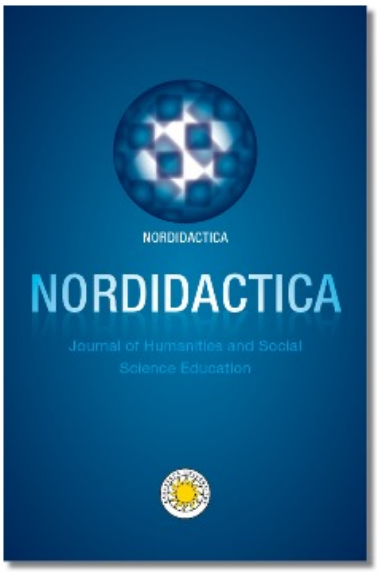
Eurocentrism in Teaching about World War One – a Norwegian Case

Mari Kristine Jore



Nordidactica

- Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education

2019:2

Nordidactica – Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education
Nordidactica 2019:2
ISSN 2000-9879
The online version of this paper can be found at: www.kau.se/nordidactica

NORDIDACTICA – JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION
ISSN 2000-9879
2019:2 114-135

Eurocentrism in Teaching about World War One – a Norwegian Case

Mari Kristine Jore

Western Norway University of Applied Sciences

Abstract: In this article, I argue that the imperial and colonial aspects of WW1 hold an ambiguous position in teaching about the war, presented as a cause of the war, but not acknowledged as a part of its history. Data was established through observation of history education about WW1 in the context of social studies at a lower secondary school in Norway. Identifying different manifestations of Eurocentrism, I first discuss how the national curriculum and textbook representations both explicitly thematize imperialism and colonialism, but at the same time reproduces Eurocentrism in terms of how non-Western history only enters the curriculum in the context of Western imperialism and colonialism. Secondly, teachers briefly mention colonial rule and exploitation when teaching about a war, which was a global and an imperial conflict. Finally, Eurocentrism emerges in the discrepancy between the image the teachers create, of colonies as resources for colonial rule, and the pupil's perceptions of Africa as a continent of lack. The article aims to discuss the dilemmas and challenges Eurocentrism poses to history education and argues for the importance of using strategies which deconstruct and challenge Eurocentric narratives.

KEYWORDS: WORLD WAR ONE, EUROCENTRISM, IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, HISTORY EDUCATION

About the author: Mari Kristine Jore is a PhD Student at the Department of Pedagogy, Religion and Social Studies at the Western Norway University of Applied Sciences in Bergen. With a background in Sociology and Cultural Studies her PhD project focuses on how narratives of Norway and the West is created in the social studies subject in lower secondary school. Her research and teaching interests include minorities, migration and postcolonial perspectives on education. She has earlier published «Fortellinger om 1814 – forestillingen om det eksepsjonelle norske demokrati» (2018). Her supervisors are: Åse Røthing, OsloMet (main supervisor), Sissel Rosland, HVL and Solvejg Jobst, HVL.

Introduction

In this article, I discuss *Eurocentrism* in the construction of historical knowledge, in the context of social studies at a lower secondary school in one of the bigger cities in Western Norway. During my fieldwork, I observed history lessons about World War One (hereafter WW1) over a period of seven weeks. Early in my fieldwork, one of the teachers stated that it was difficult to teach the pupils about WW1 without covering themes relating to European imperialism and colonialism[1]. However, the teacher told me they rarely found the time to cover these topics in the eight-grade where the subjects are presented in the textbook, and that was also the case this year. This struck me as a dilemma; Despite this teacher's awareness of the difficulties of excluding Europe's imperial and colonial history, it was not considered important enough to spend time on and therefor did not become a part of the local curriculum.

There can be several practical reasons for this omission related either to time limitations and prioritization or the teaching materials in use. However, this can also be interpreted as an expression of Eurocentrism. In this article, I explore what we might learn by investigating history education regarding WW1 through the postcolonial concept of Eurocentrism. The guiding research question is: *How did Eurocentrism influence teaching about WW1 in this specific history educational context?* The article aims to reflect upon the dilemmas and challenges posed by Eurocentrism in history education by discussing examples gained from observations. I combine and discuss analysis of the national curriculum and teaching materials, such as textbook representations and PowerPoint presentations, classroom observation, field conversations with teachers, and interviews with pupils. The analysis shows how the imperial and colonial aspects of WW1 hold an ambiguous position, presented as a cause of the war, but not acknowledged as a part of its history.

Eurocentrism refers to a body of beliefs that uncritically establish Europe's historical progress and political and ethical superiority (Blaut, 1993, p. 8), depicting development in the rest of the world as a result of the diffusion of European civilization. In educational contexts, Eurocentric perspectives can be traced in curricula, textbooks, and praxis, and shed lights on how education is central in producing and reproducing hegemonic knowledge (Araújo and Maeso, 2015; Loftsdóttir, 2009a; Mikander, 2015; Schissler and Soysal, 2005). The compulsory subject of social studies offers an interesting empirical context in which to study Eurocentrism. In Norwegian primary and lower secondary schools, social studies consist of the main subject areas of history,

[1] The terms imperialism and colonialism are contested. In this article they are used to point to aspects of domination and subjugation of one people to another associated with the European expansion. According to Kohn and Kavita (2017) imperialism refers to the way "one country exercises power over another, whether through settlement, sovereignty or indirect mechanisms of control", and colonialism refers to practices that usually involve "the transfer of population to a new territory, when the arrivals lived as permanent settlers while maintaining allegiance to their country of origin" (Kohn & Kavita, 2017). Both imperialism and colonialism are understood as systems that imposed a rigorous racial hierarchy that valorized people differently according to the idea of race, which was connected to a new global structure of control of labor that associated social roles and geo-historical places (Quijano, 2000, p. 536).

geography, civics, and the researcher[2] (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2013). These main subject areas can be seen as providing the basic temporal, spatial, and discursive organization of nations, regions, and the world (Schissler and Soysal, 2005, p. 8), thus contribute to the shaping of our cognitive maps of understanding. As such, the subject offers insights in how knowledge reproduction also can be seen to reproduces hegemonic power structures and perceptions of society and the world. This article focuses on teaching in history and, in the following, I will use the term *history* when referring to the subject, curricula, textbooks, and teaching. As most of the studies of Eurocentrism focus on national curriculum and textbook representations (Eikeland, 2004; Helgason and Lässig, 2009; Mikander, 2015), this study provides insights on some of the many ways of interpreting and constructing history as a dialogue between curriculum, text, teacher, and pupils.

In the first section of the article, I present the concept of Eurocentrism as the theoretical and analytical framework of the article, in connection with the Norwegian and Nordic school context. I then elaborate on methodological and analytical considerations in the article, presenting methods for data collection, the data material, and the narrative analysis (Sleeter and Grant, 2011). In the analysis, I first present the national curriculum and teaching materials as the contexts for teaching about WW1 and then analyze observational data and excerpts from interviews with pupils. In the final discussion, I reflect on the dilemmas and challenges that Eurocentrism poses for history education about WW1. But what exactly is Eurocentrism and how can it be analytically useful in my investigation of teaching about WW1? Next, I present the theoretical and analytical framework used.

