

Anke Sommer-Lilleenget

Starting to dance

Tracing (post-) critical Global Citizenship Education
in Norway

Master's thesis in Globalization and Sustainable Development
Supervisor: Dr.Elizabeth Barron

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Abstract

Critical approaches to *Global Citizenship Education* (GCED) encourage learners to examine economic and cultural roots of the inequalities in power and wealth distribution. Being based on postcolonial theory, such approaches aim at unveiling how modernity influences our way to understand the world, which is just one way of many. Still, other epistemologies have often been denied access into the Academy. The inclusion of indigenous knowledges is not just important with regard to justice, but also with regards to sustainability. Postcritical approaches to GCED call for epistemological pluralism to explore other ways of living and relating. This master thesis examines to what extent the renewal of curricula in Norway promotes both critical and postcritical Global Citizenship Education by conducting a content analysis of underlying documents and a case study at the teacher education program at the Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences (INN). Findings suggest that underlying attitudes in (post-)critical GCED and the education system in Norway are co-extensive, as both promote difference as sources for learning. Sámi knowledges, as the local agents for indigenous knowledges, are included in the Norwegian education system, though not mainstreamed. They are not linked to the newly established interdisciplinary topic of sustainable development either. There is also potential to raise awareness for how our history shaped the way we think in order to make *transformative learning* really transformative.

Foreword

The work on my master thesis is marked by encounters with other people, who I would like to thank.

My husband Jonny has always been the first one to talk to when new thoughts or struggles arose. Although he is not 'from the field' and my thoughts might have been confusing, he always had an open ear and helped me to reflect on and formulate issues.

I am grateful to be able to explore the world together with my children Ygrid and Aymo, as being and engaging with them constitutes a way of seeing things differently. Their mere existence has also been a driver for finding sustainable solutions.

I also want to thank my family in Austria, especially father who is engaged in philosophy and my mother Mag. Ulrike Truger, for passing on to me to question the existing, socially uneven system. She always stood up for the marginalized and gave them a voice – or a statue, as she is a stone sculptor.

I also want to thank Dr. Nurit Sommer for the conversations on postcolonial theory and her feedback on my thesis. Her integrated view on what being human constitutes has influenced my work as well.

My supervisor Dr. Elizabeth Barron has accompanied me and my work in the last years. She has always taken the time to enhance my work and to provide professional feedback, which is why I am grateful for her guidance.

My interest in Global Citizenship Education started with the internship at the Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR), where I met a lot of engaged people, that have had an impact on me personally and professionally. I would also like to thank them for the opportunity to learn there.

Most importantly, I am grateful for the opportunity to get insight into the Norwegian school system, which is why I want to thank staff members and students at the Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences (INN) for taking their time to share their reflections with me.

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Abbreviations

ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
CCL	Centre for Collaborative Learning for Sustainable Development at INN
GCED	Global Citizenship Education
INN	Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals

1. Introduction

I became familiar with the concept of Global Citizenship Education before my internship in Austria, when I was searching for a way to form and educate learners to become more aware citizens that care for other living beings with which they share our fellow planet. It is especially the writings of Vanessa Andreotti that have drawn my interest, as they take a (post-)critical and postcolonial perspective on global citizenship education to understand how our past has shaped the way we are living now. In order to do better, to create more sustainable societies, it is crucial to examine what kind of knowledge systems have created *wrongs*, and also to identify obstacles for the imagination of other possible *rights*. That requires a pluralism of epistemologies, where our European way of knowing which is informed by modernity, gets provincialized. I use the term *Other* in order to denote marginalized groups in society, which often are defined in opposition to groups traditionally favored, normalized and privileged in society – Othered than the idealized norm (Kumashiro, 2002).

The inclusion of indigenous knowledges would also offer the opportunity to come closer to ecological or holistic sustainability, a deeper transition of our societies beyond the combat of symptoms, which constitutes the technological approach to sustainability. If we compare our planet with a sick person, technological sustainability would deal with stabilization, whereas ecological sustainability would aim at different lifestyles and alternatives to practices that led to the disease in the first place. This is where indigenous knowledges become relevant, as they have proven to be sustainable over thousands of years. Still, the aim is not to 'go back', but to create new knowledge, to imagine beyond colonial horizons of hope.

Curricula in Norway were renewed in 2017 and implemented in autumn 2020. The renewal brought three interdisciplinary topics: sustainable development, democracy and fellow citizenship, and public health and life mastery. In addition, critical thinking and in-depth learning gained focus. In my study, I aimed at investigating to which extent that renewal promotes critical and postcritical Global Citizenship Education. Thus, I analyzed the government paper underlying the renewal, as well as the new part on principles and values. I also conducted a case study at a teacher education program that had implemented the interdisciplinary topics in a pilot project from 2017.

Global Citizenship Education is not a prevalent term in Norway, which will be discussed later. This also means that there is little research done on that field. Yim (2019) explored in his master thesis the application of GCED in teacher training in Norway and South Korea. Klein and Wikan (2019) analyzed how study abroad programs for teacher students reduce ethnocentric attitudes and thereby promote GCED. My work, thus, aims at contributing to the debate on the implementation of GCED.

My thesis is structured in six sections. The theory section presents different approaches to Global Citizenship Education, where I explain why a critical view on GCED is crucial. Reflections on knowledge production and the inclusion of indigenous knowledge become relevant. As my study takes place in Norway where the Sámi people constitute the indigenous people, I expound the history of the Sámi people in Norway, as well as research done on the inclusion of Sámi knowledge and representations of Sámi in school books.

In my method section, I explain my positionality as well as how I conducted my research, which consists of two main parts: a content analysis of underlying documents for the renewal of syllabi, and the case study at the teacher education program at INN.

The fourth section shows the findings of those two parts, which are discussed in the following section.

Three overlapping domains for discussion emerged in this research: how Otherness is approached, the role of indigenous knowledge, and postcolonial perspectives. Findings suggest that Norway's approach to diversity correlates with (post-) critical GCED's foundation of how to approach difference – with respect and curiosity, not in order to find agreement, but to tolerate dissent. It was in that connection, a participant said that if we have respect and equal worth as foundation, we can become curious about the Other, then we can *start to dance*, which led to the title of this thesis.

Indigenous knowledge is included in the Norwegian education system, but not mainstreamed. Although all pupils have the right to learn about Sámi traditions and culture, it still depends on where you live in Norway and how competent your teacher is. A lot of knowledge got lost as a consequence of the time of assimilation. In addition, the inclusion of Sámi knowledge is merely seen in a democratic context, not as fruitful when reflecting on sustainability.

The results regarding my third domain, the critical, postcolonial part that examines historicity of issues, need to be understood with reservations, as my insights were very limited. From what I could observe, there is potential for deeper reflections on our colonial baggage and how it affects attitudes and behavior.

2. Literature review

In the following section, I will present Global Citizenship Education (GCED) – its origin, its meaning and different stances to the concept which are important to understand in order to be able to analyze my data. Further, I will elaborate on critical and postcritical approaches, including their postcolonial roots. In order to create a more sustainable world, global citizens need to reflect on their historical luggage that influences their attitudes and behavior. The work on knowledge production becomes central: Where does my knowledge come from? What is included – and what is excluded? Whose knowledge is valid? Indigenous knowledge has mainly been excluded from the Academy, as it was perceived as 'primitive'. In the past decades, indigenous knowledge has gained interest in the context of sustainability issues, which I will explain. Colonialism in Norway was mainly directed toward the Sámi, the indigenous people. In the last section of my literature review, I will expound their history of assimilation and how Sámi knowledges are included in society as of today.

Diogenes, one of the founders of Cynicism in the fourth century B.C.B. is the first to be reported having claimed being a citizen of the world, according to Appiah (2007). For Diogenes, being a global citizen meant to care about the fate of all human beings even if they are not and do not want to be members of a single sovereign political community. He also valued the form of the dialogue (instead of writings) in order to communicate, discuss and learn from each other, across differences, which still can be considered as cornerstones for GCED.

Global Citizenship Education has been taken up and further developed by organizations such as Oxfam and UNESCO and is included in the Sustainable Development Goal 4, target 7:

By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development (UN General Assembly, 2017, p. 5/21).

There are different interpretations of what being a global citizen implies, which I will explain more in detail soon, but there is a common understanding that it does not imply a legal status. It is more about a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity and the acknowledgement of interdependencies on different levels. In order to define goals and learning objectives, as well as for better assessment in education,

UNESCO (2015) defined three core dimensions, namely cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioral. The *cognitive dimension* entails the acquirement of knowledge, understanding and critical thinking about global, regional, national and local issues and the interconnectedness and interdependency of different countries and populations. The *socio-emotional dimension* focuses on the development of certain attitudes tied to a sense of belonging to a common humanity, like empathy, solidarity, and respect for difference and diversity. The *behavioral dimension* is about actions as a result of knowledge and attitudes – responsible actions on local, national and global levels for a more peaceful and sustainable world. There are, however, different understandings about the goal of Global Citizenship Education with different underlying discourses.

2.1. Different approaches

Global Citizenship Education is understood and applied differently. In order to map how it is understood in Norway and at INN, the framework by Pashby, da Costa, Stein, and Andreotti (2020) will serve as a starting point. There are three major discursive orientations within Global Citizenship Education in their meta-review of GCED literature - neoliberal, liberal, and critical, as well as an emergent one that can be called postcritical.

Although *neoliberal types of GCED* may be labeled differently across the literature, descriptions are consistent. It is also the most consistently identified, analyzed, and criticized type. A neoliberal approach to global citizenship celebrates the dominance of a single global market as well as the principles of liberal transnational trade, in which global citizens successfully participate (Shultz, 2007). Key principles for education would be to serve a human capital function that is tied to the wider knowledge society where expertise is exchanged as a means to further economic development. Competency-based approaches are employed, and competition, academic utility and standardization drive curricula. Neoliberal approaches to GCED are described as instrumental in preparing learners for competing for jobs in a global market and learning about and engaging with the world has a value in the curriculum vitae.

Within *liberal types of GCED*, Pashby et al. (2020) found a greater variety in descriptions than within neoliberal types. Some consistent ideas included general principles of democracy and universal values in a single moral community and common humanity. Cosmopolitanism becomes important here, reflecting the move from a local to a universal notion of self, morality and society. This also implies the support for international organizations such as the United Nations. Some typologies make distinctions within the liberal orientations, as moral, political, cultural, and economic, while others describe an overarching name for it in order to critique it as a category. 'Soft' GCED (Andreotti, 2006) denotes approaches that are based on the idea of a common humanity and single view of progress where global justice issues are framed and responded to from

a Global North status quo. Thus, global citizens can be assessed as “members of equal nations coming together in rational consensus to define a better, prosperous and harmonious future for all” (Andreotti, 2011, p. 95). Lack of ‘development’, education, resources, skills, culture, technology etc. are identified as problems that can be coped with through a change in structures, institutions and individuals that are a barrier to ‘development’. That approach corresponds to the theory of development as modernization (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). The goal of GCED in that sense is to empower people to act according to what has been defined for them as a good life.

Critical GCED approaches on the other hand see the status quo as problematic, although most of those approaches also retain a strong interface with liberal orientations, explicitly or implicitly, some even with neoliberal-liberal interfaces. Andreotti (2006) points out that it is crucial to examine economic and cultural roots of the inequalities in power and wealth distribution in a global complex and uncertain system in GCED. If we fail to do that, engaged learners will, in a ‘civilizing mission’, project their beliefs and myths as universal and reproduce power relations similar to those in the colonial era, for instance in student exchange programs. Klein and Wikan (2019) for instance have come to the conclusion that exchange programs need to be designed in a way that includes critical reflections during the stay abroad and embeddedness and contextualization afterwards – in order to not reproduce ethnocentric and neocolonial attitudes. Thus, critical approaches address social injustices and criticize current power structures and modernization, often including critiques of Western exploitation and violence, drawing on postcolonial ways of thinking. This is important to explore as, by the 1930s, 84,6% of the globe had experienced colonization in some form (Viruru, 2005). Critical approaches present globalization as an accelerated mode of Western imperialism that uses economic power for domination (Shultz, 2007). Global citizens in a critical, or postcolonial, view are “members of a diverse planetary community of interdependent species who recognize their insufficiency and the facts that current dominant modes of being, thinking and organizing are unsustainable and that survival requires a shift of ways of knowing and relating” (Andreotti, 2011, p. 95).

