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# **Representation of the Global South Countries in the Educational History Books in Finland.**

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## Abstract

Respecting cultural diversity is crucial in multicultural societies, especially given rising xenophobia and racism in Finland. This growing anti-immigrant sentiment emphasizes the importance of this research, highlighting the need for politically and academically inclusive discussions on multiculturalism and racism. This research addresses Eurocentric narratives supporting a Western-centric view, often reinforcing biases, and marginalizing other perspectives. Correcting these one-sided stories in an educational context can foster a more inclusive understanding of global history.

This dissertation aims to evaluate how fifth- and sixth-grade history textbooks in Finland represent Global South regions and countries, focusing on development-related themes. The study examines Eurocentrism in these textbooks by analysing language and discourse through cultural and decolonial studies, using the World System History approach for a broader context. The aim is to offer suggestions for improving the representation of Global South countries, promoting a more inclusive and balanced historical narrative. The methodological framework combines historical inquiry, cultural studies, and decolonial studies with content and discourse analysis to examine how Global South countries are portrayed and how historical roots and power dynamics influence these narratives.

The study finds that Finnish history textbooks for fifth and sixth grades include references to the Global South, covering regions like China, India, the Middle East, and South America. This inclusion provides a broader perspective on world history, challenging some Eurocentric narratives. The textbooks suggest that early civilizations were interconnected by focusing on ancient trade routes and cultural exchanges, illustrating that different parts of the world have been connected throughout history, culminating in the Modern Ages and unprecedented globalization. This promotes a more inclusive understanding of historical development, even though some Eurocentric elements remain, as the focus still tends to highlight Western perspectives and achievements.

However, a significant gap exists in the representation of African history, with textbooks primarily focusing on ancient Egypt and the transatlantic slave trade, overlooking other crucial aspects of Africa's past. This lack of representation has implications for understanding global history and can reinforce Eurocentric perspectives. By omitting critical parts of African history, these textbooks miss an opportunity to present a more balanced view, contributing to broader issues like racism in Finland. To address these shortcomings, more inclusive approaches that decolonize the mind from Eurocentric biases are needed. This involves integrating a wider range of historical narratives and emphasizing the contributions of diverse cultures, allowing for a more equitable and comprehensive portrayal of global history.

## Tiivistelmä

Nykyajan monikulttuurisessa yhteiskunnassa kulttuurisen monimuotoisuuden ymmärtäminen ja kunnioittaminen on välttämätöntä. Maahanmuuttajavastaisuuden, muukalaisvihan ja rasismien lisääntyminen Suomessa korostaa tämän tutkimuksen tarvetta, ja on merkittävää, että poliittisesti ja akateemisesti kannustetaan inklusiivisempaan keskusteluun koskien monikulttuurisuutta ja rasismia. Eurooppa-keskeiset eli eurosentriset narratiivit luovat usein yksipuolisia tarinoita, jotka edistävät länsikeskeistä historiallista näkemystä, vahvistavat negatiivisia ennakkoesiintymiä ja marginalisoivat muita näkökulmia. Näiden ei kuulujen näkökulmien käsitteleminen koulutuksen yhteydessä voi auttaa korjaamaan näitä vääristymiä sekä edistämään kokonaisvaltaisempaa ymmärrystä maailmanhistoriasta.

Edellä esitetty tavoite lähtökohtana, tässä tutkimuksessa pyritään arvioimaan, missä määrin suomalaiset viidennen ja kuudennen luokan historian oppikirjat kuvaavat globaalin etelän alueita ja maita, tutkien kehitykseen liittyviä merkityksiä ja niiden representaatioita. Tutkimuksessa arvioidaan eurosentrismin laajuutta näissä oppikirjoissa analysoimalla kieltä ja diskurssia kulttuurin ja dekoloniaalisen tutkimuksen avulla, käyttäen Maailmanjärjestelmän Historia (World System History) lähestymistapaa osana laajempaa kontekstia. Tavoitteena on tarjota ehdotuksia globaalin etelän maiden representaation parantamiseksi edistämällä inklusiivisempia ja tasapainoisempia historiallisia kertomuksia. Tutkimuksen metodologinen viitekehys yhdistää historiallisen tutkimuksen, kulttuurin ja dekoloniaalisen tutkimuksen, sekä sisältö- ja diskurssianalyysin. Analyysissä tutkitaan, miten globaaliin etelään kuuluvia maita on kuvattu ja miten historialliset juuret, ja vallan dynamiikka vaikuttavat näihin kuvauksiin.

Tutkimustulokset osoittavat, että viidennen ja kuudennen luokan historian oppikirjat sisältävät viittauksia globaaliin etelään kattaen muun muassa Kiinan, Intian, Lähi-idän ja Etelä-Amerikan. Tämä inklusio tarjoaa laajemman näkökulman maailmanhistoriaan ja haastaa joitakin eurosentrisiä narratiiveja. Oppikirjoissa kerrotaan, että varhaiset sivilisaatiot olivat yhteydessä toisiinsa muinaisten kauppateiden kautta, jolloin kulttuurit, tavat ja tiedot liikkuvat paikasta toiseen. Kirjojen kerronta havainnollistaa, että eri puolilla maailmaa on ollut yhteyksiä kautta historian, mikä on huipentunut nykyaikaan ja ennennäkemättömään globalisaatioon. Tämä kerronta edistää laajempaa ymmärrystä historiallisesta kehityksestä. Kuitenkin eurosentrisiä elementtejä on jäljellä, koska kerronnan painopiste on edelleen vahvasti länsimaisten näkökulmien ja saavutusten korostamisessa.

Erityisesti Afrikan historian esittämisessä on merkittäviä aukkoja oppikirjojen keskittyessä lähes ainoastaan muinaiseen Egyptiin ja transatlanttiseen orjakauppaan, sivuuttaen muut Afrikan menneisyyden kannalta merkittävät historialliset tapahtumat ja näkökohdat. Tämä representaation puute vaikuttaa globaalin historian ymmärtämiseen ja voi vahvistaa eurosentrisiä näkökulmia. Jättämällä pois suuren osan Afrikan historiasta, oppikirjat menettävät mahdollisuuden tasapainoisemman näkemyksen luomiseen, mikä osaltaan voi edistää rasismien kaltaisia laajempia haasteita Suomessa. Näiden puutteiden korjaamiseksi tarvitaan inklusiivisempia lähestymistapoja, jotka auttavat irtautumaan liiallisesta eurosentrisestä ajattelutavasta ja ennakkoluuloista. Irtautuminen edellyttäisi laajempaa ja monipuolisempaa historiallisten kertomusten yhdistämistä ja eri kulttuurien, niiden historian ja kehityksen huomioimista. Tämä mahdollistaisi oikeudenmukaisemman ja kattavamman kuvauksen globaalista historiasta.

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>Tiivistelmä</b>	<b>4</b>	
<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>5</b>	
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>7</b>	
<b>1.1 Background and the Significance of the Study</b>	<b>7</b>	
<b>1.2 Research Questions and the Structure of the Study</b>	<b>10</b>	
<b>2 Theoretical Framework</b>	<b>12</b>	
<b>2.1 World System History</b>	<b>13</b>	
2.1.1 The World System History Approach	14	
2.1.2 The Critique of the World System History Approach	17	
<b>2.2 Cultural and Decolonial Studies</b>	<b>17</b>	
<b>2.3 Conceptual Toolbox</b>	<b>19</b>	
2.3.1 Development as a Concept	19	
2.3.1.1 Development in the sense of Modernization		20
2.3.1.2 The Critique of Rostow’s Model		22
2.3.2 The Global South		22
2.3.3 Eurocentrism and “Othering”		24
2.3.3.1 Eurocentric Historical Narratives		25
2.3.3.2 Challenging Eurocentrism in Education		26
2.3.4 Representation and Problem of One-sided Knowledge		27
2.3.5 Racism and its Different Forms		28
2.3.5.1 Historical Roots of Racism and Slavery		29
2.3.5.2 Racism in Education and Curriculum Bias		30
2.3.6 Decolonization of Mind and Counter-narratives		31
<b>3 Methodology</b>	<b>33</b>	
<b>3.1 Research Design</b>	<b>33</b>	
<b>3.2 Data Collection Procedures</b>	<b>34</b>	
3.2.1 Content and Discourse Analysis		34
3.2.2 Sampling		35
3.2.3 Selection of the Books and Data Collection		36
3.2.4 Ethical and Other Considerations		38
<b>3.3 Coding and Analysis of the Data</b>	<b>39</b>	
3.3.1 Coding Approach		40
3.3.2 Initial Coding		41
3.3.3 Thematic Coding		42
<b>4 Analysis Results</b>	<b>47</b>	
<b>4.1 The Global South</b>	<b>48</b>	
<b>4.2 Progress and Development</b>	<b>49</b>	
4.2.1 The Bronze Age		50
4.2.1.1 High Cultures of Mesopotamia and Egypt		50
4.2.1.2 High Cultures of China, Indus, and America		52
4.2.2 Ancient Period and the Middle Ages		53
4.2.2.1 Ancient Greece and Roman Empire		53
4.2.2.2 The Middle Ages		55
4.2.3 The Beginning of the Modern Age		56
4.2.3.1 The end of the Middle Ages		56

4.2.3.2	The Age of Discoveries or Raids?	58
4.2.3.3	The American Occupation and Exploitation	59
4.2.3.4	African Slave Trade	60
<b>4.3</b>	<b>Interconnectedness and Hegemony Changes</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>4.4</b>	<b>Portrayal of the Global South countries</b>	<b>65</b>
4.4.1	Othering through Language Choices	65
4.4.2	Slavery and Inequality in relation to Racism	67
<b>5</b>	<b>Discussion</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>5.1</b>	<b>Main Findings Concerning the Representation of the Global South</b>	<b>70</b>
5.1.1	The Lack of African History	72
5.1.2	History through the World System History Approach	73
<b>5.2</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>74</b>
	<b>References</b>	<b>76</b>
	<b>Appendices</b>	<b>84</b>
	<b>Appendix 1</b>	<b>84</b>
	<b>Appendix 2</b>	<b>84</b>
	<b>Appendix 3</b>	<b>86</b>
	<b>Appendix 4</b>	<b>87</b>
	<b>Appendix 5</b>	<b>87</b>
	<b>Appendix 6</b>	<b>88</b>
	<b>Appendix 7</b>	<b>89</b>
	<b>Appendix 8</b>	<b>90</b>
	<b>Appendix 9</b>	<b>91</b>
	<b>Appendix 10</b>	<b>92</b>
	<b>Appendix 11</b>	<b>94</b>

# 1 Introduction

In increasingly diverse and multicultural contemporary societies, understanding other cultures and respecting diversity are paramount issues. However, multiculturalism and discussions about diversity in education are relatively new in Finland, highlighting the necessity for comprehensive work across various educational fronts. In a TED talk, Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2009) discussed the dangers of a single story, where one-sided narratives, often told from a Western and Eurocentric perspective, shape a narrow view of reality. Adichie highlighted how these stories, told by outsiders, lead to misunderstanding, and perpetuate stereotypes, robbing people of their dignity and obscuring the recognition of equality. Her words resonated with me when I was teaching fifth-grade history and realized how limited the focus on Global South regions is on history textbooks. These books prioritize a European perspective and only mention other regions when directly linked to European history. Although, understandably, textbook content for children aged 10 to 12 cannot be too extensive to remain accessible and relatable. However, the minimal coverage of non-European cultures seemed problematic, reflecting a broader Eurocentric bias in educational materials. Therefore, the purpose of this dissertation is to evaluate the extent to which fifth and sixth-grade history textbooks in Finland depict the regions and countries of the Global South, what meaning is given to development, and what kind of imagery is represented. Additionally, I consider whether these depictions might contain racist viewpoints and how they could affect young people's perceptions of contemporary Global South cultures and their people.

## 1.1 Background and the Significance of the Study

The ongoing anti-immigrant, xenophobic, and racist climate in media and many European societies, including Finland, particularly after the recent economic crisis, also motivated me to pursue this research. Therefore, a more comprehensive and in-depth discussion of multiculturalism and racism appeared not only as a political but also as a scholarly imperative (Dervin et al., 2015). In Finland, racism research has gained attention since the early 21st century (Keskinen et al., 2021), with recent issues and reports highlighting its prevalence even further. In 2023, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) ranked Finland as one of the most racist countries in Western Europe, with over 40% of respondents of people of African descent experiencing racist harassment in the past five years. More than 50 percent of those surveyed reported experiencing racial discrimination in the year preceding the survey and more than 60 percent in the five years (European Union

Agency for Fundamental Rights., 2023). The result of the study continues the same pattern as the FRA report published in 2018 that states racist harassment, such as offensive gestures, comments, and threats, is experienced most by Africans living in Finland (Keski-Heikkilä, 2023; Sulasma, 2018). This direction is evident in various aspects of Finnish society, from the game of Star of Africa controversy to conflicts over the use of racist language in literature, art, and sports events (Mäntylä, 2021; Parikka, 2021). Therefore, it is essential that research must be continued and expanded to combat harmful racist attitudes in Finland.

In addition, recent revelations of racist and inappropriate remarks and writings made by Finnish government officials, including ministers, on social media have highlighted systemic issues. Several government policies have also been perceived as discriminatory against minorities. In response, the Finnish government (Valtioneuvosto, 2023) published a communication acknowledging these problems and proposing measures to combat hate speech, address systemic inequalities, and promote a greater understanding of racism. This includes extending the Equal Finland Action Plan from the 2021 Government Programme, focusing on reducing discrimination in areas like employment and education. This research is central to these discussions as the Trade Union for Education has commented on this action plan, stating that equality in early childhood education, schools, and educational institutions would become a more integral part of everyday life and operating culture if, instead of separate equality plans, their contents had been included in the curricula and the basics of the degree (Lahtinen & Hietanen-Tanskanen, 2023). Therefore, it is essential to incorporate themes related to equality and non-discrimination into the curriculum from the first grades of elementary schools more effectively and diversely than previously.

Within the educational system, textbooks are central in socializing young people into societal norms, cultures, and civilizations. They also contribute to forming perceptions of self and others, often through historical narratives and societal roles that reflect a specific worldview. The way textbooks represent different cultures and countries can be complex, involving political and cultural influences. They often aim to depict a society in a favourable light on a global scale, which may lead to biased or skewed portrayals of different groups (Dervin et al., 2015; Foster, 2011; Issitt, 2004). The importance of textbooks in Finland is evident as teachers often prioritize textbooks over curriculum guidelines, although variations exist across subjects (Atjonen, 2008; Heinonen, 2005). Although teachers also use teacher guides and other sources of information in teaching, textbooks still serve as the

main source for students. All writing, including educational textbooks, cannot be objective since they reflect their authors' background, culture, nationality, and political views. Because textbooks embody a society's prevailing values, ideologies, and biases, they are never completely neutral either, influencing the content and approach of educational materials. Textbook production is influenced by political and economic factors, with publishers seeking to create widely accepted and commercially successful products while avoiding controversy. Authors collaborate with editors appointed by publishing companies, but final decisions on content often rest with editors, leading to uncertainties about including specific material (Pingel, 2010; Williams & Bokhorst-Heng, 2016). As a result, research on textbooks becomes a crucial field of study. It provides insights into how cultural representation and societal ideals are conveyed through educational materials. It helps to understand the broader implications of textbook content for shaping the perceptions and beliefs of future generations.

The representation of Global South countries in Finnish educational materials, in this case history textbooks, in fifth and sixth grades, is crucial since these texts play a significant role in affecting students' worldviews and socio-political attitudes. Representation encompasses a broad range of meanings, but at its core, it involves using language or symbols to convey something meaningful about the world or to depict it in a way that others can understand (Hall et al., 2013). In politics, representation encompasses the diversity and voices of citizens within political systems (Pitkin, 1972). In education, representation extends to how individuals, groups, and cultures are portrayed in educational materials (Irwin, 2012). In this study, representation refers to portraying and depicting the Global South countries, their histories, and their peoples in educational materials. It encompasses what is included and omitted, the language used, and the perspectives presented. As textbooks are often the first formal source through which children learn about global history, they are critical in shaping young minds. However, these materials can perpetuate biases and stereotypes, as narratives from Global South countries may be marginalized or misrepresented. Simultaneously, textbooks may reinforce Eurocentric perspectives while "othering" non-Western cultures, often depicting them as inferior or less progressive. This misrepresentation can affect students' perceptions of global diversity, leading to cultural misunderstandings and even racist attitudes. Thus, examining these textbooks' content to identify and address these biases is essential for fostering a more balanced and equitable approach to teaching history.

## 1.2 Research Questions and the Structure of the Study

This dissertation analyses the extent to which the representations concerning the Global South are accurate, fair, and inclusive in these educational textbooks while considering potential biases and stereotypes that may be perpetuated. The analysis contributes to the broader discourse on decolonizing education, emphasizing the need for culturally sensitive, diverse, and equitable curricula (Smith, 2012). This study's theoretical framework is grounded in cultural and decolonial studies and the World System History (WSH) approach. Cultural studies critically examine how culture influences and reflects societal norms, identities, and power dynamics, focusing on representation and issues of race and ethnicity (During, 2005; Hall, 1997). Decolonial studies, on the other hand, challenge the legacies of colonialism, including Eurocentrism and racism, advocating for reclaiming indigenous knowledge and worldviews (Mignolo, 2005; Smith, 2012). Both fields converge in critically examining cultural texts and representations that impact marginalized and colonized communities. The WSH approach, as articulated by Frank and Gills (2006), aims to transcend Eurocentrism in global history by emphasizing the significant historical contributions of regions outside Europe. This approach seeks to create a more inclusive perspective on world history, challenging traditional Eurocentric narratives and acknowledging the diversity of human experience and development. The main objectives of the research are as follows:

1. Analyse the content of selected history textbooks used in Finnish primary schools by examining the language and discourse surrounding Global South countries within the teaching materials.
2. Apply a cultural and decolonial studies approach to understand how cultural elements are represented.
3. Explore the findings specifically through the lens of the WSH approach and Eurocentrism.
4. Provide suggestions for enhancing the representation of Global South countries in Finnish primary school history education materials.

Following the objectives above, the main research question explores the prevailing representations of Global South countries in Finnish primary school history teaching materials. The sub-research questions are:

1. How can the history textbook materials be seen through the lens of the WSH approach, and could the approach extend the narrative of history?
2. Do the teaching materials reflect a Eurocentric and Western-centric perspective when presenting Global South countries' history?
3. What historical events and periods are emphasized in the materials representing Global South countries?
4. Are issues related to racism manifested in the representations of Global South countries in Finnish teaching materials?
5. Are there any notable omissions or silences in the representation of Global South countries in Finnish teaching materials?
6. How can the WSH approach and cultural, and decolonial studies provide a new lens to understand and address these issues?

The following section explores the theoretical framework, combining the World System History approach, cultural studies, and decolonial studies, which form the foundation for this study's exploration of development and representation in educational materials. The following paragraphs define the key concepts relevant to studying Finnish history textbooks, providing context for the analysis. These concepts include development, the Global South, Eurocentrism, representation, the problem of one-sided knowledge, racism, and decolonization of the mind. The methodology section covers study design, data collection methods, and data coding and analysis processes. The analysis revolves around six code groups: Countries and Continents, Development, Concentration of Prosperity, Global Interconnectedness, Slavery, and Inequality. In the results section, these code groups guide the presentation of research findings. Finally, the discussion and conclusion sections summarize the key findings and discuss their implications for promoting a more balanced and inclusive representation of world history in Finnish educational systems.

## 2 Theoretical Framework

There has been an increasing recognition of the importance of diverse and inclusive educational materials in fostering global citizenship and intercultural understanding. However, despite these efforts, research indicates that educational textbooks often fail to adequately represent Global South countries' histories and cultures. Furthermore, the influence of such textbooks extends beyond the classroom, shaping broader societal perceptions and attitudes towards these regions. International research highlights that school textbooks, including those in subjects like geography, history, and social studies, have historically reflected prejudices despite a decline in overt racism since the 1960s (Marsden, 2001). These textbooks can perpetuate harmful stereotypes and biases even when not explicitly offensive while holding a unique position as they are widely distributed and legitimized by state apparatuses. Studies have revealed a tendency for textbooks to adopt a Eurocentric or Western-centric perspective, portraying non-Western peoples as the antithesis of progressive Europeans. Descriptions of Europe often emphasize positive aspects like the Renaissance and democracy while overlooking harmful elements like colonialism and genocide (Dervin et al., 2015). Such findings prompt a critical examination of the representation and development of Global South countries within Finnish educational history textbooks to assess whether they reinforce Eurocentric views.

Research on different cultural representations of diversities in Finnish textbooks is quite limited, but existing studies highlight various concerns. *"Diversities and Interculturality in Textbooks: Finland as an Example"* by Hahl, Niemi, Longfor, and Dervin offers a comprehensive examination of the role of education in fostering international and intercultural understanding, drawing on insights from various school subjects. This collection of articles delves into previously relatively little-researched areas of textbook analysis, shedding light on how Finnish school textbooks perpetuate ideologies and discourses of nationhood through explicit content and implicit associations. One article ponders the portrayal of the West and Western values in geography, history, and social studies textbooks, advocating for critical questioning and dialogue to challenge stereotypical views. The reproduction of "us vs. them" dynamics in intercultural and interreligious education materials, urging teachers to be vigilant against silent ideologies and stereotypes, is discussed. Studies also found that certain groups, such as sexual minorities and the Roma community, are often excluded or underrepresented in textbooks, reflecting power dynamics in society. Dervin et al. (2015) also critique upper secondary history textbooks for

providing contradictory and incoherent depictions of other cultures and Finnishness, questioning their effectiveness in fostering critical thinking about alternative worldviews. These studies underscore the importance of addressing diversity, critical thinking, and inclusive representation in Finnish educational materials.

This section introduces the World System History (WSH) approach, developed by Frank and Gills (2006) in their work *"The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?"* The World System History (WSH) approach offers a broader global perspective, tracing interconnectedness patterns and hegemonic shifts over approximately 5,000 years. This thesis adopts the WSH framework as its primary theoretical basis, focusing on the global interconnectedness and hegemonic transitions that have shaped history. I will discuss this approach in more detail, explaining how it guides the re-writing of history from a world system perspective. The paragraph then shifts to a critique of the WSH approach from the perspectives of cultural and decolonial studies, addressing their concerns about the underemphasis of cultural aspects and the Eurocentric tendencies of traditional frameworks. Following this critique, the section introduces these fields as complementary theoretical frameworks for the research. Finally, the conceptual toolbox for the study is outlined, covering key terms and concepts like development, Global South, Eurocentrism, representation, problematic one-sided stories, racism, decolonization of the mind, and counter-narratives. These terms are discussed in contexts relevant to the research, particularly historical narratives, and educational materials.

