A Shift in the Citizenship Paradigm: The Case of the Greek Elementary Education Curricula (1984-2007)

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Abstract

This study probes changes in educational discourses and policies on the 'citizenship paradigm' during 1984-2000 and 2001-2007 in Greek elementary education, using discourse analysis of sources such as the new curricula, textbooks, official Ministry of Education and Hellenic Pedagogical Institute documents, and other selected documents. Citizenship education is viewed as a particular paradigm closely connected with the politics of school knowledge and curriculum reform, reflecting concrete discourses and practices via 'power-knowledge' relations, in which sense, educational policy documents and school textbooks are considered both as historical discursive and ideological interventions, as well as a mode of governance influenced by 'regimes of truth' and 'systems of knowledge' aiming at symbolic control, socio-cultural reproduction and the legitimization of school knowledge.

Citizenship paradigm and the politics of school knowledge

The concept of citizenship education is considered as one of the most critical debates of our times. Historically, citizenship education has been linked to the rhetoric discourses concerning 'democracy', 'values', 'civil rights', 'social class', 'power-knowledge' relations, 'governmentality' and the management of 'alterity' (Heater,D., 1990, Marshall,T.H & Bottomore,T., 1992, Turner,B.S, 1993).

During the last decades, within the frame of new imaginary, symbolic and pragmatic 'ideotypes', such as globalization, knowledge based economies and societies, risk societies, etc., (Robertson,R.,1992, Castells,M.,1998, Beck,U.,1992) the concept of citizenship is associated with the emergence of new critical concepts and constructs, such as European citizen, cosmopolitan citizen, post-national citizenship and identity, global citizenship, European civil society, European governance, post-nationality, de-nationalization (Delanty,G.,2000, Falk,R.,2000, Habermas,J., 2001, Arneil, B.,2007).

In this paper, citizenship education is viewed as a particular 'paradigm' which is closely connected with the politics of school knowledge and Curriculum reform and reflects concrete discourses and practices via 'power-knowledge' relations (Flouris,G.-Pasias,G.,2003:74-75); in this sense, educational policy documents and school textbooks are considered both as historical discoursive and ideological interventions as well as a mode of governance (Ball,S.J.,1994, Gale,T.,1999, Bacchi,C.,2000) which are influenced by 'regimes of truth' and 'systems of knowledge' aiming at symbolic control, socio-cultural reproduction and legitimization of school knowledge reforms concerning laws, goals, content, methodology, textbooks, evaluation and other educational discourses and practices (Bernstein,B.,1996, Flouris,G.-Pasias,G.,2007:203-206).

Citizenship in the European Union

The concept of citizenship may be found in several documents issued by the European Commission and the Council of Europe (Pasias,G.,2008). Throughout recent decades, European citizenship was connected with significant constructs such as 'European identity' (Kopenhagen, 1973), 'European heritage' (Stuttgard, 1983), 'European integration' (Antoninno report, 1985), among others. During the '90s citizenship was closely linked with 'Europe of knowledge' (EC, 1997) and 'Learning for active citizenship' (EC, 1998). More recently, in the context of the Lisbon strategy in education, citizenship has been associated with the 'Concrete future objectives of the European educational systems' (EC, 2001) and the 'New Competences for life long learning' (EC, 2005). Furthermore, citizenship is reflected in various European programs, such as the thematic network of CiCE (SOCRATES) or the program of the Council of Europe concerning 'Education for Democratic Citizenship-EDC'(2005).

In the above documents it is supported, among others, that "active participation of the European citizens is considered as most significant for the construction of the Europe of knowledge and the formation of European area of life long learning" (EC, 1997, 1998, 2001); it is also suggested that European educational policies must place citizenship in high priority for the enhancement of citizenship education (knowledge, skills, competences, values, attitudes) towards an open and pluralistic European society (EC, 2005).

Review of the politics of school knowledge in Greece (1984-2007)

In this section we attempt to delineate school knowledge reforms that were implemented during the past decade (1997-2007) and compare them with those which took place during the 1984-1997 period.

