Afterword: Learning *with* Each Other in Comparative and International Education

We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. (Higginson 1979: 49)

This book shows that the 'miraculous' system of education of Finland hides many imperfections and 'white lies', which most observers have missed (or 'pretended' to miss, see the idea of "Finnish education as an excuse"). The topic of teachers' CPD was useful in unearthing many of these 'imperfections' in the Nordic country. We have decided to include this afterword as we feel that there is an urgent need to discuss again the meanings of comparing and contrasting in international and comparative education.

The objectives of this afterword are as follow. *Firstly*: we are very much interested in reflecting on the meanings of comparing and contrasting in international and comparative education: what do these two words mean and what do they entail? Which approach seems best

suited to avoid comparing 'apples and pears', which is necessarily detrimental to one of the compared objects? *Secondly*: Can we take a thorny and popular concept like social justice (which was central in discussing CPD) and compare and/or contrast how it is 'done' in two different countries? What meaning(s) does it have in the two contexts? How do people get prepared to deal with it in education? *Finally*: Based on our observations in schools in China and Finland, and deriving from our approach to comparison and understanding of social justice, are there similarities in the ways the teachers and school leaders in the two schools implement social justice?

In accordance with Birkeland (2016: 79), we try to bridge the macro-aspects of e.g. the study of educational systems, institutions and policies (typical of comparative education) with more micro-aspects, "the internal and intrinsic aspects of schooling" (ibid.), for instance, in the specific context of a given classroom. We believe that macro-aspects can often hide certain 'truths' about the complex realities of an educational system that micro-aspects can better reveal.

Our readers might wonder how social justice can be used to compare two very different countries such as China and Finland, especially in relation to the work and training of the teacher. Calling for a perspective that takes into account the enmeshment of broader contexts (e.g. the residence permit-*hukou* system in China and the current education export initiatives in Finland) and of micro-contexts such as the work of a specific teacher in a classroom, the afterword also proposes an approach to comparing which takes into account difference and similarity between contexts, thus avoiding potentially unjustified and biased comparisons—which are damaging the way we speak about 'our' and 'their' education. A preliminary presentation of our observations in the schools in China and Finland illustrates this perspective.

Our main goal is to explain why there needs to be a shift in the way we compare education systems and give some recommendations as to how this could occur. We also suggest moving from the ideology of 'learning from other countries' to 'learning with each other' when one deals with social justice in education, as every single country faces issues of injustice.

During our visits to the schools in China, we were quite astonished by the lack of sufficiently available and well-maintained facilities and equipment in the Chinese school. Furthermore, the demoralization of some teachers—about which one can often read in the literature (Wang 2013)—was palpable. Yet, we were nicely surprised by the teachers' general care about the students, especially in relation to well-being and motivation. Although the context was materially and psychologically difficult, the teachers still seemed to believe that education can make a difference.

Although Finland is not listed as achieving high levels of performance and equity in education outcomes in the latest OECD report on PISA and equity (OECD 2016), as asserted many times in this book, the Nordic country is known for its emphasis on social justice, equality and equity in education (Sahlberg 2011), and is often an object of desire and copy for many countries. It is also considered a hallmark of high quality education, while China is often described as authoritarian, competitive and unequal in terms of distribution of educational resources by geographical region; by class or other social group such as ethnicity; and at different levels from primary and secondary to tertiary (Wu and Morgan 2016). The visits to Finnish schools represented an opportunity to see how social justice was 'done' in this context and to *compare* and/or *contrast* it to what we witnessed in China—and potentially learn from it (see Higginson's quote at the beginning of the article: *can we stick a flower and some leaves from another garden and have a living plant in another?*).

On Comparing and Contrasting China and Finland: Two Different Educational Utopias

At first sight, China and Finland have very little in common. Let us review some basic elements to confirm this impression. While the People's Republic of China has a population of 1.4 billion people, Finland's population is 5.4 million. The Nordic country covers an

area of 338,424 km^2 and China 9.6 million. China is a unitary one-party socialist republic while Finland a unitary parliamentary republic. China has 56 nationalities (55 minorities) and Finland has one official minority (Swedish-speakers, 5.29% of the population) and a recognized regional language (Sami with 0.04% of the population). The two countries' Gross Domestic Products are: $23.2 trillion ($16,676 per capita; China) and $239.662 billion ($43,545; Finland) (ESA.UN.org). Finally, China has the largest education system in the world with 474,000 schools, 10 million teachers and 200 million students (China Education and Research Network 2011).

Although they are very different, these two countries both represent 'educational utopias' today. The word _utopia_ was coined by English statesman, lawyer, philosopher and Renaissance humanist Sir Thomas Moore. The etymology of the word is from the Greek _ou-topos_ meaning 'no place' or 'nowhere' (Giroux 2003). In 1516, Moore published _Utopia_ about an imaginary ideal nation with highly coveted and/or nearly perfect qualities. China and Finland represent different types of utopias, especially in relation to their excellent positions in international rankings in education. Many countries wish to copy Finland for e.g. her fun-learning approaches, student-centeredness and autonomous learning-teaching. China is inspiring for e.g. mathematics education to the rest of the world. As asserted in the introduction, on the one hand, Finland is said to lay a strong emphasis on equality and social justice, on the other hand, China is often said to be hierarchical, competitive and a victim of varied inequalities (Zhao 2014).

Comparing and Contrasting Beyond Quantitative Indicators? The Importance of (Hidden) Contextual Knowledge

International comparisons of systems of education ("rankings") have become popular and widespread, as asserted earlier in this book. Simola et al. (2017: n.p.), amongst others, are critical of how quantitative indicators such as the ones provided by PISA studies are believed to

"provide valid comparisons of education systems", without further analysis—and many scholars, decision-makers and practitioners from China and Finland have fallen into this trap (Liu and Dervin 2016; see introduction to this book). They insist that "these remain value-loaded collections of indicators of development that offer at best parallel lines of comparative analysis" (ibid.). Finally, for the scholars, these often lead to politically and ideologically motivated comparisons but also to a push for 'borrowing' practices (ibid.).

It is clear that comparing/contrasting Finland and China in order to try to identify practices from Finland that could be implemented in China in relation to social justice in education (this is often the one-way direction people use) is problematic. Simola et al. (2017: n.p.) argue that there is a need for "a strong and ambitious theory-based framework with the potential to incorporate sociohistorical complexity, cultural relationality, and sociological contingency". Harris and Jones (2017: 431) also explain that one needs to see "the whole picture", which requires a "more sophisticated analysis of the cultural dynamics that operate within an education system". We share similar patterns in what follows, but with an emphasis on current practices of the economization of Finnish education through education export, which, to us, must be borne in mind when comparing/contrasting with other countries.

Since Finland's 'victory' in PISA studies in 2001 the country has attracted worldwide attention. As a direct consequence of Finland's success in PISA studies, a sharp increase in activities related to education export has taken place (Cai and Kivistö 2011; Dervin 2016). Through its current proactive education export (Dervin 2013; Schatz 2016), Finland has been visited by so-called 'pedagogical tourists' from China and elsewhere. Finland has also sold schools abroad (e.g. kindergartens in Inner Mongolia), trained foreign school leaders and teachers (e.g. from Saudi Arabia), and taken part in education reforms abroad (e.g. Serbia), amongst others. According to the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (2010: 13), "Higher education institutions will be encouraged to be active and assume a major role as education export operators." Concretely, this means that faculties of education and, especially departments of teacher education in Finland, are very

active in 'selling' Finnish education around the world with the help of private businesses, start-ups and companies attached to universities. What is more, scholars and administrators often accompany education decision-makers or politicians in their business-related trips abroad. The consequences of the emergence of Finnish education export include: ready-made discourses on Finland/Finnish education, including white lies about equality (e.g. "there are no social classes in Finland"; "there are no poor people"), manipulation (e.g. "teachers are highly respected"; "young people want to be teachers") and unfounded comparisons/contrasts (e.g. "there are no bad teachers in Finland"). It is important to note here that the ready-made discourses on the 'miracle' of Finnish education, embedded in business practices, somehow camouflage some 'realities' of Finnish education (Niemi and Nevgi 2014; Simpson and Dervin 2017; Liu and Dervin 2016).

For practitioners, decision-makers and even scholars, these can easily lead to a loss of criticality, but also to contradictions and (auto-) censorship. It is important to note that foreign media have also very much contributed to promote Finnish education and to construct narratives and preconceived ideas about its 'wonders' (see Itkonen et al. 2017 on documentaries about Finnish education). It is, however, becoming clearer that Finnish education is experiencing contradictions and similar problematic phenomena as many other countries around the world such as a lack of pedagogical innovations, school shopping, teacher burnout, boys' lower test results, etc. For instance, a study by Simola et al. (2015) on primary schools in the capital city (Helsinki) shows clearly that the pedagogy in practice "appears to be a curious combination of traditional, teacher-centered tuition and progressive, student-centered caring."