## **2.1 World System History**

The Modern Era, beginning in the 16th century, witnessed the rise of modernization, industrial development, and capitalism, primarily in the Western world. This era, often marked by exploration and global interconnectedness, is considered the start of the contemporary world system, with global capitalism as a key element. As a result, the origins of the current world system and its development are commonly traced to this period (Heller, 2011; Steger, 2003; Wallerstein, 1974). The World System History (WSH) approach, by Frank and Gills (2006), offers a broader perspective on global history, spanning about 5,000 years. It aims to move beyond Eurocentric views by focusing on the interconnectedness of human societies, core-periphery relationships, and the effects of colonialism, imperialism, and globalization. Underdevelopment theory, also associated with Frank (1971), shares similarities with WSH by addressing global inequalities and acknowledging disparities between developed and underdeveloped nations. While both approaches explore systemic

global development, WSH takes a longer-term, global perspective on historical and contemporary power dynamics (Frank & Gills, 2006; Manning et al., 2011). Both approaches suggest that poverty in developing countries is rooted in historical exploitation by colonial powers, creating a cycle where development in some regions comes at the expense of underdevelopment in others, as resources are extracted from underdeveloped areas to benefit developed ones (Koponen et al., 2018; Manning et al., 2011).

Frank and Gills (2006) adopt a Marxist historical materialist perspective and challenge Wallerstein's (1974) World-System Theory, viewing the modern world as a global system with interconnected economic, political, and cultural dynamics, categorizing regions into core, semi-periphery, and periphery. The WSH approach and World-System Theory, influenced by Marxist historical materialism, apply class analysis and modes of production to a global context, focusing on how wealth and power are concentrated and redistributed. These theories explore the transition from feudal or agrarian societies to industrial capitalism, driven by merchant capital and trade networks, and analyse the inherent inequalities and exploitation that arise from these shifts in the global economic system (Harvey, 2006, 2010; Marx & Engels, 2017). However, while Wallerstein's theory credits European capitalism as the primary driver of global development, suggesting it originated in 16th-century Europe through colonial expansion, Frank and Gills (2006) argue that a broader Afro-Eurasian world system existed 5,000 years ago, with Europe's rise in the 16th century as part of an existing Asia-centred system. They contend that early processes of global capitalism were present in societies outside Europe, challenging the notion that capitalism emerged solely through European colonialism or the Industrial Revolution. This perspective reframes Europe's role in global history, suggesting that its dominance was part of a larger pattern of global interconnectedness. Regions like China and India, historically dynamic economic systems, are regaining prominence as colonial structures fade, indicating a shift towards a more balanced world system (Frank & Gills, 2006; Koponen et al., 2018).

### 2.1.1 The World System History Approach

One of the critical themes of the WSH approach is global hegemony and the concentration of wealth. Frank and Gills (2006) argue that these have existed throughout history, well before the modern era and the beginning of the 1500s. According to them, forms of globalization, characterized by extensive trade, cultural exchanges, and the flow of goods and ideas, were evident in pre-modern eras. These periods of globalization were often associated with the rise of hegemonic powers. Frank and Gills contend that throughout

history, hegemony has shifted across various regions. As a result, different areas or states have achieved hegemonic positions of dominance in the global system. These periods of hegemony are marked by economic and political supremacy and cultural influence. Frank and Gills state that these cycles of hegemony have occurred repeatedly over millennia, with one region or civilization rising to prominence and eventually being replaced by another. Some areas they suggest have held hegemonic positions at different points include Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt and China, the Roman Empire, the Islamic Caliphates, the Mongol and the Ottoman Empires, China's Qing Dynasty, the British Empire, and most recently, the United States.

According to Frank and Gills (2006), early civilizations in Mesopotamia, such as Sumer and Babylon, achieved regional hegemony in the ancient world, particularly in developing writing and early urbanization. Ancient Egypt is considered a significant hegemonic power in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East, with its cultural, political, and economic influence extending across the region. Several Chinese dynasties during the ancient times are highlighted as periods of Chinese hegemony, particularly in East Asia, when China played a central role in regional trade and diplomacy. The Roman Empire is noted for its hegemonic position in the Mediterranean and Western Europe, with vast territorial control and considerable cultural influence. The Islamic Caliphates are seen as having achieved regional hegemony in the Islamic world, fostering intellectual and cultural advancements. The Pax Mongolia, established during the rule of the Mongol Empire in the 13th century, is highlighted as a period of hegemony that facilitated global trade and cultural exchange. The rise of the Ottoman Empire in the 14th century represented a significant shift in the global political and economic landscape. The Ottoman Empire is recognized as having achieved hegemonic status, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean and parts of Europe, during its height in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Qing Dynasty is noted for its dominance in East Asia and its role as a significant global trading power during the 17th and 18th centuries. The British Empire's period of hegemony in the 19th century is acknowledged for its global reach and influence.

Frank and Gills (2006) focus on the dynamic structure of the global system, emphasizing the distribution of power and wealth among core and periphery regions. Core regions accumulate wealth by exploiting peripheral regions through economic relationships, trade, and resource extraction, reinforcing a pattern of unequal development. This dynamic often results in peripheral regions remaining underdeveloped and dependent on the core. Frank

and Gills illustrate how this core-periphery structure has persisted throughout history due to economic exploitation and unequal exchange. They also emphasize the significance of the Afro-Eurasian landmass in facilitating global exchanges between East and West. This area, encompassing Africa, Europe, and Asia, hosted crucial trade routes that facilitated the exchange of goods, ideas, and cultures across vast regions. Frank and Gills stress the role of transregional trade networks in linking different regions, exemplified by the trade of luxury goods, spices, and other commodities between Asia, Africa, and Europe in antiquity and the medieval period. Central to this network was the Silk Road, connecting China with the Mediterranean and other parts of Asia and enabling the trade of luxury goods, spices, and cultural influences. Other central trade routes Frank and Gills mention include the Trans-Saharan, the Indian Ocean, and various land and maritime routes in the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean and Indian Ocean regions were especially significant in early global interactions, as trade and cultural exchange conduits connecting different civilizations and regions.

The approach acknowledges cultural elements, technologies, and knowledge diffusion across civilizations. Frank and Gills (2006) argue that civilizations in different parts of the world influenced each other, leading to the exchange of innovations and ideas. According to them, the emergence of early empires played a crucial role in facilitating trade and cultural exchange across large territories. Major trade centres, such as Constantinople and the Indian subcontinent, including regions such as the Indus Valley, played a central role in early global trade and served as centres for cultural exchange, bringing together people and goods from diverse regions. Some prominent civilizations and cultures Frank and Gills mention include Islamic, Chinese, and African civilizations, Byzantine, Maya, Aztec, and Inca Empires. The Islamic world played a central role in early global interactions, with significant contributions in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and philosophy. China was a major cultural and economic centre known for innovations such as papermaking, printing, and the magnetic compass. Several African civilizations were pivotal in the trans-Saharan trade and contributed to global interactions. The Byzantine Empire was a bridge between East and West, facilitating trade and cultural exchange. Early American civilizations like the Maya, Aztecs, and Inca had advanced cultures, trade networks, and architectural achievements. (Frank & Gills, 2006)

### 2.1.2 The Critique of the World System History Approach

The World System Theory and WSH approach have been criticized for overemphasizing economic factors, which some argue makes them overly deterministic (Harvey, 2006). Additionally, scholars in cultural and decolonial studies have raised concerns about Eurocentrism and the failure to adequately address local cultural dynamics and social agency. This criticism has risen, especially in decolonial studies, as some scholars argue that the approach may not adequately address the Eurocentric biases and perspectives embedded in the interpretation of global history. Scholars contend that the approach should go further in decentring Western perspectives and recognizing the contributions of non-European regions (Mignolo, 2005; Said, 1978). Some decolonial scholars also argue that paradigms such as The World System History approach should be more inclusive of non-Western knowledge production and systems (Smith, 2012). Cultural studies have criticized the World System History (WSH) approach for often overlooking the cultural aspects of global interactions. Traditional frameworks like world system theory focus on economic and political structures, neglecting the complex cultural dynamics crucial to understanding global history (Dirlik, 2018). Both cultural and decolonial studies emphasize the central role of culture in shaping worldviews, identities, and global dynamics while seeking more inclusive and diverse representation and understanding of the world system. Both fields also critique The World System History approach for its potential neglect of the experiences of marginalized and colonized communities (During, 2005; Smith, 2012). At the same time, they highlight the need for a more comprehensive understanding of how power operates within the world system.

## 2.2 Cultural and Decolonial Studies

While distinct fields, cultural studies, and decolonial studies share notable similarities in their intellectual pursuits and critical perspectives. Both cultural and decolonial studies are dynamic and interdisciplinary fields of inquiry that intersect in examining culture, representation, and power dynamics. Cultural studies, a multifaceted discipline that emerged in the mid-20th century, critically investigates the role of culture in shaping and reflecting societal norms, identities, and social structures (Hall, 1997). Cultural studies evolve and adapt to contemporary cultural and social contexts while emphasizing media, literature, popular culture, and the representation of various identities, including gender, race, and ethnicity. Cultural studies are especially interested in the consequences of these representations for marginalized groups (During, 2005; Hall, 1997). On the other hand,

decolonial studies, deeply rooted in the legacies of colonialism, address the long-lasting effects such as Eurocentrism, racism, power imbalances, and the marginalization of non-Western cultures (Mignolo, 2005). Decolonial studies, or theory, seek to dismantle colonial power structures and focus on reclaiming indigenous knowledge and worldviews while deconstructing Eurocentric narratives (Smith, 2012).

Both fields share an interest in the critical examination of representation, particularly in media and cultural texts, as well as the impact of these representations on marginalized and colonized communities (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Both studies examine how dominant groups construct and maintain their authority through cultural production, media, and knowledge systems while being concerned with who gets to represent and how these representations shape perceptions. Both fields are interested in promoting narratives that challenge established power structures and prevailing narratives and hierarchies, as they aim to amplify voices and perspectives that have been historically silenced or misrepresented. Cultural and decolonial studies recognize the importance of considering multiple axes of identity and power, such as race, class, gender, and ethnicity. They understand that these intersecting identities influence the experiences of individuals and groups within the global system. Cultural and decolonial studies provide invaluable lenses to explore the complexities of culture, identity, and representation within the global context (During, 2005; Hall, 1997; Smith, 2012).

Cultural and decolonial studies can significantly contribute to the WHS approach by providing critical perspectives on the representation of Global South countries in educational history textbooks. Cultural and decolonial studies offer tools for critically analysing how Global South countries are represented in educational materials. By examining the language, imagery, and narratives used in textbooks, biases, stereotypes, and Eurocentric perspectives that may distort or marginalize the histories of Global South countries can be uncovered. These approaches allow for examining power dynamics in educational material production and dissemination, revealing how dominant narratives uphold colonial legacies and perpetuate hierarchies of knowledge that privilege Western perspectives while marginalizing or exoticizing non-Western cultures and histories. Cultural and decolonial studies stress the importance of centring marginalized voices from the Global South, highlighting diverse experiences and resistance movements. By contextualizing historical processes within broader socio-cultural, political, and economic contexts, these studies offer a nuanced understanding of how colonialism, imperialism, and globalization

have shaped the trajectories of Global South countries within the world system. Cultural and decolonial studies support pedagogies emphasizing critical thinking and empathy, informing educational practices to ensure more inclusive representations of Global South countries in history textbooks. This empowers students to engage critically with diverse perspectives and histories.

## **2.3 Conceptual Toolbox**

In analysing the representation of Global South countries within educational history textbooks in fifth and sixth grades in Finland, engaging with a range of central concepts underpinning this examination is essential. These concepts serve as critical lenses through which one can understand the complexities of how history and culture are portrayed in educational materials. Central concepts such as development, Eurocentrism, racism, and decolonization of mind play critical roles in shaping the narratives presented in textbooks. Examining these concepts within the context of educational curriculum biases and the problem of one-sided knowledge contributes to gaining insight into the broader dynamics at play in constructing historical narratives. Exploring topics like modernization, "othering," and counter-narratives further enriches our understanding of how educational materials influence perceptions of Global South countries and their histories. The portrayal of development in textbooks can often reflect Eurocentric perspectives. Thus, it might overlook many diverse and sophisticated civilizations that flourished in regions now considered part of the Global South. In this research, I focus on how the countries of the Global South and related development are represented in textbooks, including economic, social, and cultural dimensions, and how they may reflect Eurocentric biases or stereotypes.

### **2.3.1 Development as a Concept**

Development is a broad and often debated concept, with diverse meanings that change over time and vary across political and social contexts. What is common in its definitions is that development refers to a process of economic, social, and cultural transformation that leads to improved quality of life. The idea of development, or its predecessor progress, can be considered as old as civilization, as people have always strived to develop and promote humanity's well-being (Soares Jr. & Quintella, 2008). This is evident in the prehistoric transition from hunter-gatherer societies to settled agricultural communities, which led to permanent settlements and crop cultivation. This shift fuelled the growth of early civilizations, promoting advanced farming, monumental architecture, and complex social

structures. It also triggered population growth, migration, and knowledge exchange, driving advances in trade, writing, science, mathematics, and governance, ultimately leading to the rise of empires. (Bruun et al., 2015; Päivärinta et al., 2010) On the other hand, the historical roots of the development in the form of developing or “civilizing” others, as interventions, trace back to colonialism and imperialism, where Western powers promoted their interests globally.

Influenced by modernization theory, early development discourse, emerging during the mid-20th century, depicted development as a linear progression from traditional to modern societies. This perspective suggested that societies move from agricultural dependence and poverty toward industrialization and economic growth, driven by increased investment, exposure to Western practices, and cultural change (Rostow, 1990). Today, the perception of development has moved beyond purely economic growth and industrialization to a broader approach as scholars advocate for sustainable practices that balance economic growth, environmental protection, and social equity (Koponen et al., 2018; Sachs, 1992). This aligns with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, which aim to address global challenges, including poverty, climate change, and inequality (Yinuo, 2023). Thus, despite its evolution, development remains dynamic and multifaceted, aiming to improve societies' well-being and living standards (MDG Monitor, 2016; Soares Jr. & Quintella, 2008).

### *2.3.1.1 Development in the sense of Modernization*

In this research, I view development as an empirical social process representing an ongoing, historically determined phenomenon often perceived as a positive change. This concept can be interpreted through multiple lenses, such as the long-term evolution of the Western world, the trajectory of capitalism, the process of civilization, or broader modernization trends. (Koponen et al., 2018) Early conceptions of development, rooted in modernization theory, sought to explain the process of societal development and change from traditional to modern forms, while suggesting that societies evolve through a series of stages characterized by shifts in economic, social, and cultural structures. (Rostow, 1990; Todaro & Smith, 2015) Modernization theory views development as a linear process reflecting the historical evolution of the Western world. According to this perspective, societies progress from traditional to post-industrial stages, characterized by economic growth, urbanization, education, and other Western-style institutions, values, and practices (Koponen et al., 2018). As societies modernize, they undergo predictable changes: the shift from rural to

industrialized economies, the rise of urban centres, expanded education and literacy, and the emergence of democratic political systems (Rostow, 1990).

Modernization theorists suggest that these changes bring improved living standards, increased social mobility, and the spread of liberal values like individualism, rationality, and secularism. Development challenges stem from a lack of production factors such as capital, knowledge, and skills. This perspective led to a focus on investment and importing expertise to promote growth (Todaro & Smith, 2015). The state was often viewed as the primary agent of development, with the expectation that developing countries would eventually catch up with industrialized nations regarding social structures. Despite recognizing some negative consequences, capitalist development has generally been seen as progress due to its transformative impact on Western Europe's and North America's economic and social landscapes (Koponen et al., 2018). The Table 1 below can be helpful in providing a summary of the important social, technological, and economic steps within the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, and the stages of take-off as described by Rostow.

Table 1. Description of traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, and the take-off stages.

Traditional Society (Prehistorical times—18th century)	Preconditions for Take-off (18th—19th century)	Take-off (Late 18th—19th century)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most people are subsistence farmers, producing just enough food to support themselves and their families.</li> <li>• Societies have hierarchical social structures with power and wealth concentrated among a small elite.</li> <li>• Social mobility is restricted, with status often determined by birthright or noble affiliations.</li> <li>• Limited technological innovation and labor specialization, typically confined to basic crafts.</li> <li>• Economic activity is localized, self-sufficient, and minimally connected to external markets.</li> <li>• Exchange systems are common, with minimal trade beyond local or regional networks.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A merchant class emerges, driving urban growth and social change, leading to a rising middle class and increased social mobility.</li> <li>• Land ownership shifts as common lands are enclosed and private property rights emerge.</li> <li>• Urbanization intensifies with rural-to-city migration for economic opportunities.</li> <li>• Trade and commerce expand, encouraging labor specialization and the development of artisanal crafts.</li> <li>• Agricultural productivity increases due to innovations like crop rotation and new farming equipment.</li> <li>• The growth of mercantile capitalism stimulates further economic expansion.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional social structures are disrupted, with a new bourgeoisie class and increased social stratification.</li> <li>• Class distinctions deepen, leading to more pronounced social inequality.</li> <li>• Rapid urbanization as people moves from rural areas to cities for work.</li> <li>• Advancements in manufacturing, transportation, communication, and science drive industrial growth.</li> <li>• Governments and private investors build transportation networks and ports to boost trade.</li> <li>• Industrial wealth is reinvested in infrastructure and further industrialization.</li> <li>• Nations engage in global trade and colonial expansion, reshaping economic and geopolitical landscapes.</li> <li>• Values like individualism, entrepreneurship, and innovation become more prominent as societies adapt to industrialization.</li> </ul>

### 2.3.1.2 *The Critique of Rostow's Model*

Rostow's linear development model, which outlines five stages culminating in a Western-style industrial economy, has been widely criticized for its Eurocentric assumptions, deterministic approach, and failure to acknowledge global inequalities and environmental sustainability (Amīn, 1976; Frank, 1971; Wallerstein, 1974). This linear model is also challenged for promoting a skewed view of progress by suggesting a trajectory from "primitive" to "civilized," with the West or Europe at its peak and the rest of the world at the bottom (Frank & Gills, 2006; Said, 1978). In addition, this approach often reshapes global history by suggesting that significant advancements in technology, culture, and governance were predominantly Western or European, even if other cultures heavily influenced them (Amīn et al., 1989). Critics claim it prioritizes Western capitalist values, disregarding non-Western societies' unique development trajectories and historical contexts. Additionally, the model's focus on modernization through urban industry tends to ignore structural inequalities arising from colonialism and other forms of oppression. Moreover, its emphasis on industrial growth often overlooks the environmental costs and broader ecological impact (Jacobs, 2020; Kujala, 2019). These criticisms advocate for a more nuanced understanding of development that recognizes the diversity of global experiences and challenges the notion of a single Western-centric roadmap to success. My study examines whether the development concept in educational textbooks aligns with Rostow's linear perception, indicating a more Eurocentric view, or if the books offer a broader perspective that embraces varied development pathways beyond Eurocentricity.

### 2.3.2 The Global South

The concept of the Global South encompasses a group of countries primarily located in the southern hemisphere, sharing common socio-economic, historical, and geopolitical characteristics. However, the term is not solely geographically determined but rather a historical and social category (Miraftab & Kudva, 2015). Research on countries in the southern hemisphere has a longstanding tradition dating back to oriental studies of Middle Eastern languages and cultures. Initially driven by the desire to understand foreign cultures and institutions, particularly in European colonies, research often promoted colonial rule. The division between the Global South and the Global North is thus deeply rooted in history, originating from colonial legacies and prevailing global power dynamics. This division between the Global South and North emerged as post-colonial nations in the Southern Hemisphere sought independence and agency in a world dominated by the Global North

(Koponen et al., 2018; Said, 1978). These countries, often situated in regions of Africa, Latin America, Asia, and Oceania, have historically faced challenges such as limited access to resources, higher rates of poverty, and disparities in industrialization and human development compared to their Northern counterparts. Despite this, the Global South boasts remarkable diversity in cultures, economies, and political systems, highlighting the need to avoid generalizations and recognize individual nations' unique contexts and trajectories (Miraftab & Kudva, 2015).

The portrayal of Global South countries is often influenced by the dichotomy between the West and the rest of the world, perpetuating unequal power relations and reinforcing Western dominance in global discourse and institutions. Global South nations are frequently depicted as "developing" or "underdeveloped," implying a perceived inferiority compared to Western countries (Koponen et al., 2018). In educational materials and media, Western values and ideologies, such as free-market capitalism, liberal democracy, industrialization, and human rights, are often presented as inherently superior and desirable (Bonnett, 2004; Jacobs, 2020). At the same time, Global South countries are portrayed as needing to adopt or emulate these values to achieve progress and development. This framing reinforces a hierarchical worldview, positioning the West as advanced and modern and the Global South as lagging and needing intervention from Western powers. Furthermore, cultural representations often contribute to the dichotomy, with Western culture depicted as aspirational and desirable. In contrast, the cultures of the Global South are exoticized or marginalized (Dervin et al., 2015; Hall, 1997; Morris & Spivak, 2010; Said, 1978). Western interventions in Global South countries, whether through colonialism, economic aid, or military intervention, are often justified as benevolent efforts to spread Western values and civilization. However, this narrative overlooks the complexities of history and perpetuates stereotypes and misconceptions about the Global South.

Despite attempts to shift Finnish history textbooks towards counter-narratives and address the treatment of colonized peoples, the representation of Global South countries often still reflects the division between the West and the rest of the world, perpetuating Eurocentric biases and reinforcing hierarchical power dynamics. The notion of the West has evolved, encompassing both a geographical marker and a set of assumed values and ideologies. References to Western values like democracy, human rights, and gender equality are frequently made alongside European values, suggesting a close association between them. (Bonnett, 2004; Dervin et al., 2015). "Westernness" is depicted as a success story from

Ancient Greece to modern Europe, with Greek civilization often idealized as the progenitor of democratic principles (Mikander, 2016). However, this narrative overlooks the dark aspects of Western history, such as colonialism and fascism, which are not seen as inherent to Western identity in the same way as democratic values. Simultaneously, the contributions of Global South civilizations are marginalized or overlooked, further cementing the narrative of Western superiority (Mignolo, 2000). Thus, while history textbooks may present “Westernness” as synonymous with democracy and human rights, they may neglect to acknowledge the complexities and contradictions inherent in Western history and ideology (Mikander, 2016).

### 2.3.3 Eurocentrism and “Othering”

Eurocentrism refers to the tendency to view history and culture through a European or Western lens, often leading to the marginalization or distortion of non-Western cultures (Sunar, 2016). Driven by Western power and cultural influence, this perspective skews historical narratives by explaining non-European societies from a European standpoint, assuming Western civilization is the standard against which all others are measured (Amīn et al., 1989; Frank & Gills, 2006; Wallerstein, 1974). This leads to “othering,” where non-Western cultures are depicted as different, or inferior, reinforcing Western superiority. This maintains unequal power dynamics, and distorts historical narratives, ultimately diminishing global diversity (Hall, 1997; Morris & Spivak, 2010; Said, 1978). Orientalism, as articulated by Said (1978), has been crucial in forming Eurocentric worldviews. European expansion in the 17th century influenced Western views of the East, creating a simplified and misleading perception of the East, sustained through colonization. Western societies, believing in their superiority, constructed these narratives based on imperialist values and control (Sunar, 2016). Said (1978) emphasizes the constructed distinction between the Orient and the Occident, with the Orient portrayed as exotic and uncivilized and the Occident seen as civilized and progressive, justifying Western dominance. This Orientalist discourse persisted as long as socio-economic structures supported it, while Western narratives framed the Eastern world as needing civilization, with invasions often justified as salvation (Said, 1978). Within the othering process, non-Western cultures and civilizations are often framed as backward or violent, contributing to a distorted view emphasizing conflict, war, violence, and otherness (Fanon, 1961; Ibid.). This approach was instrumental in shaping modernity, positioning the East as the ultimate “other,” a perspective fundamental to Eurocentric views of world history (Sunar, 2016). This narrative, central to

Eurocentrism, continues to influence modern perspectives, particularly in the context of the Middle East.