The theoretical concept of Eurocentrism

The postcolonial concept of Eurocentrism serves as the theoretical and analytical lens for this article, generating questions that inform my analysis of the data. Postcolonial studies, which amongst others is represented by Said (1979) and scholars of the Subaltern-studies (see, for example, Spivak, 1988, Chakrabarty, 2008), draw attention to how practices of representation reproduce a logic of subordination that endures even after former colonies gained independence, providing tools to deconstruct texts in order to understand how they reflect and reinforce an imperialistic agenda (Said, 1979). Eurocentrism can be understood as a paradigm working through "[…] ways of knowing and a set of assumptions that establish criteria for what practitioners deem as facts" (Marks, 2007, p. 9). Thus, Eurocentrism can be seen as a model of interpretation that uncritically establishes the idea of Europe's historical progress and political and ethical superiority over minority people and non-Europeans (Blaut, 1993, p. 8).

[2] The main subject area *the researcher* was added in the revision of the national curriculum of social studies in 2013. The subject area is subject-overarching and focuses on how we build knowledge about and understandings of society. Critical consciousness is an important feature of the subject area: https://www.udir.no/kl06/SAF1-03?lplang=http://data.udir.no/kl06/eng

Eurocentrism functions through the master narrative of "the rise of the West" (Marks, 2007, p. 2). A master narrative provides a: "[…] grand schema for organizing the interpretation and writing of history" (Appleby et al., 1994, p. 232), thus providing criteria for selecting what and what is not considered relevant in history (Marks, 2007, p. 10). The master narrative of the rise of the West provides a rationale that explains the development of modernity as inevitable by establishing Europe as superior and exceptional, and with a mission to civilize other parts of the world through different forms of colonization. Andreotti (2011b) claims that colonialism and the exploitation of the colonies can be seen as constitutive of the development of European and Western modernity. In this master narrative, the contributions of other nations and regions are overlooked, and other historical contingencies and conjunctures that contributed to the development of modernity are obscured. The omnipresence of this narrative calls for a need to provincialize Europe (Chakrabarty, 2008), in the sense of building narratives that no longer regard progress and humanity as purely European and setting the standards for the rest of the world (Schissler and Soysal, 2005, p. 6). Chakrabartys (2008) insights opens for exploring different paths to and interpretations of European modernity by both acknowledging its uniqueness, but also insisting upon the need to recognize how multiple modernities is developed throughout the world.

In the last decade, we have seen an increase in debate concerning the role of the Nordic countries in colonialism (Loftsdóttir and Jensen, 2012; Keskinen et al., 2009). Research showing the Nordic countries' participation in colonial practices and processes of globalization (Eidsvik, 2012; Mikander, 2016) challenges the idea of Nordic exceptionalism. In the Norwegian context, Marianne Gullestad (2002, 2006) has pointed out how Norway has depicted itself as a victim of colonialism and war and as an anti-racist, peace-loving, and solidary nation, even though the country has a history of the colonization of its indigenous Sami population (Eriksen, 2018a) and studies have shown how race and racism are embedded in Norwegian teacher education (Fylkesnes, 2019).

In history, and history didactic research, scholars have different ways of responding to Eurocentrism. The dominant notion seems to be situated in a transformative perception of history education which sees Eurocentrism as a perspective that can be challenged through the enlargement of national and European narratives; for example, focusing on transnational relations, teaching global history, validating other cultural narratives, and highlighting multiperspectivety (Clavin, 2010, Marks, 2007; Rüsen, 2004; Schissler and Soysal, 2005). In line with scholars of the Subaltern studies (Conrad, 2016, Chakrabarty, 2008), Araújo and Maeso (2012, p. 1267) criticize these perspectives for being insufficient and inefficient when it comes to overcoming the hegemony of the Eurocentric master narrative. They argue for the need for a broader debate on knowledge and power that engages with frames of interpretation to include non-Eurocentric perspectives. I acknowledge the need for a thorough power analysis of frames of interpretation to overcome the hegemonic ideas of Eurocentrism. However, there is also a need for hands-on didactic strategies that can help educators to challenge Eurocentrism. Therefore, in this article, I combine approaches that acknowledge the need for various and practice-oriented ways of responding to Eurocentrism in

educational contexts and engage in discussions of how hegemonic power relations are fundamental to ways of knowing and frames of interpretation. These practice-oriented responses can be seen in different interventional strategies that modify and adjust narratives in response to Eurocentrism. One example of such a strategy is to challenge exceptional representations and interpretations of European and Western history by, for example, acknowledging and engaging in what Andreotti (2011a, p. 64) calls "the darker side of modernity" in history education; for example, imperialism, new-imperialism, colonialism. Through this the master narrative of the development of modernity can become challenged. Power-oriented responses can be seen in strategies that focus on the deconstruction of categories that appear as taken-for-granted premises and norms of knowledge, thereby questioning our frames of interpretation. One example of such a strategy can be found in Chakrabarty´s (2008) historicistic[3] analysis of the way in which ideas and analytical categories developed by European philosophers in specific historical and sociocultural contexts have been universalized and used to analyze entirely different local and historical contexts.

Eurocentrism in the Norwegian and Nordic educational context

History, as part of the social studies subject, is caught in a tension between, on the one hand, an ambition to support and sustain key values and institutions in society and, on the other, an ambition to educate new generations in critical thinking (Apple et al., 2009; Børhaug and Christophersen, 2012; Lorentzen, 2005). The obligation to legitimize values and institutions often concerns state-building, where one of the main features of history education is its contribution to constructions of social cohesion and national identity (Lorentzen, 2005; Slagstad, 2015). Scholars have highlighted a tendency to under-communicate what Europe means in relation to national identity in the context of the Norwegian social studies subject area (Fossum, 2012). Nevertheless, European history retains a central place in Norwegian history education. In itself, a focus on European history is not problematic, even when considered from a postcolonial perspective, and serves as an important part of the general orientation and identity formation that history education can be said to offer (Lozic, 2010, p. 300). However, problems arise when Europe is uncritically presented as the Center, despite other regions playing important roles, or when global historical events are presented as only European or solely from a European point of view. In this article, I intend to describe and analyze how these types of Eurocentrism shape the educational practice of teaching about WW1.

Research point towards how Eurocentrism can be traced both in representations of historical and current events and in constructions and representations of "the Others".

[3] I am aware that the concept of historicism has been defined differently by different scholars. I here use Chakrabarty's understanding of the term, emphasizing that to understand the nature of anything we must see it as a historically developing entity, as an individual and unique whole, and as something that develops over time. For a thorough discussion of the global history of historicism, see Iggers & Wang (2016).