In brief, if one wishes to compare/contrast Finnish education with another system, the first step should consist in (1) questioning the pre-discourses that the world has been fed with about Finland, (2) revising one's own biases about one's own education system, and (3) asking the questions: *Can one compare/contrast the incomparable/uncontrastable?*

Comparing or Contrasting? Towards Difference and Similarity

While we started with the idea of getting potential inspiration from the 'best' education in the world for dealing with social justice in China (after having witnessed the lack of resources in Chinese schools, and the somewhat luxurious atmosphere of the Finnish ones), we are now wondering if this approach is worthwhile: Maybe there is more than meets the eyes in the two schools, maybe our comparative/contrastive perspectives are biased, maybe social justice is noticeable beyond appearances.

This is where a critical review of the words that we use to discuss what we are trying to achieve is needed: *to compare* and *to contrast* (Chinese and Finnish education). When we verified the etymology of these two verbs, we noted that they refer to opposite realities: Compare comes from the Latin *comparāre*, which means *to place together, to match* while contrast comes from the Italian *contrastare* (to resist, to withstand), and from Latin *contra* (against). A look at current definitions of the two verbs (Merriam Webster) also shows that *to compare* seems to correspond more to an approach that goes beyond differentialism, whereby only differences matter (Dervin 2016), than *to contrast*: (to compare) "to estimate, measure, or note the similarity or dissimilarity between"; (to contrast) "to set in opposition in order to show the difference or differences between". In the rest of the article, we have decided to use the verb *to compare* as it concentrates on both similarity or dissimilarity. We believe that this approach can help us to go beyond hyper-differentialist observations which can blind us and push us towards flawed generalisations. Finally, we note that we prefer to add 'and' to the aforementioned definition of *to compare*—rather than 'or'—as we are interested in both similarities *and* dissimilarities between the two contexts.

Introducing Social Justice: China and Finland

One central concept under review in order to problematise the comparison of the two contexts is that of *social justice*—a central concept in today's academic, educational and political discussions. For many readers, comparing China and Finland in relation to social justice might sound surprising.

Let us note first that a sizable literature has been produced globally on the concept and that, as a result, its meanings are disparate, inconsistent and shifting over time and space (see e.g. Kaur 2012). Its definitions may thus vary from context to context, especially when transmitting values across nations—although many values might concur beyond the borders of a given context. It is also important to note that problems of inequality and inequity are experienced throughout the world, often in different levels of importance and forms. Depending on the context, social injustice may concern different genders; minorities; those with special needs or disabilities; certain kinds of immigrants; poor people; etc.

Most governments around the world have included the words social justice, equality or equity in national curricula and policies. In their 2016 article entitled *Subtle discourses on equality in the Finnish curricula of upper secondary education: reflections of the imagined society*, Lappalainen and Lahelma note that the idea of equality has been present in Finnish educational politics and policies for the past 40 years. They explain that the meaning and conceptualization of the concept have changed with the political orientations of different periods of time. Finally, they show that a clear neo-liberal educational restructuring into Finland is noticeable in their diachronic study of the presence of the word equality in policy documents. It is obvious from this example and others that concepts and notions associated with social justice fluctuate over time and space. It is without any surprise that the same has occurred in China.

If we look at more macro-levels of both societies, we note that, for instance, many words included in China's Core Socialist Values, which are divided into three categories (national, social and individual) the

values of democracy (national), equality and justice (social) and dedication and friendship (individual) are included (see Fig. 1) (Zhao 2016). These values represent Chinese socialism as promoted at the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2012. What these values mean in their English translation or in reality is difficult to decipher.

As such scholars like Yang (2016) have noted that Chinese education faces different kinds of social injustice, that would contradict these values, especially at the structural level. The first issue relates to the entire social system and e.g. the way migrant populations are dealt with in the country. The issue of college entrance examination (*Gaokao*) is also a major problem as it somewhat discriminates against certain types of students such as those from rural areas. In general, Yang (2016) argues

Fig. 1 China's core socialist values

that the differential treatment of rural and urban areas (financial investments in education, availability of teachers, etc.) contributes to social injustice in China. The dichotomy of rural and urban relates to the hukou (户口) regime, otherwise known as the household registration which constraints people's migration to other parts of the country. The hukou divides people into two categories (rural and urban) with different access to education, health care and other social benefits within and outside of their original locations. The urban and rural population of China was respectively about 771 million people and 603 million in 2015 (Statista). In the Middle Kingdom, rural schooling can both refer to the educational experiences of migrant children in Chinese urban contexts and to those of children who live and study in Chinese rural areas. Migrant children often follow the 282 million rural migrant workers employed in an urban workplace (2015, National Bureau of Statistics). Since 2001 rural migrant children have been allowed to attend urban public schools regardless of their household registration. Although progress has been made in promoting access to public schools many migrant children attend private schools sponsored by local communities or private business institutions. It is important to note that many migrant workers leave their children behind. In 2010, more than 61 million children between birth and 17 years old were "left behind" (Chinese National Census).

Chinese rural areas are said to often experience poverty and there seems to be a rural-urban divide in the country, especially in terms of income and educational investment. Undernourishment and food insecurity are also said to be widespread in many rural areas (Wang 2013). It is important to note however that some urban areas also experience inequalities from within and that certain ethnicities from rural areas fare worse than others.

If one looks at the Finnish constitution (731/1999, amendments up to 1112/2011 included, http://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/1999/en19990731.pdf), Section 6 is dedicated to the idea of equality:

Section 6

Equality

Everyone is equal before the law.

No one shall, without an acceptable reason, be treated differently from other persons on the ground of sex, age, origin, language, religion, conviction, opinion, health, disability or other reason that concerns his or her person.

Children shall be treated equally and as individuals and they shall be allowed to influence matters pertaining to themselves to a degree corresponding to their level of development.

Equality of the sexes is promoted in societal activity and working life, especially in the determination of pay and the other terms of employment, as provided in more detail by an Act.

Finland, like other Nordic countries, is regarded as one of the most gender-equal countries in the world. The last paragraph of the Section is very clear about equality of the sexes (and the ensuing social justice). Yet there are still very strong gender equality problems in the Nordic country, especially in relation to the gender pay gap (Saari 2011). Let us give an example of how this is (not) dealt with in Finland. In August 2017, a Finnish firm attempted to offer women-only discounts to reflect gender wage gap (which the company claimed was 17%). Complaints about gender discrimination were sent to Finland's Equality Ombudsman, who decided that this was illegal. The firm then changed its marketing strategy and offered the discount to everyone (Yle News, 25 August 2017).

If we make a short summary of our discussions until now, we can see that both countries seem to take into account certain ideas of social justice at a macro-level. However, the way social justice is applied (discourse vs. action) can be questioned. Actually, the idea that Finland is said to be very good at it and that China is not, could potentially be revised. Going back to the discussions about gender wage gap, we realized while writing this paper that China has a 20% gap (National Census 2015) versus and an official 19.6% gap for Finland (OECD 2015).

Social Justice in Finnish and Chinese Teacher Education

In this section, we concentrate on the context of education. We agree with McArthur (2010: 493) that "education and society are intrinsically inter-related and that the fundamental purpose of education is the improvement of social justice for all." In most contexts, teachers are viewed as being central in guaranteeing and promoting some form of social justice in schools and beyond (Cochran-Smith 2010). Yet, depending on the kind of initial training and professional development they receive, some teachers may be readier than other to implement forms of social justice in their class.

Teacher education plays a key role in shaping the future of education. According to Menter (2016: 3), teacher education influences the "practice of teachers in schools and colleges and thereby [it has] a strong effect on the quality of educational experiences for learners". In the Finnish context, although words such as inclusion and equality/equity are omnipresent in discussing education, these words are nearly absent from e.g. the recent review article entitled *The last 40 years in Finnish teacher education* (Tirri 2014). Teacher education is multiform in the country. Depending on the department and university, emphases might differ. Some student teachers might get specific courses on social justice in education, while others may not. Social justice might also be limited to e.g. knowledge on different cultures, worldviews and religions and the development of an ethno-relative position amongst student teachers (e.g. Kuusisto et al. 2016) or it might be substituted by multicultural/intercultural education especially in relation to migrant students (Layne and Dervin 2016). Some courses might concentrate on gender diversity (Brunila and Kallioniemi 2017). The research interests and ideologies of professors and lecturing staff have a direct influence on what, how and why student teachers study specific aspects of social justice. We also note with Brunila and Kallioniemi (2017: 4–5) that many initiatives related to social justice in Finnish teacher education "have become caught up in project-based activities. The rise of project-based work or projectisation (…) is a part of a larger societal shift

towards market economics that has started to challenge the Nordic welfare states". This means that social justice education in Finnish teacher education is often short-term and somewhat short-sighted.