### *2.3.3.1 Eurocentric Historical Narratives*

Eurocentrism often manifests in narratives that distinguish European history from other regions. In antiquity, Greek and Roman philosophers emphasized the distinctiveness of their civilizations, comparing Western civilization with Eastern traditions and asserting the superiority of Greek values over those of other nations. This perspective laid the groundwork for an emerging sense of European identity that reflected the superiority of Western civilization over other traditions. Philosophers highlighted Greek and Roman achievements while minimizing contributions from Asia and Africa, presenting them as fundamentally different or inferior. (Brolsma et al., 2019; Haarmann, 2020) This Eurocentric perspective often presents Ancient Egypt primarily as a precursor to Greek and Roman culture while ignoring its deep African roots, which distorts the historical narrative. Diop et al. (1974) argue that the tendency to isolate Ancient Egypt from its broader African context reinforces a view that diminishes its African heritage and positions it within a Western framework. Consequently, Egypt's contributions to mathematics, science, and architecture are seen through a Western lens, overshadowing its connections with the broader African context.

Similarly, Rodney (2012) challenges Eurocentric narratives that depict pre-colonial Africa as primitive or underdeveloped, highlighting that African societies like Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and Great Zimbabwe were sophisticated, with complex social structures, advanced technologies, and rich cultural traditions. Rodney emphasizes that these societies had unique development trajectories disrupted by European colonialism, underlining the absence of African culture in Eurocentric historical accounts. Diop and Rodney both demonstrate that Eurocentric perspectives obscure the achievements of African societies, creating a distorted historical narrative that marginalizes African and other regions' contributions, ultimately reinforcing Western superiority, perpetuating stereotypes, and limiting the recognition of diverse pathways of development (Diop et al., 1974; Rodney, 2012). Thus, the notion of a continuous 'European history' from antiquity to the Middle Ages has been challenged, suggesting that early modern Europeans constructed the concept of 'antiquity' to fit their ideals. They reinforced Eurocentric narratives that assumed Western superiority by projecting their values onto ancient civilizations (Brolsma et al., 2019; Haarmann, 2020). These narratives often framed developments in Asia and Africa as 'exceptional' rather than acknowledging their significance and interconnectedness with

European history (Said, 1978). Instead, it has been argued that ancient Greece was part of a broader Mediterranean world with close cultural ties to Africa and the Middle East, suggesting that Eurocentrism created a false sense of isolation and superiority (Brolsma et al., 2019; Diop et al., 1974; Haarmann, 2020). By emphasizing Western achievements and minimizing connections with other regions, Eurocentric views "other" non-European cultures, reinforcing stereotypes and perpetuating a biased historiography.

### *2.3.3.2 Challenging Eurocentrism in Education*

In academic literature, the discourse on religions and culture often merges, with the idea of encountering the "other" (Dervin et al., 2015). Othering creates a division between Western and non-Western cultures through mechanisms such as cultural representations, historical narratives, and power dynamics. In Eurocentric historiography, non-Western histories are often distorted, or side lined while European achievements are glorified (Amīn et al., 1989; Brolsma et al., 2019; Haarmann, 2020). Similarly, educational materials tend to marginalize or oversimplify non-Western cultures, reinforcing Western superiority and the idea that Western cultures are central while portraying non-Western cultures as exotic or inferior. These Eurocentric narratives can systematically silence or misrepresent those who do not fit within the Western-dominated discourse, furthering the division between the West and the rest, with severe implications for the representation and understanding of global cultures (Morris & Spivak, 2010; Said, 1978). Challenging Eurocentrism requires deconstructing these notions of the "other" and recognizing the diversity and complexity of all cultures and societies. It involves amplifying marginalized voices and perspectives and interrogating the underlying assumptions perpetuating Western hegemony.

Eurocentric biases are still present in the portrayal of Global South countries in Finnish educational history textbooks, reinforcing the dichotomy between the West and the rest of the world. By perpetuating this narrative, these textbooks marginalize the contributions and agency of Global South countries in shaping world history, reinforcing systems of power and privilege. While acknowledging Europe's historical achievements and lasting impact and achievements in shaping world history, it is crucial to question the dominance of a Eurocentric perspective in historical narratives. This perspective portrays Westerners or Europeans as the sole authorities and West or Europe as the exclusive source of knowledge, potentially erasing the rich histories of other civilizations. Representing other civilizations' histories from a Eurocentric point of view will eventually de-historicize those societies (Fanon, 1961; Rodney, 2012; Spivak, 1999; Sunar, 2016). Thus, questioning, and challenging

Eurocentrism and the notion of other in educational material is essential to preserve the historicity and diversity of all societies.

#### 2.3.4 Representation and Problem of One-sided Knowledge

Representation, as a concept, plays a crucial role in perpetuating or challenging Eurocentric biases and the process of othering within educational materials. Representation is portraying or depicting individuals, groups, or cultures across different media and discourse. According to Hall (1997) it is the process of using language, imagery, and other forms of expression to convey meaning about the world to others. Representation spans various forms like literature, art, film, and advertising, shaping our understanding of ourselves and others. It influences how people, ideas, and identities are presented to audiences, impacting our perceptions and reactions (Orgad, 2014). Representation goes beyond mirroring reality; it constructs meaning and shapes perceptions. It involves choices about what to include or exclude, how to frame information, and which perspectives to prioritize, ultimately influencing how people view themselves, others, and the world around them (Hall et al., 2013). Representation can reflect and reinforce dominant ideologies and power structures, perpetuating stereotypes, and inequalities, by emphasizing Western-centric narratives that marginalize non-Western perspectives. However, conversely, it can challenge existing norms and provide opportunities for marginalized voices to be heard. Therefore, representation closely connects to knowledge and the power to create meanings (Hall, 1997; Hooks, 1990; Said, 1978).

This reflects the broader problem of one-sided knowledge, which limits our understanding of the world and its diversity. One-sided knowledge is pervasive and affects education, historical narratives, and cultural representation. It goes beyond literature to all forms of media, underscoring the need for diverse and inclusive perspectives (Dervin et al., 2015; Hall et al., 2013; Orgad, 2014). The problem occurs when information is presented from a singular, biased viewpoint, marginalizing the variety of human experiences and contributions, often stemming from Western academic contexts that restrict who is allowed to speak and represent various perspectives. Spivak contends that one-sided knowledge develops when Western intellectuals represent subaltern groups without acknowledging their own biases, resulting in distorted or incomplete portrayals that exclude non-Western voices (Morris & Spivak, 2010). Similarly, one-sided stories are tied to power dynamics, influenced by who tells them, how they are told, and the range of perspectives included. The risk, as Adichie (2009) observes, is that such stories create stereotypes and singular

narratives that highlight differences instead of commonalities. Adichie's experience growing up in Nigeria, where she was primarily exposed to Western literature, illustrates how one-sided stories can shape perceptions, particularly for children. These Eurocentric representations can lead to distorted or incomplete narratives that marginalize non-Western contributions, reinforcing stereotypes and perpetuating power imbalances by prioritizing Western viewpoints (Adichie, 2009; Said, 1978; Sunar, 2016).

In education, one-sided knowledge can appear through curricula, textbooks, and teaching practices that prioritize specific perspectives while neglecting others. This reflects the process of othering, where educational materials tend to prioritize Eurocentric views, often marginalizing or excluding the histories, experiences, and contributions of indigenous peoples, non-Western societies, and historically oppressed communities (Rodney, 2012; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1999; Sunar, 2016). Thus, representation is vital in shaping perceptions and narratives about countries in the Global South and various cultures. How these regions are portrayed in media, education, and popular culture significantly affects their global image. Representation in educational materials can influence how students perceive themselves and others. If non-Western cultures are consistently depicted negatively or stereotypically, it can impact students' self-esteem and identity formation from those backgrounds (Adichie, 2009; Hall, 1997; Hooks, 1990). Conversely, Eurocentric representations may reinforce feelings of superiority and entitlement among students from Western backgrounds, perpetuating unequal power dynamics (Keskinen et al., 2021). Thus, there is a need for a more inclusive and authentic representation that reflects these regions' diverse and complex nature (Mignolo, 2011). Understanding the complex relationship between representation, Eurocentrism, and resulting stereotyping is crucial for combating bias and misrepresentation. It helps to create a more balanced and accurate depiction of the Global South and other diverse cultures, fostering greater equity and understanding.

### 2.3.5 Racism and its Different Forms

The problem of one-sided knowledge perpetuated by representations often intersects with issues of racism, where biased portrayals contribute to systemic inequalities. Racism, defined as the belief in the superiority of one race over others and the systemic oppression of marginalized racial groups, based on factors such as ethnicity, skin colour, nationality, culture, language, or religion, is deeply intertwined with representation, as biased narratives can reinforce discriminatory attitudes and practices (Grosfoguel, 2016; Hooks, 1990; Keskinen et al., 2021). This pervasive social issue extends beyond individual prejudices to

encompass deeply ingrained societal norms and structures. It serves as an instrument of power, manifesting in various ways across familiar settings like education, with forms ranging from subtle biases and microaggressions to outright discrimination and violence. Racism operates at multiple levels, affecting both personal interactions and institutional policies. Individual racism involves discriminatory beliefs, attitudes, or actions by individuals toward others based on their racial or ethnic backgrounds. It encompasses overt discrimination as well as subtle stereotypes or microaggressions. Structural racism, in contrast, is systemic, embedded within societal institutions and practices, often without explicit discriminatory intent. It perpetuates racial disparities through inherent biases and barriers, making it challenging to identify and address. Institutional racism further enforces these disparities through policies, practices, and procedures within schools, workplaces, or government, systematically favouring one racial group while disadvantaging others. (Corlett, 2018; Hooks, 1990; Keskinen et al., 2021; Puuronen, 2011) Structural discrimination and racism, embedded in societal policies, ideals, and institutional rules, lead to unequal treatment, reinforcing and intensifying existing inequalities.

#### *2.3.5.1 Historical Roots of Racism and Slavery*

The roots of racial and cultural distinctions trace back to ancient civilizations like Egypt and Greece, where terms and art depicted a separation between 'us' and 'them.' During the Middle Ages, these distinctions became more pronounced, reinforcing symbols that equated otherness with blackness and barbarism, shaping European identity in contrast to a Christian and civilized norm (Fanon, 2008; Rattansi, 2007; Said, 1978). This framework of othering laid the groundwork for later European colonialism, imperialism, and the transatlantic slave trade, where people were categorized based on perceived biological differences to justify hierarchical structures of power. Colour-based racism emerged during European colonization, particularly in Africa and the Americas, as a tool of oppression tightly linked to the exploitation of indigenous peoples and the enslavement of Africans. This racial hierarchy established during colonization became a marker of inferiority for non-white populations, laying the groundwork for systemic discrimination that persists today (Fanon, 2008; Hooks, 1990, 2014; Keskinen et al., 2021).

The transatlantic slave trade cemented these racist ideologies within colonial societies, particularly in the Americas. Even after slavery's abolition, racialized views persisted in laws and social norms, leading to ongoing segregation, disenfranchisement, and racial violence (Fanon, 2008; Hooks, 2009; Hubbard, 2003). Haley's (1976) exploration of the slave trade

reveals how Africans were dehumanized and stripped of their identities. Despite the abolition of slavery, racialized views persisted through laws and social norms, fostering segregation, disenfranchisement, and racial violence. Haley's work demonstrates how the legacy of slavery perpetuates social hierarchies and systemic discrimination against people of African descent. However, it also highlights the resilience and resistance within these communities, illustrating their ongoing struggle against racial injustice. The enduring impact of this legacy calls for ongoing efforts to dismantle deeply rooted systems of discrimination (Fanon, 2008; Hooks, 2009; Hubbard, 2003). By comprehending these origins, individuals, and societies can better grasp the deep-rooted nature of racism and challenge Eurocentric narratives that oversimplify or marginalize the Global South's contributions, ultimately promoting a more nuanced view of social justice and equality.

#### *2.3.5.2 Racism in Education and Curriculum Bias*

Public discourse around racialized individuals and racism has a profound impact on young people's sense of belonging and equality in society. Media often provides limited representation of racialized children and youth, reducing their chances for positive identification. Racist prejudices frequently arise in everyday situations, including in schools. Although the Finnish education system is highly regarded for its commitment to non-discrimination and equality, studies show that racism remains a widespread problem, affecting many students daily (Eid, n.d.). Souto's (2011) study on everyday racism in schools reveals that they are not neutral spaces for young people with immigrant backgrounds due to power relations shaped by racism. She explains that racism is often neutralized through seemingly innocuous cultural discourse, which maintains racialized power dynamics. The "Kaikkien koulu?" podcast series delves into how normative whiteness and middle-classness impact Finnish schools, emphasizing the underrepresentation of teaching staff from visible minorities and the Eurocentric worldview perpetuated by school curricula. This contributes to the alienation of racialized students (Eid, n.d.; Mahad & Kuitunen, 2021). A 2019 report by the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman confirms that racism exists at all levels of education, starting from early childhood education. The survey found that a majority of respondents with African backgrounds experienced discrimination, often through degrading language, bullying, and even physical violence from teachers, peers, and other staff (Mahad & Kuitunen, 2021; Yhdenvertaisuusvaltuutettu, 2020).

Systemic racism in education involves more than acts of discrimination as it encompasses subtle biases embedded in educational practices and materials. The portrayal of race in educational narratives can reinforce or challenge these biases, affecting how race and racial identity are understood (Hall, 1997; Hooks, 2014). It significantly impacts education, intersecting with class and gender, which worsens educational disparities. This systemic racism leads to unequal opportunities and outcomes for marginalized racial groups. A critical manifestation is the lack of representation and recognition of diverse racial and ethnic perspectives in curricula, textbooks, and other teaching materials (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Power dynamics often drive curriculum design, allowing the dominant culture, in this case, Finnish culture, to be viewed as the prevailing norm and to set the standards for what is considered valuable knowledge (Front, 2019). This imbalance results in the exclusion or marginalization of racial and ethnic minority perspectives. Curriculum biases in educational materials occur when racial and ethnic minorities are portrayed unequally, marginalized, or stereotyped (Escayg, 2019). This bias can manifest through Eurocentric views, where information, perspectives, or historical events favour one group over others, perpetuating stereotypes and diminishing the contributions of non-white racial and ethnic groups. These often subtle biases significantly shape students' perceptions of various racial and ethnic groups, leading to systemic discrimination and reinforcing harmful stereotypes (Sleeter & McLaren, 1995). Thus, the curriculum can inadvertently or deliberately reinforce racism by portraying specific racial or ethnic groups in a negative light or marginalizing their perspectives and experiences.

### 2.3.6 Decolonization of Mind and Counter-narratives

As mentioned, Western ideologies have played a significant role in shaping educational materials, perpetuating colonial legacies by marginalizing indigenous voices and promoting Eurocentric narratives. The process of "othering" further reinforces this by erasing or misrepresenting those who do not fit the Western norm (Morris & Spivak, 2010; Said, 1978). As a result, Western culture is presented as the default standard, side-lining non-Western perspectives (Amīn et al., 1989; Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986). Research practices have similarly undervalued indigenous knowledge, consolidating Western epistemologies (Smith, 2012). In response, decolonizing the mind and curricula has emerged as an essential approach seeking to challenge these colonial legacies and develop counter-narratives to address systemic racism. In a broader context, decolonization is linked to social justice, cultural reclamation, and promoting diverse, inclusive perspectives in academic, cultural, and

political contexts (Mignolo, 2011). It addresses the damage caused by one-sided knowledge and seeks to build a more equitable understanding of the world through unlearning and relearning, contributing to a more just society (Mignolo, 2000; Said, 1978). Decolonization of the mind is a transformative process focused on challenging and dismantling the intellectual legacies of colonialism and cultural hierarchies historically imposed on colonized societies. Its main goal is to free individuals and societies from these mental constraints and reassert the validity of indigenous and non-Western perspectives and knowledge systems (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986).

In education, rethinking practices to foster inclusivity, embrace diverse perspectives, encourage critical thinking, and promote cultural awareness is vital to breaking down the ideological barriers that uphold racial hierarchies. Counter-narratives play a crucial role in this process by challenging dominant stories and offering alternative perspectives on events, identities, and social issues. They resist prevailing ideologies and give voice to marginalized groups, allowing them to express their experiences. Counter-narratives also serve as tools for social and political resistance, questioning established norms and subverting power structures (Bamberg & Andrews, 2004). Several scholars advocate for critically examining knowledge production to decolonize educational content to foster counter-narratives. Freire (1990) stresses empowering marginalized groups and promoting counter-narratives to counter Eurocentric biases. Mignolo (2011) advocates for counter-narratives highlighting non-Western contributions, while Spivak emphasizes the need for subaltern voices to challenge colonial legacies (Morris & Spivak, 2010; Spivak, 1999). Both stress the importance of questioning Western-centric views and underscore counter-narratives role in creating a more inclusive educational framework. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986) emphasizes reclaiming indigenous languages and challenging Western ideologies in educational history textbooks. Smith (2012) underscores the need to diversify curricula by including a broader range of historical narratives to represent Global South countries. These perspectives indicate that textbooks should feature diverse narratives to challenge Eurocentric ideologies and harmful stereotypes and recognize the rich histories of Global South countries. This approach can offer a more accurate representation of history, encouraging students to think critically about colonial legacies and promoting greater cultural understanding, which contributes to dismantling systemic racism and advancing social justice.

### **3 Methodology**

This study uses a qualitative approach to examine Finnish primary school history textbooks and their representation of Global South countries. The primary objective is to evaluate how these textbooks depict Global South countries' history and development and identify Eurocentrism elements. The study uses content and discourse analysis techniques to explore these representations and the broader implications for educational diversity and inclusion. The data sources consist of a selection of history textbooks used in Finnish primary schools, focusing on grades five and six. This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section provides an overview of the broader philosophical framework, incorporating historical inquiry, cultural studies, and decolonial studies to address the research questions. It also discusses the choice of research design and its relevance to the study's objectives. The second section focuses on data collection methods and procedures. It begins with a brief explanation of this study's content and discourse analysis approaches, followed by details on the sampling process and the data sources selected. This section also includes a reflection on ethical considerations related to the study. The third section covers data analysis, detailing the coding and categorization process. It describes the coding framework, the software tools used for analysis, and the steps in interpreting the data through the chosen methods. This comprehensive approach provides a structured pathway to understand and address the representation of Global South countries in Finnish educational history textbooks.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

A multifaceted approach is essential in studying how Global South countries are represented in the educational history textbooks. The methodological framework of this study is based on historical inquiry, cultural studies, and decolonial studies. Historical inquiry, as exemplified by Carr (2008) and Berger and Lorenz (2010), allows for exploring the evolution of these representations over time and shedding light on the impact of historical events. By scrutinizing these representations' historical accuracy and context, any distortions or omissions can be uncovered. Cultural studies critically analyse how culture is constructed and interpreted in textbooks, highlighting the influence of language and narrative framing. This approach helps identify potential stereotypes and ethnocentric biases (During, 2005; Fiske & Jenkins, 2011; Hall, 1997). Decolonial studies, on the other hand, enables a critical assessment of how the selection and framing of content in these textbooks have been influenced by colonial legacies, Eurocentric perspectives, and power imbalances, resulting

in a more nuanced understanding of the issues at hand (Mignolo, 2005; Quijano, 2007; Smith, 2012).

The strength of combining the philosophies of historical inquiry, cultural studies, and decolonial studies is that they create a comprehensive framework and allow for the examination of the phenomenon in depth using various kinds of evidence obtained from analysing the materials to answer the research questions as adequately as possible. Combining these research frameworks makes it possible to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the historical roots of these representations and how they are entwined with power dynamics. This approach enables the analysis of not just the "what" of these representations but also the "why" and "how" questions, fostering a deeper understanding and revealing more profound insights into the complexities of the materials and their impact on education and society. However, it is essential to acknowledge potential weaknesses, including the complexity introduced by integrating multiple frameworks, resource and time intensiveness, interpretive subjectivity, and the need for effective data integration (Smith, 2012). These challenges are addressed more in-depth in section 3.3.4. on Ethical and Other Considerations to guarantee the benefits of this holistic research approach.

## **3.2 Data Collection Procedures**

### **3.2.1 Content and Discourse Analysis**

Content analysis is an essential method of analysis that can be used in all qualitative research traditions, and it provides a valuable method for investigating the representations of Global South countries in educational history textbooks. This method systematically and objectively examines the textual and visual content within the textbooks by describing, quantifying, and categorizing materials to identify code-specific mentions, descriptions, themes, and narratives related to Global South countries (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Krippendorff, 2019; Stemler, 2000; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2019). This analysis allows for scrutinizing the content of Finnish primary school history textbooks to understand how these texts depict Global South countries in the context of the main research question. Using the content analysis, the study can identify recurring themes, measure the frequency of specific portrayals, and detect variations across different textbooks, offering both quantitative and qualitative insights. This approach provides a structured way to analyse the content, allowing for objective and replicable data collection and coding, ensuring reliability in the findings (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Krippendorff, 2019). As

content analysis is adaptable and not tied to a specific theory or epistemology (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2019), it is well-suited to studies that combine various theoretical frameworks and methodologies. This flexibility allows for a broader analysis while maintaining a consistent and systematic approach to the data.

Discourse analysis complements content analysis by focusing on the language, narratives, and discursive strategies used in the textbooks (Fairclough, 2010). Discourse analysis is a research method that examines language, communication patterns, and social constructs within texts to reveal underlying meanings, power dynamics, and social contexts (Bazerman, 2009; Tannen et al., 2018). It provides deeper insight into investigating representations in educational materials, offering insights into how language and rhetoric shape portrayals. This approach helps uncover implicit biases, hidden assumptions, and ideologies that influence perceptions of Global South countries. Through discourse analysis, it is possible to explore the subtleties of word choice and framing, offering a nuanced understanding of the messages conveyed in the educational materials (Tannen et al., 2018). Combining content and discourse analysis provides a comprehensive view of how Global South countries are represented in Finnish primary school history textbooks. Content analysis allows for quantifying and categorizing elements, while discourse analysis examines the underlying linguistic and discursive structures. This approach offers a holistic perspective, addressing both the visible content and the subtler dimensions, ensuring that the complexity and nuance of these representations are fully explored.

### 3.2.2 Sampling

This study used a mix of purposive and stratified sampling, where purposive sampling involved selecting textbooks based on relevance, and stratified sampling ensured a diverse representation of Finnish primary school history education materials (Mason, 2002). Specific documents, such as the textbooks from the two large textbook publishers, Sanoma Pro and Otava, were chosen for the research. Sanoma Pro is one of the largest publisher of educational materials in Finland, and Otava is, in turn, the largest publisher in the book publishing industry in Finland (Dervin et al., 2015). The books were easily accessible and available as they are widely used. The purposive sampling was stratified by selecting textbooks from two different series, Ritari and Forum, across fifth and sixth grades. Stratified sampling divides the sample into subgroups based on specific characteristics and then selects samples from each subgroup to ensure a diverse representation (Krippendorff, 2019). This study was stratified by series and grade level, considering both newer and older

materials. The books from the Forum series were published earlier than those from the Ritari series, allowing a comparative analysis of how Global South countries are represented in textbooks from different publishers and across grade levels. Combining purposive and stratified sampling ensures a balance between specific selections for detailed analysis and broader representation across multiple contexts.

