freire and a feminist pedagogy of difference. *Harvard Educational Review*, 61(4), 449-475.
- Wennerhag, M. (2008). *Global rörelse: Den globala rättviserörelsen och modernitetens omvandlingar*. Doctoral dissertation. Stockholm: Atlas.
- Wennerhag, M. (2010). Another modernity is possible? The global justice movement and the transformation of politics. *Distinktion Journal of Social Theory* 11(2), 25-49.
- Wermke, W. & Höstfält, G. (2014). Contextualizing teacher autonomy in time and space: a model for comparing various forms of governing the teacher profession. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 46(1), 58-80.
- West, C. (2012). Words that silence? Freedom of expression and racist hate speech. In I. Maitra & M.K. McGowan (eds.) *Speech and Harm: Controversies over Free Speech*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wettergren, Å. & Jamison, A. (2006). *Sociala rörelser: Politik och kultur*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Willetts, P. (2011). *Non-governmental organizations in World Politics: the construction of global governance*. Taylor & Francis.
- Wilska, T. (2014). Nuoret osallistuvat kulutusvalinnoillaan – vai osallistuvatko? In S. Myllyniemi (ed.) *Vaikuttava osa. Nuorisobarometri 2013*. (121-124). Helsinki: Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö, Nuorisosiain neuvottelukunta & Nuorisotutkimusverkosto.
- Winch, P. (1990) *The idea of social science and its relation to philosophy*. London: Routledge.
- Yhdenvertaisuuslaki (2014/1325). Retrieved 4.2.2022 from: <https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2014/20141325>
- Yhdistyslaki (1989/503). Retrieved 4.2.2022 from: <https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1989/19890503>

Ylä-Anttila, T. (2010). Pragmatistinen näkökulma yhteiskunnallisiin liikkeisiin. *Sociologia*, 47(4), 286-299.

Ylöstalo, H. (2014) Työntekijäkansalaisia vai maailman muuttajia? :opiskelijat uusliberalistisessa yliopistossa. *Sukupuolentutkimus* 27(4), 5-16.

Yoon, J. & Järvinen, T. (2016). Are model PISA pupils happy at school? Quality of school life of adolescents in Finland and Korea. *Comparative Education*, 52(4), 427-448, DOI: [10.1080/03050068.2016.1220128](https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2016.1220128)

Zeige, L. (2015). From Saussure to sociology and back to linguistics: Niklas Luhmann's reception of significant/signifié and langue/parole as the basis for a model of language change. *Semiotica*, 207, 327-368

Zembylas, M. (2013). Revisiting the Gramscian legacy on counter-hegemony, the subaltern and affectivity: toward an emotional pedagogy of activism in higher education. *Critical studies in teaching and learning*, 1(1), 1-21.

Ziai, A. (2016). *Development discourse and global history*. London: Routledge.

Ålund, A. & Schierup, C. (1991) Prescribed multiculturalism in crisis. In A. Ålund & C. Schierup (eds.) *Paradoxes of multiculturalism*. (1-20). Aldershot: Avebury.

Appendix 1: List of NOs' educational materials

Amnesty International (2017) Koulujen kirjemarkaton: Oppilaan paketti. Helsinki: Amnesty International, Suomen osasto.

FEE Finland & Siemenpuu Foundation (n.d.) Ilmastonmuutos ja Etelän äänet. <https://ymparistoreportterit.fi/etelan-aa-net/> Retrieved 3.10.2021.

Karvinen, M. (2016). Opitaan yhdessä! Sukupuolen ja seksuaalisen suuntautumisen moninaisuus. Opas opettajille. Setä.

Kiviranta, A. (2015). Meidän kaikkien kaivokset: Opetusmateriaali yläkouluun ja lukioon. Helsinki: Maan ystävät.