Curricula and textbooks are commonly used as research subjects to uncover hegemonic notions such as Eurocentrism. Hence, several studies of textbooks used in Norwegian and Nordic schools (Eikeland, 2004; Helgason and Lässig, 2009; Lorentzen and Røthing, 2017; Mikander, 2015; Røthing and Svendsen, 2011) show how Eurocentric perspectives are vividly present in today's history and civics textbooks. When analyzing descriptions of colonial encounters in Finnish history textbooks for primary schools, Mikander (2015, p. 60) finds that representations of "voyages of discovery" and the treatment of the Native Americans promote hegemonic ideas of Western superiority. Discussing representations of Norwegian sexuality in textbooks used in biology, civics, and religious education, Røthing & Svendsen (2011, p. 1964-1965) show how a Eurocentric narrative regarding arranged marriages contributes to the construction and control of ethnic boundaries. Looking at representations of non-European people in Icelandic history textbooks published during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Loftsdóttir (2009b) discusses the articulation of Icelandic national identity. She finds that European identity in the Icelandic context is made meaningful through stories of colonization and exploration. Loftsdóttir (2009a, p. 21-22) highlights the importance of considering how history texts and textbooks are used in education to be able to grasp how texts and images are interpreted and conceptualized in the classroom context. Observation and ethnographic studies of history education can provide valuable insights that complement textbook studies, giving a sense of the actual interpretation within a specific social, cultural, and historical setting. My article sheds light on some of the many ways of interpreting and constructing history as a dialog between curriculum, text, teacher, and pupils. In the following section, I present the methods of establishing and analyzing data.

Methods, data, and context

This article is situated within a qualitative framework and presents theoretically informed interpretations, with postcolonial perspectives as the primary lens (Blaut, 1993; Chakrabarty, 2008; Marks, 2007). To consider constructions of narratives from a postcolonial perspective, a deconstructive and multidisciplinary methodology is used (Andreotti, 2011a). The analysis entails a triangulation of different types of data. I combine an analysis of the national curriculum and teaching materials, such as textbooks and PowerPoint presentations, with notes from classroom observations and field conversations with teachers, and excerpts from interviews with students, in order to retrieve a broad and contextualized understanding of teaching about WW1.

The data for the article was established through observations of the social studies subject in three ninth grade classes at a public lower secondary school in one of the larger cities in Western Norway and through interviews with 36 pupils[4] concerning their

[4] The semi-structured qualitative interviews, with the 36 pupils from the classes observed, focused on the pupil's lives and family conditions, and their reflections on, and experience of, the social studies subject. The interviews were conducted during October and November 2016 and lasted from 20 minutes to 2 hours. In the parts of the interviews concerning the pupil's

reflections on, and experience of, the social studies subject. The interviews underpin my analysis, but I only refer to a few of them directly. However, they are interesting with regard to perceptions of Africa, since several of the pupils brought up the continent in the interviews, but when asked to elaborate on their answers by the interviewer, few of the interviewees had knowledge about the continent extending prejudices and perceptions. The observations were conducted during an extensive period of fieldwork and serve as the main source of data for the article. The fieldwork was structured in two blocks: one running from April to June, in which I followed an eighth-grade class closely, and the other running from August to November, in which I continued to follow the class from block one and supplemented my sample with two more ninth grade classes. The extension of the class scope arose because the teachers planned their social studies teaching in subject-specific teams. The joint planning of the subject was interesting because I saw how different teachers structured the teaching in the classroom. The observation of the WW1-period was conducted in the last block of the fieldwork and lasted for seven weeks, during which I observed 20 hours of teaching. As mentioned above, a field conversation with one of the teachers directed my attention to the role that "Europe," "imperialism" and "the colonies" received in the teaching about the War. Therefore, the starting point of my interest was empirical and my focus during the observations was gradually drawn to representations of Europe and the colonies. The teaching materials, (such as textbooks used in the teaching of *Matriks History 8* and *9*, PowerPoint presentations used in teaching, and pupils work) were collected during the observations and relevant parts were later analyzed. When analyzing teaching material, I mainly focused on textual descriptions. I also monitored which teaching requirements of the national curriculum of history for lower secondary schools applied and were relevant in the teaching about WW1. I mapped out the teaching requirements that could have been used if European imperialism and colonialism had been presented more thoroughly as a context for the period. Both the teaching materials and the national curriculum were analyzed in the light of my observations of the classroom praxis.

For the narrative analysis, I carried out what Sleeter & Grant (2011) call a story-line analysis by focusing on questions such as: Which groups receive the most attention? Whose story is being told? Which group (or groups) resolves (or resolve) problems? How do other groups appear? To what extent do these other groups cause or resolve problems? Whom do the teachers and authors intend the pupils and readers to sympathize with or learn most about? (Sleeter & Grant 2011, p. 283). More concretely, related to this project, I considered how the European powers and colonies were presented in the curriculum, textbooks, and teaching about WW1 and the period leading up to the War. I especially paid attention to which actors were portrayed as active or passive regarding representations of colonizers and the colonized and in perceptions of Africa. By analyzing the material with the questions mentioned above in mind, I

reflections on, and experience, of the social studies subject, the questions varied, covering the subject in general and specific teaching themes.

attempted to deconstruct the master narratives that were constructed about WW1 in this specific educational context.

Analyzing Eurocentrism in teaching about WW1

This analysis mostly focuses on perspectives and aspects of knowledge construction that were not part of the teaching about WW1 in this particular educational setting. Therefore, to describe the teaching about the war, I start by sketching out the issues that were addressed regarding this period. As a context for my analysis, I go on to present historical research focusing on the global dimension of WW1 to elaborate on the reasons for why excluding imperialism and colonialism is problematic when teaching about a war which from start to finish was a global and imperial conflict (Jackson, 2016, p. 1). To map out the framework of the teaching praxis observed I describe and analyze the relevant parts of the national curriculum and the textbooks used in the teaching. Further on, I describe and analyze how the local curriculum and classroom practices relating to the teaching of WW1 were formed. As far as I know this was the first time the pupils heard about the battle for the colonies, even though the themes of imperialism and colonialism were thoroughly presented in the eight-grade textbook *Matrix 8* (Hellerud and Moen, 2006 p. 100-123).

Teaching about WW1 and the global dimension of the war

The teachers started the teaching period by introducing the Titanic as an example of industrial optimism and the idea that man could master the world through technology. The ship was also used as an allegory of, and an introduction to, the European and Western class society of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Field notes 22.08.16). Later, the teachers explained why this was called the first modern and industrial war and presented four causes of the War: the battle for the colonies, the production battle, armaments, and how the European powers entered into alliances (Field notes 06.09 – 09.09.16, PowerPoint). Considerable time was spent on the horror of war, when the teachers went into detail about life in the trenches, the battlefields, and the human losses of the war on the European continent. There was also a written assignment in which the pupils were to write a letter from a soldier serving in the trenches, after reading an excerpt from the book *All Quiet on the Western Front*. The classes examined propaganda posters used to gain support from civil society and were asked to evaluate the posters as historical sources. The teachers considered how the war changed society, explaining issues relating to women's involvement in war production and civil society. The Russian revolution was presented as an important event related to WW1, and they discussed the Versailles treaty as a cause of World War Two (Field notes 31.09-17.10.2016, PowerPoint).