Chinese teacher education is also multiform, and is provided by many different kinds of institutions. The issue of social justice is hardly taught in teacher education as such, and that seems to be reflected in the ways teachers reflect on their job. Wong (2014) shows, for instance, how little engagement with the issue is to be noted in teachers' individual publications or research activities, which serve as school-based professional development in China. She writes: "To promote a research atmosphere in schools, local education departments and educational research institutes from the state and universities are responsible for discussing and determining research topics for some selected schools to conduct. Such research collaboration is usually expert-led. Teachers, however, are also able to conduct small-scale school-based research, either at the individual or subject level, based on their interests and students' needs" (Wong, ibid.: 79). These practices have been common since the late 1980s and are used for teachers' annual appraisals and can lead to teacher promotion. In her analysis of teachers' publications, she found that none had engaged with critical reflection on social justice and equality/equity. She argues that this relates to the lack of discussions of these issues, and of the wider social context, in initial teacher education. In a similar vein, Wang and Gao (2013) show that social justice and equity were rarely discussed in the 2007 Free Teacher Education (FTE) program. The program, which was set up by the Chinese government, aimed at "attract(ing) outstanding students into the teaching profession and to channel quality teachers into schools located in underdeveloped rural areas" (Wang and Guo, ibid.: 68). In return, a strong economic incentive is provided to the students. In interviews with some of the student teachers, the scholars have identified that they have a sense of superiority and moral ambivalence towards to objectives of the programme. The lack of engagement with discussions of social injustice and inequality during the training programme might have led the students to such attitudes.

One rare publication in English about social justice in Chinese education (and directly in teacher education) is included in the

Oxford Handbook of Social Justice in Music Education (Benedict et al. 2015). In their chapter, Ho and Law (2015) examine how social justice is 'done' through the guise of citizenship education in China. They show that the Chinese government uses citizenship education as a way of maintaining social stability and of consolidating its political leadership. Teachers are taught to promote a love for traditional Chinese music (such as Beijing opera) and an understanding of the various styles of China's 56 ethnic groups (Ho and Law, ibid.) in their music lessons. Social justice here means including the minorities in teaching.

This short review of how social justice is problematized and implemented in teacher education in the two countries shows a diversity of meanings, approaches and ideologies, between and within the two countries. A similarity-based comparison shows that there are signs that the two countries make attempts at helping teachers to include the 'Other' in education (in Finland: migrants; in China: minorities). How this is done and taught about in teacher education appears to be multifaceted.

Comparing Practices of Social Justice in Two Schools

In this final section, we wish to reflect on our observations in two schools that we visited in relation to how social justice was 'done' by teachers and school leaders. Before we share our observations, there is a need for us to review definitions of social justice in education.

Social Justice as a Multifaceted and Political Construct

As noted before, the two contexts problematize social justice somewhat differently, although it is important to remember that (1) *There is variety from within in terms of how it is discussed* and (2) *Discourses on what social justice is and how it should be implemented can differ highly,*

especially if one examines micro-contexts (e.g. work in a given classroom). We argue that the polysemy and somewhat political-correctness of the idea of social justice also leads to the different ways it is dealt with between the two countries and from within. In general, we believe that social justice can be approached as an empty signifier (Laclau 2005), which leads to hegemonic struggles. As such, as the word is 'floating', it can be used to impose certain interpretations as the right one. It also means that there cannot be a common strategy to 'do' it, from within or across countries.

These arguments have important consequences. Since social justice is polysemic, it can be misused and abused in comparing countries: some countries are said to be 'better', 'worse', 'more civilised'. We thus need to avoid such implicit/explicit judgments. Second, the instability of the concept convinces us that every single country in the world faces issues of social injustice. Finally, we have seen many times until now, there are hidden realities and discourses about social justice in the two contexts that need to be unearthed if comparison between the two could be. In the case of Finland, there need to be critiques of the somewhat empty beautification of how successful the country is at 'doing social justice'.

In what follows, we try to look into the polysemy of social justice in global research in order to form a potential definition that could serve to compare these aspects in the two schools, as a preliminary analysis. At this stage, we must admit that we feel uncomfortable about this 'exercise'. Most of the identified literature originates from the 'West'. We feel rather awkward about using 'Western' ideas to discuss the Finland–China contexts although we believe, based on our experience, that there are similarities between the ideas below and the ways social justice is discussed and problematized by Chinese educators and that some of the Finnish teachers (who would be classified as 'Western') might disagree with them. Concentrating on 'Western' research discourses might also give the impression that social justice is exclusively 'Western'—an idea which we refute (Sen 2005). The end-product of this review will be, of course, limited and biased. We believe that it can still help us introduce similarity and dissimilarity in the practices observed in the two schools.

The first point that we wish to make about social justice is: Based on observations and previous research, we agree with De Silva (2013) who claims that social injustice is often seen as a consequence of a problem related to the individual child, his/her socioeconomic or cultural background, and/or his/her parents' education level and their perception of the importance of education. The more macro-level aspects such as the educational set up or teaching practices are not always seen as being part of the problems. This is often the case in China and Finland. In our observations of the two schools presented in the next section, we'll concentrate on the practices of both teachers and leaders.

In the English-speaking literature, the idea of social justice in relation to teachers' work can have many different meanings. In order to discuss it, we agree with Shields (2013: 329) that it is interesting to think about social justice in education by reflecting on what a social justice education could be. She explains (ibid.):

> an education that begins with, promotes, and requires a more complete understanding of the social (in)justice issues in the school, the community, and the world in which students live now and in which they will work as thoughtful, contributing adults (…) A social justice education therefore teaches students about the world in which they live, prepares them to become fully participating citizens in that world, and helps them to take proactive positions for justice, equity, dignity, and human rights.

In her review of different definitions of social justice, Bialystok (2014: 418) identifies a very important commonality: social justice education "takes up to various degrees the goals of anti-oppression politics, anti-colonialism, environmentalism, and a critique of corporate globalization, with more or less overt sympathy for the social welfare state and resistance to educational policies characteristic of neoliberalism. It tends to depend on or endorse a robust notion of democracy and sees education as an indispensable site of social and political participation."

This is one very first aspect of social justice in education: teachers try to empower the students to reflect on the world around them, to criticise it and to take action to make it better. Giving the students a voice in the classroom and school contributes to empower them and prepare them for the outside world.

Sleeter (2015), who has proposed overviews of the concept, can help us to add other dimensions of social justice. Let us start with Sleeter (ibid.), who summarized different frameworks for social justice education for teachers into four dimensions:

Reject interpreting problems of students mainly as personal failures but by looking at the effects of unfair policies and systems (e.g. limited access to health care) and their influence within and outside the school and classroom.

Develop reciprocal relationships with students and families (encouraging, building trust, listening to parents, etc.).

Have high academic expectations by using the students' intellectual resources.

Create and teach a curriculum integrating marginalised perspectives and discussions of social justice.

The second aspect of social justice presented here relates to the role of the teacher as an active social justice actor in her/his classroom, school and beyond. The teacher should take into consideration the 'world' and 'people' outside the classroom. S/he should also try to integrate knowledge and perspectives from the margins to try to include all students.

To summarize the basic components of social justice in education, we could include the following aspects: the students are treated fairly and equally, and engaged in dialogues with their teachers; they are empowered to analyse the world around them against inequalities and social injustice; visions, ideas and knowledge from the marginalized are included in teaching-learning.

Similar Signs of Struggles for Social Justice in the Schools?

假作真時真亦假，

無為有處有還無。

Truth becomes fiction when the fiction's true;

Real becomes not-real where the unreal's real.

Dream of the Red Chamber

In this final section, we share some of our observations of a Chinese and Finnish school, and at the same time, question the truths and fictions of certain discourses about Finnish and Chinese education. This section serves as an illustration rather than a systematic analysis of data. As a reminder, this afterword serves as a reflective piece about concepts and methods.

When we visited the Finnish school, we were amazed by the school. The facilities and equipment were new, clean and working. The atmosphere in the classrooms and the whole school was relaxed. The teachers seemed confident about their work. In the Chinese school, the facilities and equipment often left to be desired. The teachers looked stressed and some sounded demoralized. However, when it comes to the issue of social justice, we are not sure if one context was better than the other. Of course, at a macro-level it is obvious that the Finnish school had more means. But what about what was happening in the classroom? How did the teachers support e.g. the students' inclusion and equality?

Sitting in different classrooms, observing and sometimes participating, we noted that the Chinese and Finnish teachers had similar strategies to 'do' social justice. We note that the social justice perspective of including visions, ideas and knowledge from the marginalized in teaching-learning was not noted in either schools.