### 3.2.3 Selection of the Books and Data Collection

The books selected for the study are Ritari and Forum books aimed at fifth and sixth-grade history education. As mentioned, the main reason for choosing the book series is that they are both published by major Finnish publishers and widely used in schools. Sanoma Pro has published the Ritari book series, and Otava has published the Forum series. The books differ somewhat in their characteristics. The publication dates of the books vary, which was considered an advantage when selecting the books to be used in research because the contents and their possible differences and changes over the years from the beginning of the 2010s to the beginning of 2020 were explored. The fifth-grade Forum 5 book was published in 2010, and Ritari 5 was published in 2015. Of the sixth-grade books, Forum 6 was published in 2012, and Ritari 6 in 2022. The books also have different authors. In addition to Sanoma Pro, the textual content of the books Ritari 5 and 6 is written by Bruun, Kokkonen, Komulainen, Lassi, and Sainio. In addition to Otava, Forum 5 and 6 books have been written by Päivärinta, Solastie, and Turtiainen.

The layout and overall look of the book series are also different. The books of the Ritari series are smaller in size than the books from the Forum series. The content of the books in the Forum series is more narrative than the books in the Ritari series. In the books of the Forum series, each new area begins with a narrative related to the period, called the Mystery of the Era. On the other hand, in the Ritari books, each area ends with a story related to the area and a section called In the Museum, which presents various artifacts related to the era in question. At the beginning of the new areas of both books, there is a timeline of the new era the area deals with. In the Ritari books, the timeline is divided by opening; in the Forum books, the timeline is also divided by opening, but the previous page has times from the last era with recaps, and the timeline on the same page has a list of questions to consider while reading. In the Ritari books, within the timeline opening is a brief introduction to the text of the coming era. Regarding page count, Forum books are also longer, with both Forum books being 204 pages long while both Ritari books are 156 pages long. The difference in the number of pages is mainly due to the more narrative look of the Forum books. The Forum

books are also more illustrative than the Ritari books, increasing the number of pages. Ritari books are simplified in terms of general content, making their content perhaps more straightforward. On the other hand, the more narrative and illustrative style of the Forum books makes the books more engaging.

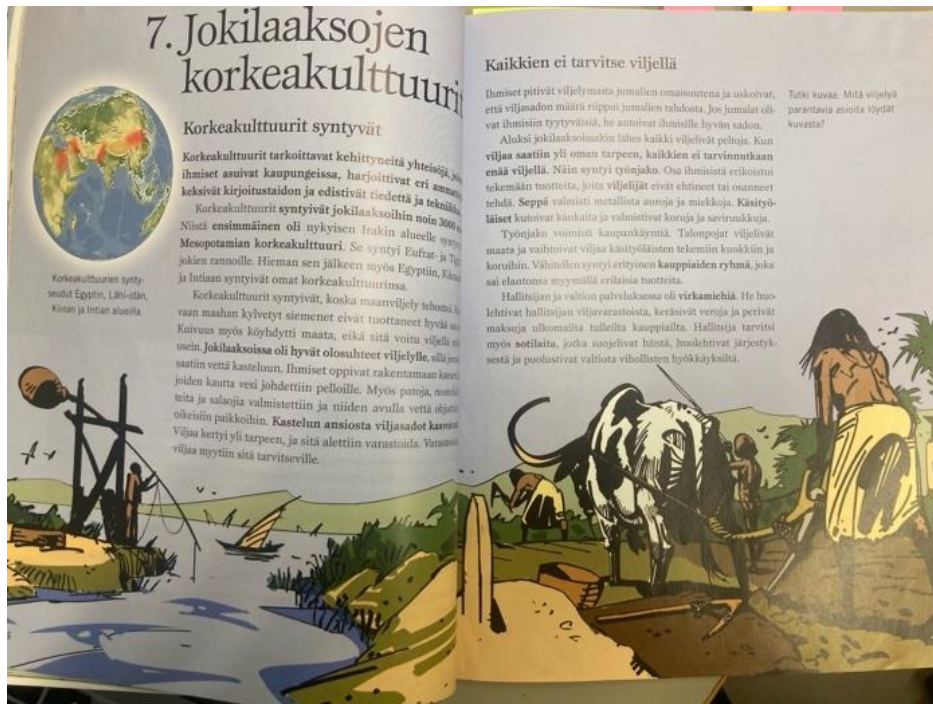


Figure 1. Example of the illustrative style from Forum 5.



Figure 2 Example of the illustrative style from Ritari 5.

The history lessons and books of fifth and sixth grades cover the period from pre-history to early high cultures from about 3000 BCE until the end of the 1700s, as stated in the basic curriculum of basic education. The fifth-grade history books focus on historical events before the Middle Ages in Europe, i.e., before 500 CE. Sections in the fifth-grade books deal with the Prehistoric times and the birth of civilization, including early high cultures, stone, bronze, and iron ages in the North, mainly in Finland, and Old Age and Ancient Heritage, especially in Greece, and Rome. The books explore humans living in small populations and hunting culture, as well as the transformation of agricultural culture and the creation of civilization. In addition, books focus on democracy in Greece and Roman society. The period is also considered from the perspective of the settlement of the Nordic Region (Bruun et al., 2015; Opetushallitus, 2016; Päivärinta et al., 2010).

The sixth-grade history books start from the Middle Ages of Europe, including the Middle Ages in the Nordic Region, and continue to the far-away cultures and the beginning of the New Ages, the 17th and 18th centuries in the world and Europe, and lastly in the New Ages in the Nordic Region, focusing on the history of Finland under Swedish rule. The books examine the medieval worldview, the cultural similarities, and differences between East and West, and their effects on different groups. The transition of Finland to historical times and the Swedish context will be dealt with, as well as changes in science, art, and people's beliefs, and developments in Finland in the 1600s and 1700s will be looked at (Bruun et al., 2022; Opetushallitus, 2016; Päivärinta et al., 2012).

### 3.2.4 Ethical and Other Considerations

Research involving educational materials and potentially sensitive topics requires careful consideration of ethical principles. Researchers must ensure that their work respects the dignity and rights of individuals and groups, avoids harm, and promotes fairness. Acknowledging that teaching materials do not capture the full spectrum of teaching practices is essential. As a researcher, I recognize the limitations of analysing textbook content in isolation from its classroom application and withhold from drawing definitive conclusions about its instructional effectiveness. This study does not aim to judge students' learning outcomes or categorize educational materials as good or bad. Instead, it seeks to reveal inherent biases in textbooks that, even subtly, can shape perceptions of normality and potentially reinforce dichotomies between "us" and "others." It is crucial to approach this analysis with cultural sensitivity and respect for the communities and individuals

represented, ensuring that the study avoids reinforcing stereotypes or contributing to marginalization.

Additionally, identifying and addressing harmful narratives within educational materials contributes to a more equitable and inclusive understanding of history and culture. The combination of historical inquiry, cultural studies, and decolonial studies offers a robust framework for researching the representation of Global South countries in educational textbooks, but this approach brings challenges. These challenges include the complexity of integrating multiple frameworks, the resource and time requirements, interpretive subjectivity, and the need for effective data integration. Addressing these issues is crucial for producing meaningful and reliable research outcomes and preventing overgeneralization or misinterpretation. Potential constraints like data collection challenges, time, and resource limitations should be acknowledged. Possible future collaborative approaches involving educators, students, and other stakeholders are valuable for grounding the research findings in real-world contexts, providing diverse perspectives, and addressing gaps or blind spots in the research process.

### **3.3 Coding and Analysis of the Data**

Coding aims to get ideas about what is happening in the data by simplifying and focusing on specific data characteristics. Coding systematically organizes and analyses data to categorize the text to identify and establish a framework of thematic ideas, patterns, and concepts. Codes, at their simplest, are labels that describe a piece of content (Richards & Morse, 2013). The types of codes in this study are more analytical, as they are formed around topics, issues, and abstract concepts. Analytical codes often reveal the interconnectedness of various themes and concepts while representing broader themes, concepts, or ideas from the data (Gibbs, 2018). When analysing historical texts, especially those intended for educational purposes, using analytical codes can provide several advantages, such as helping to extract meaning, identify patterns, and analyse the underlying narratives within the texts. Analytical coding can also help to trace the connections between different historical elements and explore how they relate. In addition, analytical coding contributes to a holistic understanding of the data by helping to see the big picture and uncover the underlying meanings and implications.

Data was prepared and organized for coding through the initial coding process, in which the initial codes were the mentions of the countries of the Global South. All the chapters and

paragraphs mentioning the countries of the Global South were initially compiled and written down in Word from all books. Chapters and paragraphs of the books that did not mention the continents, countries, or regions of the Global South were left unwritten. Paragraphs that at least once mentioned countries of the Global South were written in full to preserve the context of the text. The written text was transferred from Word to Atlas.ti, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software that allows qualitative data to be analysed in qualitative research. The Atlas.ti software encodes text further through line-by-line coding, paying more attention to the text and its content to define and expand the coding, adding new codes as accurately as possible. Using Atlas.ti software, the text could be broken down into codes and categories that could be viewed and compared through the software. The software could be used, among other things, to see quantitative mentions of different codes, parallel occurrences of different codes in the text, and to form groups of codes based on themes.

Because the language and the analysis of the representations it creates are at the heart of this study, in the translated text, the meanings of the language and words can change and even disappear because they can mean different things in different languages. Since the books were written in Finnish, the analysis of the material was primarily carried out in Finnish, after which the findings were translated into English. All the chapters and paragraphs mentioning the countries of the Global South were written down in Finnish, both in Word and Atlas.ti software. As Atlas.ti software is English, a deeper analysis could not be done with the software, as the text was in Finnish, so all the deeper analysis was done manually. All codes and categories were initially written in Finnish but translated in the writing stage of this study, as whether there is a difference in their meaning in Finnish and English no longer matters, as the coding and analysing process has already been carried out. The texts written from the books have been translated from two books already in the early stages of research. The texts in English and Finnish have been compared to see if the meanings change in connection with the language. Those parts of the text that have not yet been translated into English were translated at the latest at the writing stage of the analysis.

### 3.3.1 Coding Approach

The qualitative coding in this study is carried out with a hybrid approach, i.e., a combination of inductive and deductive approaches. The data drives the coding process in the inductive approach, also called data-driven or open coding. In the inductive approach, the data is thoroughly examined, and patterns, themes, or categories emerge organically from the data

itself. Codes are then created based on what is observed in the data. Finally, these codes are used to generate categories, themes, or theories (Gibbs, 2018). As this research asks what the prevailing representations of Global South countries in Finnish primary school history teaching materials are, the preconceived category of the study was mentions of the countries of the Global South. On the other hand, in the deductive approach, also called concept-driven or *priori* coding, pre-existing concepts, theories, or categories guide the coding process. The data is collected by examining how well the predefined concepts of theories apply to the data, and data is coded based on the pre-established concepts or categories. These codes are used to sort and analyse the data following their initial hypotheses or concepts (Gibbs, 2018). The study's methodological framework, as historical inquiry, cultural, and decolonial studies, provided some predefined themes for the study. However, most predefined concepts came from the theoretical framework, mainly the WSH approach. The predefined concepts have been defined and addressed in the Literature section of the research.

### 3.3.2 Initial Coding

The first step in the coding process was to get familiar with the text by getting an overview and a better understanding of the content through initial coding (Richards & Morse, 2013). As it is possible not to start with preconceptions, the starting point of inductive coding usually has a few preconceived categories or themes (Gibbs, 2018). In this research, the starting point of the data collection was to distinguish the relevant data, i.e., information on the Global Southern regions and their development, to form initial codes for the content analysis. The initial codes of the study were the mentions of countries belonging to the Global South, particularly regarding the mentions of continents and countries belonging to Asia, Africa, and South America. The most relevant periods and topics in the history teaching materials included Prehistory, Early Civilizations or High Cultures, Ancient Greece, Ancient Rome, the Middle Ages in Europe and the North, Distant Cultures, The Beginning of the Modern Period, and Changes in the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe and the world. These periods and topics were the most relevant as they all included mentions of the countries of the Global South. While the documents were more internalized, the codes of countries and continents began to be specified as they were separated as countries and regions based on their mentions in the text. The initial code of Asia was divided into South Asia, India, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, China, and the Middle East. The code of Africa was specified as Egypt and North Africa. Finally, the code of America was divided into South, North, and

Central America. In addition, Byzantine was added to the list as much of the empire was in what is now Turkey, North Africa, and the Middle East. The above-mentioned separated countries and regions became the first code group of the study, called countries and continents.

### 3.3.3 Thematic Coding

After writing down the data based on the first initial coding, the mentions of the Global South countries, the text began to be coded by topic, after which categories were created for different topics to conduct the discourse analysis. Coding by topic is commonly used as a first step to more interpretive coding to identify all material on a topic for later retrieval and description, categorization, or reflection (Richards & Morse, 2013). Topic coding is beneficial for discourse analysis, as it involves identifying key concepts or recurring topics within the text and analysing how they are constructed, conveyed, and identified as different themes. Analysing themes through discourse analysis makes it possible to explore the content and how specific themes are represented (Gibbs, 2018). As this research studies the representations of countries of the Global South and related development through the lens of development research, it was vital to include the concept of development in the first steps of the coding process. However, the word development and its current meaning did not appear in the text, so the topic of ‘progress’ was used to replace ‘development’.

The progress code in encoding the text involved various crucial aspects of developing high cultures, civilizations, empires, and dynasties throughout history. These include advancements in agriculture, infrastructure such as irrigation canals, road networks, sewer systems, and many inventions and achievements. These societies thrived on flourishing trade and commerce, fostering advancements in science and mathematics. Furthermore, the evolution of different writing systems facilitated communication and record-keeping. Migration and trade networks connected regions, while literature and language flourished, contributing to cultural diversity and exchange. Social hierarchies, leadership structures, and shared laws played a pivotal role in governing these communities, which experienced significant population growth and urban construction, giving rise to impressive structures like pyramids and tombs. Architecture, medicine, and religion, characterized by diversity and various rites, also contributed to the multifaceted progress of these civilizations. Additionally, the advent of image printing, book copying, and predating papermaking further enriched their historical legacy, which was marked by significant events that shaped history. These topics were divided into four groups: progress, infrastructure, inventions, and

education. Together, these codes formed a code group named development, that can be seen from the Table 2 below.

Table 2. Code Group 3: Development

Progress	Infrastructure	Inventions	Education
Trade and Commerce Population Growth and Migration Medicine Religion Governance and Society Cultural diversity and exchange Significant Historical Events	Urban construction Architecture	Agriculture Different Inventions and Achievements Development of Different Writing Systems Image Printing and Book Copying Before Papermaking	Science and Mathematics Literature and language

Inequality and slavery were also among the first code topics as they strongly relate to the concept of representation concerning the Global South. The subject of slavery was divided into seven codes including, slavery based on skin colour, slaves imported from elsewhere, prisoners of war, intra-state slaves, forced labour, slave trade, and slave labour. These seven codes together formed a code group called slavery. The code of inequality became more accurate as the research progressed. The Table 3 below shows examples of the codes of progress, inequality, and slavery.

Table 3. Examples of the topic coding of progress, inequality, and slavery.

Progress	"The villages began to trade with each other. The villages developed into towns as the adjacent villages merged. The first solid settlement ruins have been found in Jericho and Catal Hayuk. They are located in the Middle East and are about 8,000 to 10,000 years old." (Päivärinta et al., 2010, p. 37)  "In the Middle Ages, Arab culture was more advanced than European culture in many respects. The Arabs were interested in ancient culture and translated the texts of the great philosophers of ancient times into Arabic. Many sciences, such as medicine, were more advanced than European medicine." (Päivärinta et al., 2012, p. 47)
Inequality	"In the higher cultures, the first schools were established. Only a small percentage of the children of wealthy people got into them." (Päivärinta et al., 2010, p. 52)  "There was a strict hierarchy in the Sumerian Empire. The king, clergy, and the wealthy upper class were in the highest positions. Many residents worked as merchants, clerks, craftsmen, and farmers. Slaves were the worst. In the early days of the kingdom, women and men had similar rights, but later women's rights declined." (Bruun et al., 2015, p. 43)
Slavery	"Portuguese navigators began exploring the west coast of Africa in the early 15th century. From their travels, they brought valuable ivory, gold, and slaves." (Bruun et al., 2022, p. 73)  "Women, black slaves, indigenous Indians, and the poorest citizens did not receive the same rights. For example, black people imported from Africa as America were sold into slavery. Slaves lived in hovels in poor condition and could be flogged by a slave owner" (Päivärinta et al., 2012, p. 193)

As seen from Table 3, the codes of progress, inequality, and slavery can be interpreted as somewhat overlapping, as did several codes and themes as coding progresses. After the

formation of the first codes and code groups, deductive coding began to influence the formation of codes, as the theoretical frameworks of the study started to form around the philosophies and concepts of cultural and decolonial studies and the approach of World System History. At this point, the coding also moved from more straightforward topic coding to more abstract categorization coding as data began to be grouped into categories or broader conceptual constructs. Inequality is a central theme in development discourse and was thus essential to include in the coding process. The topic of inequality was divided into three codes, including inequality, development for exploitation, and concentration of wealth, forming a code group called inequality.

The concentration of wealth or prosperity is one of the central concepts of the World System History, thus being an essential category in the coding process. The concentration of prosperity code groups was divided into eight codes, including the subjugation of people, trade, development for exploitation, robbing of wealth, conquest of new territories, concentration of wealth, hegemony position, and changes in hegemony positions. All codes and concepts within that code group were closely related to the concentration of prosperity and should, therefore, be interpreted together as a group. The final code group was formed around global and historical interconnectedness as different forms of interaction between peoples globally and historically are central themes of the World System History approach. This code group was divided into eight codes, including people moving, trade, blending cultures and multiculturalism, the impact of other cultures on European development, migration, movement of information, conquest of new territories, and interaction. All the above codes were considered to impact global interconnectedness for their part. Interpreting all the codes in one group would help to analyse at what level global interconnectedness can be seen throughout history.

The analysis examines six code groups: Countries and Continents, Inequality, Development (progress), Slavery, Concentration of Prosperity, and Global and Historical Interconnectedness. The following charts illustrate the final code groups, showing the corresponding codes, the number of mentions, and their percentages. A complete table summarizing the code groups and their related codes is in Appendix 1, titled Code Groups and Codes (number of mentions). In the analysis, mentions of Global South countries are examined separately, along with discussions of development in connection with these regions. The code groups Concentration of Prosperity and Global and Historical Interconnectedness are combined for analysis, as are Inequality and Slavery. This

framework allows for a comprehensive exploration of themes across the various code groups, offering a structured way to interpret the data.

Table 4. Group 1: Countries and Continents

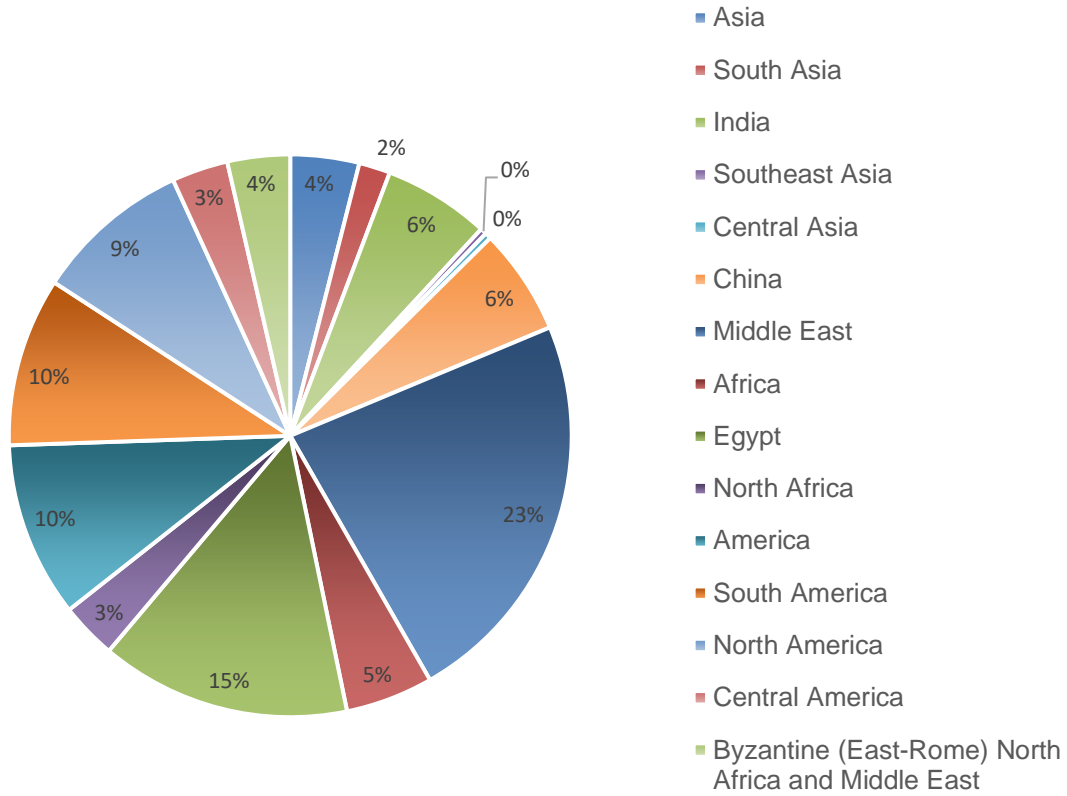


Table 5. Group 2: Inequality



Table 6. Group 3: Development (progress)

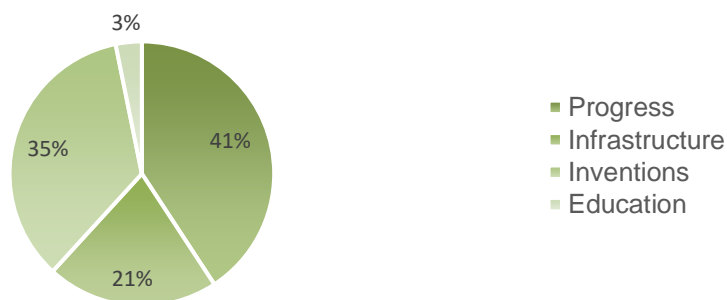
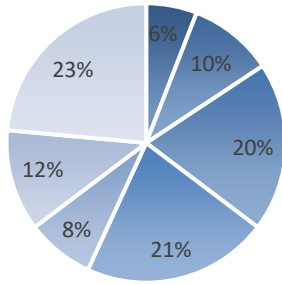
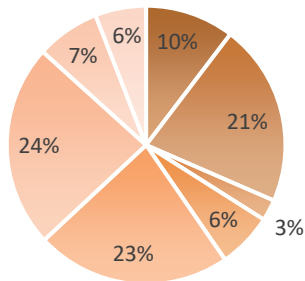


Table 7. Group 4: Slavery



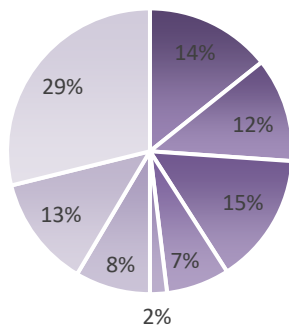
- Slavery based on skin color
- Slaves imported from elsewhere
- Prisoners of war
- Intra-state slaves
- Forced labor
- Slave trade
- Slave labor

Table 8. Group 5: Concentration of Prosperity



- Subjugation of people
- Trade
- Development for exploitation
- Robbing of wealth
- Conquest of new territories
- Concentration of wealth
- Hegemony position

Table 9. Group 6: Global and Historical Interconnectedness



- People moving
- Trade
- Blending of cultures/Multiculturalism
- The impact of other cultures on European development
- Migration
- Movement of information
- Conquest of new territories
- Interaction

## 4 Analysis Results

This chapter presents the textbook analysis results, aligning them with the theoretical framework outlined earlier. It starts with a brief overview of the mentions concerning the Global South countries from all the books. The following section centres on progress and development, examining the codes, concepts, and references associated with these themes in the history textbooks. First is the Bronze Age period (3000–1000 BCE), where high cultures and their associated progress are discussed in detail. Next, the discussion moves to the period from antiquity to the Middle Ages (1000 BCE–400 CE), analysing how these books cover ancient Greece and Rome and the extent to which countries from the Global South are mentioned about these empires. The Middle Ages (400–1400 CE) is mostly discussed from a European perspective, with little mention of non-European regions. Finally, the chapter examines the references from the beginning of the modern period (1400–1800 CE). The third section examines the narrative about Frank and Gills' World System History approach, focusing on key themes such as interconnectedness and shifting hegemonies. The final section examines how Global South countries are portrayed in the context of the narrative of the books, focusing on word choices. The first part analyses how word choices can reveal "othering processes" and shape the historical narrative. The last part explores how the depiction of slavery and inequality in these texts relates to racism, emphasizing the importance of decolonizing the mind and curriculum.