Historical research on the global dimensions of WW1 identifies several reasons for why it is important to include imperialism and colonialism as a central part of the War. Even though the war originated in Europe, it became a global struggle (Winter & Prost, 2005). As Ashley Jackson states: "From start to finish, the First World War was a global

and imperial conflict" (2016, p. 1). The colonies mattered to the European powers at the beginning of the twentieth century (Paice, 2008, p. 1). Not only were the colonies supplying increasing European industrial production with raw materials, but they also functioned as markets for European goods, since commodities produced in European countries were shipped out to the colonies. Thus, commercial trade with the colonies, and the exploitation involved, were cornerstones of the developing capitalism. During the War, the colonies suffered the pressure of increased taxes to finance the conflict. Also, agricultural land and production were redistributed to serve the huge need for food supplies, and tolls were levied on the import of food to the colonies which, in many African countries, led to famine and epidemics (Eriksen, 2018b). In the War, on both the African, European continents and in the Middle East the soldiers, workers, and porters from the colonies suffered enormous human losses.

Some of the colonies also provided strategic positions in the conflict. The first British shots of WW1 were fired in (German) Togoland (Paice, 2008, p. 2-3). Here the Ghanaian Alhaji Grunshi served as a soldier in the West African Frontier Force and loosed the first shots of the war during the British invasion of Togoland (Eriksen, 2018b). Thus, the British Empire's war actually began and ended in Africa (Jackson, 2016, p. 1). In addition to the many Moroccans, Algerians and Indians who already served in the armed forces of the empires and thereby were obliged to fight in the war, the French, British and Germans conscripted soldiers from colonies such as French Indochina, the West Indies, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), French North Africa, Mozambique and Sudan (Killingaray & Omissis, 1999, p. 15), and the dominions of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada[5] (Jackson, 2016, p. 5). On the African front, a huge number of African and Indian soldiers fought and died, and they also fought on the European continent, in the Ottoman Empire, and in Mesopotamia. India alone, as one of the main contributors to WW1, provided approximately 1.4 million soldiers (Jackson, 2016). These colonial contributions were rewarded with a broken promise of Indian independence from the British government. A certain discrepancy between historical research on the global aspects of WW1, and the history education about the war is to be expected. Nevertheless, this shows how teaching about WW1 without thematizing imperialism and colonialism excludes vital parts of the history of the war.

The national social studies curriculum for lower secondary schools

Teaching about WW1 takes place during grade 8-10. In the history curriculum for lower secondary school, pupils are expected to "discuss and elaborate on the causes and effects of the key international conflicts of the 1900s and 2000s" (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2013, p.10). This teaching requirement introduces a global

[5] I am aware of the differences between the colonies and dominions mentioned, with regards to racial positioning and degree of self-rule, were the dominions who had a lager settler-populations had gained a large degree of self-control by 1914 and were considered to be part of Great Britain. The point of mentioning the different colonies in the different continents is to underline the global aspects of the war.

perspective by using the term "international conflicts". Because of their impact in European history, the world wars possess a central place in history education in the Norwegian history subject. Imperialism, colonialism, and processes of decolonization could also be considered as some of the key international conflicts of the 1900s. In addition, the national curriculum contains several teaching requirements that foster critical reflection upon European imperialism and colonialism and Western ideals and legacies; for example, there is a specific teaching requirement for pupils to "elaborate on colonialism and imperialism and provide examples of decolonization" (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2013, p. 10). There is also a teaching requirement for pupils to "discuss and elaborate on the ideal of human dignity, discrimination and the development of racism from a historical perspective with a view to the present" (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2013, p. 10). These teaching requirements enables critical discussion of the ideals of humanism, and the scientific racism, that developed in Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and emphasizes the history subject's obligation to promote inclusion and democratic values. In both teaching requirements, the national curriculum invites a critique of exceptional Eurocentric narratives by focusing on imperialism, colonialism, and how racism in today's society is deeply entangled with European colonialism.

Nevertheless, the primary focus of the national curriculum for lower secondary schools is on Norwegian history and civic life and, to the extent that international perspectives are mentioned, they primarily involve European or Western examples (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2013). There are few, if any, teaching requirements that explicitly focus on world history, civic life, or present-day society in other parts of the world. In this way, Europe and the West are taken for granted as defining what counts as relevant knowledge and historical themes in history education. Jörn Rüsen defines this as an expression of ethno- and Eurocentrism: "History curricula in schools and universities give non-Western cultures little, if any, space" (Rüsen, 2004, p. 119). Rüsen continues to point out how non-Western history normally becomes a part of the curriculum in the context of Western colonialism and imperialism, creating an impression of Europe as the center of history, with history in other parts of the world beginning when it comes into contact with Europe. In this sense also, the thematization of imperialism and colonialism in the curriculum can be seen as Eurocentric, since this is the only time that regions outside the West are addressed. The tendency to make Europe the starting point of history education should also be understood in connection with the pedagogical principle of subsidiarity, which emphasizes that education should start with a subsidiary context and gradually work its way out from there (Koritzinsky, 2014, p. 151). However, if we follow this principle, we might expect that global history and the independent history of other nations and regions will come into focus as the pupils reach the higher levels of education. My analysis shows that this is not the case in the current national social studies curricula for lower secondary schools.

Textbook representations

The textbook series used at the school under observation, *Matriks* (Hellerud and Moen, 2006; Hellerud et al., 2007), has been described as one of the few Norwegian history textbooks encouraging pupils to develop critical knowledge and facilitating critical thinking about historical and current events when discussed from a postcolonial perspective (Lorentzen and Røthing, 2017 p. 124). In *Matriks History 8* European imperialism and colonialism are covered thoroughly in the eighth-grade textbook (Hellerud and Moen, 2006 p. 100-123). The start of the chapter called *Europe conquers the world* tells how Cecile Rhodes defrauded King Lobengula of the Ndebele people into disclaiming his people's rights to the land. The underhand maneuvering and abuse of power used to obtain the natural resources of Africa is highlighted: a crucial part of acknowledging the injustices of the colonial period. In addition to this, the textbook is partly written from the point of view of the colonized, thoroughly presenting information on India and Africa and going into detail about differences in the colonial system. Thus, the authors of the textbook have responded to the teaching requirement and present quite a nuanced representation of imperialism and colonial rule. This should give the pupils a thorough introduction to the themes that explicitly address the injustices and uneven power relations of the colonial system.