Let us start with *inclusion* in the classrooms. Observing the lessons, we could clearly see that all the teachers made sure that all the students

were included, and that they were being treated fairly and equally. In Finland, one teacher systematically raised her hand and waited until all the students raised their hands and became silent to make sure that they were on task when she needed their attention (they spent most of their time working independently on their computers). In the Chinese school, one teacher made every single student participate in the lesson, making them repeat what she was saying or asking them questions about a text. She was also very willing to answer individual questions at the end of the lessons (something we did not observe in the Finnish school during our visit). Another aspect of inclusion in the two schools was included in the posters on the walls. In Finland, there were posters about the dangers of bullying, while in the Chinese school, posters reminded all the students of the importance of respecting each other but also of hygienic practices.

The second common aspect was related to *empowering the students* to look around them and reflect on e.g. inequalities. In both schools, the principals gave speeches about the importance of taking one's own responsibilities. In the Chinese school, the context was that of the end-of-the-year graduation ceremony during which the principal spoke about creating respect for others. Similarly, in the Finnish school the principal talked about the misbehaviours of some students who had damaged equipment or disrespected others by not letting them sit next to them. He advised all the students to pay more attention to these issues. Another way of empowering the students was to provide them with new learning opportunities. While the Finnish school had courses on aviation and 'rare' languages, the Chinese school hired a teacher to provide the students with P.E. and music.

One final commonality between the Chinese and Finnish teacher relates to what we could call their professional ethics. We were surprised to find similar discourses about teachers' loss of motivation, wishes to quit their jobs, etc. However, interestingly, at least in the case of two teachers, although they both had experienced some form of burnout, they decided to stay in the schools to help the students.

Concluding Remarks

Talking about American education and Chinese education, Wen Ma (2014: 173) argues that "Clearly, there is no "best" system. Both the American perspective and the Chinese perspective evolved as a product of their own sociocultural circumstances, and both can be strengthened with complementary elements from the other." At the end of this afterwords, we argue that a similar ideology should apply to comparative initiatives on Chinese and Finnish education.

This foreword served as a reflective piece on comparing two systems of education, often described as utopias in their own ways. It was triggered by our work on CPD in Finland, that has revealed many myths and 'white lies' about Finnish education. We took the issue of social justice and reflected on how it could be used to compare the two contexts. Visits to a school in each country convinced us that there is a danger in relying on preconceived ideas about Chinese and Finnish education to do comparative work, and that an emphasis on difference rather than the continuum similarity-dissimilarity, is counterproductive as it leads to "comparing apples and pears". Furthermore, the importance of bearing in mind the influence of wider contexts was discussed (e.g. the influence of Finnish education export on how Finnish education is seen around the world).

In what follows we wish to explain further why we feel a change of perspective is essential. *First of all*, when comparing systems of education, there is a need to find a common language to understand the meanings of things and phenomena as well as implicit, hidden political and contextual aspects. Moving from appearances to multiple realities from within is also primordial (for example, when visiting schools in Finland, move away from the 'centre'). *Second of all*, through the current practices of ranking countries in order of performance, there is a need to empower those who are said to be 'weak' or 'bad' and to give them strength rather than discouragement, to allow them to look at what they are doing and to find some 'good' in it. *Third of all*, and directly linked to the previous point, there is a need to force those who are said to be 'very good' to be more modest and to face their own issues by e.g. learning from others. This will contribute to lessen the current

intercultural hierarchies created about 'good' and 'bad' systems of education. This is also a very important message to education exporters and their customers: Social justice is what exporters claim they are selling but it is often meaningless or exaggerated. If critical ideas about education and social justice are not taken seriously, there is a risk that education exporters will create more social injustice elsewhere. There is also a need to move away from ready-made discourses (Finland = equality), exoticism, and negative discourses about ourselves.

More specifically about social justice in comparing education systems, we wish to make the following recommendations. We should open up discussions of social justice by comparing contexts said to be 'good' or 'poor' to deepen our understanding and actions for social justice. This means that we also need to learn to identify and examine and familiarize oneself with similarities and differences in social justice practices across contexts. As the anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss asserted (2011: 112): "when the traveller convinces himself that practices in complete opposition to his own, which by the very fact he would be tempted to despise and reject with disgust, are in reality identical to them when viewed in reverse, he provides himself with the means to domesticate strangeness, to make it familiar to himself." As a 'traveller' an education comparatist might want to adopt the attitude of making the unfamiliar familiar to him/herself and to reverse his/her differentialist views.

To conclude: social justice cannot but be political, as we have seen in this afterwords, there is thus a strong need to dig into hidden aspects and ideologies of social justice in a given context and in the way people discuss and act upon it. We believe that comparative and international education can lead to better results if the idea that one context can learn from each other is systematically put into practice through, e.g. action research. But maybe the idea of learning *from* each other still creates unfair hierarchies (one context might want to learn more from the other because of their reputation or thanks to their great marketing strategy), wouldn't it be better to talk about learning *with* each other then, i.e., by entering into real dialogues and making a conscious effort to give and take? Social injustice is a global 'wicked problem' against which we may want to join forces.

References

Benedict, C., Schmidt, P., Spruce, G., & Woodford, P. (Eds.). (2015).*Oxford handbook of social justice in music education*. Oxford: OUP.

Bialystok, L. (2014). Politics without "brainwashing": A philosophical defence of social justice education. *Curriculum Inquiry, 44*(3), 413–440.

Birkeland, Å. (2016). Cross cultural comparative education—Fortifying preconceptions or transformation of knowledge? *Policy Futures in Education, 14*(1), 77–91.

Brunila, K., & Kallioniemi, A. (2017). Equality work in teacher education in Finland. *Policy Futures in Education.* (OnlineFirst).

Cai, Y., & Kivistö, J. (Eds.). (2011). *Higher education reforms in Finland and China—Experiences and challenges in post-massification era*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2010). Toward a theory of teacher education for social justice. In A. Hargreaves (Ed.), *Second international handbook of educational change* (pp. 445–467). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

De Silva, L. N. (2013). Inclusive pedagogy in light of social justice. Special educational rights and inclusive classrooms: on whose terms? A field study in Stockholm suburbs. *European Journal of Education, 48*(3), 419–435.

Dervin, F. (2013). *La Meilleure Éducation au Monde? Contre-enquête sur la Finlande* [The best education in the world. An Ethnography of Finland]. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Dervin, F. (2016). Is the emperor naked? Experiencing the 'PISA hysteria', branding and education export in Finnish academia. In K. Trimmer (Ed.), *Political pressures on educational and social research* (pp. 77–92). New York: Routledge.

Giroux, H. (2003). When hope is subversive. *Tikkun, 19*(6), 38–39.

Harris, A., & Jones, M. (2017). Leading in context: Putting international comparisons into perspective. *School Leadership & Management, 37*(5), 431–433.

Higginson, J. H. (1979). *Selections from Michael Sadler: Studies in world citizenship*. Liverpool (Merseyside): Dejall & Meyorre International Publishers.

Ho, W.-C., & Law, W.-W. (2015). The promotion of multiple citizenships in China's music education. In C. Benedict, P. Schmidt, G. Spruce, & P. Woodford (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of social justice in music education* (pp. 91–106). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Itkonen, T., Dervin, F., & Talib, M.-T. (2017). Finnish education: An ambiguous utopia? *International Journal of Bias, Identity and Diversities in Education, 2*(2), July–December 2017, 13–28.

Kaur, B. (2012). Equity and social justice in teaching and teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education: An International Journal of Research and Studies, 28*(4), 485–492.

Kuusisto, E., Kuusisto, A., Rissanen, I., Holm, K., & Tirri, K. (2016). Finnish teachers' and students' intercultural sensitivity. *Journal of Religious Education, 63*(2–3), 65–77.

Laclau, E. (2005). *On populist reason*. London: Verso.

Layne, H., & Dervin, F. (2016). Problematizing Finland's pursuit of intercultural (kindergarten) teacher education. *Multicultural Education Review, 8*(2), 118–134.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (2011). *The other face of the moon*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

Liu, H., & Dervin, F. (2016). 'Education is a life marathon rather than a hundred-meter race': Chinese 'folk' comparative discourses on Finnish education. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 47*(4), 529–544.

MA, W. (2014). *East meets west in teacher preparation: Crossing Chinese and American borders*. New York: Teachers' College Press.

McArthur, J. (2010). Achieving social justice within and through higher education: The challenge for critical pedagogy, *Teaching in Higher Education, 15*(5), 493–504.

Menter, I. (2016). Introduction. In G. Beauchamp, L. Clarke, M. Hulme, A. Kennedy, et al. (Eds.), *Teacher education in times of change* (pp. 3–17). Bristol: Policy Press.

National Census. (2015). *China statistics yearbook*. http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2015/indexeh.htm.

Niemi, H., & Nevgi, A. (2014). Research studies and active learning promoting professional competences in Finnish teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 43*, 131–142.