Emergent approaches that fall out of GCED scholarly discussions as they try to capture the importance, and difficulty, of imagining GCED otherwise can be seen as *postcritical*. Critical approaches, at the end, derive from Western hegemony, just like Kant, Hobbes, Hegel, and Freud, which is where Spivak’s ‘Can the subaltern speak?’ becomes relevant (Delgado, Romero, & Mignolo, 2000). The term *subaltern* refers to the marginalized oppressed status of the historical colonized subject – in Spivak’s writings the Indian widow who has been written out of their own history by Western imperialist narratives of conquest and subjugation (Iwowo, 2014). Postcolonial scholars argue for a need to understand and imagine futures beyond categories created and imposed by

Western hegemony, both from the left and the right, which is difficult because the modern/colonial imaginary is so powerful. Postcritical approaches draw on decolonial critiques that challenge colonial horizons of hope and strategies for change, as conditions for possibility for our current system are both unsustainable and violent. (Pashby et al., 2020). Globalization here is understood in cultural, social, environmental, political and economic terms, resulting in new patterns of inclusion and exclusion, as well as the erosion of North-South hierarchies (Shultz, 2007). 'Other' GCED narrative frames – non-anthropocentric, non-teleological, non-dialectical, non-universal, non-cartesian – are often unintelligible as most people are socialized in neoliberal, liberal, or critical discursive orientations, which makes it difficult to think outside the box. What becomes essential for citizens to understand is their connection to all other people through a common humanity, a shared environment, and shared interests and activities. Only this more nuanced understanding can lead to the creation of just, democratic, and sustainable communities on local and global levels (Shultz, 2007).

2.2. Modernity's effect on epistemology

Western hegemony has had huge impacts on how we have constructed *being human* (by reason) and, or versus, the Other - those not belonging to the majority population or those in power to define what is normal (human, mature). That division has its origins in humanisms of the Renaissance and later the Enlightenment, as Gandhi (2019) explains. Both are unanimous in their categorical valorization of the human subject but have different emphases on the relation between what man is and what man knows. Renaissance humanism insists that man is made human *by the things* he knows, while Enlightenment humanism's focus more on *the way in which man knows things*. Yet, the valorization of man is always accompanied by a corollary that suggests that some are more human than others – either due to their access to superior learning or due to their cognitive faculties. Hence, they are more substantially the measure of all things, which rationalized pedagogical measures during the era of colonization.

Western humanism defined what being human entailed. What postcolonial scholars, starting with Said (1985), criticize in particular is Descartes' *cogito ergo sum*, which explains our existence through our capacity to doubt, which presupposes the activity of thought and therefore the existence of self-consciousness. The crux of this philosophy is the "all-knowing subject of consciousness – an entity which insists that our knowledge of the world is nothing other than the narcissism of self-consciousness" (Gandhi, 2019, p. 35). The Cartesian subject has the desire to see the world in its own self-image that gets threatened by the Otherness's conceived deviance. That creates anxiety which leads to repression and different forms of violence toward the Other, as experienced in the colonial era, and is still relevant as of today. Humanity's account precludes the possibility of

dialogue with other ways of being human, and brought into existence the notion of the 'non-adult' as 'inhuman', which set into motion a pedagogic and imperialist hierarchy between European adulthood and its childish, colonized Other (Gandhi, 2019).

Enlightenment's profound impact on our way of thinking and relating did of course not stop with the formal end of colonization. Concepts, such as citizenship, democracy, human rights, or scientific rationality bear the burden of European thought and history (Chakrabarty, 2009). Those European concepts have been spread also after the colonies' independence as part of distinctive discourses on development, which McMichael (2016) explains. Spivak (1990) introduces the term *Worlding of the rest as world* in order to describe that the projection of 'Western' values and interests as global and universal which naturalizes the myth of Western supremacy over the rest of the world. In discourses on development as modernization, colonialism is either ignored or safely placed in the past, so that it seems that it hasn't influenced (and still influences) the construction of the present, which is accompanied by new global social inequalities. Walter D. Mignolo suggests modernity's "shine" is only historically possible and presently sustainable through its "shadow". Its 'light' side is represented in rights, freedom, universal reason or representational democracy. Its darker side is one of colonialism, exploitation, and genocide (de Oliveira, 2012). Findlay and O'Rourke (2007) describe two waves of globalization: The first one during the era of colonization; and the second one that is tied to neoliberalism. By understanding postcolonial critics, it becomes clear that the current wave of globalization has its foundation on the first one. We can't see ourselves as separate from our histories, as they form our ways of seeing and relating to the world and thereby build societies.

Andreotti (2011) uses a metaphor to illustrate the problematic nature of globally hegemonic ethnocentrism. She invites the reader to imagine a field of ripe corn cobs; harvest the corn cobs and take out the corn cobs' husks; display the corn cobs in front of you. Compare the picture in your mind with this one:



Figure 1 multi-colored corn in Peru¹

Most people will imagine the corn cobs yellow and more or less uniform, which illustrates the institutionalization of the globally hegemonic ethnocentrism of the Western epistemology and the implications of Cartesian subjectivities. The yellow corn cob stands for the Cartesian subject that projects his local worldview as global, without disclosing the local roots of his epistemological and ontological choices. Those practices need to be seen in a context of imperial relations, where the yellow corn cob has the power to define and control the production of meaning and has control over the establishment of institutions and laws, as well as the distribution of wealth and labor.

Another way to read the metaphor is to see the yellow corn cob as the one variety that has colonized our experiences and imagination, that created a condition of epistemic blindness where we see ourselves as autonomous, individuated and self-sufficient being inhabiting a knowable and controllable world moving 'forward' in a direction that we already know (de Oliveira, 2012). Multi-colored corn cobs represent all the other ways of knowing that have been denied access to 'normal' education, indigenous knowledges being some of them.

2.3. Ways to know otherwise

Postcolonial theory has been criticized for just focusing on criticism, not solutions. Yet, it is important to be critical and locate problems in order to be able to imagine otherwise. The first step, then, is to become aware of how situated knowledges, as so-called 'Western'

¹ picture by daledbet on Pixabay. Instead of the picture in Andreotti's book, I used this free picture with the same content, multi-colored corn cobs, that can be found in Peru.

knowledges, affect our way of thinking and relating to Others, as well as to allow and even appreciate difference. For both yellow and multicolored corn cobs it is important to become sensitized to difference:

to unlearn their (possible) epistemological arrogance, to learn to listen beyond their tendency to project and appropriate, to relate to Other corn cobs in ways that legitimize different ways of knowing and being, and to engage in ethical solidarities without the need for consensus, a common cause or a common identity" (Andreotti, 2011, p. 6).

Such an ethical solidarity involves both a recognition of *equality* (when ideas of superiority threaten the relationship), and a recognition of *difference* (when the push toward sameness threatens the other's difference and ability to disagree). This kind of pedagogy requires a new kind of epistemology, namely "a general epistemology of the impossibility of a general epistemology" (Santos, 2007, p. 12). Knowledge, thus, is conceptualized as socially, culturally, and historically situated. It is rather a process than a product, and constantly renegotiated in encounters with difference.

Based on that assumption on knowledge, learners should develop a special skill to read the word and the world that involves both critical engagement and reflexivity: "the analysis and critique of the relationships among perspectives, language, power, social groups and social practices by the learners" (Andreotti, 2006, p. 49). That skill is termed *critical literacy*. It involves tracing the origins and implications of ways of seeing and being, getting acquainted with different epistemologies, as well as the engagement with complexity, uncertainty, multiplicity, and interdependence. Those might help learners to see themselves as integral to the world and maybe prevent the reproduction of mechanisms that generate or maintain hegemonic ethnocentrism and relationships based on epistemic violences.

Critical literacy, based on critical perspectives, needs to be distinguished from critical reading, which is based on liberal humanism (Cervetti, Pardales, & Damico, 2001). Critical reading aims at comprehending the 'right' meaning of an author's text through decoding. It involves critical thinking that is deliberate, orderly, critical, purposeful, and stands in contrast to ordinary, everyday thinking. Reading is perceived as an activity that can help a person to learn about the world, understand an author's intention and decipher whether information is valid or worthy of skepticism. In contrast to critical perspectives, liberal humanism anticipates that reality is directly knowable and thus, can be used as a reference. Critical literacy on the other hand has been influenced by critical social theory's view that meanings are always contested (not given) and related to ongoing struggles in society for the possession of knowledge, power, status, and material resources. Another impact on the development of critical literacy was Paulo Freire who saw language and

literacy as key mechanisms for social reconstruction. Thus, the goal for critical education was the development of *critical consciousness*, through which “students should come to recognize and feel disposed to remake their own identities and sociopolitical realities through their own meaning-making processes and through their actions in the world” (Cervetti et al., 2001, p. 7).

Table 1 Differences between critical reading and critical literacy²

	Critical Reading	Critical literacy
Types of questions	What was the context of writing? To whom was the text addressed? How did the author manipulate the text?	What (grand) narratives inform the assumption of the text? What are their implications in terms of power/social relations? How could this be taught otherwise?
Pedagogical focus	Critique of the text: analysis of authors’ intentions, reflection	Social critique: analysis of connections between knowledge and power, reflexivity
Notion of language	Fixed, translates or distorts reality: meaning is in the text	Ambivalent, ideological, creates reality: meaning is in the interpretation
Notion of reality	Exists, is accessible, but is often translated into false representations	Exists, but is objectively inaccessible through language
Notion of knowledge	False versus true consciousness	Partial, dynamic, contingent and provisional
Instructional goals	Development of higher level skills of comprehension and interpretation	Development of critical consciousness

Bearing historicity in mind, *feel good* teaching practices, as often associated with *transformative learning*, are not sufficient (de Oliveira, 2012). Often, teachers conduct an activity, where students should identify what is wrong with the world, what they imagine an ideal world would look like and what people should do to make things right. The assumption here is that ignorance (not knowing) leads to *wrongness* (violence, poverty, pollution..), and that the right information leads to *rightness*. The wider aspect of knowledge is often neglected: that every knowledge is also an ignorance (of other knowledges), as *wrongs* are caused by knowledge too. So, what is needed is an analysis of what (socially, culturally, and historically situated) systems of knowledge/power

² adapted from Cervetti et al. (2001, p. 10) and Andreotti (2011, p. 195)

production produce *wrongs* and *rights*, and the identification of obstacles that block the imagination for other possible *rights*. This, in turn, would have implications for education as a means to right wrongs:

What kind of education could take account of the complexity, multiplicity, complicity, and inequality inherent in the politics of knowledge production? What kind of education could support us to undo the legacy of knowledges that make us blindly complicit in perpetuating wrongs? What kind of education could enable the emergence of ethical relationships between those who have historically marginalized and those who have been marginalized, moving beyond guilt, anger, salvationism, triumphalism, paternalism, and self-interest? What kind of education could equip us to work in solidarity with one another in the construction of 'yet-to-come' collective futures in ways that do not require enforced or manufactured consensus? What kind of education could help us find comfort and hope in precisely 'not having absolute answers' and being frequently challenged in our encounters with difference? (de Oliveira, 2012, p. 23)

Postcritical approaches to Global Citizenship Education, thus, call for a shift in how we perceive knowledge, both what constitutes knowledge and our skills for engaging with knowledge. It requires also that learners get acquainted with different types of knowledges, besides 'Western' types (i.e. with multi-colored corn cobs) in order to be able to imagine futures beyond anthropocentric, teleological, dialectical, universal, cartesian narratives, together, with respect and interest in *different* perspectives. Indigenous knowledges can offer possibilities to explore different perspectives with different ontologies and epistemologies, as the next section focuses on.

2.4. Indigenous knowledges

Indigenous knowledges represent some of those multi-colored corn cobs that need to be introduced in education as part of moves towards epistemological pluralism. Writing about indigenous knowledges indicates that they all have distinctive features that divide them from so-called Western knowledge systems. This might lead in a wrong direction due to two traps: The first one is that all indigenous knowledges seem to be lumped together, not acknowledging their uniqueness, as they are embedded in place. The other one regards the consequence of making a division that creates obstacles for collaboration. Agrawal (2014) argues that it may be more helpful to accept differences within these categories and perhaps find similarities across them. In order to describe what is discussed as indigenous knowledges, I will present findings from a literature review before I shine a light on the connection between indigenous knowledges and sustainability.

Researchers often describe indigenous knowledge as more holistic in contrast to scientific knowledge, that is characterized by dichotomies, as nature/culture or subject/object, universalism, individualism and an instrumental attitude towards nature (Banuri, Marglin, & World Institute for Development Economics, 1993). Indigenous knowledges on the other hand is characterized as lacking those dichotomies and as embedded in the cultural milieu. Community seems to play an important role, and nature is not understood as instrument. Semali and Kincheloe (1999) define indigenous knowledge as

[...] the dynamic way in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organize that folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs, and history to enhance their lives (p.3).