Table 10. Table of contents of the history textbooks.

Forum 5	Ritari 5	Forum 6	Ritari 6
1. What is history?	1. Not Titled	1. The Middle Ages	1. The Middle Ages in Europe
2. In Search of Prehistory	2. Prehistory	2. The Middle Ages of Finland	2. The Middle Ages in the North
3. High Cultures	3. Early High Cultures	3. Distant Cultures	3. The Beginning of a New Era
4. Ancient Greece	4. The Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages in the North	4. Europe is changing	4. 17th and 18th centuries worldwide
5. Ancient Rome	5. Ancient Greece	5. The Rise and Fall of the Swedish Empire	5. A New Era in the North
6. Prehistory of Finland	6. Ancient Rome	6. Finland at the time of Swedish rule	
7. Vikings		7. Power to the people?	

The content of the fifth and sixth-grade books exhibits only minor differences, as shown in Table 11 above. Since the overall content across the different book series is quite similar, this research does not focus on direct comparisons between them. However, the study does identify some notable distinctions, particularly in the mentions of specific countries and regions in the Global South and in the language used when discussing topics like skin colour-related slavery. These variations highlight the importance of challenging Eurocentric biases and promoting a more inclusive narrative in history education. The emphasis should be on language that actively confronts racist stereotypes. This approach helps to understand how educational materials influence perceptions of the Global South and the broader context of historical narratives.

#### **4.1 The Global South**

As this study explores the representations of the Global South countries in the primary school history books, the references to the regions and countries of the Global South and their examination are central to the study. In this research, “Global South” refers to countries primarily located in the Southern Hemisphere, often characterized by shared socio-economic and historical contexts and distinct from the Global North due to colonial legacies and global power dynamics (Koponen et al., 2018; Miraftab & Kudva, 2015). The parts and countries belonging to Asia are mentioned 116 times in total, Africa, Egypt, and North Africa are mentioned 63 times in total, and the regions of the American continent are mentioned 89 times in total. Regarding the American continent, I am focusing mentions and representations of regions of Central and South America. As can be seen from the pie chart named Table 5. Group 1: Countries and Continents at the end of the previous chapter, the countries and regions of Asia are the most mentioned of the areas of the Global South. However, the total number of mentions for Asia is significantly increased by the references to the Middle East, which are found in 64. The large number of mentions of the Middle East is explained by the fact that agriculture is considered to have begun in the Middle East, and the first major cities were located there. In addition, the high culture of Mesopotamia, Ancient Greece, and Persia, as well as the Empire of Alexander the Great, the Islamic Empire, and the Roman Empire, play a central role in the books of history and explain the large number of mentions of the Middle East. India and China are both mentioned in the context of the high cultures that formed in the regions and their development, the Age of Discovery, and the beginning of the New Ages when trade between the continents accelerated due to explorations and conquest attempts.

Notable is the lack of mentions regarding the African continent, apart from Egypt, which is mentioned 40 times. Only North Africa is mentioned separately from the African continent and areas belonging there unless talking about the entire African continent. The abundance of Egyptian mentions is explained by the high culture that emerged there, which is central to the high culture areas in both books. Forum 5 has two chapters related to Egyptian high culture and life in Egypt, and Ritari 5 has three chapters. North Africa is mainly mentioned in connection with Ancient Rome when discussing the Battle of Carthage. Speaking of Africa in general, it is mentioned that modern man has developed on the African continent and moved from there all over the world. Otherwise, Africa is mentioned in connection with the Age of Discovery and the beginning of the New Ages, mainly concerning explorations, trade, and slavery. Mentions of Central and South America are also relatively minor when North America is taken out of the count. The regions of South and Central America are particularly mentioned when it comes to the cultures that have formed there and their discovery by Europeans, the conquest of people, and the downfall of the cultures during the Age of Discovery.

## **4.2 Progress and Development**

The following paragraphs go through the mentions of Global South countries' progress and development. As stated earlier, the code group "development" comprises four subgroups: progress, infrastructure, inventions, and education. However, with only five mentions, the education subgroup had a limited impact on the analysis. In contrast, the progress, infrastructure, and inventions subgroups had a more substantial influence due to their higher frequency in the data. Understanding key concepts such as development, modernization, Eurocentrism, and decolonization of the mind is crucial for analysing the narratives presented in textbooks, shedding light on the broader dynamics that shape historical storytelling. Comparing whether the definitions of progress and development and related subgroups align with Rostow's linear development model or reflect a more diverse interpretation helps to assess the underlying message. Rostow's model suggests that all countries follow a linear progression through specific stages—from traditional societies to preconditions for take-off, and then to the take-off stage—to become developed. The critical question is whether the narrative in the textbooks conforms to this linear model, reinforcing a Eurocentric view of development, or offers a more varied perspective that includes criticism of Western-centric thinking and acknowledges multiple pathways to development.

According to Rostow (1990), traditional societies rely on subsistence agriculture, have limited technology, and maintain traditional social structures. Their economies are primarily rural and have minimal trade. The preconditions for take-off encompass factors supporting economic growth, such as improved agriculture, increased trade, infrastructure development (like roads and ports), and establishment of financial institutions. The take-off stage involves rapid industrialization, urbanization, technological innovation, and significant social and cultural changes, laying the groundwork for modern industrial societies. Therefore, examining whether textbooks reflect these stages of development or propose alternative narratives can reveal whether they perpetuate a linear, Eurocentric approach or embrace a more inclusive perspective that recognizes different pathways and critiques Euro- and Western-centric views. The appendices contain more detailed tables of the references from each of the Global South region and countries which are discussed in this section. These references can be found from the Appendices 2-11.

#### 4.2.1 The Bronze Age

##### 4.2.1.1 *High Cultures of Mesopotamia and Egypt*

The books, Forum 5 and Ritari 5, have well highlighted the importance of early Mesopotamian cultures, Sumerian, and Babylonian, to human development. Paraphrasing Frank and Gills' (2006) view, the books tell how the ancient civilizations of the Mesopotamia region saw remarkable advancements in various fields, especially in developing writing and early urbanization. The Sumerians pioneered mathematics, astronomy, and writing with cuneiform script and the epic of Gilgamesh, the world's oldest literary work. The Babylonians followed with advancements such as Hammurabi's law code, irrigation systems, and the wheel's use in pottery and transportation. These contributions are highlighted in the textbooks as significant achievements (Bruun et al., 2015; Päivärinta et al., 2010). However, the books focus on these achievements reflects rather Eurocentric perspective. Emphasis is placed on elements like law, technology, and architecture because they align with Western values of progress and civilization, potentially side-lining other cultural aspects that are equally significant (Amīn et al., 1989). Contrary to the Rostow's (1990) model, which describes traditional societies as having limited external market interaction, commerce in Mesopotamia was vibrant:

Clothing and metal items were produced in series. Thousands of weavers made clothes for sale in other cities. The Sumerians traded widely and sourced raw materials from Egypt and India (Bruun et al., 2015, p. 42).

The descriptions of Mesopotamia's advancements highlight significant achievements that align more closely with the preconditions for take-off and take-off stages rather than Rostow's (1990) notion of traditional societies. This suggests a high level of cultural and intellectual development, challenging the idea that development is a linear journey toward Western-style modernity. However, a statement that there are other cultures in the area without mentioning them reinforce a Eurocentric narrative (Fanon, 1961; Said, 1978): "*Several different cultures developed in the Mesopotamian region, such as Sumer and Babylonia*" (Bruun et al., 2015, p. 36).

Both books, extensively discuss Egyptian high culture, as they emphasize the significance of Egyptian civilization, reflecting its profound impact on human history. It is told that ancient Egyptians were skilled farmers, utilizing irrigation and floodwater management, and their sophisticated society featured hieroglyphic writing and architectural marvels like the pyramids, reflecting a complex understanding of mathematics and astronomy (Bruun et al., 2015; Päivärinta et al., 2010). Once again, contrary to the Rostow's (1990) model of traditional societies, they traded goods like gold and papyrus with various regions, including the peoples of Africa and the Mediterranean region, while also importing resources for production. Thus, the information on ancient Egypt aligns with several aspects of preconditions for take-off and the take-off stage, given the Egyptians' advancements in agriculture, trade, building, and writing. Compared to other high cultures, ancient Egypt is extensively covered, with detailed descriptions of religious beliefs, mummification, afterlife practices, and daily life elements like housing, clothing, and social roles (Bruun et al., 2015; Päivärinta et al., 2010). This depth of coverage highlights the cultural uniqueness of Ancient Egypt and challenges Eurocentric narratives that focus primarily on Western notions of progress (Diop et al., 1974; Rodney, 2012).

Nevertheless, like the Mesopotamian cultures, the emphasis often leans toward valuing achievements typically recognized in Western discourse. This approach reflects a Eurocentric perspective by framing these advancements as part of a linear progression leading to Western dominance (Amīn et al., 1989). Other cultures that may have flourished simultaneously in the region are given less attention, except for the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Arabs, who attempted to conquer Egypt (Bruun et al., 2015; Päivärinta et al., 2010). Other African cultures that might have flourished concurrently are left unmentioned in the textbooks. The uneven representation of African civilizations, characterized by ancient Egypt's isolation from its broader African context, contributes to a Eurocentric view by

suggesting that Egyptian culture and development had no connection to other cultures on the African continent (Diop et al., 1974; Rodney, 2012). This perspective implies that these other African cultures were less significant or influential, reinforcing that historical development is centred around Europe and its adjacent regions.

#### *4.2.1.2 High Cultures of China, Indus, and America*

Ritari 5 discusses high cultures in China, India, and South America, alongside those in Mesopotamia and Egypt, offering a broader view of early civilizations. In contrast, Forum 5 only mentions Mesopotamia and Egypt, while Forum 6 includes a few high cultures from the American region. As a result, Ritari 5 provides more diverse insights into various civilizations' cultural achievements throughout history than Forum 5. However, the lack of examining more regional cultures lacks depth and fails to provide substantial insights into their complexities and contributions to human civilization. This can be seen as reflecting a Eurocentric tendency to prioritize Western origins and achievements while treating other cultures as secondary or peripheral (Amīn et al., 1989; Said, 1978). It can create a perception that the cradle of civilization lies primarily in the Western or Mediterranean regions, ignoring the profound contributions from other parts of the world (Amīn et al., 1989).

Ritari 5 mentions that Chinese history dates back thousands of years, with pictorial inscriptions on animal bones as early evidence. It says that the Chinese Empire began around 220 BCE with Qin Shi Huang's unification of warring territories, which led to standardized measurements, currency, and characters and the construction of the Great Wall of China. Known for its governance and uniform laws, this Empire flourished for over two millennia. (Bruun et al., 2015) By stating that the Chinese Empire did not begin until 220 BCE the earlier civilizations are undervalued as this simplification ignores the long history of early Chinese civilizations and dynasties existed before (Frank & Gills, 2006). This Eurocentric perspective ignores the rich history, diverse cultural practices, and early technological innovations that predated 220 BCE, emphasizing standardized measurement, currency, and centralized governance as critical progress markers. This aligns with Rostow's (1990) model of industrialization and Western-style growth. This skewed focus reinforces the idea that development is synonymous with Western metrics, neglecting the broader complexity of non-Western civilizations (Said, 1978).

Ritari 5 briefly mention the Indus culture as one of the high cultures in the Indian region, contemporary with the high cultures of Sumer and Egypt. It highlights its advanced urban

planning, infrastructure, and sophisticated irrigation techniques. Despite the limited information due to its undeciphered writing system, the books emphasize the development of its remarkable cities, including their water pipes and sewers (Bruun et al., 2015). The book's focus on these aspects aligns with Rostow's (1990) stages of development, which prioritize technological and infrastructural progress, potentially obscuring non-Western civilizations' broader cultural, social, and spiritual dimensions (Amīn et al., 1989; Said, 1978). Besides these cultures, there are no mentions of other cultures that may have flourished at the region simultaneously. There is also no mention of the role or the relations between China and India with regions other than the eastern Mediterranean, which had complex trade routes and connections from India and China (Bruun et al., 2015). The neglect of trade routes and connections outside the eastern Mediterranean overlooks the rich and diverse trading networks among regions like India and China, contributing to a global development system long before Western industrialization (Frank & Gills, 2006).

The textbooks cover several early American cultures, including the Olmec, Mayan, and Aztec in Mexico and the Inca in South America. However, the depth of coverage varies. Forum 6 briefly mentions the Olmec culture, highlighting its innovations like a unique ball game and massive stone heads, which presents an incomplete view due to the lack of further details (Päivärinta et al., 2012). In contrast, Ritari 5 book highlights the Caral culture's notable achievements, including advanced irrigation, craftsmanship, and architectural marvels. With a population of about 20,000, the Caral civilization is recognized for its quipu-based writing system, positioning it as one of the first urban cultures among South American Indigenous peoples (Bruun et al., 2015). The briefness and lack of depth concerning the representation of these cultures suggest that these civilizations are somehow less significant and by aligning with Rostow's model, the narrative emphasize Western-style progress while neglecting the broader cultural and social complexities of non-Western civilizations. This narrow focus on a few key innovations and overemphasis on traditional characteristics creates a skewed perspective, reinforcing a Western-centric view of history and development (Amīn et al., 1989).

#### 4.2.2 Ancient Period and the Middle Ages

##### 4.2.2.1 *Ancient Greece and Roman Empire*

As the focus within the books is on Ancient Greece and Rome during the Ancient period, other regions are discussed only concerning these civilizations. This highlights the

idealization and emphasis on the influence of ancient Greek and Roman cultures on contemporary European (Mikander, 2016), while simultaneously marginalizing or omitting the history and development other cultures that coexisted with them. There is limited discussion of their broader contributions, focusing instead on warfare, with scant attention to aspects like trade and cultural mixing. The influence of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian cultures is noted in connection with the island of Crete, which is described as melting pot of civilization during the era of Ancient Greece. The Minoan culture, contemporaneous with Egyptian high culture, thrived in Crete and engaged in extensive Mediterranean trade, exporting goods to Egypt (Bruun et al., 2015). The area of modern-day Turkey is mentioned concerning the beginning of the Ancient Age in Greece as Greeks migrated to fertile regions like Turkey, blending Greek and local customs (Päivärinta et al., 2010). Like Frank and Gills (2006), both books emphasize the importance of the Mediterranean as a significant trade route connecting North Africa, the Middle East, Asia as China and India, and southern Europe, where cultures were influenced by each other. This indicates that the books have acknowledged broader global connections and cultural exchanges.

However, the focus on non-European cultures, primarily through the lens of war with Greece or Rome, creates a skewed and reductive view, emphasizing conflict and aggression while overlooking the rich and diverse contributions these cultures have made to the world (Fanon, 1961; Said, 1978). In this context, Macedonia and the Persian Empire are noted for their role in Greek development through Alexander the Great's conquests, spreading Hellenistic culture to Egypt and India. Africa is mentioned primarily for the Carthage Empire's Punic wars with Rome, leading to Roman control over the Western Mediterranean. Asia is only noted for the Huns' invasion of the Roman Empire in the 5th century (Bruun et al., 2015; Päivärinta et al., 2010). This Eurocentric perspective neglects these regions' broader cultural contributions and societal complexities, concentrating instead on moments of violence, conquest, and conflict, resulting in a warlike portrayal that fails to capture the diverse and multifaceted nature of these societies (Fanon, 1961; Said, 1978).

Although the influence of ancient Greek and Roman civilizations on humankind's development cannot be denied, focusing only on the history viewed through them during antiquity emphasizes the Eurocentric image of history. Statements such as: *"European culture has its roots in antiquity, and the roots of modern democracy lie in Athens"* (Bruun et al., 2015, p. 147), further strengthen this image. As Mikander (2016) points out, this emphasizes Greek civilization as the progenitor of democratic principles and the success

story of Europe. On the other hand, the extensive discussion of Egypt's high culture within the books is partly attributed to Eurocentric perspectives, aligning with Egypt's incorporation into the Roman Empire by 30 BCE. This focus underscores how Eurocentric narratives emphasize Egyptian civilization as a precursor to ancient Greek and Roman culture, highlighting its influence on Western classical traditions. However, as Brolsma et al. (2019) notes, the concept of a seamless 'European history' has faced criticism for projecting Western superiority onto ancient civilizations. Ancient Greece has been seen as part of a broader Mediterranean context, with strong cultural ties to Africa and the Middle East, which challenges the traditional narrative that centres Europe in the development of human history.

#### 4.2.2.2 *The Middle Ages*

The section on the Middle Ages in Ritari 6 is titled "Medieval Europe," indicating a European-centric focus. Forum 6, despite its broader title, also discusses the Middle Ages exclusively through a European lens. This emphasis on Europe as the centre of medieval history leads to overlooking developments outside Europe for a thousand-year period from 400 to 1400. Both books briefly introduce Byzantium, noting that its capital, Constantinople, became Europe's largest city during the Middle Ages and served as a key trading hub for luxury goods from the East (Bruun et al., 2022; Päivärinta et al., 2012). However, they then focus primarily on Western European events and perspectives without providing more detail on the East or its role in the broader historical context.

Despite the limited coverage, both books recognize the significant contributions of the Arab world to European development: *"For the development of Western Europe, it was significant that the Islamic Empire conquered almost the entire Spanish peninsula for centuries"* (Bruun et al., 2022, p. 21). Extensive trade with the Arabs shaped the era's culture and knowledge, intertwined with the spread of Islam across the Middle East, North Africa, and the Spanish Peninsula. Additionally, Arab scholars' translations of ancient Greek texts and advancements in various fields, such as medicine, were instrumental in the intellectual revival of Europe. The more advanced culture was also reflected in the development of sciences, such as medicine: *"Many sciences, such as medicine, were more advanced than medicine in Europe"* (Päivärinta et al., 2012, p. 47). Rostow's (1990) linear development model suggests a specific pathway towards Western-style industrialization and modernity. However, the Arab world's influence, as described in these textbooks, aligns with the World System History approach, illustrating a more interconnected interpretation of progress and

development through global networks, knowledge exchange, and cultural diffusion (Frank & Gills, 2006). This perspective contrasts with Rostow's linearity, emphasizing a broader range of influences beyond Europe. Although both books acknowledge the Arab world's contributions to European development, the textbooks' Eurocentric perspective still presents Europe as the primary focal point of history.

Amidst this, the Crusades emerged, and church-led campaigns to reclaim Jerusalem from the Islamic Empire, mediated by the dichotomy between Christianity and the Islamic faith. The Crusades are an excellent example of the historical division between us and others through religion (Said, 1978,) as Christianity had become the only official religion during the Roman rule: *"The Muslims had conquered Jerusalem, and the Pope wanted the tomb of Jesus there back for Christians"* (Päivärinta et al., 2012, p. 26). The books state that the Crusades ultimately failed, affecting the relationship between the Islamic world and Western Europe. These religious wars and military campaigns heightened tensions, fuelling animosity and distrust and shaping the interactions and diplomacy between the two regions for centuries (Said, 1978). However, they do not mention that this legacy of conflict and suspicion persists today. The books overlook influential empires from the Middle Ages, such as the Mongols and Ottomans, which are discussed by Frank and Gills (2006). The Mongols are mentioned only for their attack on China, while other significant contributions and impacts of these empires are omitted.

#### 4.2.3 The Beginning of the Modern Age

##### 4.2.3.1 *The end of the Middle Ages*

Regarding the Middle Ages neither book discusses other cultures than Arabian peninsula or their development beyond brief mentions that many Asian inventions and products reached Europe through the Arabs (Päivärinta et al., 2012). The end of the Middle Ages in other cultures is revisited in Forum 6 in Distant Cultures and in Ritari 6 in the Beginning of the New Age. It is implied in Ritari 6 that there are more cultures in the region at the same time, but the books end up only talking about China and India: *"At the end of the Middle Ages, advanced cultures flourished in Asia"* (Bruun et al., 2022, p. 84). Both books highlight China's development and significant advancements over Europe, noting that its progressive inventions like paper, image printing, gunpowder, and the compass were brought to Europe by merchants and Arabs at the end of the Middle Ages via the Silk Road (Bruun et al., 2022; Päivärinta et al., 2012). However, the Silk Road's importance is not discussed further, so its

importance as an early form of a world system that connected diverse regions through trade, cultural exchange, and interaction, as highlighted by Frank and Gills (2006), does not come out clearly from the books.

The books suggest that China's internal conflicts, external threats, and economic constraints led to the decline of its powerful fleet by the early 16th century. This shift toward isolationism, with China closing its doors to the outside world, allowed European nations to dominate global trade, implying that European colonization might not have occurred if China had chosen a different path (Bruun et al., 2022; Päivärinta et al., 2012). Europe's dominance in global trade, enabled by China's retreat, aligns with Rostow's (1990) linear development model, which sees progress as progressing toward Western-style industrialization and expansion. This perspective suggests that Europe's rise to power was inevitable due to a linear progression of historical development. However, China's shift toward isolationism, driven by internal and external pressures, challenges this linear view, emphasizing the contingent nature of historical events. This aligns more closely with Frank and Gills' (2006) WSH approach, suggesting that broader factors and global networks influence progress and development. This perspective indicates that Europe's dominance and China's retreat reflect complex global dynamics and multiple pathways of historical development, moving beyond Eurocentric narratives.