OECD. (2015a). https://www.oecd.org/pisa/PISA-2015-Results-Students-Wellbeing-Volume-III-Overview.pdf.

OECD. (2015b). *PISA 2015 results (volume I). Excellence and equity in education*. Paris: OECD.

OECD. (2016). *PISA 2015 Results (Volume I): Excellence and Equity in Education*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Saari, M. (2011). Promoting gender equality without a gender perspective: Problem representations of equal pay in Finland. *Gender Work and Organisation, 20*(1), 36–55.

Sahlberg, P. (2011). *Finnish lessons. What can the world learn from educational change in Finland?* New York, NY: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Schatz, M. (2016). *Education as Finland's hottest export?: A multi-faceted case study on Finnish national education export policies.* Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press.

Sen, A. (2005). *The argumentative Indian.* London, England: Penguin Books.

Shields, C. M. (2013). Leadership for social justice education: A critical transformative approach. In I. Bogotch & C. M. Shields (Eds.), *International handbook of educational leadership and social (in)justice* (pp. 323–329). New York: Springer.

Simola, H., Bernelius, V., Vartiainen, H., Paakkari, A., Norola, M., Juvonen, S., et al. (2015). Hyvin toimivan lähikoulun salaisuus [Well functioning secrets about neighbouring schools]. In J. Kulonpalo (Ed.), *Työkaluja metropolialueen kehittämiseen. Kaupunkitutkimus ja metropolipolitiik-ka-ohjelma 2010–2015* [Tools for developing metropolitan areas. Urban research and Program 2010–2015 for metropolitan politics]. Helsinki, Finland: Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus.

Simola, H., Kauko, J., Varjo, J., Kalalahti, M., & Sahlström, F. (2017). *Dynamics in education politics: Understanding and explaining the Finnish case.* London: Routledge.

Simpson, A., & Dervin, F. (2017). Speaking from the Stomach? Ventriloquised ethnocentrisms about Finnish education. *Educational Practice and Theory, 39*(1), 5–29.

Sleeter, C. E. (2015, February). Deepening social justice teaching. *Journal of Language and Literacy Education.* [Online]. Retrieved from http://jolle.coe.uga.edu/.

Tirri, T. (2014). The last 40 years in Finnish teacher education. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 40*(5), 600–609.

Wang, D. (2013). *The demoralization of teachers: Crisis in a rural school in China.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Wang, D., & Gao, M. (2013). Educational equality or social mobility: The value conflict between preservice teachers and the Free Teacher Education Program in China. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 32*, 66–74.

Wong, J. L. N. (2014). How does writing for publication help professional development of teachers? A case study in China. *Journal of education for teaching, 40*(1), 78–93.

Wu, B., & Morgan, W. J. (Eds.). (2016). *Chinese higher education reform and social justice.* Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Yang, D. (2016). 杨东平谈中国教育三大问题 [China faces three challenges in its education system]. https://mt.sohu.com/20160623/n455957715.shtml.

Zhao, Y. (2014). *Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Dragon?: Why China Has the Best (and Worst) Education System in the World.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bibliography

Abdallah-Pretceille, M. (2003). *Former et éduquer en contexte hétérogène: pour un humanisme du divers* [Education and training in heterogeneous contexts: Towards a humanism of the diverse]. Paris: Anthropos.

Althusser, L. (1971). *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Andrade, J., Mendes, L., & Lourenço, L. (2017). Perceived psychological empowerment and total quality management-based quality management systems: An exploratory research. *Total Quality Management & Business Excellence, 28*(1–2), 76–87.

Anholt, S. (2009). *Why national image matters*. Brussels: World Tourism Organization (WTO).

Aronczyk, M. (2013). *Branding the nation: The global business of national identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aspfors, J. (2012). *Induction practices: Experiences of newly qualified teachers*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press.

Aspfors, J., & Hansén, S.-E. (2011). Gruppmentorskapets många ansikten – en metaanalys av möjligheter och utmaningar [Different perceptions of group mentorship—A metaanalysis of opportinuties and challenges]. In J. Aspfors & S.-E. Hansén (Eds.), *Gruppmentorskap som stöd för lärares professionella utveckling* [Peer Group mentoring as support for teachers' professional development] (pp. 108–124). Helsingfors: Söderströms.

Åström, F. (2014). The context of paratext: A bibliometric study of the citation contexts of gérard genette's texts. In N. Desrochers & D. Apollon (Eds.), *Examining paratextual theory and its applications in digital culture* (pp. 1–23). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.

Avalos, B. (2011). Teacher professional development in teaching and teacher education over ten years. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 27*(1), 10–20.

Aveling, E. L., Gillespie, A., & Cornish, F. (2015). A qualitative method for analysing multivoicedness. *Qualitative Research, 15*(6), 670–687.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1982). *The dialogic imagination*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Barbot, M.-J., & Camatarri, G. (1999). *Autonomie et apprentissage - L'innovation dans la formation*. Paris: PUF, Pédagogie scientifique et théorique.

Barbot, M. J., & Camatarri, G. (2009). *Autonomie et apprentissage* [autonomy in education]. Paris: PUF.

Bausmith, J. M., & Barry, C. (2011). Revisiting professional learning communities to increase college readiness: The importance of pedagogical content knowledge. *Educational Researcher, 40*(4), 175–178.

Bell, B., & Gilbert, J. K. (1996). *Teacher development: A model from science education*. Hove, UK: Psychology Press.

Benedict, C., Schmidt, P., Spruce, G., & Woodford, P. (Eds.). (2015). *Oxford handbook of social justice in music education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bialystok, L. (2014). Politics without "brainwashing": A philosophical defence of social justice education. *Curriculum Inquiry, 44*(3), 413–440.

Biesta, G. J. (2015). *Good education in an age of measurement: Ethics, politics, democracy*. London: Routledge.

Birkeland, Å. (2016). Cross cultural comparative education—Fortifying preconceptions or transformation of knowledge? *Policy Futures in Education, 14*(1), 77–91.

Brinkmann, S. (2014). Interview. In *Encyclopedia of critical psychology* (pp. 1008–1010). New York: Springer.

Brinkmann, S. (2016). Methodological breaching experiments: Steps toward theorizing the qualitative interview. *Culture and Psychology, 22*(4), 520–533.

Brunila, K., & Kallioniemi, A. (2017). Equality work in teacher education in Finland. *Policy Futures in Education.* OnlineFirst.

Brunila, K., Ikävalko, E., Kurki, T., Masoud, A., Mertanen, K., Mikkola, A., & Mäkelä, K. (2017). Transitions, Justice, and Equity in Education in Finland. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunila, K., & Ryynänen, S. (2017). New rules of the game: Youth training in Brazil and Finland as examples of the new global network governance. *Journal of Education and Work, 30*(4), 353–366.

Burden, P. R. (1982). *Implications of teacher career development: New roles for teachers, administrators and professors.* Paper presented at the National Summer Workshop of the Association of Teacher Educators, Slippery Rock, PA.

Burke, P. J. (1985). Teacher's career stages and patterns of attitudes toward teaching behaviors. *Education, 105*(3), 240–248.

Butler, J., Laclau, E., & Laddaga, R. (1997). The uses of equality. *Diacritics, 27*(1), 3–12.

Cai, Y., & Kivisto, J. (2010). *Towards a fee-based education in Finland: Where to go?* IMHE General Conference, Paris, France.

Cai, Y., & Kivistö, J. (Eds.). (2011). *Higher education reforms in Finland and China—Experiences and challenges in post-massification era.* Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Calderhead, J. (1992). The role of reflection in learning to teach. In L. Valli (Ed.), *Reflective teacher education: Cases and critiques* (pp. 139–146). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Cantwell, B., & Kauppinen, I. (Eds.). (2014). *Academic capitalism in the age of globalization.* Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Chen, Y. (2015). Teachers' professional development in China. In Z. Hua & W. F. Pinar (Eds.), *Autobiography and teacher development in China* (pp. 151–161). New York: Springer.

Chung, J. (2015). International comparison and educational policy learning: Looking north to Finland. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 45*(3), 475–479.

Clarke, D. L. (2014). *Analytical archaeology* (Vol. 13). London: Routledge.

Clarke, D., & Hollingsworth, H. (2002). Elaborating a model of teacher professional growth. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 18*(8), 947–967.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2010). Toward a theory of teacher education for social justice. In A. Hargreaves (Ed.), *Second international handbook of educational change* (pp. 445–467). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Collective Agreement for the Teaching Personnel. (2014). *OVTES 2014–2016. Kunnallinen opetushenkilöstön virka- ja työehtosopimus.* [OVTES 2014–2016. Municipal teaching staff positions and contracts]. Retrieved from http://flash.kuntatyonantajat.fi/ovtes-2014-2016/html/.

Craft, A. (1996). *Continuing professional development. A practical guide for teachers and schools.* London: Routledge.