During the *1984-1996 period*, various educational reforms were attempted which were criticized as limited, fragmented and inadequate. They were considered compensatory and regulatory in nature, since there were not accompanied by radical and extensive policies and were viewed as having the following characteristics: bureaucracy, lack of long term educational planning and management, lack of coordination and continuity in the educational policy, absence of dialogue with teachers' unions, inadequate funding, etc. (Flouris,G.-Pasias,G.,2007, Kazamias, A.,1990, Kazamias, A. et al., 2001).

The critique of the Curriculum reforms was focused in the following areas (Flouris-Pasias,2003:78-79, 2007:218-222):
a. The educational goals remained remarkably unchangeable.
b. School programs consisted of "mainline" subjects.
c. Curriculum in Greece was fragmented in its nature and was organized on the basis of separate subjects.
d. A curriculum unalignment was observed among its various dimensions including educational goals, school content and textbooks.
e. The structure of the textbooks and the encyclopedic nature of their content elicited expository teaching and rote learning.
f. Curricula and textbooks were not frequently renewed.

g. The ideological and political frame of the curriculum studies were mainly ethnocentric.

h. Alterity was portrayed from an ethnocentric perspective while others / neighbours were either undermined or denigrated.

i. The presence of Europe in the Greek curriculum and the textbooks were non existent.

The *1997-2007 period* of educational reform has been considered as the most significant in the last thirty years. It was brought about by a variety of trends, prospects, challenges and factors. These factors were both external and internal.

a) *External factors* include: changes in the European and international space such as economic globalization, knowledge based societies, European integration, ICT influences and several other factors (Pasias,G.-Roussakis,Y.,2003, Alahiotis,S.N-Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., 2006). In the context of European integration and convergence concerning common objectives of the European Union two major challenges emerged which concerned discourses on: a) the *europeanization* of educational reform and b) the *eurotechnocratization* of the educational planning, management, accountability and control (Flouris,G.-Pasias,G.,2004, Pasias,G.-Roussakis,Y.,2003).

b) *Internal factors* include: structural, functional and organizational problems, lack of evaluation, lack of quality and efficiency control in the educational process (Zambeta, E.,2002, Pasias,G.-Roussakis,Y.,2003, Flouris,G.-Pasias,G.,2004, Alahiotis,S.N-Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., 2006).

The Curriculum reform of the 2000-2007 period is of utmost importance in the politics of school knowledge of this period, especially in compulsory education since new Curriculum has been implemented in the form of Cross Thematic Curriculum Framework Syllabus Design (DEPPS) and new program of studies (APS) accompanied by a "Flexible Zone" of curriculum activities both for elementary and high school levels (HPI, 2003).

The effects of the European Union on the Curriculum reform are particularly apparent. According to the Ministry of Education in Greece "the priorities and the reform measures are in conjuction with the educational policy and the directions of EU", while the reform framework "has been the product of systematic planning and decision making both of Ministry of Education as well as the EU" (YPEPTH,2000). Furthermore, in the introduction of the new Curriculum it is emphasized that the "Greek educational system ought to take into consideration the common future goal of the European education and be integrated in the educational orientation of the EU... Thus, it is necessary to promote, among other things, the cultivation of the European citizen's conciousness with the concurrent preservation of our national identity and our cultural self knowledge" (HPI, 2003a, p.2).

The reform 'discourse' and the educational 'practices' of curriculum reform have brought about more important changes than those at the former period. In fact, it is claimed that the modernization of the curriculum in its new form (DEPPS, APS, Flexible Zone) was organized based on "principles such as 'general education', 'strong pedagogic climate', 'investigating methodologies', 'critical thinking', 'learning skills', 'democratic citizenship', 'lifelong learning' and 'sustainable development'" (Alahiotis,S.N-Karatzia-Stavlioti,E., p.129).

The policy texts and document analysis of both periods revealed substantial differences in multiple reading levels such as : a)aims/goals, b) approaches/ideas, c) frame and structure of the curricula, d) writing procedures of school textbooks, f) methodology and activities, g) school programs and processes (see table 1).