As indigenous knowledges are place-based, it is important to avoid the tendency to lump together all indigenous cultures as one and rather recognize the great variety of different knowledges. At the same time, we should not forget the nearly worldwide oppression of indigenous peoples and the destruction of indigenous knowledges. Given their classification of indigenous knowledge systems as 'primitive' or 'non-modern', educators have not perceived the extinction as a serious loss, but since the 1970s, there is an international decolonizing movement to reclaim indigenous voice and vision. Indigenous knowledge has become respected and protected in international laws and conventions and national constitutions, such as the UN *Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Battiste & Henderson, 2009).

Indigenous knowledges become important in light of current challenges, such as the climate crisis, loss of biodiversity, and global social inequalities, that can be seen as the product of our (Western) way of living. Indigenous knowledges can offer the possibilities to explore epistemologies that move in ways unimagined by most Western academic impulses and challenge 'normal sciences' with questions indigenous knowledges raise about the nature of our existence, our consciousness, our knowledge production, and the 'globalized' future (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999). It is possible to distinct between knowledge as content that is passed from one generation to the next, and knowledge as a process, a way of observing, discussing and making sense of new information – indigenous ways of knowing, which implies that it evolves and involves learning by doing, experimenting and knowledge-building (Berkes, 2010). In situating the term, Indigenous knowledge denotes the local knowledge held by indigenous people, which can be assessed as the broader category that contains many fields of ethnoscience, as agriculture, soil and water conservation, ethnopharmacology, or traditional ecological knowledge (Berkes,

2018). Going back to Andreotti's yellow corn cobs that have led to a kind of epistemic blindness, the exploration of indigenous knowledges would enable us to see better, ask different questions and come to greater variety of answers for how to survive on Earth.

The acquaintance of indigenous perspectives can enhance *intercultural competence*, as Olsen, Sollid, and Johansen (2017) point out. The term is used to denote a combination of attitudes, understanding, knowledge and skills that get activated and applied when meeting other people. The authors explored the meaning of the term *intercultural competence* when studying the presence of Sámi knowledge in Norwegian schools. Students need to be encouraged to reflect openly and in a respectful manner about similarities and differences in encounters. Such competencies are essential in a global sense as well, where people meet global challenges that require collaborations across national and historical divisions. Indigenous perspectives can also help to understand those challenges.

An analysis of academic practices vis-à-vis indigenous knowledge has educational benefits, as Semali and Kincheloe (1999) point out: When teachers engage students in the interpretation of various knowledges and modes of knowledge production, it promotes a rethinking of the purposes of educators and whole institutions. The authors give an example within Mathematics, where a group of Western anthropologists were studying a group of African tribal people who had been labeled primitive. They tested their intelligence in relation to set theory where participants should sort twenty objects that fell into four categories (food, clothing, tools, and cooking utensils). Thus, one path to cognitive sophistication was chosen to be true or valid. What the Africans formed was not the four 'properly' groups, but ten. They based their groupings on what they considered practical connections among the objects, e.g. grouping a knife with an orange because it cuts it. The example shows not just cultural differences but exposes also the role of power in knowledge production. In the example, just one solution was considered correct, although there might be many different ways to solve the task. Power, thus, is also a matter of representation, more specifically here the representation of ways of life that can be either legitimated or delegitimated. By re-engaging with subjugated knowledges, educators can uncover origins of inclusion and exclusion, notions of superiority and inferiority, racism and ethnocentrism, which contribute to the construction of more just and inclusive academic spheres. It also affects teachers' role in class from the all-knowing experts to researchers that are not content to operate in socio-educational frameworks often taken for granted. They seek to rethink and recontextualize questions that have been traditionally asked about schooling and knowledge production in general.

As mentioned before, indigenous knowledges have to be understood in their ambiguity and contextual embeddedness, which not just becomes important in a discussion about justice, but also in connection to sustainable development. That

understanding raises epistemological questions about the production and consumption of knowledge, the connection between culture and what is perceived as successful learning, the education system and more. The awareness about the intersection between subjugated and indigenous knowledges opens for a conversation between so-called developed and under-developed societies that can be used to produce new forms of inter-cultural solidarity and global consciousness, as well as sustainable development. The inclusion of indigenous knowledges and perspectives is not about invoking a return to the past, as Battiste and Henderson (2009) argue. It is about renewing our understanding of our relationship with the natural world, a reconnection to the spiritual dimension of being, and the remodeling of the institutions and processes that shape our lives with our renewed understanding.

In that context, indigenous knowledges can inform our understanding of sustainability. Orr (2011) distinguishes between two interpretations of sustainability: technological and ecological. The difference lies in the view whether societies can become sustainable within the modern paradigms through better technologies and more accurate prices, or if a transition is required, to a "culture that transcends the individualism, anthropocentrism, consumerism, nationalism, and militarism of modern societies" (p.94). *Technological sustainability* assumes that economic growth is essential, that humans are best defined by the model of economic man, and that humans should control the forces of nature. *Ecological sustainability* on the other hand, recognizes the importance of the epistemologies of indigenous peoples and encourages us to live much frugally, waste less, and engage less with the global economy by doing more for ourselves and each other. It advocates knowledge systems that are location specific and only arrived at through a unique coevolution between specific social and ecological systems. Knowledge here is understood *as part* of the tasks of living well in a specific place over a long period of time.

The crisis of sustainability is a consequence loss of indigenous knowledges, as the separation between knowledge and living in a specific place led to unsustainability: "The crisis of sustainability has occurred only when and where this union between knowledge, livelihood, and living has been broken and knowledge is used for the single purpose of increasing productivity" (Orr & Capra, 2010, p. 103). Drawing on Norgaard (1987), Orr states that the loss of traditional knowledge is directly related to increased species extinction and the risks inherent in the rise of a single knowledge-economic system controlling agriculture worldwide. That view is also shared by the United Nations that put effort in preserving indigenous languages, as knowledge is often tied to language. Thus, loss of indigenous languages is closely related to biodiversity loss. Cristiana Paşca Palmer, Secretariat chief of the Convention on Biological Diversity, emphasized indigenous peoples' role as "stewards of biodiversity for millennia, responsible for preserving and even

increasing biodiversity through their traditional management practices” (United Nations, 2019).

Orr doesn't see those two versions as mutually exclusive, but both necessary as successive stages in order to come to a sustainable world. Technological sustainability would stabilize planetary vital signs, whereas ecological sustainability would find alternatives to practices that got us into trouble in the first place. The *buen vivir* movement in Latin America might be an example for ecological sustainability, where indigenous peoples initiated a search for a different way of thinking about development that aims at a collective well-being of both humans and non-humans (Peet & Hartwick, 2015).

2.5. Indigenous people in Norway

The Sámi people are the indigenous people whose native homelands span across what is now Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. In 1990, Norway was the first country to ratify ILO's Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention. The convention's aims are to conserve indigenous people's identity, preserve and develop their way of life and their culture on *their* terms, as well as to commit authorities to support their work (Skogvang, 2013). That ratification happened a decade after Norway's policy of *norwegianization* [assimilation] had ended. The period of assimilation stretches from about 1850 to approximately 1980 and was inseparable from the emergence of strong nation states, in Europe and the USA (Minde, 2003). What made Norway different from other states was the determined, continuous and long-lasting conduct of that policy that historians see affected by "the Finnish menace" – a perception that Finland could be a possible threat. After 1870, there was a growing Kven³ immigration, which, together with the Sámi people, were supposed to be norwegianized. The policy of norwegianization was introduced in the field of culture "with schools as the battlefield and teachers as frontline soldiers (Niemi 1997, p.268, cited in Minde, 2003). The focus there lay on language. In 1851, the Norwegian parliament created an item in the national budget to promote the teaching of Norwegian in the "transitional districts" and to ensure the enlightenment of the Sámi people, from 1868 also the Kven population. The item was termed "*Finnefondet*" and received increasing allocations in order to tighten measures. All Sámi and Kven children were to learn to speak, read and written Norwegian, not their native tongue. Teachers were forced to deliver 'good results', otherwise they were not given a wage increase. After 1898 they even had to check that their Sámi and Kven pupils did not use their native tongue during breaks.

The Alta controversy of 1979-81, where Sámi people and environmental activists successfully protested against the construction of a hydroelectric powerplant, marked the end of Norwegianization and became a symbol of the Sámi fight against cultural

³ Finnish settlers in Northern Norway

discrimination and for collective respect, for political autonomy and for material rights (Minde, 2003).

Sámi people have their own parliament now, the *Sametinget*, which was established in 1987 and opened in 1989 (Berg-Nordlie, 2020). Its scope of work regards all cases that concern Sámi people. The *Sametinget* can make a statement about all cases within that scope of work and present cases to public authorities and private institutions. It can also be given authority to manage and decide on matters by the state (Berg-Nordlie, 2020).

Olsen et al. (2017) examined the implementation of Sámi knowledge in teacher education. Three different strategies exist in how to deal with indigenous knowledge: absence, inclusion, and indigenization. After World War II educators became more aware of the absence of Sámi matters in teaching books; but this did not change until the 1970s, when knowledge on Sámi was included. Still, there was little presence in history or Social Studies' books in 2017. The third strategy, indigenization, entails both the education of indigenous people in their language and culture, and the majority population in indigenous subject matter. The goal of indigenization includes the recognition and understanding of indigenous perspectives, as well as to avoid *Othering*. That third strategy is, according to the authors, difficult to implement in Norwegian schools, teacher education included. There is also a variety in how much knowledge in Sámi is included, quite depending on where in Norway the school is situated. In regions with Sámi settlement, students usually get more education on Sámi than in those without or less settlement.

Olsen and Andreassen (2018) examined the development of representations of Sámi and diversity in the overarching parts since 1974, which becomes relevant for my work in order to understand the current representations. The overarching part ties the school's functional content to the society in general. It is also a political text that shows which goals the Norwegian state wants to reach through education. The term *indigenous people* to describe Sámi is introduced first in the current overarching part, which shows that the state recognizes them as indigenous people and having specific rights. Before that, they were paraphrased as *Sámi speaking or living in mixed-language districts* (1974), and later as *population* or *ethnic minority* (1987).

It is also in those overarching parts that the transition from politics of integration to politics of recognition is visible. Where the texts contained terms such as *foreign workers* or *immigrants* before, the society today is described as generally *diverse*. Where politics of integration aim at social equalization, politics of recognition are rooted in multicultural theory that states that all cultures have equal value (Olsen & Andreassen, 2018). The authors also describe the importance the term *diversity competence* has gained throughout the last years in order to determine what kind of qualities teachers need to obtain to meet the Norwegian *felleskap* (community) as a whole. It is no longer a

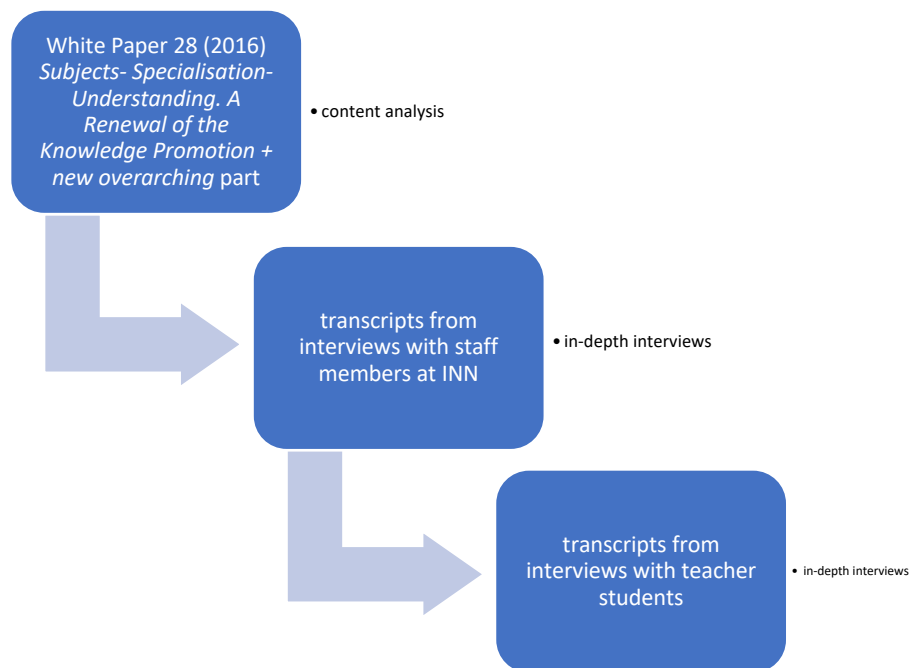
kind of *we* that needs to meet or treat *them* in a certain way, but a diverse society in general, which also will be a central finding in this research.

While the focus on *felleskap* is central in the sub-ordinate part, Sámi people are still othered in Norwegian textbooks (Eriksen, 2018). Social studies text books (from 2013 and 2015) for elementary pupils construct Sámi as the Other (by using *we* for the majority population and *they* for Sámi) and exclude them from the image of a common history on the geographical Norway. In the books, Sámi people are presented as reindeer-herding and kofte-wearing, which reinforces the conceptual hegemony of the Northern Sámi and fails to recognize the Sámi as a heterogenous category.