Dale, A., & Newman, L. (2005). Sustainable development, education and literacy. *International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education, 6*(4), 351–362.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2009). Recognizing and enhancing teacher effectiveness. *The International Journal of Educational and Psychological Assessment, 3,* 1–24.

Darling-Hammond, L., & McLaughlin, M. (1995). Policies that support professional development in an era of reform. *W. Phi Delta Kappan, 76*(8), 597–604.

De Silva, L. N. (2013). Inclusive pedagogy in light of social justice. Special educational rights and inclusive classrooms: on whose terms? A field study in Stockholm suburbs. *European Journal of Education, 48*(3), 419–435.

Dervin, F. (2008). *Métamorphoses identitaires en situation de mobilité* [Identity metamorphosis in mobility contexts]. Turku: Turku University Press.

Dervin, F. (2013). *La Meilleure Éducation au Monde? Contre-enquête sur la Finlande* [The best education in the world. An ethnography of Finland]. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Dervin, F. (2016a). Is the emperor naked? Experiencing the 'PISA hysteria', branding and education export in Finnish academia. In K. Trimmer (Ed.), *Political pressures on educational and social research* (pp. 77–92). New York: Routledge.

Dervin, F. (2016b). *Interculturality in education: A theoretical and methodological toolbox*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dervin, F., & Risager, K. (Eds.). (2014). *Researching identity and interculturality*. London: Routledge.

Dubble, S. L. (1998). *Evolving people/evolving schools*. Paper presented at the North American Montessori Teachers' Association Conference, Phoenix, AZ.

Early, D. M., Maxwell, K. L., Burchinal, M., Alva, S., Bender, R. H., Bryant, D., & Henry, G. T. (2007). Teachers' education, classroom quality, and young children's academic skills: Results from seven studies of preschool programs. *Child Development, 78*(2), 558–580.

Egginger, J.-G. (2013). Aux sources de l'Éden éducatif nordique. Images véhiculées en France de l'instruction primaire finlandaise au cours de la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle (1851–1911) [origins of the Nordic education heaven. Representations about Finnish primary education in France during the second half of the 19th century (1851–1911)]. Recherches en Education 16, 13–19.

Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. P. (2010). Autoethnography: An overview. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, 273–290.

Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. P. (2011). Autoethnography: An overview. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung, 36*(4), 273–290.

European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice. (2015). *The teaching profession in Europe: Practices, perceptions, and policies*. Eurydice Report. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/184EN.pdf.

Eurydice. (2017). *Continuing Professional Development for Teachers Working in Early Childhood and School Education*. Available at https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/continuing-professional-development-teachers-working-early-childhood-and-school-education-23_en.

Evans, L. (2002). What is teacher development? *Oxford Review of Education, 28*(1), 123–137.

Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Routledge.

Feiman-Nemser, S. (2001). From preparation to practice: Designing a continuum to strengthen and sustain teaching. *Teachers College Record, 103*(6), 1013–1055.

Freeman, M. (2004). Data are everywhere: Narrative criticism in the literature of experience. In C. Daiute & C. Lightfoot (Eds.), *Narrative analysis: Studying the development of individuals in society* (pp. 63–81). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Fullan, M. (2005). *Leadership and sustainability. System thinkers in action*. Thousand Oaks: Corwin Press.

Fullan, M. (2014). *Teacher development and educational change*. London: Routledge.

Fuller, F. F. (1969). *Concerns of teachers: A developmental study of teacher concerns across time*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston, MA.

Geeraerts, K., Tynjälä, P., Heikkinen, H. L., Markkanen, I., Pennanen, M., & Gijbels, D. (2015). Peer-group mentoring as a tool for teacher development. *European Journal of Teacher Education, 38*(3), 358–377.

Genette, G. (1987). *Paratexts. Thresholds of interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gillespie, A., & Cornish, F. (2010). Intersubjectivity: Towards a dialogical analysis. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 40*(1), 19–46.

Giroux, H. (2003). When hope is subversive. *Tikkun, 19*(6), 38–39.

Girvan, C., Conneely, C., & Tangney, B. (2016). Extending experiential learning in teacher professional development. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 58,* 129–139.

Goldstein, H. (2004). International comparisons of student attainment: Some issues arising from the PISA study. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice, 11*(3), 319–330.

Grahn-Laasonen, S. (2018). *Government's question time in parliament: Equality in education*. February 28, 2018. Available in Finnish at http://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/hallituksen-vastaus-valikysymykseen-koulutuksen-tasa-arvosta-28-2-2018.

Grek, S. (2009). Governing by numbers: The PISA 'effect' in Europe. *Journal of Education Policy, 24*(1), 23–37.

Gu, L., & Wang, J. (2003). Teachers' development through education action—The use of 'Keli' as a means in the research of teacher education model. *Curriculum, Textbook & Pedagogy, 1,* 9–15.

Guiden, V., & Brennan, M. (2017). The continuous professional development (CPD) of Finnish primary school teachers—Potential lessons to be learned for Ireland. *Irish Teachers' Journal, 5*(1), 39–54.

Guskey, T. R. (2002). Professional development and teacher change. *Teachers and Teaching, 8*(3), 381–391.

Hämäläinen, K., & Hämäläinen, K. (2011). Professional development for education personnel as a competence resource. *A report on good practices and development measures in professional development for education personnel.* Helsinki: Opetushallitus.

Hämäläinen, K., & Kangasniemi, J. (2013). *Systemaattista suunnitelmallisuutta* [Systematic planning]. Helsinki: Opetushallitus.

Hämäläinen, K., Hämäläinen, K., & Kangasniemi, J. (2015). *Osaamisen kehittämisen poluille: Valtion rahoittaman opetustoimen henkilöstökoulutuksen haasteet ja tulevaisuus.* [Knowledge development direction: A state funded education in-service training, challenges and future]. Helsinki: Opetushallitus.

Harris, A., & Jones, M. (2017). Leading in context: Putting international comparisons into perspective. *School Leadership & Management, 37*(5), 431–433.

Heikkinen, H. L. T., Aho, J., & Korhonen, H. (2015). *Ope ei saa oppia. Opettajankoulutuksen jatkumon kehittäminen.* [The teacher does not know how to teach. Development of teacher education]. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto. Koulutuksen tutkimuslaitos.

Heikkinen, H. L. T., Jokinen, H., & Tynjälä, P. (Eds.). (2012). *Peer-group mentoring for teacher development.* London: Routledge.

Heikkinen, H., Hästö, P., Kangas, V., & Leinonen, M. (2015). Promoting exploratory teaching in mathematics: A design experiment on a CPD course for teachers. *LUMAT (2013–2015 Issues), 3*(6), 905–924.

Helin, M. (2014). *Opettajien ammatillisen kehittymisen jatkumo : yliopiston ja koulujen kumppanuus* [Teachers' professional development as a

continuum—Educational partnership between the university and schools].
Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

Hellström, M. (2012). *In-service training of teachers in Finland*. Available at pedagogiikkaa.blogspot.com/2012/05.

Hendriks, M., Luyten, H., Scheerens, J., Sleegers, P., & Steen, R. (Eds.). (2010). *Teachers' professional development: Europe in international comparison: an analysis of teachers' professional development based on the OECD's Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS)*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Union viewed 01 Aug 2018, http://ec.europa.eu/education/school-education/doc/talis/report_en.pdf.

Higginson, J. H. (1979). *Selections from Michael Sadler: Studies in world citizenship*. Liverpool (Merseyside): Dejall & Meyorre International Publishers.

Ho, W.-C., & Law, W.-W. (2015). The Promotion of multiple citizenships in China's music education. In C. Benedict, P. Schmidt, G. Spruce, & P. Woodford (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of social justice in music education* (pp. 91–106). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Holliday, A. (2010). *Intercultural communication and ideology*. London: Sage.

hooks, B. (1994). *Outlaw culture: Resisting representations*. London: Routledge.

Huang, R., & Bao, J. (2006). Towards a model for teacher professional development in China: Introducing Keli. *Journal of Mathematics Teacher Education, 9*(3), 279–298.

Huber, S. G. (2012). The impact of professional development: A theoretical model for empirical research, evaluation, planning and conducting training and development programmes. *Professional Development in Education, 37*(5), 837–853.

Huhtala, A., & Vesalainen, M. (2017). Challenges in developing in-service teacher training: Lessons learnt from two projects for teachers of Swedish in Finland. *Apples: Journal of Applied Language Studies*, *11*(3), 55–79.

Itkonen, T., Dervin, F., & Talib, M.-T. (2017). Finnish education: An ambiguous utopia? *International Journal of Bias, Identity and Diversities in Education, 2*(2), July–December 2017, 13–28.

Itkonen, T. (2018). *Contradictions of Finnish education: Finnishness, interculturality and social justice*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

Itkonen, T., Dervin, F., & Talib, M. (2018). Finnish education: An ambiguous utopia? *International Journal of Bias, Identity and Diversities in Education, 2*(2), 13–28.