Table 1. Trends and Changes in Curriculum Reform

Axes	1984-1996	1997-2007
Aims - Goals	The educational goals remain remarkably unchangeable Ethnocentrism, Democratization, Modernization,	The educational goals are gradually changing under the EU influences Modernization, national culture Europeanization, multiculturalism
Approaches/Ideas/Key-words	Open general education, development of the whole child, critical thinking, democratic citizen, Others/neighbors are portrayed from own ethnocentric perspective and are either undermined or denigrated	Open general education, critical thinking, learning competences, democratic citizen, lifelong learning' 'sustainable development, respect for alterity, management of the multiculturality in Greek schools
Frame of the curricula	Curriculum is fragmented in its nature and is organized on the basis of a separate subjects.	Unified Curriculum Holistic approach of knowledge
Structure of the curricula	Core or "mainline" subjects	Cross-Thematic Curriculum
School textbooks	Procedure of (composition / writing) : under assignment	Under Competition
School textbooks Content	encyclopedic nature,	Cross-Thematic Interdisciplinary approach (support of ICT)
Methodology	expository teaching and rote learning based on textbook	Cross-Thematic Team Teaching emphasis on the Project approach
Activities	Dialogue into the Classroom	Flexible Zone Project approach Open school towards the Society
Programs	Limited participation in local community's activities	Community participation in European and innovating programs
Processes	National and local community based processes	Promotion/Enhancement of Ecumenical and European values Management of the multiculturality in Greek schools

Probing for a shift in the Citizenship paradigm of the Curriculum reform in Greece (2000- 2007)

The characteristics of citizenship has been incorporated in the 5th and 6th grade subject of "social and political education", even though certain elements may be found in subjects such as 'environmental studies', grades 1st-4th. Historically, there appeared various modifications in the name of the subject, such as "Elements of Democratic Polity", during the 1960s, "Education of the Citizen", during the 1970s, "Social and Political Education", during 1980-1990's, which have been linked to specific ideological and political framework in each period having remarkable differences on the goals/objectives, in the content, in the teaching methods and the learning activities (Helmis,S., 1994:28-31).

The present study focuses on a discourse analysis of the curriculum guides and textbooks of the "social and political education" subject on three levels: a) the goals and objectives, b) the content and c) the methodological approaches.

As can be seen in table 2, the differences between the citizenship education curricula of the two periods (1984-2000 & 2001-2007) are apparent both on the general

goals of the curriculum guides and the specific objectives concerning the European dimension.

Table 2. Differences concerning the *goals and objectives* of the *curriculum guides* of the subject of "social and political education" in the two periods

General goals of the Curriculum Guides	
Period 1984 - 2000	**Period 2001-2007**
Organization and function of the Greek society	Intellectual development with emphasis on humanitarian values
Knowledge of the Greek society's values	Ethical development with emphasis in freedom, justice, equality, human rights
Understanding of the social and political institutions	Social, economic and political development
Development of critical thinking concerning current social problems	Responsible and active citizenship
Development of social awareness	Cultural development with emphasis on students' national identity - tolerance and acceptance of pluralism and heterogeneity
Responsible and creative participation	Development of Greek identity based on cultural heritage
	Development of social cohesion and solidarity, individual responsibility
Specific objectives concerning the *European dimension*	
There is no reference to European dimension	To recognize "…Europe's contribution to world civilization, the role of EU in the international context, to enhance multicultural Europe for peaceful, democratic coexistence" and to "develop positive attitudes towards all Europeans"

The following findings may be drawn based on the analysis of table 2:

In the curriculum guide of the *1984-2000 period*, emphasis is placed on the "organization and function of the Greek society" as well as on the understanding of social and political institutions. Furthermore, what is aimed at is the development of social awareness, critical attitudes towards social problems and responsible as well as creative participation. However, even though the curriculum guide displays a limited scope, it purports to develop sensitivity towards the global community since it stresses peaceful coexistence and childrens' rights (Helmis,S.,1994).