3. Method

Using a qualitative approach, I aimed at getting situated, in-depth knowledge about underlying discourses that have paved the way for the renewal of education as well as attitudes and motives of teacher educators at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences (INN) and their effects on teacher students. Figure 2 describes my approach to collect data.

Figure 2 Data collection



The first step was to choose the documents. To begin with, I chose just the White Paper, but included the new overarching part in basic education soon, as it explained values and principles more in detail. My first respondents referred also a lot to the new overarching part, which was a good reason to have a deeper look at it. I interpreted the data against the meta-review of GCED typologies by Pashby et al. (2020) in order to find to which extent critical GCED perspectives were present.

I chose INN as a case for my study because of their pilot project on the implementation of interdisciplinary topics *sustainable development, democracy and fellow citizenship, and public health and life mastery*. One of the first contacts with a member of the Centre for Collaborative Learning for Sustainable Development (CCL) at INN, who coordinates the pilot project, was about critical Global Citizenship Education. The member meant that, although the focus was merely on *education for sustainable development*, critical GCED was included, which led to my initial research question: "How has the implementation of critical GCED affected teaching and learning?"

Nevertheless, the in-depth interviews showed little presence of terms as GCED or even critical GCED. This is why I changed my strategy a little bit and subsequently focused less on abstract terms like critical GCED and more specifically on Sámi knowledge within teacher education. My guiding research afterwards was "How does the renewal of teaching plans in Norway promote critical Global Citizenship Education?"

Study participants were initially recruited through CCL and the administration at the teacher education program. From there, I used the snowball sampling method (Stratford & Bradshaw, 2016) to contact the additional participants that had knowledge and/or experience within the pilot project, on GCED and Sámi knowledge. My initial plans were to conduct interviews during my stay in Hamar, but because of the COVID-19 pandemic only one interview was conducted in person. All others had to be completed on Zoom, which worked surprisingly well. I recorded both on a recorder and directly via Zoom, which I stored on NTNU's server. Interviews with staff members were individually semi-structured, adapted to every single participant. Just the topic of attitudes was part of every interview. The interview guide for students can be found in the appendix. After transcribing, I coded the interviews. Some parts were default, as attitudes and skills, others appeared as important during interviews.

Notes and PowerPoint presentations from participant observation at a lecture and the report on the pilot project, and online resources on an international exchange project added context for the project. I also tried to make contact with staff members at the Sámi parliament in order to explore how they felt included in the writing of the White paper 28, but did not receive an answer.

With seven staff members at INN, I feel I got quite good insight into their work and what is important for them to give to their students. Nevertheless, interpretations are based on interviews with teacher educators. In order to confirm their statements, observations in classes would have been necessary. My interpretations lie on statements, for instance that postcolonial theory is implied in social studies classes. More interviews with students would have been required to be able to say much on the impact of education there. The two students who were willing to be interviewed are little representative to make general statements about the impact of education at INN.

The data needs to be understood as co-constructed between me and the participants. I don't see myself as an objective 'collector' of data, but part of conversations where meaning was constructed between two people, in a specific time and place. The analysis was sent back to participants, so they could check whether their sayings were correctly represented. Another checkpoint was the feedback of my supervisor, that enhanced academic credibility. Those checkpoints were also important regarding language, as interviews were conducted in Norwegian, while the thesis language is English. Both are not my first languages, which is why those two checkpoints enhanced credibility.

The analysis of the data needs to be seen as socially, culturally, and historically situated and informed by a specific theoretical lens, which means that results only can be seen as partial, tentative, and provisional. I acknowledge that it is impossible to get 'the whole picture' with one specific lens, which is rather strange regarding the object of my study: interdisciplinarity. Still, I hope this work can contribute to a debate on the implementation of Global Citizenship Education.

4. Analysis

I will present the findings in two sections. Section one focuses on the underlying papers – White paper 28 and the new overarching part for basic education. Section two presents findings from my research at the teacher department at the Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences (INN). Findings suggest that the term Global Citizenship Education or even critical Global Citizenship Education is not prevalent. Some of the content of critical GCED on the other hand are present and are important ingredients to the education system in Norway.

4.1. The White paper 28 and the new overarching part for basic education

The first part of my analysis focuses on the White paper 28 and the new overarching part that zeros in on values and principles for education. White Paper 28, written by the Ministry of Knowledge, has been influential on the renewal of education at all levels and shows Norway's view on education. The new overarching part for basic education, written by the Education Directorate, elaborates on underlying values and has been added because it allows the comparison with values and principles within critical GCED. Guiding questions when analyzing the two papers were "How is globalization perceived?", "What is education?", "What should be the goals of education?" and "What role does indigenous knowledge play in education?" The documents were analyzed against the meta-review of GCED typologies by Pashby et al. (2020) as described in the theory section, which helped to assess to what degree critical elements are present in important documents that shape basic education.

The analysis of the papers shows both neoliberal, liberal and critical elements, from which liberal elements take the biggest account. Interestingly, the new overarching part shows no neoliberal elements, but more critical ones, while the proportion is the opposite in the White paper. There are also other differences, for instance when it comes to defining sustainable development.

The White Paper is structured in eight chapters, analysis was completed on the first three: introduction, the background for the renewal, and the new general part because they yielded insights into underlying discourses and attitudes. Chapter 4 describes specific proposals for the renewal in respective subjects, and so was added later. Interesting for my analysis are the three interdisciplinary subjects 'democracy and fellow citizenship', 'sustainable development', and 'public health and coping with life'. The analysis presents Norway's view on education, its position towards the rest of the world, and the role of indigenous knowledge.

4.1.1. *What is education for?*

Although the liberal basis of the Norwegian education system is quite clear in both documents, critical elements are visible in the new overarching part that focuses on which skills pupils need to develop in order to meet a diverse society and an uncertain future. Neoliberal elements, such as the role of school in preparation for a global market, are only visible in the White paper.

In the White paper, school stands for a "society in miniature where pupils are let in on culture and society" (Kunnskapsdepartement, 2015, p. 21). On the one hand, society represents values, on the other hand, society is tied to knowledge and productivity in an economic sense. Underlying values in the Norwegian society

derive from Christian and humanistic heritage and tradition, they are anchored in Human Rights and are revealed in different religions and visions of life. Common values are respect for human dignity and nature, freedom to speech, freedom of mind, compassion, forgiveness, equality and solidarity" (Kunnskapsdepartement, 2015, p. 20).

The overarching part elaborates on values and how they are related to diversity in Norwegian society: A diverse society requires that everybody in their uniqueness needs to feel belonging, acknowledgement and respect. Everybody should have equal opportunities, and have the right to free speech, faith and thoughts. The values that come from Christian and humanistic heritage and tradition work as a common framework in order for individuals to feel belonging within a diverse society. Thus, pupils should get insight into how we live together with different perspectives, attitudes and approaches to life (Utdanningsdirektoratet, without year, p. 5).

School is the place where those values are to be "imparted and trained, developed and formed" (p.6). Everybody should get knowledge of and feel committed to those norms and values during elementary education (p.21). Although these values and norms stand there at several places in the document unquestioned, the white paper puts forward *critical thinking* as ability for learners to "reflect and consider approved truths that not always are universally valid" (p.22). The overarching part also reflects on knowledge production:

Pupils should be able to evaluate different sources of knowledge and think critically about how knowledge develops. They should also understand that their own experiences, stances and opinions can be incomplete or imperfect. Critical reflection requires knowledge, but leaves room for uncertainty and unpredictability. Thus, education needs to find a balance between respect for established knowledge

and exploring and creative thinking that is required in order to develop new knowledge (p.6).

This paragraph can clearly be tied to claims of (post-)critical GCED that call for reflection on so-called established knowledge and how it affects our ways of thinking and relating. Knowledge, thus, is nothing stable, but always incomplete. Knowledge means for the authors to have cognizance of and understanding of facts, terms, theories, ideas and connections within different subject areas and topics. The application of knowledge and critical thinking are central when it comes to the term of *competency*:

“Competency is to be able to acquire and apply knowledges and abilities to master challenges and solve exercises in known and unknown contexts and situations. Competency involves understanding and ability for reflection and critical thinking” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, without year, p. 10).

The citations above show clearly how critical GCED is represented in the new overarching part, that is very careful and tentative when describing knowledge and knowledge production, and also how it affects meanings. Those notions on knowledge coincide with critical literacy, although the overarching part doesn't mention social critique or connections between knowledge and power.

The White paper in contrast shows more neoliberal attitudes by mentioning the term *knowledge capital*, where school is “the authorities’ most important means to affect the knowledge capital” (Kunnskapsdepartement, 2015, p. 5). Education in that sense serves as a means to prepare students for competition in a global market, which leads to the next chapter: global perspectives.

4.2.1. *The role of school in a global perspective*

There are various challenges associated with globalization presented throughout the White paper 28, such as global competition, migration, and climate change. School needs to prepare learners for those challenges. There are different measures mentioned for how to equip learners, as *Education for Sustainable Development*, knowledge on democracy or interdisciplinarity, but there are no reflections on how we came there in the first place or that learners need to find the root of those challenges.

School is the place where learners need to be prepared in order to compete in a global economy and to contribute to economic growth in Norway: “Norway’s growth in productivity depends on the ability to capture new technology that is mainly made outside the country” (Kunnskapsdepartement, 2015, p. 6).

Knowledge on democracy is considered as essential in order to be able to understand and be part of an international society: “Knowledge on democracy as a form

of government and consent to democratic values have significance in an international society where diversity grows nationally and internationally” (p.13).

Climate change is assessed as a challenge that education for sustainable development can work with:

Sustainable development is about taking care of the needs of people today, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Climate change require subject-specific and technologic competencies and understanding for the ethical sides of that challenge (p.13).

Interesting here is to note another difference between the two documents. Whereas White paper 28 talks about the needs of *people*, the overarching part goes further and says we need to protect *life on earth* (and people) without compromising future generations’ needs. The notion life on earth implies that it is our responsibility to protect all other living beings as well. Also the meaning of technology in relation to sustainable development has different emphasizes in the two documents. The overarching part seems to be more sceptic when it comes to the use of technology and encourages learners to be critical when examining dilemmas related to consequences of technology.

The work with sustainable development, as both documents argue, is especially important when it comes to interdisciplinarity, as it offers the possibility to shine a light on how social, environmental, and economic conditions are connected, which is why it is crucial for learners to think and act both locally, nationally and globally. The White Paper also mentions global citizens, that grown up students should become:

The goal of education should be to open doors to the world and the future. The inauguration to culture and society should be a part of the basis for each in order to be able to meet a diverse world and an unknown future. As an adult the pupil should master life both as fellow citizen, citizen and global citizen. The main part should maintain that education should contribute to the enhancement of knowledge and understanding of the national cultural heritage and our common international tradition of culture (p.21).

There is no further explanation for what the authors mean by *our common international tradition of culture* though, and this is the only time global citizens are mentioned. Fellow citizenship on the other hand is part of an interdisciplinary topic (democracy and fellow citizenship), that involves how to interact in a multicultural society that is based on democracy and participation. Democracy is portayed as something living that is constantly shaped by citizens. Critical thinking also plays in here, as well as discussions and dissent.

The texts don't constrain democracy or fellow citizenship to the Norwegian territory. Neither do they tie it to the global. It is about learning *about, for and through* democracy and fellow citizenship pupils should be equipped to meet today's society.

4.2.2. Sámi and indigenous knowledge

There is a separate syllabus for Sámi pupils, where some parts are equal with the ordinary syllabus and others differ - principles, language, social studies, and music for instance (Kunnskapsdepartement, 2015, p. 10). The Sámi parliament has been consulting in the process of the renewal. All other pupils should get insight into the Sámi peoples' history, culture, society life and rights, as well as diversity and variation inside Sámi culture and community life (Utdanningsdirektoratet, without year). This shows that indigenous knowledges are included in education, but not mainstreamed. As knowledge is tied to language, non-Sámi pupils don't have the possibility to explore Sámi knowledge in depth. Besides Sámi people, other minorities have been contributing to the Norwegian cultural heritage and should thus be taught: Jews, Kven people, Forest Finns, and Romani People (ibid). That duty is set in a democratic context, where minorities should be protected:

A democratic society protects also indigenous people and minorities. Indigenous peoples' perspective is a part of pupils' democracy education. All participants in a school community need to develop consciousness about perspectives of both minorities and the majority and make room for collaboration, dialogue and dissent. The work with the cultivation of diversity on the one hand and the inclusion of individuals on the other requires a conscious view on values and the exercise of professional assessment (Utdanningsdirektoratet, without year, p. 8)

It is in relation to the indigenous people living in Norway that the content of critical GCED is apparent, where it becomes visible how important attitudes and competencies such as as the tolerance of dissent and the ability to change perspective in a diverse society are.