Jakku-Sihvonen, R. (2012). Peruskoulusta perusopetukseksi [From basic education to basic teaching]. In R. Jakku-Sihvonen & J. Kuusela (Eds.), *Perusopetuksen aika. Selvitys koulujen toimintaympäristöä kuvaavista indikaattoreista* [Time for

basic education. Report on indicators for the description of teaching environment] (pp. 44–51). Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön työryhmämuistioita ja selvityksiä 2012:13. Helsinki: Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö.

Jakku-Sihvonen, R., Tissari, V., Ots, A., & Uusiautti, S. (2012). Teacher education curricula after the Bologna process—A comparative analysis of written curricula in Finland and Estonia. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 56*(3), 261–275.

Jokinen, H., Heikkinen, H., & Valijervi, J. (2005, October). Mentoring in supporting newly qualified teachers' professional development. *ATEE 30e annual conference* (pp. 219–222), Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Jyrhämä, R., & Maaranen, K. (2012). Orientation in a teacher's work. In H. Niemi et al. (Eds.), *Miracle of education* (pp. 97–112). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Kangasoja. (2017). *Good practices from the Osaava programme; Operating models for developing the competence of personnel in education and the opportunities provided by these models.* Programme Report in Finnish for the Ministry of Education, MoE, Helsinki.

Kansanen, P. (2003). Teacher education in Finland: Current models and new developments. In M. Moon, L. Vlasceanu, & C. Barrows (Eds.), *Institutional approaches to teacher education within higher education in Europe: Current models and new developments* (pp. 85–108). Bucharest: Unesco-Cepes.

Katz, L. G. (1972). *Developmental stages of preschool teachers*. Champaign, IL: ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education.

Kaur, B. (2012). Equity and social justice in teaching and teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education: An International Journal of Research and Studies, 28*(4), 485–492.

Keltikangas-Järvinen, L. (2018). Peruskoulun tasa-arvoisuus on nyt karkaamassa [Equality is in danger in basic education]. *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus, 20*(1), 2018.

Kiesinger, C. E. (2002). My father's shoes: The therapeutic value of narrative reframing. In A. Bochner & C. Ellis (Eds.), *Ethnographically speaking: Autoethnography, literature, and aesthetics* (pp. 95–114). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Korhonen, M. (2018). *School's Fault*. Helsinki: Into.

Korkeakoski, E. (Ed.). (1999). *Opettajien täydennyskoulutuksen tuloksellisuus* [Benefits of teacher professional development]. Arviointi, 3, 1999. Helsinki: Opetushallitus.

Kosunen, S., Carrasco, A., Tironi, M., Seppänen, P., Carrasco, A., Kalalahti, M., & Simola, H. (2015). "Hot" and "cold" knowledge in the choice of schools in Chilean and Finnish cities. In P. Seppänen, A. Carrasco, M. Kalalahti, R. Rinne, & H. Simola (Eds.), *Contrasting dynamics in education politics of extremes: School choice in Chile and Finland* (pp. 139–156). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Kuusisto, E., Kuusisto, A., Rissanen, I., Holm, K., & Tirri, K. (2016). Finnish teachers' and students' intercultural sensitivity. *Journal of Religious Education, 63*(2–3), 65–77.

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2008). *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Laclau, E. (2005). *On populist reason*. London: Verso.

Layne, H., & Dervin, F. (2016). Problematizing Finland's pursuit of intercultural (kindergarten) teacher education. *Multicultural Education Review, 8*(2), 118–134.

Lehti, M. (2011). *Performing identity—Looking for subjectivity: Marginality, self-esteem and ontological security.* Paper presented at the Comparative Baltic Sea Building' seminar, Uppsala Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Uppsala University, March 14–15, 2011.

Lehtola, K., & Wilen, L. (2010). *Täydennyskoulutus auttaa jaksamaan ja antaa uutta tietoa – opetushenkilökunnan arviointeja täydennyskoulutuksesta Itä-Suomen aluehallintoviraston alueella* [Professional development helps to be motivated and to receive new information—Teaching staff evaluation of professional development in Southern Finland]. Tutkimusraportti 2010: "Täydennyskoulutuksen vaikuttavuus".

Leithwood, K. A. (1992). The principal's role in teacher development. In M. Fullan & A. Hargreaves (Eds.), *Teacher development and educational change* (pp. 86–103). London and Washington, DC: The Falmer Press.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (2011). *The other face of the moon.* Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

Li, L., & Chen, S. (2013). In-service training of primary and secondary teachers in Finland and Inspiration. *Contemporary Educational Science, 8,* 45–48.

Li, Y., & Dervin, F. (2018). *Education systems and social justice: Comparing and contrasting in China and Finland.* London: Routledge.

Liang, S. (2011). Open class—An important component of teachers' in-service training in China. *Education, 1*(1), 1–5.

Liu, H., & Dervin, F. (2016). 'Education is a life marathon rather than a hundred-meter race': Chinese 'folk' comparative discourses on Finnish

education. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 47*(4), 529–544.

Liu, H., & Dervin, F. (2016). A transdisciplinary approach to examining and confidence-boosting the experiences of Chinese teachers of Chinese in Finland. *L2 Journal, 8*(4), 36–54.

Liu, X., & Zhang, W. (2017). Possible paths for teacher professional development—Based on the comparative analysis of TALIS 2013 Shanghai and Finland. *Journal of the Chinese Society of Education, 9,* 1–8.

Ma, W. (2014). *East meets west in teacher preparation: Crossing Chinese and American borders*. New York: Teachers' College Press.

McArthur, J. (2010). Achieving social justice within and through higher education: The challenge for critical pedagogy. *Teaching in Higher Education, 15*(5), 493–504.

Mcsen, J. (2010). Achieving social justice within and through higher education: The challenge for critical pedagogy. *Teaching in Higher Education, 16*(5), 493–504.

Menter, I. (2016). Introduction. In G. Beauchamp, L. Clarke, M. Hulme, A. Kennedy, et al. (Eds.), *Teacher education in times of change* (pp. 3–17). Bristol: Policy Press.

National Agency for Education. (2016). *Teachers and principals in Finland.* Available at http://www.oph.fi/download/185381_teachers_and_principals_in_Finland_2016_brochure.pdf.

National Board of Education. (2016). *National core curriculum for basic education*. Helsinki: Opetushallitus.

National Census. (2015). *China statistics yearbook*. http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2015/indexeh.htm.

Niemi, H. (2012). The societal factors contributing to education and schooling in Finland. In H. Niemi, A. Toom, & A. Kallioniemi (Eds.), *Miracle of education* (pp. 19–38). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Niemi, H. (2015). Teacher professional development in Finland: Towards a more holistic approach. *Psychology, Society & Education, 7*(3), 279–294.

Niemi, H. (2017). Towards induction: Training mentors for new teachers in Finland. In B. Hudson (Ed.), *Overcoming Fragmentation in Teacher Education Policy and Practice* (pp. 45–72). London: Cambridge University Press.

Niemi, H., & Nevgi, A. (2014). Research studies and active learning promoting professional competences in Finnish teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 43,* 131–142.

Niemi, H., Toom, A., & Kallioniemi, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Miracle of education*. London: Sense Publishers.

Niemi, H., Kynäslahti, H., & Vahtivuori-Hänninen, S. (2013). Towards ICT in everyday life in Finnish schools: Seeking conditions for good practices. *Learning, Media and Technology, 38*(1), 57–71.

OECD. (2009). *Creating effective teaching and learning environments: First results from TALIS*. Paris: OECD.

OECD. (2011). *Strong performers and successful reformers in education lessons from PISA for the USA*. Paris: OECD Publications.

OECD. (2013). *Teachers' professional development. Europe in international comparison*. Paris: OECD.

OECD. (2014). *TALIS 2013 results: An international perspective on teaching and learning*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

OECD. (2015a). https://www.oecd.org/pisa/PISA-2015-Results-Students-Well-being-Volume-III-Overview.pdf.

OECD. (2015b). *PISA 2015 results (volume I). Excellence and equity in education*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

OECD. (2016). *PISA 2015 Results (Volume I): Excellence and Equity in Education*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

OECD. (2017). *Education at a glance 2017: OECD indicators*. Paris: OECD.

Opettaja. (13/2017). Helsinki: OAJ.

Orwell, G. (1946). *Politics and the English language and other essays*. London: Horizon.

Perez, L., Uline, C., Johnson, J., James-Ward, C., & Basom, M. (2007). Foregrounding fieldwork in leadership preparation: The transformative capacity of authentic inquiry. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 47*, 217–257.