Notably, India during the Middle Ages is only discussed briefly in Forum 6 and more comprehensively in Ritari 6. In Forum 6, India is only mentioned in relation to the beginning of European discovery voyages and the search for a sea route to Asia. Ritari 6 explores India's history as a cultural crossroads as it thrived between the Chinese and Islamic Empires for centuries, fostering a flourishing spice trade with Europe along ancient routes. India's cultural and religious tolerance is highlighted by the emergence of Sikhism, a blend of Hindu and Islamic traditions, and the Muslim-led Mughal Empire's relatively inclusive approach to governance, integrating Indian culture to foster prosperity (Bruun et al., 2022). India's rich history of cultural exchange and religious tolerance and its role as a cultural meeting place, influenced by both the Chinese and Islamic Empires, suggests that development can follow multiple pathways. This aligns more with Frank and Gills' (2006) WSH approach than Rostow's (1990) linear development model, emphasizing global interconnectedness and diverse interpretations of history. However, despite recognizing India's cultural and religious complexities, the textbook's portrayal of India's role in European exploration and the spice trade reflects a Western-centric narrative (Amīn et al., 1989). It focuses on India's

significance from a European perspective, indicating a need for broader narratives that capture India's contributions beyond Western frameworks.

#### 4.2.3.2 *The Age of Discoveries or Raids?*

In general, the narrative in the books during the Modern Age reflects a Eurocentric viewpoint, focusing on European exploration and exploitation in Africa and the Americas. The reasons for the expeditions are listed in the Forum 6 as luxury goods in China and India, gold and other riches, the spread of Christianity, and sailors' adventurousness (Päivärinta et al., 2012). Both books describe in some detail the voyages of European explorers: Marco Polo's journeys to China, Columbus naming the Native American Indians when he thought he had come to India, Amerigo Vespucci as an inspiration to naming America, and Portuguese explorers strengthening perceptions of the world's spherical shape (Bruun et al., 2022; Ibid.). The framing of European exploration as a catalyst for progress and development has significant implications for reinforcing Eurocentric ideologies (Hall, 1997), where European achievements overshadow indigenous experiences (Amīn et al., 1989). By emphasizing European contributions to geography, these narratives suggest Western superiority, casting European explorers as pioneers in expanding human knowledge (Said, 1978). The use of language of "voyage of discovery" and "exploration" suggests that these were primarily European achievements, thus often downplaying the impact on indigenous peoples and the devastating effects of the slave trade (Fanon, 2008; Said, 1978). This narrative often highlights European advancements in navigation and trade while ignoring the brutal consequences for colonized societies (Amīn et al., 1989).

However, both books discuss whether these were expeditions or raid voyages, challenging the idealized, sometimes heroic image of discoveries and their consequences: *"What was discovery and new possibilities from the point of view of Europeans was oppression, plunder, and misery from the point of view of Indians"* (Bruun et al., 2022, p. 80).

The term voyage of discovery is apt in the sense that the American continent and its cultures were unknown to medieval Europeans. The New Continent, its peoples, and cultures were thus discovered. For Native Americans, the arrival of Europeans was not a voyage of discovery but a raid. Indigenous people were subjugated and forced into slave labour, temples were destroyed, and wealth was stolen (Päivärinta et al., 2012, p. 93).

Reframing European voyages as raids or colonization shifts the perspective from a romanticized view to a more critical examination of historical events and figures. This approach reveals that "discovery" often masks colonization and exploitation when viewed in

a broader historical context. The idealized portrayal of European exploration tends to romanticize it, overlooking its violent impact on indigenous peoples and the cultural erasure it caused (Said, 1978; Smith, 2012). The first quote encapsulates this dichotomy, as it emphasizes that while Europeans saw new opportunities, Native Americans experienced severe hardship and cultural erasure. Recognizing these broader contexts allows the books to move away from Eurocentric narratives and address the real costs of European expansion.

#### 4.2.3.3 *The American Occupation and Exploitation*

Although the narrative remains Eurocentric, the books extensively cover some American civilizations' development and culture during the Modern Age period. In Mexico, the Aztecs formed a powerful empire in the 14th century. The chapter about the Aztecs is called "The Aztecs sacrificed people to the gods" in the Ritari 6. The chapter showcases the Aztecs' remarkable achievements, emphasizing their advanced cities, military skills, and unique culture. It highlights Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital, as a prime example of its engineering prowess, with its intricate road networks, dependable water supply, floating gardens, and large temple complexes (Bruun et al., 2022). This challenges the Eurocentric assumptions of Rostow's (1990) model, showing that complex and advanced civilizations existed outside Europe well before European industrialization. However, as the title suggests, the chapter also discusses the Aztec practice of human sacrifice as part of their religious rituals. This inclusion of human sacrifice alongside descriptions of the Aztecs' advanced engineering and urban development can suggest a Eurocentric perspective that views non-Western practices as primitive, reinforcing the idea that Western development is superior. By focusing on human sacrifice, the chapter might contribute to a narrative that depicts the Aztecs as "uncivilized," which could justify colonization (Fanon, 1961; Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986; Said, 1978) and align with Rostow's (1990) linear development model. This selective focus on their religious rituals can undermine the legitimacy of non-Western cultures by reinforcing stereotypes and emphasizing practices that differ from Western norms.

The advanced culture of the Incas is emphasized in both books: "*The Incas are known for their religion, elaborate road network, and high-quality construction skills*" (Bruun et al., 2022, p. 78). Although the Inca Empire corresponds in some respects to Rostow's (1990) traditional society, aspects of it have also been highlighted that align more closely with today's concept of development, focusing on community well-being (Koponen et al., 2018; Sachs, 1992; Yinuo, 2023), than with Rostow's linear model: "*In exchange for work, the*

*state cared for older people who could no longer work"* (Päivärinta et al., 2012, p. 81). The conquest and colonization of the Inca Empire disrupted a complex society with its religion, culture, and governance, revealing that the Spanish were not fostering development but exploiting resources and subjugating indigenous people. This challenges the simplistic view of linear progress by showing that progress is not always an equitable journey.

#### 4.2.3.4 African Slave Trade

The books highlight African exploration with a Eurocentric lens, concentrating on European exploration and exploitation, including the slave trade, while downplaying Africa's broader historical and cultural context. While they acknowledge some of the devastating impacts on African people and societies, the focus on European-driven slavery makes it challenging to gain a more comprehensive view of Africa's development and its diverse societies. Ritari 6 mentions the productivity of the slave trade for Europe and cooperation with African chiefs:

European were interested in gold, ivory, coffee, and the slave trade in Africa. Slaves imported from Africa endured heavy labour and diseases better than the Indians. Thus, the slave trade from Africa to America was profitable for Europeans. In West Africa, African chiefs abducted people from the interior, transported them to the coast, and sold them as slaves. Europeans exchanged clothing, weapons, alcohol, and utensils for slaves. Slaves were transported by ships across the Atlantic to America. The journey was burdensome for the slaves, as the ships were cramped, the journey was long, and the food was little. Many slaves died during the voyage (Bruun et al., 2022, p. 81).

This mention reveals the brutal reality of the transatlantic slave trade, demonstrating that European progress came at a significant human cost, challenging the idea of universal linear progress by Rostow (1990) by highlighting the exploitation and dehumanization that underpinned European economic growth, where development was rooted in oppression and profound injustice (Fanon, 1961; Rodney, 2012; Said, 1978). This exploitation-based model of progress perpetuated unequal power dynamics and systemic racism, creating deep-rooted social and economic disparities that persist to this day, thus questioning the notion that industrialization and modernity were universally beneficial (Hooks, 1990, 2009). Forum 6 discusses a bit of the consequences of the slave trade to the African region:

As a result of the slave trade, Africa's population declined. Competition for slaves increased wars among the various tribes because the tribes plundered each other's people as slaves (Päivärinta et al., 2012, p. 95).

This narrative challenges Rostow's (1990) view of linear model of progress even further by emphasizing that European development often came at the expense of African societies,

resulting in destructive and devastating consequences that extended beyond the slave trade, impacting social structures, tribal relations, and cultural continuity. This broader context of exploitation and violence provides a counter-narrative to the idea of Western progress being solely beneficial. However, mentioning competition and tribal warfare triggered by the slave trade while acknowledging European involvement may inadvertently reinforce negative stereotypes of African societies, implying that conflict was inherent rather than exacerbated by European exploitation (Fanon, 1961; Rodney, 2012; Said, 1978). This portrayal risks reinforcing a Eurocentric view by focusing on the impact of European colonization without delving deeper into the rich cultural history, achievements, and societal development of African civilizations (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986). The texts' limited scope fails to adequately explore African history and cultural achievements, reinforcing a Eurocentric perspective that side-lines and marginalizes non-European cultures.

### **4.3 Interconnectedness and Hegemony Changes**

As stated in WSH approach, global interactions, interconnectedness, forms of globalization, global hegemony, and the concentration of wealth have existed throughout history, long before the 1500s. This is also evident in the contents of the fifth and sixth grade books. The WSH approach characterises history of globalization by cycles of hegemony, where different regions or civilizations rise to dominate the global stage, only to be replaced by others. These cycles, spanning millennia, are marked by economic, political, and cultural influence, facilitated by extensive global networks of trade, communication, and cultural exchange connecting Africa, Asia, and Europe (Frank & Gills, 2006). According to the narrative of the books, throughout history, people have moved from one place to another for various reasons, including economic opportunities, trade, and exploration, escape from conflict, urbanization, environmental factors, religious or political persecution, colonization or settlements, and social ties. As a result of migration and cultural exchange, the spread of ideas, skills, and knowledge has prompted people to share and acquire information, technology, and innovations (Bruun et al., 2015, 2022; Päivärinta et al., 2010, 2012). In this chapter, the narrative of the books is considered from the perspective of WSH approach, with a specific focus on interconnectedness and the changing positions of hegemony.

The narrative of the history textbooks can be considered to somewhat support Frank and Gills' (2006) perspective of the world's long-term interconnectedness of civilizations and the shifting dynamics of global hegemony, although not as detailed as within the WSH framework. From this perspective, the rise and fall of various regions and empires reflect

broader patterns of interconnected trade, cultural exchanges, and power transitions over time. The narrative of the textbooks about early high cultures emerging around 3000 BCE aligns with Frank and Gills' perspective on interconnectedness, as the books highlight trading networks that linked Sumer, Babylon, Egypt, and Chinese dynasties. These early civilizations were regional hegemonies, demonstrating the core-periphery relationships that characterize the WSH approach. They fostered global interconnectedness long before European dominance through trade, knowledge exchange, and cultural diffusion.

From the WSH perspective, the interconnectedness among ancient civilizations is exemplified in the books by the trade networks, like the Silk Road, which connected regions from Asia to Europe. Civilizations like Egypt, the Roman Empire, and the Byzantine Empire were crucial in facilitating cultural exchange, commerce, and technological advancement. Despite their significant influence, these regional hegemonies faced internal and external pressures that led to shifts in power dynamics. However, as Egypt's dominance waned due to external invasions, Hellenistic culture emerged, blending Greek and Eastern elements. This cultural synthesis thrived within the Roman Empire, demonstrating the interconnectedness and fluidity of world history in the WSH framework. The Roman Empire's extensive road network and territorial control exemplify a regional hegemon's ability to drive trade and cultural diffusion. However, the division into Eastern and Western Rome, along with external pressures like the Huns' invasions, demonstrates how hegemonic changes can reshape global interactions (Bruun et al., 2015; Frank & Gills, 2006; Päivärinta et al., 2010). The Byzantine Empire continued these interconnected patterns, maintaining long-distance trade and cultural links across Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The rise of Islamic Caliphates in the Arabian Peninsula introduced another layer of regional hegemony, fostering intellectual growth and cultural advancements, with an extensive reach into Europe and Asia. India's strategic location between China and the Islamic world facilitated rich trade and cultural exchanges, highlighting global history's multi-directional flow of influence and interconnectedness.

The sixth-grade books describe China during the early 15th century as a dominant global power with a formidable navy, advanced technology, and extensive trade networks. This aligns with WSH's emphasis on historical interconnectedness, recognizing that non-European civilizations like China played crucial roles in shaping global trade and knowledge exchange. The books mention China's explorations reaching India, the Arabian Peninsula, and Africa, indicating a global interconnectedness before European

dominance. This fits into WSH's broader perspective of history, where European events do not solely drive the world system's development but include significant contributions from other civilizations. However, as Frank and Gills highlight, shifts in hegemony can occur due to various factors, such as internal power struggles and external threats. The books illustrate this with China's transition from a maritime power to a more inward-focused stance, eventually leading to dismantling its naval fleet. This shift represents a crucial change in global power dynamics, inadvertently paving the way for European dominance in world trade. The decline of the Ming Dynasty's naval power and the subsequent rise of European exploration and colonization demonstrate global history's complex and dynamic nature, emphasizing that power shifts can have profound and lasting impacts on global development.

Similarly, the Portuguese and Spanish explorations of the 15th century can be seen as extensions of this interconnectedness rather than the start of global integration. Frank and Gills suggest that European expansion into the existing Afro-Eurasian world system did not mark the origin of capitalism but instead integrated Europe into pre-existing trade networks. The textbooks' mentions on the Silk Road and maritime trading routes indicates that interconnectedness was well-established before European exploration. European colonization, with its devastating effects on indigenous cultures and societies, represents a hegemonic shift from non-Western civilizations to European dominance. The brutal Atlantic Triangle trade and the decline of indigenous populations due to colonization and disease illustrate the impact of European hegemony on global interconnectedness. Frank and Gills argue that this hegemonic shift does not signify the beginning of interconnectedness but rather a realignment of power within a long-standing world system. (Bruun et al., 2022; Frank & Gills, 2006; Päivärinta et al., 2012) These historical events highlight the interconnectedness of the world and the shifting positions of hegemonies throughout the ages as different powers rose and fell in their pursuit of wealth, influence, and dominance. However, the books' content lacks the comprehensive global perspective offered by the WSH approach, failing to address history beyond a more localized or Eurocentric focus.

Frank and Gills' WSH approach seeks to counter Eurocentric narratives by emphasizing global interconnectedness. However, critics argue that WSH can still be Eurocentric, as it may not fully consider local cultural dynamics or adequately represent non-European contributions (Mignolo, 2005; Said, 1978). To become more inclusive, WSH needs to decentre Western perspectives further, focusing on diverse knowledge systems and

recognizing the significance of non-Western regions, particularly African civilizations (During, 2005; Smith, 2012). By addressing these gaps, WSH can offer a more balanced view of historical power dynamics and the global system. The Table 12 below follows the WSH approach, highlighting regions or states recognized for their hegemonic status. It also includes key references to the interconnectedness of these regions as described in the books, reflecting their role in the broader global framework.

Table 11. Interconnectedness and Global Hegemon Changes.

Period	Area	Dominant Hegemon(s)	Key Events & Connections (if mentioned in the books)
Bronze Age, Ancient Times	The Middle East	Mesopotamia, Sumer, and Babylon	Early regional hegemony with trade networks along the Euphrates River, trade with Egypt and India, development of writing, urbanization, and agriculture and irrigation.
	North Africa	Ancient Egypt	Early regional hegemony with trade networks along the Nile River, trade with Africa, the Mediterranean region, and India, strong cultural, political, and economic influence, developing agriculture and irrigation, conquest and controlled large areas around the Mediterranean region
	East Asia	Ancient Chinese Empire, Various Chinese Dynasties	Early regional hegemony and central role in regional trade in East Asia, developing agriculture and irrigation, trade networks to India and the eastern Mediterranean through the Silk Road, only Qin Shi Huang mentioned as a unifier of the territories into a single empire in 220 BCE.
Classical Antiquity	Europe, Middle East, and North Africa	Roman Empire	Hegemony in the Mediterranean and Western Europe, territorial control and cultural influence, establishment of the Roman road network, facilitating trade across the Empire.
Middle Ages	Eastern Europe, Middle East, and North Africa	Byzantine Empire	Hegemony in the Mediterranean and Europe and part of the Middle East, the Silk Road connecting Europe, Asia, and the Middle East.
	The Middle East and North Africa	Islamic Caliphates/ Empire	Regional hegemony in the Arabian Peninsula and Islamic world, conquered vast areas, intellectual and cultural advancements, developing agriculture and irrigation.
	Asia and Eastern Europe	Mongol Empire	Was only mentioned that the Mongol people attacked China.
	Southeastern Europe, North Africa, and Western Asia	Ottoman Empire	Was not mentioned in the books.
	East Asia	Chinese Empire, Several Dynasties	Powerful hegemony in East Asia during the Ming Dynasty in the 14th century, sailed and traded around the world with the most powerful fleet in the world, advanced in many areas.

Period	Area	Dominant Hegemon(s)	Key Events & Connections (if mentioned in the books)
Colonial Era	European Empires and their colonies around the world	Spanish and Portuguese Empire	European exploration and exploitation led to Europeans dominating world trade, conquering many colonies for their own benefit, especially from South America.
		British Empire	During the 18th century rose to the powerful hegemony in Europe and worldwide by conquering vast areas from Asia, mainly India, and controlled most North American settlements before its independence.

## 4.4 Portrayal of the Global South countries

### 4.4.1 Othering through Language Choices

Othering involves treating a person or group as fundamentally different or alien, leading to marginalization or exclusion (Hall, 1997). This process often manifests through language, social practices, or institutional policies that divide an "in-group" and an "out-group." Such distinctions frequently result in stereotyping, discrimination, and a sense of superiority, reinforcing societal hierarchies and perpetuating power imbalances. Othering profoundly affects those who are "othered," contributing to inequality (Morris & Spivak, 2010; Said, 1978). Language plays a crucial role in othering, especially through pronouns like "we" and "they." "We" usually represents the dominant or normative group, often with a Eurocentric or Western focus, while "they" indicates those outside this group. This subtle dichotomy creates a hierarchy, with "we" often linked to positive traits and "they" implying inferiority. Such language reinforces existing power structures, promoting separation and fostering stereotypes, leading to exclusion, and reinforcing narratives of superiority (Hall, 1997). When used in educational texts, "we" can suggest a shared identity within Western culture, emphasizing a Eurocentric perspective (Morris & Spivak, 2010; Said, 1978). For example, when discussing technological or mathematical advancements, phrases like "our way of measuring time" can imply that these innovations are exclusive to a specific group or culture, typically the Western world.

Sumerians also developed astronomy and mathematics. They were able to predict solar and lunar eclipses. The Sumerians divided the hour into 60 minutes and 24 hours of the day. Our way of measuring time is precisely from the Sumerians (Bruun et al., 2015, p. 42).

In India, the number zero and an easy-to-write numeral system were invented. The Arabs transmitted them to the Middle East and Europe, which is why the system of numbers we use is still called Arabic numerals (Bruun et al., 2022, p. 21).

Similarly, the phrase "this is why the system of numbers we use is still called Arabic numerals" creates a division between "us," who use the system, and "them," who created it. By emphasizing the role of Arabs as transmitters, the narrative potentially downplays the contributions of Indian mathematicians, who were the original developers of the numeral system. This approach can perpetuate an "us versus them" mindset, reinforcing Eurocentric biases. The term "them" usually implies otherness and distinctiveness and can suggest a clear division from "we," establishing those outside the in-group as different, exotic, or inferior. This division contributes to othering by reinforcing a sense of separation between cultures (Hall, 1997; Morris & Spivak, 2010; Said, 1978). When discussing non-Western cultures, phrases like "they cultivated food crops" or "they developed agriculture" could indicate a distancing from the Western in-group, suggesting that these achievements belong to an "other" group. This use of language subtly reinforces the notion that these cultures are outside the mainstream, thus perpetuating a sense of cultural hierarchy and stereotyping.

Indus culture was successful because people had developed agriculture. For example, they knew how to run water from rivers through canals into fields. They cultivated food crops, and also the cotton from which they made fabrics and sold them (Bruun et al., 2015, p. 47).

As mentioned earlier, the Crusades exemplify the historical division between "us" and "others" based on religion, as Christianity became the official Roman religion. This dynamic is reflected in the statement: *"During the Crusades, Christians tried to take Jerusalem and other areas from the Islamists"* (Bruun et al., 2022, p. 23). However, Forum 6 challenges this conventional narrative with its "Crusades or Robbery" heading, highlighting the violent and destructive aspects of the Crusades while questioning the often-romanticized portrayal of Christian knights on a noble mission. This critical perspective exposes the Eurocentric bias that frames the Crusades as a righteous endeavour to reclaim Jerusalem and other territories from "the Islamists," reinforcing an "us versus them" mentality. By emphasizing religious and moral justifications, conventional narratives can implicitly legitimize violence, depicting Christians as heroes and Muslims as the enemy (Said, 1978). The critique in Forum 6 disrupts this dichotomy by showing that the Crusades often involved looting, violence, and thousands of deaths, challenging the glorification of these expeditions and inviting a more balanced understanding of history.

The word crusade refers to campaigns for the cross, or Christianity, after all, the knights had sworn in their power to defend the children of Christ... The word "excursion" gives the wrong impression of what's going on. It refers to a peaceful excursion or adventure. In reality, thousands of people died, and cities

were looted on these trips. Some of the expeditions were outright raids (Päivärinta et al., 2012, p. 27).

When a text implies that a non-Western culture's history might contain "ancient legends," it can undermine the credibility of that culture's historical records, reinforcing a Eurocentric perspective that elevates Western documentation while dismissing other historical narrative forms. Additionally, when word choices suggest that non-Western cultures are mysterious or distant, it further contributes to othering, creating an impression that these cultures are exotic, less understandable, or less reliable (Morris & Spivak, 2010; Said, 1978). This approach can lead to stereotypes and reinforce a sense of cultural superiority by suggesting that Western accounts are inherently more trustworthy, thus affecting how we perceive and value different histories and cultural experiences.

The Chinese say their written history goes back 5,000 years. The oldest surviving accounts of Chinese history are probably just ancient legends (Bruun et al., 2015, p. 44).

In the Middle Ages, nothing was known about China and India. In the 13th century, knowledge of China increased as stories of the rich, mysterious, and distant cultures of China and India circulated among the European nobility and rich merchants (Päivärinta et al., 2012, p. 82).

Educational texts should avoid othering in word choices by using inclusive language that does not create divisions through pronouns like "we" and "them." Instead, adopting neutral or inclusive terms can help reduce cultural barriers and foster a broader understanding of global history. When presenting historical advancements, recognizing contributions from various cultures without suggesting superiority or inferiority minimizes the risk of othering.

#### 4.4.2 Slavery and Inequality in relation to Racism

The books illustrate how slavery and inequality have been intertwined throughout history, with various civilizations employing distinct justifications to perpetuate these practices. In ancient Sumer, enslaved people occupied the lowest rung in a strict hierarchy, while in ancient Egypt, they were often prisoners of war or debtors (Bruun et al., 2015; Päivärinta et al., 2010). These ancient hierarchical systems were based on subjugating specific groups through a process of "othering" that distinguished between "us" and "them." This approach dehumanized those at the lower end of the social structure, laying the groundwork for systemic discrimination and racialized ideologies later in history (Fanon, 1961; Said, 1978). The books note that the Greeks viewed non-Greeks as "barbarians," justifying their reliance on slave labour. In ancient Rome, enslaved people were considered property, perpetuating

a system of inequality (Bruun et al., 2015; Päivärinta et al., 2010). This focus on Western perspectives can reinforce Eurocentric narratives, where the Greek and Roman classification of "barbarians" validates the exploitation of those deemed outsiders or inferior (Brolsma et al., 2019; Haarmann, 2020). This approach often marginalizes the histories and cultures of non-European societies.