The ninth-grade textbook dedicates two paragraphs in the chapters on WW1 to the colonial contribution to the war, describing how the colonies conscripted soldiers to fight on the European continent and assist the Arab overthrow of the Ottoman Empire (Hellerud et al., 2007, p. 26-28). The textbook mentions the contribution of soldiers from the colonies to the forces fighting on the European continent, and this is exemplified through a story of how an Indian soldier was awarded the Victorian Cross for his contribution in the war (Hellerud et al., 2007, p. 28). The narrative in the textbook mentions that many of the soldiers from the colonies were appreciated as equals because of their efforts during the war on the European continent, but experienced a continuation of their inferior position as the colonized when returning to the colonies (Hellerud et al., 2007, p. 28). The textbook representation does not emphasize the conspicuous racism that the soldiers from the different colonies also met during WW1, where African soldiers most likely were amongst the hardest targeted (Fanon, 1997). For example, the African soldiers were portrayed in German propaganda as elements betraying and brutalizing a war between "civilized Europeans", a view supported by the respected scientist Max Weber. Also, the first eugenic scientific experiments and racial laws of sterilization were developed and applied to the African troops used in the occupation of Rhineland after the War (Eriksen, 2018b). Therefore, textbook representations of the grateful attitudes to the colonial soldiers for their war effort appear un-nuanced.

The textbook also mentions a controversy amongst historians about the naming of WW1. Some historians claim that WW1 was a war initiated by the European powers and therefore object to calling it a world war. Other historians emphasize the fact that several nations and regions outside Europe also participated and contributed and that the war was partly fought in other regions of the world, justifying the name (Hellerud et al., 2007, p. 29). Recent historical research has challenged the West European and

Western Front bias by insisting on understanding WW1 from a global perspective. According to Jackson (2016, p. 3), the one-sided and preferential focus on the acts of war on the European continent reflects a Eurocentric perspective which became increasingly dominant in historical research and the public sphere after 1945. Thus, the colonial contribution and the global dimension of WW1 slipped from view, and the narratives of the war was constructed narrowly within the frames of the different Western European nation states (Winter & Prost, 2005), partly dominated by the Western front narrative (Morrow, 2014, p. xi).

There are not necessarily any direct connections between textbook representations and educational praxis in classrooms (Børhaug and Christophersen, 2012; Røthing, 2014). However, it is commonly held that textbooks to a great extent influence what the pupils are taught in class (Midtbøen et al., 2014; Selander and Skjelbred, 2004). As teachers use textbooks in different ways, textbooks that provide critical knowledge and enable critical thinking are no guarantee of critical education. A competent teacher could use textbooks that provide marginalizing and Eurocentric perspectives to stimulate critical thinking. Alternatively, a textbook offering critical perspectives and knowledge can be used in ways that promote marginalization (Røthing, 2014, p. 72). How textbook representations are interpreted and presented in classroom contexts varies. In the following, I describe and analyze the way in which European imperialism and colonialism were interpreted and presented in teaching about WW1 in the three different classes at the school under observation.

Dilemmas of eurocentrism in history educational praxis

Dilemmas exist concerning the exclusion of European imperialism and colonialism in teaching about WW1. According to the teacher who first introduced the topic, the reason for this was that it was a global war. The war was fought on other continents than Europe, but this was seldom visible in teaching about the war. In addition, the European powers were rivals for the colonies, and this was one of the causes of the war. These two reasons point towards different aspects of history education about WW1, namely the importance of acknowledging and teaching the global aspects of the war, and the significance of understanding central aspects of the historical period the war erupted in. Due to lack of time in the eighth grade, where the topics of imperialism and colonialism are presented in the textbook (Hellerud and Moen, 2006, p. 100-123), the teacher said that it would be necessary to make European imperialism the starting point of the period about WW1. However, as the fieldwork progressed, it became clear that these views were not entrenched in the subject-specific team planning the social studies subject at the school. Hence, when I addressed the question in a meeting, when planning my observation of the classes, the teachers told me that it had never been the intention to include these topics prior to or at the start of the period. Instead the period started, as the introductory chapter of the textbook *Matriks History 9* (Hellerud et al., 2007, p. 4-13) also does, by telling the tragic story of the Titanic, using the ship as an allegory of, and an introduction to, the European and Western class society of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

This observation points to the dilemma that first initiated my interest in the theme. Despite this teacher's awareness of the difficulties of excluding Europe's imperial history, it was not considered important enough by the colleagues in the subject-specific team to spend time on. Therefore, it did not become a part of the local curriculum. One interpretation of this is that the supposed gains of organizing the subjects through subject-specific planning teams, namely that the experts on different themes enhance the knowledge level in the rest of the team and possibly introduce critical perspectives, are not guaranteed. Nevertheless, and most likely because I addressed the question when meeting the rest of the teachers, they all, to some extent, thematized imperialism and colonialism as a part of the classroom dialog during the introductory lessons on the period. The thematizations varied from problematizing the reasons for calling this a world war, with an explicit focus on the overthrowing of the Ottoman Empire, trying to define what a colony is and describing the extension of colonial rule in the early nineteenth century (Field notes, 06.09.2016). Some of the classroom dialogs highlighted the uneven power relations between the colonies and the colonial rulers, and the exploitation of slaves in the colonies. The teacher who addressed the continuation of slavery in the colonies also explicitly mentioned the exploitation of slaves in a Norwegian rubber plantation in Mozambique (Field notes, 06.09.16), thus pointing out the Norwegian complicity in colonialism that several researchers have highlighted (Eidsvik, 2012; Kjerland and Rio, 2009).

These thematizations took the form of classroom dialogues, as small parts of the introductory lessons on WW1. Judging from my acquaintance with the local curriculum the previous year, this was most likely one of the first times the pupils heard about the colonies. Therefore, I wondered if this thematization was sufficient to build knowledge about past European imperialism and colonialism and the role of the colonies in WW1. The briefness of the presentations gave a feeling of this being done because the researcher had mentioned it when meeting the teachers, more than because it was considered essential in building a solid knowledge base on the topic for the pupils. The connection between the topics of imperialism and colonialism and WW1 was diffuse and unclear. Thus, what made the imperial and colonial regimes relevant to the understanding of the war was not made explicit or elaborated on in the teaching.

A continent of resources or scarcity and lack?

In the images and narratives constructed about the colonies in the teaching of WW1, the colonies were mainly framed as resources for the European powers. The colonies were explicitly connected to the African continent in the classroom dialogs, limiting the global span of imperial and colonial rule. First, the colonies were presented as sites of imperial dreams and rivalry and, as such, a cause of the war. One expression of this can be found in an excerpt from a classroom presentation:

> *Teacher: Yes, and we talked a bit about this. The European powers competed to obtain the most colonies. Do you remember the map I showed you of that man standing with one foot in South Africa and one foot in Egypt? His name was Cecil Rhodes and he was English. Great Britain dreamt of having*

> *interconnected colonies from South Africa in the south to Egypt in the north so that they could travel by train all the way. Also, the French had colonies in North Africa and dreamt of traveling all the way across North Africa. We can see traces of this today. In many of the North African countries, people speak French, while in East Africa many people speak English. But the Germans entered the game late, so they didn't have many colonies*
>
> (Field note, 06.09.16 my translation).