Pöntynen, L., & Silander, T. (2015). *Opettajat koulutuksessa - nappikaupasta rohkeisiin ratkaisuihin* [Teachers in training—The most daring solutions]. Available at https://www.sitra.fi/blogit/opettajat-koulutuksessa-nappikaupasta-rohkeisiin-ratkaisuihin/.

Psalmanazar, G. (1704). *An historical and geographical description of Formosa*. Charleston: Nabu Press.

Punakallio, E., & Dervin, F. (2015). The best and most respected teachers in the world? Counter-narratives about the 'Finnish miracle of education' in the press. *Power and Education, 7*(3), 306–321.

Rapley, T. J. (2001). The art(fulness) of open-ended interviewing: Some considerations on analysing interviews. *Qualitative research, 1*(3), 303–323.

Roulet, E. (2011). Polyphony. In J. Zienkowski, J.-O. Östman, & Verschueren, J. (Eds.), *Discursive pragmatics* (pp. 208–222). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Saari, M. (2011). Promoting gender equality without a gender perspective: Problem representations of equal pay in Finland. *Gender Work and Organisation, 20*(1), 36–55.

Sahlberg, P. (2011). *Finnish lessons. What can the world learn from educational change in Finland?* New York, NY: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Sahlberg, P. (2012). A Model Lesson: Finland Shows Us What Equal Opportunity Looks Like. *American Educator, 36*(1), 20.

Sahlberg, P. (2018, March 1). Teachers need a sense of mission, empathy and leadership. *The Conversation* (Z. Zhuoying). Available at https://www.jiemodui.com/N/90187.

Salmela-Aro, K., Upadyaya, K., Hakkarainen, K., Lonka, K., & Alho, K. (2017). The dark side of internet use: Two longitudinal studies of excessive internet use, depressive symptoms, school burnout and engagement among Finnish early and late adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 46*(2), 343–357.

Schatz, M. (2015). Toward one of the leading education-based economies? Investigating aims, strategies, and practices of Finland's education export landscape. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 19*(4), 327–340.

Schatz, M. (2016a). *Education as Finland's hottest export?: A multi-faceted case study on Finnish national education export policies.* Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press.

Schatz, M. (2016b). Engines without fuel?—Empirical findings on Finnish higher education institutions as education exporters. *Policy Futures in Education*, *14*(3), 392–408.

Scheerens, J. (2010). *Teachers' professional development: Europe in international comparison.* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Union.

Schollaert, R. (2011). Continuing professional development for the 21st Century: Setting the scene for teacher induction in a new era. In P. Picard & L. Ria (Eds.), *Beginning teachers: A challenge for educational systems—CIDREE yearbook* (pp. 9–28). Lyon, France: ENS de Lyon, Institut français de l'Éducation.

Schön, D. (1987). *Educating the reflective practitioner.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Schutz, P. A., & Pekrun, R. E. (2007). *Emotion in education.* New York: Elsevier Academic Press.

Scott, D., Posner, C. M., Martin, C., & Guzman, E. (2015). *Interventions in education systems: Reform and development*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Sen, A. (2005). *The argumentative Indian*. London, England: Penguin Books

Shabani, K. (2016). Applications of Vygotsky's sociocultural approach for teachers' professional development. *Cogent Education, 3,* 1–10.

Shepel, E. N. L. (1995). Teacher self-identification in culture from Vygotsky's developmental perspective. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 26*(4), 425–442.

Shields, C. M. (2013). Leadership for social justice education: A critical transformative approach. In I. Bogotch & C. M. Shields (Eds.), *International handbook of educational leadership and social (in)justice* (pp. 323–329). New York: Springer.

Simola, H., Bernelius, V., Vartiainen, H., Paakkari, A., Norola, M., Juvonen, S., et al. (2015). Hyvin toimivan lähikoulun salaisuus [Well functioning secrets about neighbouring schools]. In J. Kulonpalo (Ed.), *Työkaluja metropolialueen kehittämiseen. Kaupunkitutkimus ja metropolipolitiikka -ohjelma 2010–2015* [Tools for developing metropolitan areas. Urban research and program 2010–2015 for metropolitan politics]. Helsinki, Finland: Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus.

Simola, H., Kauko, J., Varjo, J., Kalalahti, M., & Sahlström, F. (2017a). Dynamics in education politics and the Finnish PISA miracle. *Oxford research encyclopaedia of education.* http://education.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.001.0001/acrefore-9780190264093-e-16?rskey=MBkQ3x&result=1.

Simola, H., Kauko, J., Varjo, J., Kalalahti, M., & Sahlström, F. (2017b). *Dynamics in education politics: Understanding and explaining the Finnish case*. London: Routledge.

Simpson, A. (2018). *The dialogism of ideologies about equality, democracy and human rights in Finnish education. Many voices and many faces*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press.

Simpson, A., & Dervin, F. (2017). Speaking from the Stomach? Ventriloquised ethnocentrisms about Finnish education. *Educational Practice and Theory, 39*(1), 5–29.

Sitomaniemi-San, J. (2015). *Fabricating the teacher as researcher: A genealogy of academic teacher education in Finland*. Oulu: Acta Universitatis Ouluensis.

Sitra. (2015). https://www.sitra.fi/en/news/finnish-education-based-meeting-yesterdays-standards/.

Slaughter, S. (2014). Foreword. In B. Cantwell & I. Kauppinen (Eds.), *Academic capitalism in the age of globalization* (pp. vii–x). Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Sleeter, C. E. (2015, February). Deepening social justice teaching. *Journal of Language and Literacy Education*. [Online]. Retrieved from http://jolle.coe.uga.edu/.

Song, B. (2013). 'Pre-service' and 'in-service' training of teacher education in Finland. *Modern Teaching, 3,* 70–72.

Statistics Finland. (2017). *Population structure 31 December*. Available at http://www.stat.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk_vaesto_en.html. Resources from Official Statistics of Finland (OSF): Population structure [e-publication]. ISSN=1797–5395. Helsinki: Statistics Finland [referred: 1.8.2018].

Stein, M. K., Smith, M. S., & Silver, E. (1999). The development of professional developers: Learning to assist teachers in new settings in new ways. *Harvard Educational Review, 69*(3), 237–270.

Stern, S. (2012). *Emerging continuing teacher education policies in OECD countries*. A Working Paper. Paris: OECD.

Stoll, L., Harris, A., & Handscomb, G. (2012). *Great professional development which leads to great pedagogy: Nine claims from research*. Nottingham, UK: National College for School Leadership.

Supovitz, J. A., Mayer, D. P., & Kahle, J. B. (2000). Promoting inquiry-based instructional practice: The longitudinal impact of professional development in the context of systemic reform. *Educational Policy, 14*(3), 331–356.

Tirri, T. (2014). The last 40 years in Finnish teacher education. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 40*(5), 600–609.

Toom, A., & Husu, J. (2016). Finnish teachers as 'makers of the many'. In H. Niemi et al. (Eds.), *Miracle of education* (pp. 41–55). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Villegas-Reimers, E. (2003). *Teacher professional development: An international review of the literature*. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning.

Wang, L. (2005). An analysis of in-service training models for foreign bilingual teachers—Case studies from the United States, Canada and Finland. *Exploring Education Development, 21,* 78–81.

Wang, B. (2013). ITT: In service training for Finnish teacher project—Physics teachers as an example. *Primary & Secondary Schooling Abroad, 5,* 37–41.

Wang, D. (2013). *The demoralization of teachers: Crisis in a rural school in China*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Wang, D., & Gao, M. (2013). Educational equality or social mobility: The value conflict between preservice teachers and the Free Teacher Education Program in China. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 32,* 66–74.

Watts, H. (1980). *Starting out, moving on, running ahead or how the teachers' center can attend to stages in teachers' development.* Washington, DC: National Institute of Education.

Weiss, I., & Pasley. J. (2006). *Scaling up instructional improvement through teacher professional development: Insights from the local systemic change initiative.* Philadelphia, PA: Consortium for Policy Research in Education (CPRE) Policy Briefs.

Wideen, M., Mayer-Smith, J., & Moon, B. (1998). A critical analysis of the research on learning to teach: Making the case for an ecological perspective on inquiry. *Review of Educational Research, 68*(2), 130–178.

Wong, J. L. N. (2014). How does writing for publication help professional development of teachers? A case study in China. *Journal of education for teaching, 40*(1), 78–93.

Wu, B., & Morgan, W. J. (Eds.). (2016). *Chinese higher education reform and social justice*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Xing, X., Dervin, F., & Fan, P. (2017). Truths, Omissions and illusions in the Era of marketization Chinese University leaders' perceptions of Finnish education. *Journal of the European Higher Education Area, 4,* 33–50.

Yang, D. (2016). 杨东平谈中国教育三大问题 [China faces three challenges in its education system]. https://mt.sohu.com/20160623/n455957715.shtml.

Zhao, Y. (2014). *Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Dragon?: Why China Has the Best (and Worst) Education System in the World*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Index