According to the sixth-grade books, serfdom during the Middle Ages restricted the movement of poor farmers, reinforcing social disparities. European explorers, such as the Portuguese, exploited Africa during the Age of Discoveries, leading to the Atlantic Slave Trade, which forced millions of Africans into brutal conditions in the Americas. In this context, racism and economic interests were used to justify slavery (Bruun et al., 2022; Päivärinta et al., 2012). The texts also highlight gender inequality, noting that women had fewer rights and were often relegated to inferior roles. The emphasis on gender inequality suggests that discrimination extends beyond race and ethnicity to include gender-based biases (Hooks, 1990, 2014). These patterns of inequality, rooted in the dehumanization and commodification of certain groups, particularly Black Africans, indicate the persistent exploitation and discrimination across various eras, where systemic disparities grew with European expansion. The exploitation of resources and labour, often driven by colonialist motives, has had lasting impacts on global economic disparities and social injustices. The dehumanization of Africans laid the groundwork for racist ideologies in colonial societies, particularly in the Americas, with the legacy of slavery perpetuating systemic discrimination, segregation, and racial violence, even after its abolition, highlighting the ongoing resistance and resilience of affected communities in their struggle against racial injustice (Haley, 1976). The focus on serfdom, and the Atlantic Slave Trade reveals enduring patterns of exploitation and discrimination rooted in Eurocentrism and racism (Hooks, 2014).

Racism based on skin colour became a central justification for slavery, with Europeans promoting racial superiority to legitimize the forced transportation of Africans (Fanon, 1961, 2008; Said, 1978). Despite this, although illustration suggest it, Ritari 6 does not mention skin colour in its discussion of slavery, possibly indicating a Eurocentric perspective that avoids addressing the racialized nature of the transatlantic slave trade. This omission risks sanitizing history and minimizing the role of systemic racism in justifying and perpetuating slavery (Hooks, 2014). In contrast, beyond depicting it in illustration, Forum 6 explicitly mentions that black slaves were imported from Africa, aligning with the historical record, and highlighting that slavery during the transatlantic slave trade was primarily based on

skin colour. These mentions clarify the racialized roots of slavery and the justifications for the dehumanization of African people. The failure to mention skin colour in educational texts like Ritari 6 can lead to a skewed understanding of history, underplaying the racial discrimination that fuelled the transatlantic slave trade. This sanitized perspective may contribute to Eurocentric biases and hinder efforts to combat contemporary racism. Conversely, Forum 6's explicit reference to the racialized basis of slavery helps promote a more accurate understanding of history and encourages critical examination of racial prejudice.

In Finland, racism against people of African descent persists, often driven by stereotypes and historical patterns of racial discrimination (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights., 2023). The omission of explicit references to the racialized basis of slavery can perpetuate these biases, emphasizing the need to address these issues in educational narratives. This focus on the racial roots of slavery can be an essential step in challenging systemic racism and promoting a more inclusive understanding of history. Decolonizing the mind and curriculum through counter-narratives is essential to challenge the Eurocentric perspectives that have historically dominated educational content. Counter-narratives help to illuminate the stories and experiences of those who have been marginalized, offering a more balanced and inclusive understanding of history (Mignolo, 2011; Morris & Spivak, 2010). Incorporating these counter-narratives into education can foster critical thinking, promote cultural sensitivity, and support efforts to combat racism by addressing its historical roots (Freire, 1990; Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986; Smith, 2012). This approach not only helps to deconstruct harmful stereotypes but also creates a more equitable educational environment, enabling learners to engage with diverse perspectives and contribute to a more inclusive society.

## 5 Discussion

This research explored the prevailing representations of Global South countries in Finnish primary school history teaching materials. The following questions guided the research:

1. How can history textbook materials be seen through the lens of the World System History (WSH) approach, and could this approach extend the narrative of history?
2. Do the teaching materials reflect a Eurocentric and Western-centric perspective when presenting Global South countries' history?
3. What historical events and periods are emphasized in the materials representing Global South countries?
4. Are issues related to racism manifested in the representations of Global South countries in Finnish teaching materials?
5. Are there any notable omissions or silences in the representation of Global South countries in Finnish teaching materials?
6. How can the WSH approach and cultural and decolonial studies provide a new lens to understand and address these issues?

The following sections address these questions, while highlighting key findings from the analysis and discussing their implications.

### 5.1 Main Findings Concerning the Representation of the Global South

The textbooks emphasize historical events and periods mostly centred on European history, while providing limited coverage of the Global South. When Global South countries are mentioned, the emphasis is often on trade and exploration rather than a more comprehensive cultural context. Although Eurocentric elements exist, the textbooks mention Global South regions like China, India, the Middle East, and South America, offering a broader view of world history. This inclusion is quite comprehensive, especially given the challenge of presenting complex historical content in a way that is understandable to younger audiences. By integrating these diverse cultures into the narrative, the books present a pretty holistic view of history, challenging the traditional conception of development that often aligns with Rostow's linear model. This more comprehensive representation helps to counter the idea that progress and development are exclusive to

Western societies. However, despite recognizing various global contributions, the books lean toward a traditional view of development by emphasizing Eurocentric and Western-centric milestones like urbanization, writing, and legal systems. This Eurocentric focus can overshadow other cultural accomplishments, leading to a skewed perspective on global history. The lack of emphasis on African history is a notable omission, highlighting the imbalance in representing the world's diverse past. This approach risks reinforcing a narrative that places Western achievements at the centre while downplaying significant contributions from other regions. In the next section, I will explore the consequences of the lack of African history and its implications for a broader understanding of history.

Other interesting findings were sparked by the relationship between ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece, and Rome and the Middle Ages and the lack of a Global South during the 1000 years, except for mentioning the Islamic peninsula. The emphasis on the relationship between ancient Egypt, ancient Greece, and Rome in history textbooks can be viewed from both an inclusive perspective and a Eurocentric one. On the one hand, highlighting this relationship highlights ancient Egypt's significant influence on early Western civilizations, indicating that cultural and technological exchanges were multi-directional and not solely Western-centred. This approach acknowledges the interconnectedness among early civilizations, recognizing that many achievements traditionally credited to Greece and Rome had roots in ancient Egypt. This perspective promotes a broader understanding of ancient history, demonstrating that significant advancements often resulted from cross-cultural interactions. However, from a Eurocentric perspective, the focus on this relationship might still prioritize Western narratives, where Greece and Rome are portrayed as the primary drivers of cultural progress, while ancient Egypt's influence is depicted as secondary to Western history. This framing can suggest that ancient Egypt's contributions are only significant insofar as they influenced Western development, potentially minimizing the distinctiveness and originality of Egyptian achievements. In this view, the acknowledgment of Egypt's role could be used to support the traditional Western-centric timeline, where non-European cultures are seen as instruments to Western dominance rather than independent sources of knowledge and innovation.

The lack of references to the Global South during the Middle Ages, except for the Islamic peninsula, highlights a gap in the representation of global history. This omission can perpetuate a Eurocentric perspective by suggesting that significant developments during this period were confined to Europe, overlooking the rich histories and contributions of

other regions such as Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Textbooks could highlight more Global South civilizations to address this gap and the advancements in science, technology, and culture in Asia, particularly China. By incorporating these diverse narratives, textbooks would offer a more comprehensive view of the Middle Ages, showcasing the complex trade, culture, and intellectual exchange networks that connected Europe with other regions. This broader approach challenges the Eurocentric focus on European events. It encourages a more balanced and inclusive understanding of history, fostering a greater appreciation for the contributions of non-European cultures during this period.

### 5.1.1 The Lack of African History

One of the most concerning findings in this research is the significant lack of African history in Finnish educational history textbooks, aside from Egypt's high culture. While ancient Egypt is rightly highlighted for its contributions to civilization, influence on surrounding regions, and its continued legacy, this narrow focus does not provide a comprehensive perspective on the broader African continent. In the fifth-grade textbooks, Africa is mostly referenced in connection with the emergence of modern humans and North Africa is mentioned mainly in relation to ancient Rome and the Battle of Carthage. This limited scope creates a skewed view of African history, suggesting that its significance is largely confined to ancient Egypt, with other cultures and societies receiving minimal attention. The sixth-grade textbooks focus on the Age of Discovery and the beginning of the New Ages, mentioning Africa predominantly in the context of European exploration, trade, and the transatlantic slave trade. This perspective reinforces a Eurocentric narrative by suggesting that Africa's historical importance primarily relates to its interactions with European powers. The absence of other significant African cultures and achievements contributes to a one-sided portrayal, failing to reflect the rich and diverse histories of the continent's various regions. By emphasizing trade, exploration, and slavery, the textbooks neglect to acknowledge the complex societies, civilizations, and contributions that defined Africa through antiquity and the Middle Ages.

This lack of representation has broader implications for the understanding of global history. By focusing mainly on Egypt and the transatlantic slave trade, the textbooks omit critical aspects of African history that would offer a more nuanced and balanced view. A comprehensive approach would include the vibrant cultures, trade networks, and scientific advancements that emerged across the African continent, recognizing the value and impact of these societies. Addressing this representation gap is crucial to challenge Eurocentric

biases and promote a more inclusive historical narrative. It would also help students appreciate the interconnectedness of world history, fostering a deeper understanding and respect for the diverse pathways that have contributed to human progress.

Issues related to racism are subtle but can be inferred from the omission of key historical facts, such as the racial basis of the transatlantic slave trade. This omission risks leading to a diluted understanding of racism's roots and its impact on the representation of Global South countries. The absence of discussions about the racial basis for slavery during the Age of Discovery in Ritari 6 is a notable shortcoming. Educational narratives significantly influence young students' understanding of race and racial identity, and omissions like this can either reinforce or challenge racial biases. By neglecting to highlight the racial basis for slavery during the Age of Discovery, Ritari 6 diminishes the role racial discrimination played in the transatlantic slave trade, potentially perpetuating harmful stereotypes. Addressing these biases in educational narratives is essential, as textbooks profoundly impact how young people perceive history and social dynamics. The failure to recognize the racial underpinnings of historical slavery can lead to a distorted view of the past, ultimately influencing contemporary views on race and reinforcing systemic racism. Educational materials must be explicit in discussing the roots of racial discrimination, promoting a more inclusive and accurate understanding of history. This approach can help build a foundation for greater racial equality and social justice.

#### 5.1.2 History through the World System History Approach

While the fifth and sixth-grade history textbooks primarily centre on European history, they touch on broader global events, suggesting an understanding of interconnectedness. Thus, an analysis through the World System History (WSH) lens indicates a persistent Eurocentric perspective, with an emphasis on Western milestones while downplaying or overlooking significant contributions from other regions. At the same time, the analysis reflects some elements of the WSH approach, such as the concentration of wealth and interconnectedness throughout history. The books suggest that different regions interacted during the Bronze Age, resulting in the concentration of wealth and subsequent shifts in global hegemony. This recognition of early global interactions is key to a more comprehensive understanding of history, indicating that cross-cultural exchanges have significantly shaped the world. The idea of interconnectedness throughout history aligns with the principles of the WSH approach, which views global history as a dynamic network of interactions, with power and wealth shifting across regions over time. This perspective is subtly reflected through

references to ancient trade routes and cultural exchanges, suggesting that civilizations during the Bronze Age and later periods were not isolated but part of a larger interconnected network. This understanding is significant because it challenges Eurocentric narratives that often place European history at the centre while minimizing the role of the Global South. By acknowledging these early connections, textbooks can foster a more inclusive approach to history, recognizing that diverse cultures and influences have always shaped the broader narrative.

However, despite these hints at global interconnectedness, the textbooks often fail to provide a comprehensive view of the contributions from the Global South as they tend to highlight Western achievements. This reflects the influence of Eurocentric narratives on educational content. It is crucial to delve deeper into the achievements of regions like Africa, Asia, and Latin America, illustrating their unique contributions and interconnectedness with the rest of the world to foster a more balanced understanding of global history. By doing so, traditional Eurocentric narratives can be challenged while promoting a more inclusive view of history, emphasizing that progress and development are not exclusive to Europe. While the WSH approach aims to challenge Eurocentrism, it has also been criticized for its Eurocentric tendencies, potentially overlooking local cultural dynamics and social agency. This oversight risks neglecting the contributions of non-European regions to global history. Integrating insights from cultural and decolonial studies leads to a broader understanding. Cultural studies focus on the influence of culture on societal norms and power structures, while decolonial studies aim to dismantle colonial legacies, Eurocentrism, and systemic racism. Applying these frameworks to analysing historical narratives encourages a balanced approach recognizing significant contributions from non-European regions. This combined method strongly critiques conventional narratives, challenging hierarchies rooted in Eurocentric views, and promotes a more equitable and inclusive perspective on global history.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

Development studies examine the lasting effects of historical inequalities on contemporary issues such as economic disparity, racial discrimination, and social marginalization. Eurocentric narratives in textbooks may contribute to these patterns by perpetuating Western-centric models and overshadowing other perspectives. Finnish history textbooks for fifth and sixth grades include references to the Global South, mentioning regions like China, India, the Middle East, and South America, broadening the perspective on world

history. However, they still focus primarily on Eurocentric milestones while often overlooking other significant contributions, especially from Africa. The imbalance in representation in history textbooks can reinforce Western-centric narratives, underscoring the need to revise historical perspectives to acknowledge the diverse contributions that have shaped our world. Addressing these biases is crucial for cultivating a more inclusive understanding of history, fostering empathy, and challenging systemic inequalities. Recognizing a broader range of cultural contributions allows educators to help students appreciate the complexities of global history and understand the diverse experiences that have shaped it. Combining the World System History approach, cultural and decolonial studies offer a framework to challenge Eurocentric narratives. This approach emphasizes the value of multiple cultural perspectives, encourages questioning of traditional structures of discrimination, and promotes a more inclusive and equitable understanding of history. This more holistic perspective can guide educators and curriculum developers toward creating educational content that reflects a more balanced and accurate view of global history.

Expanding cultural representation by including narratives from Global South countries is crucial to addressing the one-sided European perspective in educational materials and promoting inclusivity through a decolonizing approach. This means incorporating history and cultural descriptions from a range of voices, including those from indigenous peoples, women, and other marginalized groups. Eurocentric narratives must be revised, challenging traditional stories that centre on Western achievements while downplaying contributions from other cultures. An emphasis on global interconnectedness is essential, highlighting trade routes, migration, and cultural diffusion to show that history is a complex network of global interactions, not a linear progression toward Western development. Addressing historical injustices is critical, with discussions on colonialism, slavery, and systemic racism helping students understand the roots of contemporary inequalities. Language choices should avoid "othering" and cultural superiority, using terms that respect all cultures. Encouraging critical thinking through activities that promote examining historical narratives, including primary sources from diverse cultures, can further decolonize the curriculum. Collaboration with diverse experts ensures that educational materials are accurate and inclusive. Finally, promoting global citizenship among students fosters cultural understanding, empathy, and respect for diversity, guiding them toward a more inclusive and equitable view of history.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1

Code Groups and Codes (Number of Mentions)

Group 1: Countries and Continents	Group 2: Inequality	Group 3: Development (progress)	Group 4: Slavery	Group 5: Concentration of Prosperity	Group 6: Global and Historical Interconnectedness
Asia (11): South Asia (5) India (17) Southeast Asia (1) Central Asia (1) China (17) Middle East (64)	Inequality (33)	Progress (64)	Slavery based on skin color (3)	Subjugation of people (21)	People moving (52)
Africa (14): Egypt (40) North Africa (9)	Development for exploitation (5)	Infrastructure (33)	Slaves imported from elsewhere (5)	Trade (43)	Trade (43)
America (28): South America (27) North America (25) Central America (9)	Concentration of wealth (48)	Inventions (55)	Prisoners of war (10)	Development for exploitation (5)	Blending of cultures/ Multiculturalism (54)
Byzantine (East-Rome) North Africa and Middle East (10)		Education (5)	Intra-state slaves (11)	Robbing of wealth (13)	The impact of other cultures on European development (26)
			Forced labor (4)	Conquest of new territories (46)	Migration (7)
			Slave trade (6)	Concentration of wealth (48)	Movement of information (31)
			Slave labor (12)	Hegemony position (15)	Conquest of new territories (46)
				Changes in hegemony positions (12)	Interaction (105)

### Appendix 2 Mentions of Mesopotamia.

Topic	Mention(s)	Source
Mesopotamian Culture	<p><i>"Several different cultures developed in the Mesopotamian region, such as Sumer and Babylonia."</i></p> <p><i>"The culture created by Sumerians was continued by the Babylonian Empire born in the same region."</i></p>	Ritari 5
Agriculture and Irrigation	<p><i>"The Sumerians also expanded the farmland by building an inventive irrigation system. It diverted water from rivers to dry areas through canals."</i></p>	Ritari 5
Inventions	<p><i>"During the Sumerian period, Mesopotamia was well developed. Important inventions made by Sumerians include, for example, the wheel. It was first used as a rotating platform, or potter's wheel, to manufacture clay pots and later as a cartwheel."</i></p>	Ritari 5
Trade and Commerce	<p><i>"Clothing and metal items were produced in series. Thousands of weavers made clothes for sale in other cities. The Sumerians traded widely and sourced raw materials from Egypt and India."</i></p>	Ritari 5
Science and Mathematics	<p><i>"Sumerians also developed astronomy and mathematics. They were able to predict solar and lunar eclipses. The Sumerians divided the hour into 60 minutes and 24 hours of the day. Our way of measuring time is precisely from the Sumerians."</i></p> <p><i>"Science was born in high cultures. The Mesopotamian Sumerian people invented mathematics. It was needed because officials had to know how to calculate the number of grain sacks, workers' wages, and taxes. Sumerians knew addition, subtraction, multiplication, geometry, and more difficult square root and power calculations. Mathematics was also needed in astronomy, as stars were constantly monitored. In high cultures, early astronomers could divide the year into 12 months and 24 hours based on the motions of the starry sky. In Mesopotamia, a way was developed to divide things into 60 parts. Based on this, we later learned how to divide an hour into 60 minutes and a minute into 60 seconds. Observing the sky taught us that the motions of the stars were regular. The Mesopotamians could calculate in advance when the lunar and solar eclipses occurred."</i></p>	Ritari 5 Forum 5
Development of Writing System	<p><i>"The Sumerians were the first people to invent the art of writing. The writing developed by Sumerians is called cuneiform, for the characters resembled cuneiforms."</i></p> <p><i>"Initially, the writing was a pictorial in which each image corresponded to a thing. The imagery evolved in Mesopotamia into cuneiform."</i></p>	Ritari 5 Forum 5
Sumerian Literature	<p><i>"The world's oldest surviving literary story is the 4,000-year-old Gilgamesh epic. It's about King Gilgamesh of ancient Mesopotamia."</i></p>	Forum 5
Social Hierarchy	<p><i>"There was a strict hierarchy in the Sumerian Empire. The king, clergy, and the wealthy upper class were in the highest positions. Many residents worked as merchants, clerks, craftsmen, and farmers. Slaves were the worst. In the early days of the kingdom, women and men had similar rights, but later women's rights declined."</i></p> <p><i>"In the worst position were slaves, who were the property of their masters. They lived in their owners' houses and labored in their fields, mines, and construction. Heavy labor may even have resulted in death."</i></p>	Ritari 5 Forum 5
Code of Hammurabi	<p><i>"Babylonia is the source of one of the oldest collections of laws in the world, a collection of laws named after King Hammurabi of Babylon."</i></p> <p><i>"The law of King Hammurabi of Mesopotamia is the oldest surviving law. It was written about 1700 BCE in stone, and according to it, the punishment was to correspond to the harm caused by the crime."</i></p>	Ritari 5 Forum 5
Population	<p><i>"For example, about 50,000 people lived in the city of Uruk in Mesopotamia"</i></p>	Forum 5

Population Growth and Decline in Mesopotamia	<p><i>"The rapid population growth caused problems. Mesopotamia. As the population grew, farming areas had to be expanded to prevent people from suffering from starvation. Over the centuries, efficient farming depleted the soil, resulting in reduced yields. To obtain a more abundant crop, irrigation canals were built to provide enough water for the crops. The water flowing through the canals was salty, so as time passed, the soil became salty, and it was no longer good to cultivate in it. The soil dried up and became deserted. The world's first high culture in Mesopotamia was gradually destroyed around 1500 BCE."</i></p> <p><i>"The era of prosperity in the Mesopotamian region ended 2,500 years ago. The exact cause of the decline in the area is unknown, but the problems may have been related to agriculture."</i></p>	Forum 5 Ritari 5
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### Appendix 3

#### Mentions of Egypt.

Topic	Key Points	Source
Agriculture and Irrigation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The Egyptians were skilled farmers.</li> <li>- Egyptians used irrigation systems to cultivate their fields.</li> <li>- They made clay bricks for building and various utensils from the floodwaters' land.</li> <li>- Dug ditches to channel floodwaters to fields.</li> </ul>	Ritari 5
Papyrus and Boats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Papyrus was grown along the Nile for various purposes, including making paper</li> <li>- Egyptians built boats from reeds for fishing and transportation.</li> </ul>	Ritari 5
Trade and Commerce	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Egypt engaged in trade with various regions, including the peoples of Africa, the Mediterranean region, and India, exchanging goods like gold, papyrus, and more.</li> <li>- Imported raw materials and resources for production.</li> </ul>	Ritari 5
Social Hierarchy and Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The pharaoh was the highest-ranking person, believed to be a son of a sun god.</li> <li>- Priests served in temples and collected offerings.</li> <li>- People paid taxed to the pharaoh.</li> <li>- The least respected were slaves, who were often prisoners of war or people in debt, worked for pharaoh or rich families.</li> </ul>	Ritari 5
Hieroglyphs and Writing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Egyptian hieroglyphs were complex characters, used in writing and official records.</li> <li>- Writing was a learned skill, and hieroglyphs were used extensively.</li> </ul>	Ritari 5
Pyramids and Architecture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Egyptians built the famous pyramids as tombs for pharaohs.</li> <li>- Pyramids are precise architectural marvels: their construction involved many workers.</li> <li>- Knowledge of mathematics, geometry, and astronomy was applied in their design.</li> </ul>	Forum 5
Tombs and Burial Practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The dead were prepared for an afterlife with elaborate tombs.</li> <li>- Embalming was used to preserve bodies (mummies) for the journey to the afterlife.</li> </ul>	Forum 5
Daily Life and Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Descriptions of various aspects of daily life, including housing, clothing, and roles in society.</li> </ul>	Ritari 5

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Rich and poor families had different lifestyles and houses.</li> <li>- Women had many same rights as men.</li> <li>- Only boys from rich families went to school.</li> </ul>	
Science, Medicine, and Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Egyptians had knowledge in medicine, and doctors treated various ailments.</li> <li>- The belief in gods and the role of priests, temples, and religious offerings.</li> <li>- Religious texts, beliefs in an afterlife, and mummification practices.</li> </ul>	Forum 5
Historical Events and Conquests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Egypt controlled large areas and collected wealth from conquered nations.</li> <li>- The Persians from the east and the Greeks, Romans, and Arabs from the north each took their turn to conquer Egypt.</li> <li>- Egypt became part of the Roman Empire in 30 BCE.</li> </ul>	Ritari 5

## Appendix 4

Mentions of Indus culture.