Kuuluvainen, S. (2017). Vihapuheesta dialogiin. Koulutusmateriaali vihapuhetta käsitteleville oppitunneille. Helsinki: Plan International Suomi. https://www.globaalikoulu.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Plan_Vihapuhe_koulutusmateriaali_34s.pdf

Maiche, K. & Niittymäki, H. (2018) Läntisen tuolla puolen. Rauhanpuolustajat ry:n mediakasvatussivusto. <https://lantisentuollapuolen.rauhanpuolustajat.org/> Retrieved 3.10.2021

Nuorten Akatemia [unpublished draft version]. Tarinoita solidaarisuudesta: ohjaajan opas. Nuorten Akatemia.

Prusskij, C. & Salmio, T. (2014) Kuvien tarinat. Artikkeleita ja tehtäviä lapsen oikeuksien näkökulmasta. Helsinki: Plan Suomi Säätö.

Prusskij, C. (ed.) (2017). YK-kokoussimulaatio: MiniMUN. Menetelmäopas kestävän kehityksen teemojen käsittelyyn. Helsinki: Suomen YK-liitto.

Punainen risti (2018) Nälkäpäiväkeräys – kampanjamateriaali. <https://www.punainenristi.fi/node/1630/nalkapaiva-ylakouluissa> Retrieved 23.11.2018

Punainen Risti. (2018). Nälkäpäiväkeräys – kampanjamateriaali. <https://www.punainenristi.fi/node/1630/nalkapaiva-ylakouluissa>. (Luettu 23.11.2018.)

Raskulla, S. (ed.) (2011). Vaikuta! Menetelmäopas nuorten yhteiskunnalliseen osallistumiseen – kriittistä pedagogiikkaa Guatemalasta. Helsinki: Taksvärkki.

Salmi, N. & Kurittu, H. (2018). Tarinoita solidaarisuudesta: ohjaajan opas. Nuorten Akatemia.

Suomen ammattiin opiskelevien liitto, Setä, Suomen lukiolaisten liitto & Finlands svenska skolungdomsförbund, (2013) Älä oleta – Normit nurin! Setä-julkaisuja 22.

Taksvärkki (2016). Yksi päivä muutokseen – Taksvärkki-kampanja 2016-2017. <https://www.taksvarkki.fi/kenia2016/> Retrieved 8.11.2018.

The Peace Education Institute (2016) Koulu vailla vertaa! opas yhdenvertaisuuden edistämiseksi. Retrieved 25.9.2021 <https://rauhandkasvatus.fi/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Koulu-vailla-vertaa-opas.pdf>

Unicef (2017) Unicef-kävely –webpage. <https://www.unicef.fi/unicef-kavely/> Retrieved 23.11.2018

Unicef. (n.d) Unicef walk 2017-2018 printed leaflet.

Välikangas, A., Ylä-Anttila, A. & Hintikainen, K. (2014). Globaalin kuluttajan oppikirja. Helsinki: Eettisen kaupan puolesta, Towns for Fairtrade in Finland ja Estonia-hanke.

Appendix 2: Interview questions – NGO interviews

These questions constitute the general base of the interviews, but each interview was different and the questions were addressed to a varying degree. Follow-up questions and clarifications were also frequently asked in the interviews.

About the informant:

- Professional title and job description
- Age
- Mother tongue
- Educational background
- Overall experience in the area of global education

About the NGO and its interaction with the school world

- Describe the NGO briefly
- How is the NGO funded? How is the school cooperation funded?
- How would you describe the NGOs' relation to the funder?
- How does funding mechanisms affect your work?

About global education and its place in schools

- What do you think about global education as a concept?
- Tell me about your educational materials
- Tell me about your school visits
- Tell me about your teacher education
- Why would you say that NGOs are needed in schools?
- What are the most important objectives of the NGO's global education?
- Are there any challenges in implementing global education in schools?
- How do you understand the relation between global education and the national core curriculum?
- How do you see the teacher's role in relation to global education? Ideally vs. in practice?

About the NGO's educational governance and partnerships

- Has your NGO been involved in the latest curriculum reforms? Tell me about the process
- Has your NGO been involved in commenting textbook manuscripts?
- Tell me about your experience of the collaborative NGO project Changing the (school) world. What are the pros and cons of cooperative projects?