The goals of the curriculum guide of the *2001 – 2007 period*, on the other hand, is beyond any doubt of a broader scope and breadth. There is a clear distinction among the various dimensions including intellectual/spiritual, ethical/evaluative and cognitive, concerning social, economical and political issues. In addition, the development of the cognitive dimension is directly connected with an open, free, active and responsible participation to fulfil common needs and concerns. Special emphasis is also placed on the multicultural development which directly addresses alterity issues of the Greek society and of the Greek school, through the enrichment of the national and cultural identities of heterogeneous students and through tolerance and acceptance of the pluralistic classrooms in Greece. Furthermore, it is worth noting that other intentions found in the curriculum guide include the awareness of individual responsibility, social cohesion and social solidarity.

Another important difference between the two types of curriculum guides concerns the nature of the discourses. In the curriculum guide of 1984 the ethnocentric character and

orientation is obvious through its emphasis on becoming familiar with various functions, organizations and several other elements of the Greek society (Helmis,S.,1994, Makrynioti,D.-Solomon,J.,1999, Flouris,G.,1998, Pantides,S.- Pasias,G., 2003:352-364). On the curriculum guide of 2001, efforts have been made to undermine or de-nationalize the ethnocentric discourse and to replace it with references and concepts such as human society, ecumenical values, national identity of all students, pluralistic societies etc., portraying, thus, a post-national and cosmopolitan form of citizenship.

Another finding which may be drawn is the enhancement of the European dimension of education which is totally missing from the curriculum of the first period but it is quite obvious in the specific objectives of the second period of the subject of "social and political education" in both grades (Pantides,S.-Pasias,G., 2003:333-351). The special reference made to the European dimension states: "To recognize Europe's contribution to the global culture, the meaning and role of the EU in the international sphere, the meaning of conservation of the cultural particularities of peoples in the framework of a multicultural Europe as a prerequisite for peaceful, democratic and equitable coexistence of the member states; it is further sought the development of positive attitudes towards all Europeans and willingness for cooperation and solidarity" (HPI, 2003:234).
Likewise, the differences concerning the content of the textbooks of both periods are revealed in Table 3.

Table 3. Differences concerning the *content* of the textbooks concerning "social and political education" in the two periods

Textbooks: "Social and Political education" Period 1984 – 2000	
5th Grade	6th Grade
1. Human Coexistence	1. State and political systems
2. Social Life	2. Social functions and activities
3. Citizens' Rights and Obligations	3. Greek democracy
4. Work as economic and social function	4. We and the World
5. State and Society	5. Traffic education
Textbooks: "Social and Political education" Period 2001 – 2007	
5th Grade	6th Grade
Individual and Society Social groups, Institutions (Family, Church, school, Community) 12 hours	Individual and Society Social groups, Institutions Special groups, Media, etc. 12 hours
Individual and Polity The Greek State, the Greek Citizen, Rights and Obligations 8 hours	Individual and Polity State and the Nation. The Greek State and its functions. Elections, Rights and Obligations 7 hours

Individual and the EU
 History, member states, European citizen
                                          4 hours
	Individual and the EU
	EU: concept, organization, institutions
	The Greek individual as a European citizen
	                                          4 hours

Individual and the International Community World and International Organizations Human rights 4 hours	Individual and the International Community World and International Organizations and Greece Human rights and the International Community 5 hours
Sum Total of 28 hours	Sum Total of 28 hours
EU = 14.28%	EU = 14.28%
International Organizations = 14.28%	International Organizations = 17.85%
EU + Int. Org = 28.57%	EU + Int. Org = 32.14%

The analysis of our sources, including the Presidential Degree of 1984, revealed the differences between the two grades (5th and 6th) of the subject of "social and political education". In the 5th grade, emphasis was given on the social dimension while in the 6th grade emphasis was placed on the political dimension.

On the contrary, in the curriculum guide of 2001 both dimensions are equally distributed in both grades.

Even though a general goal of the curriculum guide of 1984 states that there exists an international dimension, in actuality there is only one unit in the 6th grade entitled "we and the world".