In this quotation, the active actors are the European powers. Great Britain and France are portrayed as driving forces in the narrative, having dreams and plans for their empires and colonies and leaving visible signs in the areas they possessed, exemplified through the prevalence of language. The colonized people are given a passive role in the narrative and are only made visible through the fact that they learned the colonizer´s language. These representations of the active-passive dichotomy in the narrative, created in the classroom dialog, can be interpreted as ways of reproducing Europe as the active shaper of world history (Marks, 2007, p. 8). Also, the one-sided focus on the Europeans as active participants reflects a Western self-understanding, depicting Africa as Europe's constitutive "other" (Said, 1979). Besides, this brief presentation of imperial history is also diffused by the lack of specificity regarding diverse local African contexts. The textbook could have provided some of these perspectives and nuances if this historical period had been thematized earlier in the local curriculum.

Second, the colonies were presented as resources for the European powers, providing commodities and slave labor. The human and natural resources the European powers exploited in the colonies and exported was of great importance for the development of European production and wealth. The following excerpt from classroom dialog shows an example of how these themes were articulated:

> *Teacher: But what was the reason the European powers wanted colonies?*
>
> *Pupil: There were things there that were hard to get elsewhere.*
>
> *Teacher: Yes, and what exactly was that?*
>
> *Pupil: Pepper?*
>
> *Teacher: No-o-o … Pepper is not from Africa, but spices are an example of the merchandise from the colonies. Were there other things the European powers used the colonies for?*
>
> *Pupil: It was easier to produce things.*
>
> *Teacher: Mmm …*
>
> *Pupil: Slaves?*
>
> *Teacher: Yes, but at this point, it was forbidden to export slaves to other countries. Slavery was forbidden in the U.S., but they used the colonized as slave labor in the colonies. Were there other reasons the European powers wanted colonies?*
>
> *Pupil: They made money.*
>
> *Teacher: Mmmm …. But how did they look at the people of the colonies?*

Pupil: They looked down on them.

Pupil: Like, they were not worth as much as them.

Teacher: Yes, and what do we call that. There is a word for this?

Pupil: They were inferior?

Teacher: Yes, and the colonizers were racists. Most of them thought that they [the colonized] were inferior. And that is a bit difficult to imagine, right?

(Field notes 06.09.16, my translation)

There are a lot of factors affecting how classroom dialogs develop and what form they take. Therefore, it is interesting to discuss the dialog on the basis of what is said and discuss alternative ways of addressing imperialism and colonialism. All of the themes mentioned in this dialog are relevant and could be elaborated on and seen as connected, thus creating an understanding of the imperial and colonial system. For example, the mention of the continuation of slavery in the colonies and the racism that permeated European culture (Fanon, 1997) could have been related to the teaching requirement for pupils to be able to "discuss and elaborate on the ideal of human dignity, discrimination and the development of racism from a historical perspective with a view to the present" (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2013, p. 10). The teacher takes a clear stance against racism, creating a clear sense that it is something unacceptable. However, by stating that it is difficult to imagine racism, rather than elaborating on the topic, an externalizing distance is created from the topic. This distance can be said to make the topic of racism invisible and irrelevant in understanding historical and current events and experiences (Andersson, 2018, p. 286; Gullestad, 2006, p. 168; Røthing, 2015, p. 83). In the context of WW1, the hierarchical race system was reproduced through the assignments given to the soldiers, workers, and porters from the colonies, often positioning the Africans at the bottom of the hierarchy. The racist attitude that many Europeans and their leaders had towards the colonized valued the lives of the colonized lower than the lives of soldiers of European descent. For example, the French prime minister during the War, George Clemenceau, stated that he preferred ten dead Africans to one dead European. Dead Africans were to him a reasonable price to pay for the Africans being incorporated into European civilization (Eriksen, 2018b). To explore these themes in more depth would have contributed to adjusting and nuancing the narrative about the War and provided an opening to elaborate on the teaching requirement connected to racism.

There seems to be a discrepancy between the images and narratives constructed about the colonies in the teaching and the pupils' perceptions of Africa. Although the teachers focused on the colonies as resources for the European powers, the perceptions of the pupils regarding Africa in the interviews were of a continent of scarcity and lack. They connected this scarcity to different factors, such as a lack of democracy, a lack of water, food, and financial resources; and a lack of human resources. Through these descriptions, the pupils constructed Europe as Africa's constitutive "other" (Said, 1979). Europe was presented as a continent having democratic government and access to resources and, thereby, Africa was depicted as a continent struggling to obtain parity

with Europe (Chakrabarty, 2008). One of the pupils pointed to this relationship when asked to elaborate on what he thought was relevant to learn about for the future: "Maybe ... if something happens in the future ... so that we need something that Africa has, that we absolutely need … that we could be the ones struggling to get it" (Interview 23.10.2016; my translation). Though operating with a clearly defined "us" and "them" in this statement, the pupil presents an imagined inversion of the established roles of Europe and Africa. Through the statement, the pupil describes the unevenness in the power relations by making visible the fact that power regulates access to and control over resources. The contradiction the statement builds upon becomes obvious when seen in relation to the pictures the teachers draw in their teaching on Africa as a continent of resources for the European powers. By not making visible how the Europeans unfairly obtained these resources through fraud and exploitation, a crucial connection is obscured.

It is important to highlight that the pupil´s perception of Africa was not established only during this period of history education. These perceptions were, most likely, constructed through different representations in public media, popular culture, charity campaigns, and at home, in addition to the educational images and narratives they encounter at school. Nevertheless, I think the quotation actualizes just why it is crucial to challenge Eurocentrism in education. If history education, and education in general, fails to nuance these images and narratives, the pupils are not given the tools to uncover the unjust power relations that created Europe and Western wealth and power, or the perspectives to understand Norway and Europe today.