4.2.3. Summary

Liberal attitudes overweigh in both the White Paper and the new overarching part, but whereas there are neoliberal elements in the White Paper, focusing on competition in a global market and economic growth, the new overarching part shows a lot critical elements. Uncertainty, critical reflections on values and approved truths are some of them. Even postcritical GCED elements are visible, as dialogue and dissent, as well as notions on knowledge that is presented as partial. Learners are even invited to produce new knowledge through creativity. Also, the notion that all learners should get taught Sámi

peoples' culture, tradition, rights and community life points towards a more plural understanding of epistemologies. Still, Sámi knowledge is not mainstreamed, but just included. In order to get a deeper understanding of it, all learners should get the possibility to learn Sámi languages, principles, music and more.

4.2. Teacher education at INN

Bearing those underlying papers in mind, my interest in teacher education focused on how critical GCED relates to the actual implementation of the interdisciplinary topics, as well as critical thinking and in-depth learning. In order to construct knowledge on that link, different sources were included: in-depth interviews with staff members at INN and students, as well as a report on the pilot project and notes and a PowerPoint lecture from participant observation, conducted during a lecture on the renewal of teaching plans and education for sustainable development for freshmen. I had the opportunity to talk to seven staff members at INN in various positions. Study participants were assigned numbers in the analysis for anonymity. In order to keep language gender-neutral, I decided to use the Scandinavian *hen* for he/she. The study participants have insight on different aspects that have been interesting for my work: Global Citizenship Education, the pilot project, and indigenous or Sámi knowledge.

Table 2 Information on participants

participant	information
1	Member of the pilot project core group
2	Member of the pilot project core group
3	UNESCO Chair for Education about Sustainable Lifestyles at INN
4	Social studies teacher, teaches Sámi matters
5	Staff member
6	Pedagogue, teaches Sámi matters
7	Social studies teacher
A	3 rd year student, grades 1-7
B	4 th year student, grades 5-10

I will start my analysis with presenting participants' impression on the implementation of the interdisciplinary topics, followed by global perspectives and GCED in Norway and at INN. Afterwards, I will present which attitudes, competencies and knowledges the participants acknowledge as important. Finally, I discuss matters of Sámi and indigenous knowledge within teacher education at INN.

Overall, the findings suggest that system change (as the implementation of the pilot project) needs passionate people and often meets various obstacles. The concept of Global Citizenship Education is not prevalent in Norway due to political decisions and Norway's history. Nonetheless, important 'ingredients' to (post-)critical GCED, as the approach to difference in a diverse society, are cornerstones in education in Norway. My overall impression from the interviews is that all of the participants are very engaged in changing society towards sustainability. Understanding and taking different views was central, but not so much the critique of the current system. The spreading of Sámi knowledges seems to depend on teachers' knowledges and engagement.

4.2.1. The pilot project on the implementation of interdisciplinary topics

In this first section of my analysis, I will describe the pilot project and challenges to implementing interdisciplinarity, based on interviews and the report on the pilot project. The Centre for Collaborative Learning for Sustainable Development (CCL) started the pilot project the same year the White paper was published, in 2017, with a couple of teachers from the teacher education program that formed a working group. Participant 2 was one of those teachers who felt the urge to take advantage of CCL in teacher education. Participant 1 describes members of the working group as 'genuinely interested, engaged and biased by the topic'. CCL has had the responsibility to lead and coordinate the project together with the other members of the working group and disciplines at the department (Didham & Vestad, unpublished). The long-term goal was to develop a program that would be an integrated part in teacher education throughout all years of education (Didham & Vestad, unpublished). The report also describes underlying assumptions CCL has had on education, that are tied to *agenda 2030* and *Education for Sustainable Development*. They acknowledge the following competencies essential in order to meet the sustainable development goals: critical thinking, learning to learn, creativity, problem solving, future thinking, collaboration and communication, emotional consciousness, and system thinking. Considering that, they see interconnections between the three interdisciplinary topics, both locally, nationally and globally. In addition, the relation between those topics and in-depth learning becomes relevant in order to see connections in between disciplines and to apply knowledge and skills in new and unknown contexts. In order to do so, different student activities are applied. One way to train those skills is to work with so-called *wicked problems*, "questions with different stakeholders" which participant 2 includes in their teaching. There, teacher students train to develop teaching arrangements for wicked problems.

Participant 1 commented on the importance of interdisciplinarity for current challenges, but also how the current education program struggles with adapting to change. Still, teachers teach knowledge that is tested, and not skills, but the interdisciplinary topics

are not just something you should learn *about*. The new thing is the connection to other topics as skills, as in-depth learning, learning to learn and underlying values that gained presence in the renewal of teaching plans. Participant 1 articulated a lack of interdisciplinary discussions within academia and within the teacher department in particular in order to live what is or should be taught and in order to meet those wicked problems. This is one of the biggest challenges for the pilot project, which came up in almost all interviews. Participant 2 describes how they would like it to be:

“We should have work tasks across subjects...I want more issues, I want other teachers who find it exciting to shine a light on it from religion, ethics, natural science...we have done a good job, but we are still on our way...you need to have experienced it, you need to understand that disciplines are connected, you need to understand subject, methods, and you need to be able to teach it to your pupils at different levels.” (participant 2)

Student A doesn't experience transdisciplinary work either:

“It's seldom we work based on topics in order to draw in disciplines. We work with subjects. Now we have math, now we have Norwegian, and then we talk about how to make it transdisciplinary, but it's seldom we have worked with public health – make a transdisciplinary task where you draw in Norwegian, math, English. We haven't done that.”

As it becomes clear, teachers try to work with the interdisciplinary topics in their subject, some more, some less. Participant 5 describes that it has been difficult to implement the interdisciplinary topics into syllabi for each subject. Student A expresses her impression: “I feel that some just take it in because they have to [...] I experience that the university takes the mandate seriously, but I don't experience that they have internalized it to the extent that they are passionate about it.” The student has read the renewed syllabus and is very satisfied with the content, with how the transdisciplinary topics are integrated in competency goals in the different subjects. The challenge, regarding to student a, is ownership and background information in order to tie the new content to existing ones.

That relates also to missing topic-based transdisciplinary work tasks where all relevant teachers are onboard, where ownership might be the reason. Student A thinks the whole education system is top-down structured which makes it difficult to internalize what should be taught. Participant 4 questions how the implementation is conducted:

“Is it the disciplines that should collaborate or an extern facilitator, that should rig collaboration between disciplines? [...] I think collaboration is best when actors, when those who carry disciplines collaborate through field [...] where those who carry the disciplines are autonomous persons in a collaboration.”

Participant 4 seems to feel offended by the fact that other disciplines are supposed to teach democracy and fellow citizenship, not social studies:

“It is somebody in the hierarchy that has decided that democracy and fellow citizenship is not driven by social studies, which would be natural, but it’s natural science and math and gymnastics - almost surrealistic [...] That means that the subject-specific term and the problematization have no place, while it might become dominant for students to get interpretations of those in those subjects.”

As mentioned above, there is a gap between qualities that education aims at forming, such as creativity, problem solving, collaboration, and those things that are *tested* – knowledge, which participants 1 and 2 emphasize. That gap is, according to student A, often discussed in teacher education at INN, and in some subjects, as math and Norwegian, the focus is not on finding the ‘right’ answer, but on creativity and different forms of expression. Although they discuss and critically reflect on measurement, student b doesn’t feel that students are invited to protest against the system.

Participant 2 trains their students in action through a task that aims to develop a transdisciplinary teaching unit that shines a light on relevant issues that enables pupils to be in the world, globally and locally. What teacher students need to learn, according to participant 2 is to develop teaching that stimulates important competencies for the future, and that again requires discussions about a subjects’ content and how it is relevant in a transdisciplinary perspective.

Where the pilot project is probably most visible is through student activities, lectures and seminars on given topics, as *education for sustainable development*, democracy and fellow citizenship, or identity. The topic *identity* was chosen as it is seen as the core of all topics, in order to enable learning *about*, *for* and *through*, to equip for action competence. Action for sustainable development is an essential skill, together with attitudes and knowledge, according to participant 1. *Education for sustainable development* becomes relevant in a global perspective, as I will show.

Study participants’ reflections on the pilot project show the importance of passionate people to change heavy structures, as inherent in the education system. They also show struggles between top-down and bottom-up approaches, where the pilot project tried to combine those two. Although the renewal of curricula is based on decisions high

up in politics, the pilot project at INN lives through the engagement of passionate educators. Every teacher educator was invited to be part of the core group, but there is resistance from some teachers that don't feel ownership.

4.2.2. *Global perspectives*

Global perspectives have become more and more relevant at the department of teacher education at INN. Both the pilot project and efforts for internationalization open for discussions about Norway's and individuals' position towards the rest of the world. In the social studies section, teachers have been focusing on the *global teacher* and teaching for critical, global understanding and participation (7).

Participant 1 describes how they work with global perspectives within the pilot project, using sustainability didactics (*transformative learning*) in one of those seminars: the closer you come to pupils' or students' lives, the more engaged they become. Then, they try to build a bridge between the individual's level and the global level, using the *Sustainable Development Goals*. In seminars, students get the task to identify a challenge in their local society and to draft a plan to work on that challenge, tying it to the SDGs. Students have to document the process and reflect on it. Participant 2 accompanied such a session and could give two examples: one group identified the social climate in class as a challenge and proposed a Zoom-meeting in order to enhance it. Another group worked on food waste. They developed a campaign in order to change people's minds.

When I was in Hamar, I had the possibility to observe lectures given by two members of CCL for freshman. The lectures were on the *Sustainable Development Goals, Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)* and the renewal of syllabi. Those lectures clearly linked the local and the global together, for instance through the issue of the garment industry.

Student B however, who had had that lecture in their first year, had difficulties to remember the bridge tying the local to the global when talking about global aspects in their program: "We once had a project in public health and coping with life, but I don't remember that we...it was very local. We didn't have so much globally. It was something, but it hasn't been as much as I would have liked".

Student A remembered the lecture but had to admit that it was difficult to follow the lecture, as it partly was in English and at the end of a long day. What student a was missing were examples for how they could work with the topic in depth didactically.

Drawing on the experience of those two students, it seems as the lectures, as well as the student project did not have a lasting impact. I will come back to those lectures when I discuss them from a post-colonial perspective.

INN has put efforts on internationalization, which are required if you want to get access to research funding. That has been tough, as staff members had to learn and

practice English, but the contact with students from outside of Norway has had a positive effect in terms of GCED (participant 3). Unfortunately, lectures and seminars on global perspectives often just attracted international students, and not the Norwegian ones (participant 3).

One of the international projects is *Active Citizenship and Gender Equality in Teachers Education* (CIGETE), an exchange program with universities and schools in Tanzania for both students and staff members in both directions (Hagen, 2019). The description of the project ties internationalization to fellow citizenship and equality as part of the SDGs. Internationalization contributes, according to one of the partners in Tanzania, to increased respect, cultural understanding and tolerance. The project was supposed to start in January 2020 but could not due to the spread of COVID-19.

4.2.3. *Global Citizenship Education*

When I was in Austria and did research on how Global Citizenship Education was taught there, I experienced a strong lobby for the concept, as well as for the similar concept *global education*. Coming back to Norway, an internet research showed little prevalence of the GCED term. That impression became confirmed during my research at INN. Neither students nor staff members (besides participant 3) used the term, the students hadn't heard of it before. At CCL, employees have tied GCED to ESD and thus integrated the concept into their work, as participant 1 explained.

The reasons for the low visibility of the GCED term are rooted in politics and Norway's history, as participant 3 could elaborate: Norway was a poor country before they found oil and became rich, which gave them the opportunity to isolate themselves. They said 'no' to becoming part of the European Union, wanting to keep their unique character. Despite that, Norway has been active in the EU and the UN, but it hasn't been prioritized imparting a global attitude to pupils and students in Norwegian politics. Global citizenship was in fact suggested when curricula were renewed in the 1990s, but that part was taken out before the plan was passed. The new curricula focus on sustainable development, life skills, and democratization which UNESCO defines as Global Citizenship Education.

Higher education in Hamar is, according to participant 3 sluggish when it comes to GCED except for in the social studies section, which is active in imparting the content of GCED, even if not using the term. Teachers there teach system thinking, consequence thinking, and understanding global consequences for local action. Participant 7, working in the social studies section, could confirm that they had been working with a lot of the content of GCED, but not with the concept itself, which is about to change. From 2021, there will be a course on GCED. In pedagogics, just few individuals have been teaching GCED, as it is not part of the syllabus because of the history referenced above, as participant 3 told.