On the contrary, in the curriculum guide of 2001, the international dimension constitutes a distinct chapter in both grades (14, 28% of the material in the 5th grade and 17, 85% of the material in the 6th grade).

Another difference between the two periods concerns the European dimension which was non existent in the curriculum guide of 1984, while the European Union as a construct was mentioned in a text of one half page.

In the curriculum guide of 2001, European dimension is highlighted with a separate chapter in both grades (14, 28% of the material in each grade).

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the European dimension and the international dimension constitute a sum total of more than ¼ of the material (28, 57%) of the 5th grade and 1/3 (32, 14%) of the 6th grade.

In table 4, one can observe the teaching approaches which are based on data gathered through the discourse analysis of the curriculum guides and textbooks in both periods.

Table 4. Differences concerning *teaching approaches* of the subject of the "social and political education" as revealed by the *curriculum* guides and *textbooks*.*
(*Textbooks for the 2nd period (2001 – 2007) have not been disseminated and finalized as yet).

Period 1984 – 2000
Use of a Single textbook. Teacher's guide. Student's Textbook-workbook. Encyclopedic nature of content. Single theme approach of knowledge. Expository presentation of topics. Subject centered design. Instructional objectives: Emphasis on the cognitive domain (78%). Absence of critical approaches such as problem solving, discovery learning, development of competences, multicultural dimension. Traditional teaching methods directed by text and pictorial materials Emphasis on classroom dialogue as part of the learning process but controlled by the teacher. Traditional forms of evaluation based on teacher's questions and student's responses. Activities were confined within the classroom.

Period 2001 - 2007.
Use of a Single textbook. Teacher's guide. Student's Textbook. Student's workbook. ICT support (CD-rom etc) of instructional activities. Holistic approach of knowledge. Use of a interdisciplinary and cross thematic approaches. Use of "Flexible Zone" curriculum activities. Development and implementation of projects. Instructional objectives: Cooperative learning. Problem solving. Participatory and experiential approaches. Discovery learning. Proposed cross thematic activities including: role playing, group discussions, field study for solving real life problems. Use of multiple sources and media. Emphasis on ICT for information searching and processing. Learning how to learn. Teaching inside and outside the classroom. Enhancement of social and environmental activities. School visits in historical, social and community sites.

One can observe that in the 1984–2000 period "the applied curriculum" was based on the single theme approach of knowledge while expository teaching and teacher centered methods were used, as directed by the single textbook and their pictorial materials (Helmis,S.,1994:109-111).

The main emphasis was placed on the cognitive domain (78%) and teaching practices, included classroom dialogues, controlled by the teachers and the traditional forms of evaluation. Finally, learning activities were confined in the classroom.

On the 2001–2007 period the "applied curriculum" is based on the holistic approach of knowledge, interdisciplinary and cross thematic approaches (HPI,2002b). Furthermore, there is a variety of teaching methods used including role playing, cooperative learning, problem solving, discovery learning, the use of teaching projects and a variety of learning may take place through "the flexible zone" curriculum activities (HPI,2002a). Concurrently, emphasis may be given on ICT for information searching and processing, via the use of multiple sources and media.

Finally, teaching takes place both inside and outside the classroom while school visits are encouraged to various historical, social and community sites.

In sum, the teaching approaches of the second period encourage students to become inquirers of social, political and economic problems and be involved in the process of learning how to learn. Thus, students may be led to become active and reflective citizens developing a sense of social and political efficacy, as well as, an orientation towards global perspectives.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the data at hand, it can be supported that a shift in the citizenship education paradigm may be substantiated concerning the politics of school knowledge during the present decade. More specifically, the document analysis conducted justifies the fact that current politics of school knowledge in Greece have been influenced by various challenges, changes and trends such as globalization, knowledge based societies, European integration, multiculturalism, etc., which are reflected in the goals, objectives, content, teaching-learning processes, school textbooks, and activities. The present data, however, ought to be interpreted as inconclusive until further analysis of the new textbooks of the "social and political education" subject be completed so that more definitive conclusions may be drawn.

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