Eurocentric dilemmas and challenges to history education about World War One

In this article, I have analyzed and discussed Eurocentrism in history education regarding WW1 in three curriculum contexts. First, Eurocentrism is both challenged and reproduced in the national curriculum and textbook representations by explicitly presenting imperialism and colonialism in quite a nuanced way, but at the same time operating with Europe's taken-for-granted superiority, since non-Western history only becomes a part of the curriculum in the context of Western imperialism and colonialism (Rüsen, 2004). Second, imperial and colonial expansion and rule are briefly mentioned when teaching about a War which, from start to finish, was a global and imperial conflict (Jackson, 2016). Finally, there is a discrepancy between how the teachers depict Africa as a resource for the European powers and how the pupils construct it as a continent of scarcity and lack. This points to how the imperial and colonial aspects of teaching about WW1 hold an ambiguous position: presented as a cause of the WW1, but not acknowledged as a part of its history. Hence, my analyses are in line with Morrow (2014, p. xi) and show how the Eurocentric master narrative, to a large extent, is reproduced in the teaching. Eriksen (2018b) concludes that there is a lack of willingness to acknowledge the brutal imperial and colonial dimensions of WW1, both in the public sphere and academia, because this would imply a breach with the Eurocentric world

view of a civilized, liberal, and democratic Europe. The teachers also chose not to thematize imperialism and colonialism. However, rather than seeing the teachers' choices as a lack of willingness to acknowledge the brutal imperial and colonial dimensions of WW1, I see it as a consequence of how the Eurocentric master narrative is structuring the teaching. As the purpose of this article is to explore what we might learn from investigating teaching about WW1 through the concept of Eurocentrism, I now discuss dilemmas and challenges this poses for history education.

One dilemma the Eurocentric master narrative of WW1 presents is that it comprehends a significant didactic potential. Because history education is always partial and involves simplifications, the Eurocentric master narratives offer a point of view in narration and criteria for selecting historical happenings (Marks, 2007). WW1 was initiated by the European powers and is inevitably entangled with Europe: thus, it must be taught. Also, as Europe is the geopolitical frame for Norwegian history education, European history holds an important position in contributing to the pupil's general orientation and identity formation (Lozic, 2010, p. 300). Both aspects are important in acknowledging the historical impact of Europe but do not stand in opposition to treating Europe as a single region of the world (Chakrabarty, 2008). There is a difference between choosing a perspective which focuses on European history as one of several possible perspectives and uncritically narrating historical happenings through master narratives that systematically exclude certain parts of history. Therefore, to be aware of how master narratives tend to structure our conceptions of history, and to reflect upon what insights criticisms of Eurocentrism might provide to history education, is crucial.

One way of questioning the Eurocentric master narratives of WW1 is by challenging what teaching about the war aims to explain. In Norwegian history education, WW1 is most often used to explain WW2. But what if the teaching was used to understand and contextualize developments on, for example, the African continent? Even though the brutal and tiering wars of occupation, repression of African riots, and the forced participation in WW1 was superseded by an era of peace and stability (Boahen, 1987, p. 95), the arbitrary and artificial nation state boundaries drawn by the European powers ignored older tribal lines (Iggers & Wang, 2016, p. 281). This has led to conflicts and tensions that still hunts parts of the continent. To understand conflicts on the African continent in the light of imperialism and colonization, and WW1, would generate different and vital perspectives. It would put several past and current conflicts in a historical context, illuminating the role of the European powers and their responsibility in these conflicts.

Another way of challenging Eurocentrism in history education about WW1, would be to investigate different transnational networks and global dimensions of the war. One example of this could be found in Röder (2017), who discusses didactical and methodological dimensions of using the index cards of the prisoners of war and the role of the International Committee of the Red Cross as a starting point in history education about WW1. Röder (2017, p. 208-209) argues for the need to constantly consider ways of integrating more global oriented didactical approaches into standard history lessons

to open traditional national or Eurocentric narratives and put them into a more critical and comparative global light.

In the extension of this, it is important to ask what critical knowledge and perspectives pupils miss when Eurocentric master narratives are presented uncritically or not questioned by the educational narratives. If history education fails to nuance master narratives, the pupils are not given the tools to uncover and problematize Europe and the West as central and as the active shapers of world history. This critical awareness is fundamental to the ability to question and deconstruct narratives and frames of interpretation (Araújo and Maeso, 2012), and possibly enable the imagining of other transnational and global historical narratives. A thorough treatment of imperialism and colonialism could, for example, be used to explore the racialized division of labor established through the imperial and colonial system (Quijano, 2000), also visible in the division of labour in WW1. It could also be used to discuss misrepresentations of other historical periods such as the colonization of South America (Mikander, 2015), or how colonization continues through globalization (Mikander 2016).

History education has the potential to portray a more balanced and analytical view of history and thereby challenge, rather than strengthen, stereotypes and master narratives. This would imply including power analysis in the narratives constructed in history education, which an analysis of Eurocentrism can be seen as an example of.

References

Andersson, M. (2018). Race: A contested and traveling concept. *In:* Leiulfsrud, H. K.& Sohlberg, P. (eds.) Concepts in action: conceptual constructionism. Leiden, Netherlands, Boston, Massachusetts: Brill. doi: 10.1163/9789004314207

Andreotti, V. (2011a). Actionable postcolonial theory in education, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9780230337794

Andreotti, V. (2011b). (Towards) decolonization and diversity in global citizenship education. Globalisation, Societies and Education, 9**,** 381-397. doi: 10.1080/14767724.2011.605323

Appel, M. W., Au, W. & Gandin, L. A. (2009). *The Routledge international* handbook of critical education. New York: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9780203882993

Appelby, J., Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. C. (1994). *Telling the truth about history,* New York: Norton. doi: 10.17077/0003-4827.9931

Araújo, M. & Maeso, S. R. (2012). History textbooks, racism and the critique of Eurocentrism: beyond rectification or compensation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 35**,** 1266-1286. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2011.600767

Araújo, M. & Maeso, S. R. *(2015). Eurocentrism, Racism and Knowledge:Debates on History and Power in Europe and the Americas, Basingtoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2016.1186812*

Blaut, J. M. *(1993). The colonizer's model of the world: geographical diffusionism and eurocentric history, New York: Guilford Press.*

Børhaug, K. & Christophersen, J. *(2012). Autoriserte samfunnsbilder: kritisk tenking i samfunnskunnskap, Bergen, Fagbokforlaget.*

Chakrabarty, D. (2008). *Provincializing Europe: postcolonial thought and historical difference.* [New ed.]. ed. Princeton, N. J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Clavin, P. (2010). Time, Manner, Place: Writing Modern European History in Global, Transnational and International Contexts. *European History Quarterly*, 40(4), 624-640. doi:10.1177/0265691410376497

Conrad, S., (2016). *What is global history?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Eidsvik, E. (2012). Colonial discourse and ambivalence: Norwegian participants on the colonial arena in South Africa. In: Loftsdóttir, K. & Jensen, L. (eds.) *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region: Exceptionalism, Migrant Others and National Identities.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Eikeland, H. (2004). *Historieundervisning og interkulturell læring: en analyse av norske og tyske læreplaner, norske lærebøker og av erfaringer fra norsk skole*. Tønsberg: Høgskolen i Vestfold. [Online]. Available: http://wwwbib.hive.no/tekster/hveskrift/rapport/200408/rapp8_2004.pdf [Accessed 14.02.2019].