4.2.4. Postcolonial considerations

Findings regarding postcolonial reflections have to be understood provisorily, as the basis for analysis is rather thin. I asked student to reflect on terms as development or developed countries and I asked teachers whether they taught postcolonial theory. My analysis is also based on the participant observation at an introductory lecture on ESD.

I talked with the two students about postcolonialism and critical GCED which was unknown terrain for them. Here it is important to note that neither of them has had social studies, where postcolonialism is taken up, as participant 4 said. I asked student B about his thoughts around the term *developing country*. Student B expressed uncertainty with how to deal with that question:

When it comes to development in developing countries, I get very confused, I don't have an exact answer [...] When I think about development, I think about a tree as there is growth. I think about positive development [...] For me then, Norway is a strong tree, which many take for granted, while other countries are minor trees that don't have the same goods as we have, but they have the possibility to grow big, maybe not the resources, though.

What student B does in his reflection, is to draw a trajectory, where Norway lies ahead of so-called developing countries. That teleological view on development is criticized from postcolonial scholars as it affects how people in the global North look (down) at the Other. I will take that up in my discussion.

With student A I talked about postcolonial theory, about liberal values and their origin, which A had not been reflecting on before, although values and different forms of democracy are discussed in classes. What neoliberalism was, was not clear for the student either: "Neoliberalism is a foreign word for many here [...] I don't experience that economic systems are problematized. I don't think that they talked about capitalism or how it steers our lives".

When I talked with her about partner school projects that sometimes end up in the reinforcement of ethnocentrism, student A reflected on how the lack of education affects ways of thinking: "In order to be able to reflect on that, you need [postcolonial, N/A] theories. We can't problematize phenomena we are not conscious about." Thus, the students haven't encountered postcolonial theories.

That problematic connection between our colonial history and economic systems was not visible in the lecture on *Education for Sustainable Development* (ESD) which I attended. The lecturer presented the concept of ESD and the value of quality education in general, which were tied to the reduction of poverty and the rise of GDP. The slide of SDG4

(education) was accompanied by (just) black children, which has a hidden message: *They* need education to foster development. Accordingly, development is understood as modernization, a teleological movement. Although critical reflexivity and whole system approaches were presented as integral to ESD and transformative learning, as well as education was criticized as being unsustainable due to its reproduction of norms, there was no discussion about where poverty in the global South came from. There was no discussion on the term *development* and its linear meaning and implication for how we perceive *us* against *Others* either. Participant 1 could explain that those topics were central in ESD and were covered later in the program. That lecture was given to students in their first year and just the first step in their progression. *Othering* for instance was central in the work on the topic *identity*. INN also takes part in a program called *dembra* for teacher education programs that aims at preventing racism and alienation through the development of democratic competencies, as inclusion, participation, critical thinking, and diversity competence (dembra, 2020).

To sum up, postcolonial theory was new to the students (that hadn't had social studies, yet). The lecture given to study starters showed prevalence of modernization discourse with the view that education is a main source for development. Although critical literacy was mentioned as a central competence, it was not applied by the lecturer. Deeper discussions on the development term, Othering or economic dimensions are supposed to be taken up later in the study program. In the next section, I will present important attitudes for both students and teachers at INN, which shows how they are coextensive with the foundations for critical GCED.

4.2.5. Attitudes

During the interviews, I was interested in *attitudes* that participants considered as important for people to acquire. Those will be discussed in light of attitudes central in critical and postcritical GCED. Central attitudes participants defined as essential are *equality*, *respect* and *recognition*, which seem to be rooted in Norway's education system.

The education system, and teacher education at INN especially, has had a focus on diversity. The premise for that is that *diversity is the norm*, which implies that the system has to adapt in order to meet a diversity of pupils. Participant 6 expanded on that: Sociocultural theories say that if secondary socialization, as school, differs from primary socialization you get at home, you use your cognitive capacity for understanding the system. Different socializations are about class and culture for instance. For kids, it might feel like two different worlds at home and in school, where values and topics are very different from each other, which results not only in learning delays for pupils that are more concerned in learning new social codes, but also in stigmatization. People need to be able to tie new learning to their existing knowledge. An example for that are exercises in math

that often about calculating how long you are on a bus. If you are not familiar with the concept of busses, it might be difficult to undertake calculations. If the knowledge you get is very theoretical from the start, if learners can't tie it to their own experiences, the knowledge levitates, and then it needs to be *memorized* instead of *understood*. What is important for teachers is to include diversity in their teaching that represents diversity in society, so to talk about different things.

Norway has had comprehensive schools from the 1970s where all pupils should be equal and have equal opportunities, which shows the *national* adoption of the following view: The system is seen as the one producing barriers for learning, not individual pupils that need help to adapt to that system, as participant 6 elaborated. So, the system needs to change in order to adapt to diversity in society. That reform goes back to the UN Salamanca resolution from 1994 and before that. At INN, they offer a master program about sociocultural learning strategies that focuses more deeply on those issues.

For CCL and the pilot project, it has been important to show the connections between the values inherent in the overarching part and those in ESD, as participant 1 could explain. The values of the overarching part are the foundations in schools' practice, as schools have the responsibility to both educate and form *the whole learner*.

For the students I talked with, *recognition* is a central attitude. Student A relates recognition more to children's being when they start school, their character, potential and interests that are left behind in order to meet goals the system has set for them:

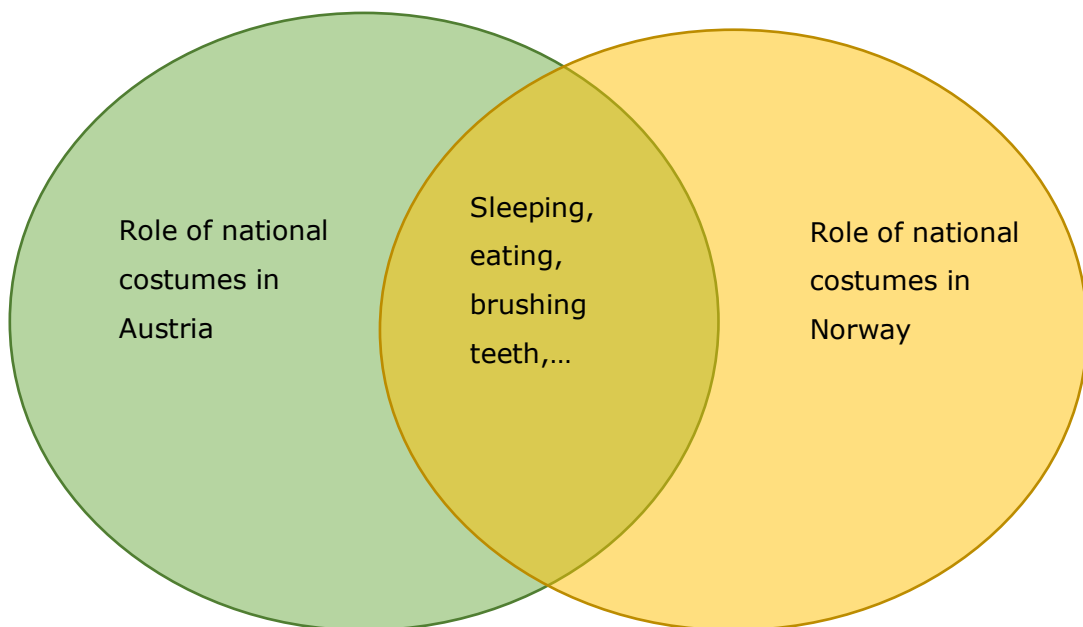
"If we worked more with what makes children unique and fostered their interests, we could have had more geniuses, they would become experts in what they are passionate about and used their potential instead of becoming a minor person of themselves in order to become what OSCD has defined one should become. What the government has decided is more important than what children come with. I believe that if they had the opportunity to burgeon, we would see artists and musicians and data engineers and philosophers and poets and lawyers and doctors who would hit new highs, without being measured against all other knowledges as well. It's kind of production line knowledge."

Student B sees that in relation to different opinions, beliefs and looks, that one should respect, but be interested and dig deeper – in a case for instance where you have different opinions it is important to get more information and different perspectives, besides newspaper headlines and your parents' views. Though, it's important to not take away pupils' views and to reduce alienation:

“I believe that is very important for today’s society actually, to teach pupils to see different sides of a case, and more cases also. I think it’s important for pupils to reflect on that. It creates so many conflicts, we have so many strong opinions without being open to hear others’ opinion. It’s clear that you should keep your opinion, this is about openness for others’ opinion, and about respect for others. This is important to learn.”

Participant 4 exemplified her view through a *friend-diagram* which she uses in teaching in order to show what people have in common and what is different. Participant 4 used us two as an example.

Figure 3 friend-diagram



During the conversation we talked about how different garbs are perceived in Austria and Norway. While Norwegians have a very positive relation to their national costumes, in Austria they can be related to fascism. “But if you know that, we can start to dance [...] you can just open up for curiosity in that areas, and one is not right and the other wrong, but they are exploring arenas, and if you have equality at the bottom, you are just curious [...]”

That mix of respect and curiosity is especially important for teachers that are confronted with diversity in classes, as participant 6 emphasizes:

“If you think about how the world consists of other elements as well, you are more capable of meeting people in an appreciative attitude and this is important, especially for teachers, because the kids you get are probably not screwed together

exactly as you are. You will get diversity, and you will meet them in a better way if you understand that everybody is different.”

There has been less focus on that kind of attitudes and abilities in teaching plans because of the growing focus on material welfare and preparation for work, not only in Norway, but as a trend within the EU and globally (participant 3). Soft subjects, where you learn about “flexibility and the recognition that we grow and learn individually and collectively” are for participant 3 central for GCED and went missing for ‘hard’ subjects, as mathematics and physics.

In the above discussions, it is clear that attitudes important within (post-)critical GCED are prevalent at INN (and in Norway general). Difference is valued and seen as a source for curiosity. That is the basis for exploration of different perspectives. In the next section, I want to pay attention to how INN and the pilot project include non-Western knowledges, Sámi knowledge in particular.

4.2.6. Indigenous knowledge

Interviewees were asked to reflect on their understanding of indigenous knowledge and how it is taught in the Norwegian education system. Student A could tell that students at INN are supposed to acquire and use valid knowledge. What makes knowledge valid is that it is published and thus peer-reviewed, that it comes from credible sources. At the same time, they should use diversity as a resource and use knowledge from other people, like languages or cultures, which correlates with the description of how INN approaches diversity. This is where indigenous people or minorities become relevant, and they should be presented as positive. Their knowledge should be drawn in and seen in light of valid knowledge. Valid knowledge, as student A understood during hens studies, is associated with ‘Western’ knowledge, as “it is here we have access to that community where you publish research and get that peer-review”. Hence, teacher students are encouraged to combine so-called valid knowledge and other types of knowledges, which still are assessed against Western knowledge. That creates a hierarchy where Western knowledge appears to count more than other types of knowledges.

The inclusion of indigenous knowledge preconditions a democratic understanding that everybody should have a voice and the ability to listen to different viewpoints, in big contexts and in small, as in classrooms, as participant 3 explained. This is where not tolerance is asked for, but curiosity. Participant 3 feels that there has been less and less focus on that in education over the past years.

Although student B was unsatisfied with the scope on knowledge on Sámi people, the student expressed that hen was able to transfer that local knowledge on alienation to what has been happening in the rest of the world.

In their interview participant 5 expressed that indigenous knowledge, and especially Sámi knowledge hasn't played a central role within the pilot project. This was consistent with my reading of the report of the pilot project where there was only one seminar that tied sustainable development to indigenous knowledge, as it was placed after a session on indigenous and Sámi people.

Similar to the pilot project, enthusiasts are fighting for the inclusion of Sámi knowledge at INN. Teachers are obliged to teach about Sámi culture and history in Norway, but not everybody does, often due to a lack of knowledge and the fear to say something wrong, as participant 6 explained. According to participants 3,4 6 and B, most people have some knowledge about Sámi people, like when they have their national day or about the Sámi parliament, but knowledge often doesn't go deeper unless you have an enthusiastic teacher. Student B reflected on Sámi knowledge:

"We don't get much knowledge on that, neither us as students or pupils at school, and that's a real shame, you just tick it off, Sámi people got rights, but we don't acknowledge them. That's a real shame. It's like a plaster on a wound. We should mention them three to four times in 10-years ground school, but the content is vague. It's a pity that you don't get more out of it."