Topic	Mention(s)	Source
Discovery of Indus Culture	<i>"About 100 years ago, several ruins of large cities were found in present-day Pakistan. The cities were carefully planned, and the streets ran south to north. The houses had water pipes and sewers. It amazed archaeologists because they did not expect to find water pipes in thousands of years old ruins. As they explored the ruins, it became apparent that the cities had been built in an age of ancient and mighty culture. Scientists began to call the enigmatic culture the Indus culture after the Indus River that flows in the area. The cities of the Indus region flourished around the same time as the Sumerian and Egyptian high cultures."</i>	Ritari 5
Infrastructure	<i>"Over a thousand villages and several large cities have been discovered in the Indus culture era. The largest city in the Indus region had tens of thousands of inhabitants. High-ranking people lived in their neighborhood. However, people probably lived equally, as no palaces of rulers have been found in the area."</i>	Ritari 5
Agriculture and Irrigation	<i>"Indus culture was successful because people had developed agriculture. For example, they knew how to run water from rivers through canals into fields. They cultivated food crops, and the cotton from which they made fabrics and sold them."</i>	Ritari 5
Writing System	<i>"The Indus culture had its own writing system. Scientists have found thousands of inscriptions carved on clay tablets in the ruins of houses. However, the texts found are so short that no one has been able to decipher them. That's why we know little about life from the Indus culture."</i>	Ritari 5

## Appendix 5

Mentions of Ancient China.

Topic	Mention(s)	Source
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Early Agriculture	<p><i>"Humans have started growing plants for food not only in the Middle East, but at least in China, Africa, and North and South America."</i></p> <p><i>"Chinese invented rice cultivation around 7000 BCE"</i></p> <p><i>"For thousands of years, land in the eastern Mediterranean had been cultivated. There were big cities and busy trade routes and a connection all the way to India and China"</i></p>	Ritari 5 Forum 5
Origins of Chinese Civilization and Writing System	<p><i>"The Chinese say their written history goes back 5,000 years. The oldest surviving accounts of Chinese history are probably just ancient legends. However, scientists have found thousands of years old pictorial inscriptions in China that humans once carved on animal bones. The writing can be interpreted, and its characters are predecessors of modern Chinese characters. China's high culture was born in the Yellow River Valley. Like other ancient high cultures, Chinese culture prospered because of favorable conditions for agriculture in the river valley."</i></p>	Ritari 5
Qin Shi Huang and the Chinese Empire	<p><i>"The founder of the Chinese Empire is considered the first emperor, Qin Shi Huang. He conquered and united the territories that had fought among themselves into one Empire in 220 BCE. The region still bears his name today, Qin China."</i></p>	Ritari 5
The Governance and Administrative Reforms	<p><i>"Common units of measurement and common currency and characters were introduced in the Empire. By order of the First Emperor, the construction of the Great Wall of China was also begun to protect against the attacks of the northern peoples. Emperor Qin Shi Huang created an effective government and uniform legislation in China and hired many officials to carry out his orders."</i></p>	Ritari 5
Duration of the Chinese Empire	<p><i>"The Chinese Empire flourished for over 2,000 years. The last emperor was overthrown only about a hundred years ago."</i></p>	Ritari 5
Chinese Afterlife Beliefs	<p><i>The Chinese believed that after death begins a new life in the realm of the dead. The emperor could not enter the afterlife alone. Therefore, the first emperor and many of his followers built monuments of immense size and grandeur for themselves. Thousands of statues of clay and bronze were made in the tombs. The statues represent soldiers, servants, officials, horses, and other animals. The statues were believed to come alive in the realm of the dead and serve the emperor."</i></p>	Ritari 5

## Appendix 6

Mentions of Early Civilization of Americas.

Topic	Mention(s)	Source
Indigenous Peoples' Arrival	<p><i>"America's first inhabitants came to the American continent from Asia about 20,000 years ago. They could walk to America from the North because the sea level was much lower than it is today. Gradually, these natives spread across the American continent. America's indigenous peoples are called Indians."</i></p> <p><i>"The first inhabitants came to America during the last ice age from about 60,000 to 10,000 BCE."</i></p>	Ritari 6 Forum 6
Indigenous Peoples' Migration	<p><i>"Gathering and catching tribes migrated from Asia to America for areas with game and plants. Native American populations spread across North America. Some continued their trek south and all the way to South America."</i></p>	Forum 6

Cultural Diversity in the Americas	<i>"Different cultures developed on the American continent. Most of the tribes were farmers. America's first high cultures evolved into what is now Mexico. There, the population grew because the plants grew well in humid and warm climates, and there was enough food. Farming was also learned in the Mexican region, which increased population growth."</i>	Forum 6
Major Indigenous Cultures	<i>"The most important cultures of the American continent were the Olmec, Mayan, and Aztec cultures that developed in present-day Mexico, and the Inca culture of South America."</i>	Forum 6
The Olmec Culture and Achievements	<i>"The Olmecs developed the continent's first high culture around 1500 BCE. They were called the people of the rubber country, for they invented the manufacture of rubber from the rubbery liquid of wood." "Olmec tribe apparently developed the world's first ball game."</i>	Forum 6
Infrastructure	<i>"The Olmecs are known for the large stone heads they built."</i>	Forum 6
Caral: Ancient South American Culture	<i>"The ruins of Caral on the coast of present-day Peru are remnants of the first South American Indian urban culture."</i>	Ritari 5
Independent Development of the city of Caral	<i>"The city of Caral developed completely independently with no contact with other higher cultures, as it was located on the other side of the globe. Caral and the surrounding valley were home to nearly 20,000 inhabitants."</i>	Ritari 5
Agriculture and Irrigation	<i>"Most of the inhabitants were farmers. They had built irrigation systems in fields where they cultivated at least pumpkins and beans. For domesticated animals, they had tamed the llama and the alpaca. In addition to farming, some inhabitants worked in other occupations such as craftsmen, fishermen, and merchants."</i>	Ritari 5
Writing System	<i>"The people of Caral had their own writing system, quipu, or node writing. It is vastly different from all other known writing systems. The node writing is done by tying various knots into strings attached in a row."</i>	Ritari 5
Infrastructure and Architecture	<i>"There were also large pyramids in Caral, as well as a circular theatre, where apparently celebrations have been held. There are no walls built around Caral. Scientists have concluded that there were not many wars in the area."</i>	Ritari 5

## Appendix 7

Mentions of the Islamic Empire in the Middle Ages.

Topic	Mention(s)	Source
Islam's Origin	<i>"Islam was born in the early 7th century in the Arabian Peninsula. It was founded by the Prophet Muhammad, whose visions were compiled into the holy book of Islam, the Qur'an."</i>	Ritari 6
Islamic Empire expansion and Religion	<i>"The Islamic Empire conquered vast areas in just over a century, especially in the Middle East and North Africa. The conquered peoples were allowed to keep their religions and customs. However, many people wanted to convert to the new religion, as the Muslims, or Muslims, had to pay less to the ruler than the others."</i>	Ritari 6
Islamic Influence	<i>"For the development of Western Europe, it was significant that the Islamic Empire conquered almost the entire Spanish peninsula for centuries. The cities of Islamic Spain were large, cultural life flourished, and commerce was lively. The kingdom's main centre was Cordoba, the largest city of its time in Europe."</i>	Ritari 6

Science	<i>"Science was valued in the Islamic Empire. Cordoba became an important centre of science and art in the Middle Ages. In Cordoba, scientists translated the works of ancient Greek philosophers and scientists into Arabic, which became the common language of science. Gradually, the works also began to be translated into Latin and spread to Western Europe."</i>	Ritari 6
Mathematics	<i>"A number zero and an easy-to-write numeral system had been invented in India. The Arabs transmitted them to the Middle East and Europe. This is why our number system is still called Arabic numerals."</i>	Ritari 6
Advances in medicine	<i>"Medicine developed when Ibn Sina gathered all the medical knowledge of the time at the beginning of the 11th century. His medical canon was translated into Chinese, Persian, Hebrew, and Latin. For centuries, it was the most important textbook in medicine in Western Europe."</i>	Ritari 6
Literature Contribution	<i>"Ibn Rusd, a scientist in Cordoba, translated the works of the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle. Thanks to his work, Western European scholars became acquainted with the works of Aristotle in the Middle Ages, or about the 11th to the 12th century."</i>	Ritari 6
Language, Agriculture and Irrigation	<i>"The Islamic Empire, especially through the Spanish peninsula, became heavily influenced by Western Europe. Many words taken from Arabic to European languages are indicative of close connections. Such loan words include admiral, sorbet, and syrup. New crops such as rice, watermelon, and eggplant came to Europe. The farmers were given larger harvests than before as the Muslims taught them how to use irrigation systems effectively."</i>	Ritari 6
The Crusades	<i>"The Crusades were church campaigns mainly directed from Western Europe to the Middle East in the early 11th century. The Muslims had conquered Jerusalem, and the Pope wanted the tomb of Jesus there back for Christians. The Crusades aimed to spread Christianity and acquire areas for the sons of noble families that they could control and tax."  "The Crusades began when the Pope announced God's desire for Christians to conquer the tomb of Jesus in Jerusalem. At the time, Jerusalem was part of the Islamic Empire. Several Crusades took place in the Middle East between the 12th and 12th centuries"</i>	Forum 6 Ritari 6
The Crusades	<i>"In the early 12th century, about 30,000 children traveled from southwestern France to the shores of the Mediterranean, from where they set out on ships towards the Middle East. The Crusades lasted about 200 years and failed. Jerusalem was captured only for a short time."  "The Crusaders captured Jerusalem but quickly lost it. The Christian kingdoms established in the Middle East were also short-lived."</i>	Forum 6 Ritari 6
The Crusades	<i>"The Crusades were also directed away from the Middle East. For example, in the early 13th century, the Crusaders plundered the Byzantine capital of Constantinople on their way to the Middle East."</i>	Forum 6

## Appendix 8

Mentions of China at the end of the Middle Ages.

Topic	Key Points	Source
European Awareness of China and India	- In the 13th century, Europe became more aware of China and India, with stories of their rich and mysterious cultures circulating among the European nobility and merchants.	Forum 6

	- Marco Polo's 23-year journey to China provided crucial insights into the most powerful country of that era, describing its size, prosperity, and significant population.	
Introduction of Chinese Inventions to Europe	- The Chinese brought several innovations to Europe via merchants and Arabs at the end of the Middle Ages, including paper, gunpowder, the compass, and image printing.	Forum 6
The Silk Road	- The Silk Road, the ancient trade route, facilitated the exchange of goods such as spices, fabrics, and the highly coveted silk.	Forum 6
Image Printing and Book Copying Before Papermaking	- Image printing had a long history in China and Asia - The Chinese used parchment made of leather for copying books	Forum 6 Ritari 6
The Ming Dynasty and Its Significance	- The Ming Dynasty began in the 14 <sup>th</sup> century and was a golden period in Chinese history. Beijing became the capital, and the Forbidden City, a vast palace, was constructed for the emperor. The emperor was considered an absolute sovereign.	Ritari 6
Expansion, Conquest, and Isolation	- China expanded and conquered large areas across Asia. However, as the Ming Dynasty weakened and faced external threats, as the Mongol people attacked, the Chinese focused on defense, which led to the neglect of their powerful fleet and the burning of their ships. - Over the centuries, China isolated itself from the outside world, limiting foreign travel and trade and losing interest in other countries and cultures.	Ritari 6
Admiral Zeng He and China's Imperial Navy	- The Imperial Navy, led by Admiral Zeng He, controlled Asian seas in the early Ming Dynasty. The Chinese undertook trade voyages and explorations to India, the Arabian Peninsula, and the African coast during the early 15th century. The Chinese fleet, with massive nine-masted ships, far surpassed European fleets. - The Chinese fleet had over 300 ships and around 28,000 crew members, accompanied by various support vessels. They sailed to Australia and controlled vast maritime territories.	Ritari 6 Forum 6
The Transition Allowing European Dominance in World Trade	- The Chinese did not seek world conquest due to their perception of having little to gain from other nations, as China was already developed. - - Additionally, internal power struggles and economic concerns contributed to the neglect and eventual destruction of the fleet. This allowed Europeans to dominate world trade.	Forum 6

## Appendix 9

Mentions of India at the end of the Middle Ages.

Topic	Mention(s)	Source
India's Role as a Cultural Bridge	<i>"The Indian peninsula was between the Chinese Empire and the Islamic Empire. For centuries, the Indians had close ties to both cultures."</i>	Ritari 6
Trade and Cultural Exchange	<i>"They did a lucrative spice trade with many kingdoms. Spices traveled with caravans as early as ancient times, from time to time, to Europe. At the same time, knowledge and influences from other cultures spread."</i>	Ritari 6

Cross-Cultural Influences and Religious Diversity in India	<i>"Hinduism has been the main religion in the Indian subcontinent for thousands of years. With trade links, India was also influenced by other religions. The religion of Islam spread to Indian territory in the Middle Ages. Based on Islam and Hinduism, a new religion was born Sikhism."</i>	Ritari 6
The Grand Mughal Empire	<i>"In the 16th century, Muslim conquerors arrived on the Indian subcontinent and established the Grand Mughal Empire. The kingdom was well developed. It had a common currency, and its inhabitants traded as far as Africa."</i>	Ritari 6
Religious Tolerance in India	<i>"Although the Grand Mughal Empire rulers were themselves Muslim, they were generally tolerant of the region's old religions. The Indians were allowed to continue to worship Hindu gods in peace."</i>	Ritari 6
Prosperity of the Grand Mughal Empire	<i>"The rulers of the Grand Mughal Empire themselves took much influence from Indian culture. They followed Indian customs and chose their mates from noble Indian families. The kingdom flourished for more than 200 years."</i>	Ritari 6
Contributions to Mathematics	<i>"A number zero and an easy-to-write number system were invented in India."</i>	Ritari 6
Indian Spices	<i>"Indian spices were a coveted commodity in Europe. Spices were shipped from India to Europe in commercial caravans." "Spices imported from India gave dishes new flavors"</i>	Ritari 6

## Appendix 10

Mentions of Central and South American Cultures in the Modern Ages.

Topic	Mention(s)	Source
Inca Empire	<i>"The Inca Empire was located in the Andes Mountains in Peru. The Inca culture flourished in the 15th century. The Incas are known for their religion, elaborate road network, and high-quality construction skills."</i>	Ritari 6
Inca Religion	<i>"The Inca religion included many gods, such as the sun god, the God of thunder, and the creator god. Priests strive to predict future events and the outcome of battles, as well as to expel evil spirits. The Incas sacrificed to God's people, animals, clothing, gold and silver." "The Incas worshiped the sun god Inti, from whom they believed they were born. The sun was worshiped, for its light and heat ripened the harvest. After death, good sunworshippers were believed to accompany the sun to the sky. Bad people were believed to go underground, where they were only allowed to eat stones, snakes, and toads. The moon was the sun's consort. The Incas believed that during lunar eclipses, a cougar or snake tried to eat the moon. These evil animals were intimidated by the noise and rattling of weapons. The God of thunder was also worshipped, as it was believed to bring important rain to farmers in the fields. The lightnings were said to come from God's shining garments. The thunder, on the other hand, came from a large stone sling in his hand. The Creator God was Viracocha. After creating the sun, moon, and stars, he walked like a long-bearded figure, taught the people, and eventually disappeared to the sea. Animals, fine clothes, and gold and silver were sacrificed to the gods. At religious feasts, the gods were offered drink and food. The Incas rarely sacrificed people."</i>	Ritari 6 Forum 6

Agriculture	<p><i>"Most of the Incas made their living from farming the land. The Incas cultivated potatoes, for example."</i></p> <p><i>"The Incas made their living from farming. Every working-age person was to farm the land and pay taxes"</i></p>	Ritari 6 Forum 6
Road Building and Infrastructure	<p><i>"All were to pay taxes and participate in warfare and road building. The Incas built suspension bridges over ravines and rivers in the mountains. They also built an extensive and well-maintained road network. The runners quickly took a message down the roads from the border area to the capital if the enemy threatened. Thanks to roads, soldiers also moved quickly to new places."</i></p> <p><i>"In addition to farming, citizens were to participate in warfare and build roads and bridges. In exchange for work, the state took care of older people who were no longer able to work. The working days were long, and the children had to do light work."</i></p>	Ritari 6 Forum 6
Inca Daily Life	<p><i>"Although it took a lot of time to work, there was time for children and adults to play. The children played the gyre and ball games. Adults played a variety of dice games. The Incan youth were competitive, as competitions were believed to develop young people into warfare. Celebrations were held in honor of the gods at different times of the year, at the ruler's coronation, or when going to war. The parties were danced and played with various instruments, such as recorders, tambourines, and ankle rings made from snail shells. The most popular instrument was a drum made of hollow wood. In the popular guacon dance, men dressed in masks would jump and carry dried animals or animal skins."</i></p>	Forum 6
Spanish Conquest of Inca Empire	<p><i>"In the early 16th century, Spanish conquerors, led by Francisco Pizarro, arrived in the Andes Mountains. They aimed to seek gold and wealth and conquer new territories for Spain. The Spanish took Atahualpa, the ruler of the Incas, by surprise and took him prisoner."</i></p> <p><i>"Atahualpa promised Pizarro a house of gold and double the amount of silver to go free. Pizarro agreed to the Inca king's proposal. Treasures from all over the Inca Empire began to be transported to the Spanish."</i></p>	Forum 6 Ritari 6
Factors in Spanish Conquest	<p><i>"Atahualpa promised Pizarro large quantities of gold and silver if he would release him. Pizarro agreed but did not keep his promise after receiving the treasures. Atahualpa was killed, and the Spanish plundered the Inca gold treasures. The Incas were forced to flee the invaders. The Inca empire of less than 150 years was destroyed, and the territories were incorporated into Spain."</i></p> <p><i>"However, Pizarro did not live up to his promise. At the request of Pizarro, Atahualpa was indicted and sentenced by a Spanish court to be burned at the stake. Just before the burning, Atahualpa decided to convert to Christianity so that his body would remain intact in the life after the Incas. He was quickly baptized into Christianity by Spanish priests, named Spanish Juan de Atahualpa, and strangled. The Spanish plundered the gold treasures of the Inca Empire. It was decided to melt the gold and silver items into blocks to make it easier to transport them to Spain. In less than ten years, nearly 200,000 kilograms of gold and many times as much silver were shipped from the Inca Empire to Spain. The fabled Eldorado, however, was not found by the Spanish."</i></p> <p><i>"Pizarro defeated the Inca Empire a dozen years later."</i></p>	Forum 6 Ritari 6
European Colonization of South America	<p><i>"After the Spanish conquered the Aztec and Inca empires, they became colonies and were incorporated into Spain. Spain took over much of Central and South America. Portugal conquered what is now Brazil from South America."</i></p> <p><i>"Most of the Central and South American territories were conquered by Spain. Portugal was colonized by what is now Brazil. The population of the Indians fell sharply in the areas conquered by Spain and Portugal."</i></p>	Ritari 6 Forum 6

	<i>"After the expeditions, the Europeans subjugated all of South America to their colonies."</i>	
African Slave Trade in the Americas	<i>"Most of the slaves were exported to the Caribbean and present-day Brazil."</i>	Forum 6

## Appendix 11

Mentions of Africa in the Modern Ages.

Topic	Mention(s)	Source
Portuguese Exploration	<p><i>"Portuguese navigators began exploring the west coast of Africa in the early 15th century. From their travels, they brought valuable ivory, gold, and slaves. In 1488, the Portuguese Bartolomeu Dias and his crew first sailed to the southern tip of Africa. His ship got off course due to the storm and passed the tip of Africa."</i></p> <p><i>"Seafarers sailed further and further south along the coast of Africa, gradually making the winds and ocean currents of the southern Atlantic known. The only way to get east by sea was to circumnavigate Africa."</i></p> <p><i>"However, it had now been proven that the sea continued on the other side of the southern tip of Africa, and sailing to India was possible."</i></p>	Ritari 6 Forum 6
European Exploration and Exploitation of Africa	<p><i>"The African continent was close to Europe, but only a few coastal trading posts were taken over from Africa by Europeans. The interior was difficult to traverse and, therefore, difficult to take over. Instead of conquering, Africa was exploited in many ways."</i></p> <p><i>"Europeans had been sailing the west coast of Africa since the 15th century. However, their expeditions did not extend inland because it was challenging to navigate because of the jungles and deserts."</i></p>	Forum 6 Ritari 6
European Interests in the African Slave Trade	<p><i>"Europeans were interested in gold, ivory, coffee, and the slave trade in Africa. Slaves imported from Africa endured heavy labor and disease better than the Indians."</i></p> <p><i>"Native Americans could not bear the heavy work demanded by Europeans, so Europeans began exporting black slaves from Africa to America. Africans did not contract European diseases as easily as Native Americans."</i></p>	Ritari 6 Forum 6
African Slave Trade	<i>"In Africa, the slave trade was already taking place before the voyages of discovery."</i>	Forum 6
African Slave Trade: The Atlantic Triangle trade	<p><i>"The slave trade increased as Europeans began to export slaves to America. The trade between the three continents is called the Atlantic Triangle trade. Europeans first transported their manufactured goods to Africa. There, the ships were filled with slaves sold in America. There, the ships were loaded with fruit, new plants, and treasures that were sold in Europe."</i></p> <p><i>"In three hundred years, about 10 million slaves were shipped from Africa to America. Most of the slaves were exported to the Caribbean and present-day Brazil."</i></p> <p><i>"The journey from Africa to America was a difficult one for slaves. Ships were cramped, and food was scarce. Thousands of slaves died from the stresses of the journey."</i></p> <p><i>"The slave trade from Africa to America was profitable for Europeans. In West Africa, African chiefs abducted people from the interior, transported</i></p>	Forum 6 Ritari 6

	<i>them to the coast, and sold them as slaves. Europeans exchanged clothing, weapons, alcohol, and utensils for slaves. Slaves were transported by ships across the Atlantic to America. The journey was burdensome for the slaves, as the ships were cramped, the journey was long, and the food was little. Many slaves died during the voyage. In America, merchants sold slaves at auctions and loaded ships with goods exported to Europe, such as tobacco, sugar, and cotton."</i>	
Consequences of Slave Trade in Africa	<i>"As a result of the slave trade, Africa's population declined. Competition for slaves increased wars among the various tribes because the tribes plundered each other's people as slaves."</i>	Forum 6
Consequences of Slave Trade	<i>"The consequences of the slave trade for Africans were devastating. Millions of people were separated from their families and ended up working as slaves on farms and mines owned by Europeans." "Millions of people were taken from Africa to work as slaves in North America. Slaves were mistreated and had to work in fields such as cotton fields and other plantations." "Women, black slaves, indigenous Indians, and the poorest citizens did not receive the same rights. For example, black people imported from Africa as America were sold into slavery. Slaves lived in hovels in poor condition and could be flogged by a slave owner"</i>	Ritari 6 Forum 6