Eriksen, K. G. (2018a). Teaching About the Other in Primary Level Social Studies: The Sami in Norwegian Textbook. *JSSE-Journal of Social Science Education*, 2, 57-67. doi: 10.4119/UNIBI/jsse-v17-i2-1697

Eriksen, T. L. (2018b). Den glemte verdenskrigen. *Transit Magasin Det globale perspektivet* [Online]. Available: https://transitmag.no/2018/11/27/den-glemte-verdenskrigen/?fbclid=IwAR1BW46jN7LwGCEL1Moc--PYFYg6H3PSAN6KNcFjtwIhK4sXSf203ezOgoY [Accessed 06.12.2018].

Fanon, F. (1997). *Svart hud, vita masker,* Göteborg: Daidalos.

Fossum, J. E. (2012). Europeisk transformasjon - utfordring for nasjonale selvbilder. *In:* Solhaug, T., Børhaug, K., Stugu, O. S. & Hauuqaløkken, O. K. (eds.) *Skolen, nasjonen og medborgaren.* Trondheim: Tapir akademisk forlag.

Fylkesnes, S. (2019). Whiteness in teacher education discourses: An analysis of the discursive usage and meaning making of the term cultural diversity. Ph.D, OsloMet Oslo Metropolitan University.

Gullestad, M. (2002). *Det norske sett med nye øyne: kritisk analyse av norsk*

innvandringsdebatt, Oslo, Universitetsforlaget.

Gullestad, M. (2006). *Plausible prejudice: everyday experiences and social images of nation, culture and race*, Oslo, Universitetsforlaget.

Helgason, T. & Lässig, S. (2009). *Opening the Mind or Drawing Boundaries? History Texts in Nordic Schools,* Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Hellerud, S. V. & Moen, S. (2006). *Matriks 8 Historie*, Oslo: Aschehoug.

Hellerud, S. V., Moen, S. & Knutsen, K. (2007). *Matriks 9 Historie*, Oslo: Aschehoug.

Iggers, G. (1995) Historicism – the history and meaning of the term. *Journal of Historical Ideas,* 56, 129-152.

Jackson, A. (2016). *The British Empire and the First World War*, London & New York: Routledge.

Keskinen, S., Tuori, S. & Mulinari, D. (2009). *Complying with Colonialism:* Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Kohn, M., & Reddy, K. (2017), *Colonialism, In:* Edward N. Zalta (ed) *The Standford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2017 Edition),*URL: https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/colonialism/

Kjerland, K. A. & Rio, K. M. (2009). *Kolonitid: nordmenn på eventyr og big business i Afrika og Stillehavet*, Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press.

Koritzinsky, T. (2014). *Samfunnskunnskap: fagdidaktisk innføring*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Kunnskapsdepartementet, (2013). *Læreplan i samfunnsfag (SAF1-03)*. *In:*Kunnskapsdepartementet (ed.). Oslo.

Loftsdóttir, K. (2009a). Deconstructing he Eurocentric Perspective: Studying "Us" and the "Other" in History Books. In: Helgason, T. & Lässig, S. (eds.) *Opening the mind or drawing boundaries. History texts in Nordic schools*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Loftsdóttir, K. (2009b). Encountering Others in Icelandic Textbooks: Imperialism And Racial Diversity in the Era of Nationalism. In: Helgason, T. & Lässig, S.(eds.) *Opening the mind or drawing boundaries - History texts in Nordic schools.* Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Loftsdóttir, K. & Jensen, L. (2012). *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region: Exceptionalism, Migrant Others and National Identities*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Lorentzen, G. & Røthing, Å. (2017). Demokrati og kritisk tenkning i lærebøker.

Norsk pedagogisk Tidskrift, 02/2017, 119–130. doi: 10.18261/issn.1504-2987 2017-02-02

Lorentzen, S. (2005). *Ja, vi elsker: skolebøkene som nasjonsbyggere 1814-2000*, Oslo, Abstrakt forlag.

Lozic, V. (2010). *I historiekanons skugga: historieämne och identifikations-formering i 2000-talets mångkulturella samhälle*. Doktogradsavhandling, Lunds Universitet.

Marks, R. (2007). *The origins of the modern world: a global and ecological narrative from the fifteenth to the twenty-first century*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Midtbøen, A. H., Orupabo, J. & Røthing, Å. (2014). *Beskrivelser av etniske og religiøse minoriteter i læremidler*. Institutt for samfunnsforskning.

Mikander, P. (2015). Colonialist "discoveries" in Finnish school textbooks. Nordidactica–Journal of Humanities and Social Science education 2015:4**,** 48-65.

Mikander, P. (2016). Globalization as Continuing Colonialism–Critical Global Citizenship Education in an Unequal World. *JSSE-Journal of Social Science Education,* 15, 70-79. doi: 10.4119/UNIBI/jsse-v15-i2-1475

Morrow, J. H. (2014). *The Great War: an imperial history*, New York: Routledge.

Paice, E. (2008). *World War I: the African front,* New York: Pegasus Books.

Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America. *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1, 533-580. doi: 10.1177/0263580900015002005

Röder, D. (2017). A Forgotten Global History of WW1: Prisoners of War and the Role of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Ideas for the History Classroom. *International Journal of History Didactics, History Education and History Culture, Yearbook 38*. Hentet fra https://yearbook-ishd.wochenschau-verlag.de/issues.htm

Rüsen, J. (2004). How to Overcome Ethnocentrism: Approaches to a Culture of Recognition by History in the Twenty-First Century. *History and Theory*, 43, 118 129. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2303.2004.00301.x

Røthing, Å. (2014). "Er de sinte eller vil de høre hva jeg har å si?" Utsatthet, majoritetsperspektiv og etiske utfordringer i klasserommet. In: Afdal, G., Røthing, Å. & Schjetene, E. (eds.) *Empirisk etikk i pedagogiske praksiser: artikulasjon, forstyrrelse, ekspansjon*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm akademisk.

Røthing, Å. (2015). Rasisme som tema i norsk skole - Analyser av læreplaner og lærebøker og perspektiver på undervisning. *Norsk pedagogisk tidsskrift*, 99, 72-83.

Røthing, Å. & Svendsen, S. B. 2011. Sexuality in Norwegian textbooks: constructing and controlling ethnic borders? *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 34**,** 1953

1973. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2011.560275

Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism,* New York: Vintage Books

Schissler, H. & Soysal, Y. N. L. (2005). *The nation, Europe, and the world:* textbooks and curricula in transition. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Selander, S. & Skjelbred, D. (2004). *Pedagogiske tekster for kommunikasjon og læring,* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Slagstad, R. (2015). *De nasjonale strateger,* Oslo: Pax.

Sleeter, C. & Grant, C. A. (2011). Race, class, gender, and disability in current textbooks. In: Provenzo, E. F., Shaver, A. N. & Bello, M. (eds.) *The textbook as discourse: sociocultural dimensions of American schoolbooks.* New York: Routledge.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Basingstoke: Macmillan.