Concluding questions:

- How did you end up working with global education?
- What is the best part about your job? Are there parts that are not so great?
- Any further comments?

Appendix 3: Interview questions – Teacher interviews

These questions constitute the general base of the interviews, but each interview was different and the questions were addressed to a varying degree. One interview was conducted as a group interview. Some interviews were done by face-to-face and others by email. The e-mail interviews also included more specific questions about the The school changing the world project, as a part of my role as project evaluator, but these are omitted here since they have not been explicitly addressed in this dissertation.

About the informant

- Professional title and job description (subjects, special responsibilities)
- Educational background
- Age
- Working experience in education

About global education and its relation to school and to the curriculum

The teachers are presented with the definition of global education according to the Maastricht declaration.

- Is global education a familiar term for you? From which context(s)?
- How are these different dimensions [of global education] related to your work as a teacher?
- How is global education implemented in your school?
- Are there any obstacles for implementing global education in your school?
- How do you understand the relation between global education and the new national core curriculum?
- Have you received training on the topics of global education?

For the teachers with responsibility for coordinating global education:

- How did you end up as a global education coordinator? What kind of work does the position entail? How do you feel about this position?

About interaction with NGOs

- Has your school cooperated with NGOs in the area of global education?
- Have you invited NGOs to your class? Tell me about your experiences
- Do you use NGO material in your teaching?
- Are NGOs needed in schools?
- Do you have ideas on how to develop the interaction between NGOs and schools?

Concluding questions:

- Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 4: Interview questions - Students

These questions constitute the general base of the interviews, but each interview was different and the questions were addressed to a varying degree. All student interviews were conducted as group interviews in school.

Introductory questions

-Round of presentation (name, age, school year)

About NGOs' interaction with schools

For the upper secondary school students:

- What got you to sign up for this course [conducted in cooperation with NGO]?
- What do you think of the course?
- Does it differ from regular classes somehow?
- What have you learned during the course? What has caught your attention?

For the lower secondary school students:

- Is the Hunger Day Collection familiar to you from before?
- What was it like to raise funds for the Red Cross? How did it go and what did it feel like?
- How were you prepared before going out raising funds?
- What did you learn during the day?

About the school and the world

- What do you think about when you hear globalization or the global world?
- Do you learn about global challenges in school? How and what do you talk about?
- What would you like to know more about?
- What are the things in this world that you would like to change?

About different types of civic action

I place sheets of paper on the table with the following words on them: 1) fundraising, 2) consumption and lifestyle, 3) activism, 4) representative democracy, 5) media and art 6) third sector, 7) personal conduct and encounters; each with a short explanation and example.

- Which of these have you discussed in school?
- Which of these do you think is a good way of making a difference? Why?
- Do you practice any of these? Or can you think of other examples of civic action?
- Does the school encourage you to make change/to be an active citizen?
- Are you encouraged to think critically in school? How?

About NGO campaigns in school:

- Do you have other experiences of NGO campaigns?
- What do you remember about them? What did you learn from them?
- What do you think about NGOs coming to school? Or other people from the outside visiting school?

Concluding questions:

- What motivated you to volunteer for this interview?

-Any further comments or questions?

Heidi Henriksson

Educating global citizens

A study of interaction between NGOs and schools in Finland

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have promoted global education for decades through different forms of educational advocacy. The umbrella term global education encompasses human rights, sustainability, peace, development and multiculturalism. In this dissertation, Henriksson explores NGO involvement in curriculum reforms and textbook production, NGOs as providers of teacher education as well as NGOs' school campaigns and workshops for secondary schools.

The dissertation portrays global education as the educational sector of the global justice movement. The school functions as an arena where social change can take place, but also as an institution with its' own structure and logics. In this sense, the dissertation also contributes to a wider debate on interaction between school and society.

ISBN 978-952-389-029-9