That lack of knowledge has consequences that go high up in politics and laws, as participant 6 explained. Not only is there still baiting and humiliation ("they call for people to shoot Sámi people and reindeer, Sámi people are described as less intelligent, Sámi people that are intelligent can't have Sámi ethnicity"), lack of knowledge can lead to misinterpretations of their behavior and laws that go against their traditions – traditions that have been there for thousands of years and proven to be sustainable. For example, Sámi traditionally hunt geese in spring, but goose hunting is regulated by law to be in fall for everybody in Norway. Sámi people have to state how many reindeer they own, which they hesitate to do. That has led to discussions and a bad representation of Sámi people in media. The reason for their hesitation lies in their tradition or superstition that says that if you boast about how many reindeer you have, you will have less the next time you count. This is why it is crucial to teach Sámi knowledge in school, also in light of the diversity angle as mentioned before.

As a consequence of the time of assimilation, many Sámi people started to deny their Sámi identity, which has effects on mental health, as participant 6 could explain. Many people born after the mid 70's have taken their Sámi identity back. The generation before those denied their Sámi identity. Those who see their identity not recognized by the system and don't have their traditional Sámi society, end up in a 'limbo' where you find high numbers of suicide.

Indigenous knowledge is not just important from a diversity perspective, but it becomes also relevant in a sustainability aspect. Indigenous knowledge is tied to environment and climate in place, which is why there is not *one* indigenous knowledge, as participant 4 emphasized. Drawing on their experiences from architecture, participant 4 said that Sámi knowledge could and should be included in the construction of houses and roads in arctic surroundings, but often they are not. Indigenous knowledge is also about products that are made for and from the local environment, as participant 6 elaborated: "It's about natural products that keep you warm. When you come to Finnmark⁴ in the coldest time of year, you put away your Cherrox⁵, you put away the synthetic winter shoes, you put on *Skaller*⁶. That's what lasts, and there is no microplastic".

The focus on practices and traditions that last stands in opposition to what often is denoted as sustainable nowadays. Windmills are a heavy contested issue in Norway, where environmental activists and Sámi people walk hand in hand in order to fight against the construction of windmills, according to participant 4. For participant 6, the issue is again about knowledge:

"Wind power plants threaten some Sámi grazing districts [...] Wind power plants are a green wave, so it is sustainable and this is why we need to have windmill parks. We don't know enough about reindeer breeding being a sustainable primary industry. Thus, what is new and known comes in conflict with what is old and sustainable, because you don't know enough."

Knowledge is tied to language, which is why it is crucial for the UN to preserve indigenous languages: not because of semantics, but because there are phrases and words for phenomena that can be tied to sustainable development and environmental management as they are based on dealing with nature in many generations – not referring to a 'modern' part of Sámi culture, according to participant 4. Just being a Sámi is not enough to have that knowledge, you have to seek indigenous knowledge, as participant 4 meant. That issue is connected to the troubled history of Sámi people in Norway, which has made some Sámi people to deny their identity.

In Norway, there are some districts - so-called *Sámi language management areas* - where Sámi languages are co-equal with Norwegian. In those regions, Sámi pupils have the right to get education in a Sámi language, so in mathematics and science for instance, while in the rest of the country they have just the right to learn the language, according

⁴ Region in Norther Norway

⁵ Boots

⁶ Nutukas, traditional Sámi winter footwear made of reindeer hide

to participant 6. As resources are scarce, this happens often through distance learning and is tied to logistical challenges. Outside of Sámi language management areas, participant 6 sees it as random how you get taught in Sámi culture, tradition and history – because of a lack of knowledge and because there are less Sámi people living there.

At INN, a small group of enthusiasts have plans to make Sámi knowledge more visible in order to evoke educators' interest. Starting in October 2020 with the Sámi language week, there are supposed to be several seminars. They want to create a hub, where educators can find information, and collect literature with translated Sámi literature and scientific literature on Sámi culture and history as well as on the colonization process, according to participant 6. The goal is to get educators interested and to enlarge their knowledge, but not to force them. Educators need to feel ownership for something they actually are obliged to teach, by law.

4.2.7. Summary

Findings suggest that, although the focus might not be on forming a global identity, Global Citizenship Education is present in the education at INN, for instance through understanding interdependencies and the interconnectedness between issues (cognitive), and the development of action competence (behavioral). Where *critical* GCED is most visible is among attitudes that overlap with those inherent in diversity approaches or interculturalism, where diversity is understood as something positive. Students are encouraged to be curious about difference and meet others with respect and at eye level.

The examination of postcolonial theories seems to be reserved for those attending social studies, which has important implications for future teachers and their epistemological repertoire. There is a similar challenge with regards to indigenous knowledges. The problem is not that they are excluded, but that there are few persons that have and can teach knowledge (and language) as a consequence of the time of assimilation. It is not possible to include and apply knowledge if you don't have it or feel insecure about it. Thus, students feel encouraged to use different kinds of corn cobs, but often, those are not accessible. The task to spread multicolored corn cobs relies on passionate teachers, who are able to reflect on matters of sustainability through indigenous knowledge.

5. Discussion

The teacher education program at INN were one of the first to implement the new curricula in a pilot project. The findings show how important engaged teachers have been in that process, but also what kind of obstacles there are on the way. The change of long-established structures or missing ownership are some of that. More research on implementation of new curricula could enhance and facilitate future implementation. In my discussion, I decided to focus more on content than on structures, namely how Norway's approach to diversity is co-extensive with postcritical GCED, the implementation of Sámi knowledge in order to pluralize epistemologies, and how postcolonial theory could inform teacher education.

4.1. Starting to dance – Norway's celebration of diversity

I want to start my discussion by sharing my impression on the Norwegian education system and the conversations with teacher educators and students. I have to say that I am amazed by how engaged everybody is, because that became clear when reading how school should form learners and also in the way all of my study participants wanted to contribute to a better society – all of them in their manner. None of them seemed to do a *job*, they all were passionate about what they were doing. For me as a foreigner it was astonishing to hear that Norway nationally had adopted the belief that diversity is the norm, while there still are discussions in Austria whether teachers should watch out for pupils with other languages to talk German in breaks.

While I am writing this thesis, half of Norway is singing and dancing to a song called *Ser deg* ('see you') which invites people, especially kids, to see and be interested in other people. The song is part of the yearly campaign *BlimE* from the national television to strengthen friendship and cohesion among children with different topics every year (NRK, 2020). In its 10th year, its focus is on inclusion. Twelve other countries joined Norway with their own interpretations of the song, and there is also a version in Sámi language. Thus, inclusion and diversity seem to be important cornerstones in Norwegian society now, contrary to the time when the Norwegian national state was built and people were seeking a national identity against the Other, as I will expand later. Of course, the Norwegian population has changed since then, as a result of increasing immigration.

Since 1950, the population has increased by 2 million people. Where the increase after WWII was a consequence of high birth rates, since 2004 it is due to high immigration (SSB, 2020a), which has resulted in a very diverse society. In 2020, around 18% of the Norwegian population are born in a foreign country or have parents from foreign countries (SSB, 2020b), which created a shift in how to perceive being Norwegian. Being Norwegian

does not longer aim at sameness, but difference; and although Norway is globally active, Norwegian politicians seem to be reluctant when it comes to forming an identity additional and beyond the national one. I will discuss these two points in detail, starting with Norway's reluctance in forming a global identity before turning to Norway's approach to difference.

I will take a look back at Norway's history, which can explain this reluctance. Norway was part of Denmark and later in a union with Sweden. It got its own constitution in 1814 and full independency in 1905. In the discourse accompanying the process of independence, and later also when the topic of membership in the EU became a rather hot one, the question of identity was central (Neumann, 2003). Being Norwegian was set against the European Other, especially Denmark. The establishment of an Other, or so-called *out-groups* is an intrinsic part of any social identity, such as being Norwegian, as any group needs to have clear boundaries to differentiate itself from other communities (Risse, 2010). Questions of identity came up again during the two referenda on EU/EC membership where people voted against the membership. 'The people' is a central term in the discourse, closely tied to the two other terms 'democracy' and 'independence'. The EU on the other hand is connected to 'bureaucracy'. As participant 3 could explain, forming a Norwegian identity is still prioritized before forming a global identity, which can be tied to those discourses that still shape the media. Norway is active in the UN and development aid, but not when it comes to forming global citizens. The global dimension, when reading White paper 28, is tied to threats: migration, climate change and global competition. Education, thus, needs to prepare students to cope with these challenges, but not form an additional identity that goes beyond the national one. Everybody can and does have multiple identities, which means that we can belong to several social groups. Thus, holding a global identity would not replace a Norwegian identity.

The heart of critical Global Citizenship Education, its foundation of respect and curiosity towards the Other on the other hand, is also an intrinsic part of the Norwegian education system that is shaped by a growing diverse society. Thus, my work can confirm the findings of Olsen and Andreassen (2018), who describe how diversity and Sámi people have been represented in overarching parts that reflect politics and society. Still, it is important to note the gap between educational policies and practices regarding the teaching of Sámi knowledge. The teacher education program at INN has a special focus on diversity, which became apparent during the interviews, but also showed in underlying documents. Mobbing and alienation is an issue in schools, which the system needs to work on. In Norway, the system acknowledged that it is *its* task to include everyone, every individual on Norwegian territory. *We*, or what Risse (2010) describes as *in-group*, is shaped by diversity and inclusion. That link between difference and in-groups is interesting in light of social identity theory that has added the principle of meta-contrast: "the greater

the perceived differences between groups in contrast to the differences within one's group, the greater a group's collective identity" (Risse, 2010, p. 27). Norway tries to create, through education, an in-group that is defined through difference. The question is whether that attempt succeeds and how, consequently, the *out-group* is framed.

As a consequence of immigration, the global can be found inside of Norway, which makes it obsolete to create a global identity. Opposite to the times of Norwegianization where people not belonging to the majority population were assimilated, now, the population is presented as five million different individuals, that all are Norwegian – because of their difference. The challenge with creating a global community might also be a lack of an *out-group*, which is intrinsic for the formation of groups. Who could be a suitable out-group for a global humanity? Climate crisis? COVID-19?

4.2. Mainstreaming Sámi knowledge

Forming a Norwegian identity was accompanied by the assimilation of the Sámi which was at least partly the answer to an external threat – “the Finnish menace”. However, where Sámi were Othered before, they are now seen as contributors to Norway's cultural heritage. Thus, they *are* Norwegian in a society that no longer prioritizes assimilation, but according to the new principles guiding education as of 2017, appreciates difference. Although this appreciation of difference is less seen in practice. School books, as mentioned in the theory section, still Other Sámi. Including their views is a democratic duty, still it is not assessed as relevant in a sustainability context.

Sustainable development is more understood in a technological manner that stays in the modern paradigm of economic growth and is not set in context to indigenous knowledge. An ecological type of sustainability would require a great transition of the whole society and could actively include indigenous knowledge. Sámi peoples' value seems to lie in the fact that they are *not* part of the majority population and thereby contribute to a diverse society. Although all pupils in Norway should get insight into Sámi traditions and cultures, only Sámi pupils have the right to learn their languages, which is where knowledge *lives*. Norwegian pupils are allowed to learn other European languages (mostly French, Spanish or German besides English), but not Sámi languages. Thus, indigenous knowledge is not fully mainstreamed in Norway. The mainstreaming of Sámi language and knowledge would offer the possibilities for learners to explore epistemologies that move in ways unimagined by most Western academic impulses. It would help in reflections about the nature of our existence, our consciousness, our knowledge production, and the 'globalized' future.

Still, indigenous epistemologies are not drawn into deeper considerations about structural shifts that our society would require in order to find alternatives to practices that got us into troubles in the first place. That requires a critical look at our past and how

the narratives formed there have affected our attitudes, made us build unsustainable systems and exploit nature. It would also require the abandonment of the idea of never-ending economic growth, which might explain the difference between the two documents reviewed in the content analysis.

The White paper 28, being a government paper that includes neoliberal views, shows that leading politicians in Norway are not ready to leave the path of economic growth and technological and tax-based solutions. The tension between technological and ecological sustainability can also be observed in the trial around the construction of windmills in Sámi grazing areas.

The topic of sustainability in windmills versus Sámi primary industry was discussed in the analysis. In Fosen on the coast of Mid-Norway, the company *Fosen Vind* set up 80 turbines where reindeer graze during winter, although the lawsuit against the construction was not finished (Skårderud, 2020). The high court agreed that the construction destroyed the winter grazing area for all times and sentenced the company to pay 89 million NOK in compensation. Both parts are objecting the sentence, the company because they find the amount is too high, the six Sámi families because they want to have determined that the concession to set up windmills was illegal as it didn't take in account Sámi peoples' rights, neither as tradespersons or indigenous people. Now the government wants to get involved in the case, on the company's side, as a verdict in favor of the Sámi people would have negative consequences on all construction of windmills on Sámi reindeer grazing areas.

Norway promotes the expansion of renewable energies. Here, 98% of all energy is renewable, mostly from hydropower, but also wind power is growing (Regjeringen, 2014) and sold to foreign countries. Renewable energy production can be assessed as part of technological sustainability, whereas an ecological oriented sustainability would focus on a decline of energy consumption. The fact that the Norwegian state goes against the Sámi in the trial also shows the uneven power dynamics and the worth of indigenous peoples' rights when a growing business sector is involved. This discussion goes beyond the limits of this thesis, but it exemplifies the importance and complexity of sustainability issues, especially when you consider Norway as a country that became rich, and still depends, on oil production. The shift from producing non-renewable energy to renewable energy is a way to keep expertise in the same field, without being forced to re-think growth and wealth, but renewable energy production also effects the environment and indigenous people and those effects are not being considered despite the advances in cultural diversity and educational rhetoric.

Coming back to the renewal of curricula on the other hand, the step to focus on interdisciplinarity, and especially the choice of those three interdisciplinary topics, shows a common understanding of the importance to approach challenges from different perspectives and in collaboration between different disciplines. That helps learners to

critically examine wicked problems from various perspectives. The challenge here is the implementation. Study participants were satisfied with the content in the renewed syllabi, but the problem seems to be ownership in order to have the content implemented. Both the implementation of the interdisciplinary topics and Sámi knowledges seems to depend on passionate teachers.

Neither in the underlying documents or at INN, the interdisciplinary topics and Sámi knowledge, which also can be understood as an interdisciplinary topic, seem to *meet*. Sámi perspectives should, similar to the interdisciplinary topics, be drawn into existing subjects, which actually enables epistemological diversity. Learners would explore math, ethics or economics from a Sámi perspective, but often teachers lack knowledge and thus disregard indigenous perspectives. Maybe the creation of a separate subject would help to close the gap between *should* and *actually do*. By that, Sámi languages and knowledge can be seen in light of the three interdisciplinary topics: sustainable development, democracy and fellow citizenship, and public health and coping with life.

Norway embraces diversity when it comes to people. Learners are encouraged to be curious about difference, to seek dialogue and tolerate dissent. They also should question given norms, that can be partial and flawed, and reflect on how knowledge is produced. In many subjects, such as math and Norwegian, the focus is not on finding the right answer, but on creativity. All those principles correspond with critical Global Citizenship Education. What is missing are more specific reflections on Eurocentric epistemologies that dominate education. I argue that learners and teachers should develop the same curiosity and recognition that they have regarding humans towards epistemologies. There are so many different ways to perceive the world, whose exploration could enable us to find more different approaches to current challenges. The mainstreaming of indigenous knowledges, starting with Sámi knowledge, is crucial for future generations and should not be bound to just Sámi pupils.

The problem with trying to incorporate more Sámi knowledges is that, as a consequence of the time of Norwegianization few people are left to speak the languages and have the knowledge. Discrimination and alienation have mostly ended formally, but baiting and humiliation are ongoing in Norwegian society. Many Sámi people started to deny their identity during the time of assimilation, some still do because of ongoing stigmatization. Thus, knowledge got lost. What kind and degree of Sámi knowledge learners get in school is very dependent on (1) where they live in Norway, and (2) the teacher. If teachers are insecure themselves, they would teach less in order to not say anything wrong. Even if syllabi would prescribe that all learners should get insight into Sámi traditions and cultures, it is dependent on the teacher's capacity to teach Sámi matters. At INN, the session on sustainable development was assessed fruitful the one time when it was tied to indigenous people, which is where I see potential for more

exploration. There are two groups of passionate teacher educators at INN, those working with Sámi matters and those working with sustainability and interdisciplinarity. Those two haven't collaborated, yet, but worked with their separate agendas.

For CCL, the collaboration with educators on Sámi knowledge would imply a shift from technological to ecological sustainability. My study lacks deeper insights in how the pilot project group works specifically with regards to the implementation of the interdisciplinary topics. I can only draw conclusions from one interview and my participant observation, which was during an introductory lecture on ESD. The underlying discourse on development was tied to progress: Development through education as means to escape poverty and increase GDP. Participant 1 clarified that they worked in a more nuanced way with those topics later in the study program, but from what I saw and reflecting on the method of transformative learning, the focus on sustainability was more a technological one, not an ecological or holistic one. Orr (2011) argued that both steps are necessary, one after another. Although that step seems to be far away at a national level, the work with children offers that opportunity. In school, where future generations are formed, learners should get acquainted with holistic understandings of sustainability, with completely different lifestyles and other ways of relating to our very limited planet that we share with other beings. A collaboration with those teaching Sámi or indigenous knowledge would enable that required shift in order to co-produce new knowledge.

4.3. Postcolonial reflections

When it comes to postcolonialism, my results are very limited and dependent on statements of participants. More interviews with students are needed to be able to say something about the impact of postcolonial theory in education at INN, as neither of the students in this research had attended social studies courses, where those topics are said to be taken up. Critical thinking is also a central component in the renewal of curricula and the work of CCL, but the two students I could talk to didn't see bigger connections between our colonial history, economic systems and attitudes. The student activity aiming at transformative learning, where students should identify and work on a problem related to the SDGs, does not explore the historicity of a given problem or make them apply critical literacy, as suggested in the lecture on ESD. The lecture can be criticized for not living up to the expectation that it sets itself, as it comes with rather simple solutions to complex challenges. Education as means to cope with poverty in the global South (my interpretation, as the slide was accompanied with *just* black children) can be assessed as part of the modernity discourse for development, that doesn't take in account the complexity of the issue. It also reinforces paternalistic and ethnocentric patterns, as it implies that *we* need to give *them* education. It does not look at the root for problems, or questions underlying ontologies. Those responsible for the lecture argue that progress is

important, they want to give learners the possibility to develop and explore. Thus, they take up topics as *Othering* later in the program. I understand that members at CCL don't want to overwhelm students with the intertwinement of wicked problems in an introductory lecture, but there was a clear divergence between the important competencies presented during the lecture, and the rather simplified solutions. By just showing that the lecturer applied critical literacy instead of just talking about it, hen would become a role model. There are so many aspects one could take up when it comes to the term *development*, which would exemplify what is expected from learners. One could discuss the historical dimension with colonization and how development was understood after WWII. One could discuss it from a neoliberal perspective or show how (economic) development effects the environment. All those discussions are taken up later, participant 1 assured me, but I don't see why one should start with the reproduction of colonial patterns when the whole study program aims at understanding and applying critical literacy and whole-system thinking in order to transform society.

The student activity does not go far enough either to make change happen. In order to make it really transformative, it is crucial to examine what socially, culturally, and historically situated systems of knowledge/power production that produce *wrongs* and *rights*, as well to identify obstacles that block the imagination for other possible *rights*. That takes time and thorough work. Wicked problems, such as poverty and food waste, need such a deep examination, which the pilot project group at INN actually recognize, but not yet implement fully. The student activity does not go deep enough, as students are not encouraged to apply critical literacy, which I would suggest.

The intergration of critical reflections are also crucial in exchange programs, as Klein and Wikan (2019) emphasize, which is important in relation to the exchange program INN was about to start. The authors examined the effect on students' perspectives in a similar program and found out that, although students claimed to be more tolerant and open-minded, they reproduced ethnocentric and neocolonial attitudes when asked to elaborate on causes for poverty in the region they were placed. For students to adopt a critical understanding of globalization, poverty, and intercultural perspectives, the authors suggest more interactions between the students and locals, also after work, as well critical reflections during and after the stay. They emphasize the role of Western universities in relation to what they teach and how they teach, as they are part of historical patterns of colonialism and the present dynamic of neoliberal globalization. I did not get the opportunity to talk with the responsible for the exchange program, so my data relies on the description of the program on INN's website. Those considerations might have been included.

Educators at the teacher department struggle with transdisciplinary collaboration, which is grounded in both a structural challenge and the problem of ownership. My analysis

does not address this directly. I can imagine that it can be frustrating to feel a desire to do something, do better, and meet obstacles, the same way as I understand the resistance when you get orders from above that you do not relate to, understand or support. For learners, it is a great opportunity to explore wicked problems from different disciplines, and many study participants want that opportunity, both teachers and students. Imagine how different questions can be posed when approaching the topic of poverty from disciplines such as language, pedagogics, natural sciences, social studies, and Sámi knowledge.

6. Conclusion

The concept of Global Citizenship Education in its critical and post-critical understandings are one good way to approach challenges tied to globalization, as it aims at both forming and educating learners to become aware of knowledge production and its impact on people's attitudes and behavior. It questions underlying assumptions of who we are, what constitutes humans and thereby our (Western) way of living that has led to exploitation, discrimination and loss of biodiversity. Many scholars of postcritical GCED also offer possibilities of thinking and relating otherwise, which include indigenous knowledges.

In this project, I studied to what extent the Norwegian education system and its renewal promote critical and postcritical Global Citizenship Education by including elements inherent in (post-)critical GCED approaches. The case for my study was the teacher education program at INN in Hamar that has been implementing the interdisciplinary topics from 2017. My study showed how teachers work with the implementation and which obstacles they have met. Three central and overlapping domains for discussion were identified: First, the underlying attitude towards Otherness; second, mainstreaming of indigenous knowledge; and third, the examination of one own's historicity and implications.

Regarding the first domain of underlying attitudes, my research has shown that Norway's approach to diversity correlates with the foundation of postcritical GCED. Where Norway before sought for sameness in order to define what is Norwegian, they nationally adopted a view that diversity is the norm. Thus, learners are invited to be curious about difference, to change perspectives and to tolerate dissent. That became evident both in the underlying documents and through statements of study participants at INN.

In order to pluralize epistemologies and to bring us closer to ecological or a more holistic understanding of sustainability, the inclusion, or mainstreaming of indigenous knowledges becomes important. In Norway, every child should learn about Sámi traditions and culture, but to which extent that happens is dependent on where you live in Norway

and how competent the teacher is. There is a great lack in knowledge as a consequence of the times of Norwegianization, but there are efforts in both small scale and big scale to fill that lack. The inclusion of indigenous knowledges seems to be tied to a democratic duty though, not to reach sustainability. Tying together indigenous knowledges and the three interdisciplinary topics would offer the possibility to explore other approaches to living, which is a necessary step towards ecological sustainability. More research is needed in order to explore

The third domain regards postcolonial perspectives that seek to examine economic and cultural roots for power and wealth inequalities. The underlying papers acknowledge critical thinking and the reflection of one's own assumptions as crucial abilities, but (the limited) data at INN showed little presence of such examinations in practice. They are said to be taken up in social studies and later as part of the project on interdisciplinary topics. Neither (the limited amount on) students, the student activity regarding transformative learning or the presentation on ESD showed presence of critical reflexivity, which is crucial in order to not project assumed *right* values and beliefs in civilizing missions that reproduce uneven power relations.

Education in Norway, thus, promotes critical and postcritical GCED to a great extent in the new curricula, but to which extent it finds its way into classrooms is up to every individual teacher and her attitudes, reflections, and behavior. Only if the teacher considers herself as a critical global citizen and acts like that, she would represent a role model pupils can look up to.

During my work, I became familiar with the efforts a lot of people put in transforming society towards more sustainability and the righting of wrongs. There is a common understanding that what happened during the times of assimilation was wrong, and that the way we have organized life right now is not sustainable. Enabling people to tolerate dissent, to acknowledge different opinions, foster creativity and overcome obstacles are important milestones in order to undergo that transition of our society we are ought to do.

In that sense, the title *starting to dance* should also point at that process that already has started. I consider dancing as a form of communication, where you acknowledge and see one another, which is not possible when you stigmatize or *Other* another person. Accordingly, if the human race is able to work together (by embracing difference and through respect) towards a better world where all living beings can thrive, we already have started to dance. I hope my thesis can contribute to a vivid debate on how to reach that goal.

7. Literature

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Appendix

Interview guide students

1. Can you tell me about yourself?
2. What do you think about the teacher education program at INN?
3. What do you know about the pilot project to integrate interdisciplinary themes into the program?
4. How do you experience the work with topics as democracy, identity and sustainable development? How has it affected your views and stances?
5. Which thoughts do you have around the term "development", like in "sustainable development", or "developed countries"?
6. Where does your thinking derive from?
7. Do you think there are different views on that topic? Which ones?
8. Have you been working with how knowledge is produced and how it affects our thinking and actions (or critical literacy) at INN? How?
9. How relevant is that work?
10. What do you think about the relation between knowledge and power, also from a global perspective?
11. Did you get the possibility to explore non-Western knowledge in your education?
12. How has that kind of learning affected you, both privately and professionally?
13. How do you implement that kind of learning into classroom?
14. How do your pupils react?
15. Is there something more you would like to add on that topic?

