

**The Nation, Europe and Migration: A comparison of geography, history
and citizenship education curricula in Greece, Germany and England**

Abstract

National curricula are being challenged and transformed by the impact of migration and European integration. This paper examines how cultural diversity and Europe are intertwined in geography, history and citizenship education curricula in Greece, Germany and England. This question is explored using quantitative and qualitative methods through a case study of curriculum content and discourses of five years compulsory schooling in all three countries. One might expect Germany and Greece, which have historically embraced a more monocultural vision, as having largely similar approaches. Yet, the cross-national analysis illustrates that the relationships between European and multicultural values are put together in rather different ways depending on the school subject. Whilst history is ethnocentric in all three countries, Greek geography and citizenship curricula veer between ethnocentrism and Europeanism. In contrast, in England, notions of multicultural Britishness are reinforced in geography and citizenship education. German curricula privilege national and European topics, but attempts have been made to address diversity, particularly in geography. Curriculum analyses have hitherto largely focused on either national and European dimensions or multicultural and global dimensions. This study provides new insights into how these dimensions intersect and their combined effect on migration and citizenship education in European societies.

Keywords: curriculum; Europe; migration; history, geography; citizenship education

Introduction

In recent decades, EU institutions have become a major supranational player in education (see Council of Ministers of Education 1988, 1993, 2006, 2007, European Commission 1996, 2002), with school-related issues shifting from a small concern of the EU to a major focus of the organization's activities (Dale and Robertson 2009). Despite unifying calls from EU institutions and the Council of Europe¹ for both a European dimension in education (e.g. Council of Ministers of Education 1988, Council of Europe 1989, 1991) and an intercultural dimension in the wake of increasing migration-related diversity (e.g. Council of Europe 2002, 2003, 2005, 2007, European Commission 2008), all EU countries have considerable autonomy in the field of education. EU actions therefore serve mainly to complement national level initiatives, for example through the increasingly important Open Method of Coordination (OMC)². This is an intra-European means of governance through which the EU identifies common challenges across the current 27 member states, pinpoints best practices, and encourages countries to review their existing national policies. Some scholars argue that the promotion of Europe and cultural diversity in education has helped transform nation-centred schooling approaches and curricula into more inclusive ones (see Schissler and Soysal 2005, Philippou 2007). Others, however, hold that the EU 'still adheres to some of the key components of the nationalist discourse it seeks to evade' (Hansen 1998: 15), pointing to the ways in which EU education policies assume the idea that a common pan-European 'culture' is inherent and inherited, despite the rhetoric of 'unity in diversity'. These debates leave unexamined the ways in which member states intertwine calls for a European and intercultural dimension with their existing national agenda which is the main focus of this comparative curriculum analysis.

Despite the principle of subsidiarity³, since the 2000 Lisbon agenda which aimed to make Europe the most competitive knowledge-based economy (revised to knowledge society in 2005) in the world, there has been considerable EU-level activity in compulsory education.

Robertson (2009), for instance, discusses the implementation of new governance arrangements in the area of digital technologies and learning through an examination of the Commission's privileging of Public Private Partnerships as a means through which the European knowledge economy education space is to be realised (for more on this, see for instance Alexiadou 2007, Walkenhorst 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2010). Prior to this, since the 1990s, there have been initiatives around lifelong learning and Rasmussen (2009: 97) concludes that EU policies in this area have pictured the citizen as a learner 'not through being a student, but through being actively engaged in learning in professional contexts as well as in other areas and aspects of life'. Dale (2009: 122) reminds us that, despite increasing education activities at European level, EU education policies are 'qualitatively distinct from Member States' national education systems, in terms of their scope, mandate, capacity and governance'. EU level activities, he maintains, are more of a response to or framing of problems perceived as distinctly 'European' and not scaled-up national policies. One such distinctly 'European' problem is the issue of how to develop nation-centred schooling and curricula approaches into more inclusive ones, taking into account European integration processes as well as challenges posed by increasing migration-related ethnic and religious diversity across Europe.

This article discusses the ways in which national, European and multicultural issues intersect in the curricula of three European countries. I chose to focus my discussion on Germany (an old immigration host and founding member of the EU), England (also an old immigration host that joined the EU in 1973) and Greece (a new immigration host and more recent EU member state since 1981) for three main reasons. First, these three countries have placed different emphases on their European and multicultural agendas. German politicians and policy-makers constructed a 'Europeanised German identity' (Goetz 1996, Faas 2010) after World War Two whilst struggling to include minority ethnic groups like the Turkish Muslims into its concept of nationhood which, like Greece, still favours the principle of *ius sanguinis* (citizenship by birth/ethnic origin). England, on the other hand, has not only prioritised the *ius soli*

approach to citizenship (citizenship by territoriality, see Brubaker 1992) and marginalised European agendas, but the country also had to develop approaches to cultural diversity after the arrival of the Empire Windrush at Tilbury in 1948. Since the 1980s, English schools have been actively engaged in developing multicultural and anti-racist initiatives (Faas 2010). Unlike Germany and England, Greece has only recently become an immigration country, and multiculturalism is still more of a policy buzzword than a reality. Although the country only joined the European Community in 1981, it soon began to support European integration as well as the development of joint policy in areas such as education.

Second, the three countries rely on different models on how to address diversity in education. Germany and Greece prefer the term 'intercultural education' whereas the English model is one of 'multicultural education'. The idea of interculturalism, as distinct from multiculturalism, has hitherto more commonly been found in Dutch and German accounts of integration, particularly in the field of education (Gundara 2000). Proponents of interculturalism emphasise communication, interaction and dialogue while those who favour multiculturalism argue that reciprocity, dialogue and civic integration are also central to most, if not all, contemporary accounts of multiculturalism (see also the discussions in Faas 2010). According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2006), multiculturalism describes the culturally diverse nature of societies. It not only refers to elements of ethnic or national culture, but also includes linguistic, religious and socio-economic diversity. In contrast, interculturalism refers to evolving interactions between cultural groups. Multicultural education uses learning about other cultures in order to produce acceptance, or at least tolerance, of these cultures whereas intercultural education aims to go beyond passive coexistence, to achieve a developing and sustainable way of living together in culturally diverse societies through the creation of respect for and dialogue between the different cultural groups. According to Banks (2004), multiculturalism is a concept, an educational reform movement, and a process. For Banks, the intention of multicultural education is to create an

environment offering equal education opportunities to students from different racial, ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, thus preserving and promoting diversity while supporting students in becoming critical thinkers and responsible democratic citizens. To carry out these goals through multicultural education, Banks identified five crucial dimensions: content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture. These five components have a strong impact on the educational achievement of all students, not only ethnic minorities, and also improve intergroup relations among students and staff (Zirkel 2008). Instead of engaging further in the contested debate about the meaning of multiculturalism and interculturalism, this article looks at the ways in which issues of diversity are balanced with notions of social cohesion as well as issues around Europe and the nation-state in curricula.

Third, there were also personal motivations for focusing on these three countries including that the author is a German native, studied in England and worked in Greece for nearly two years. This ensured a sense of familiarity and a more in-depth understanding of each socio-cultural context which, in turn, facilitated the interpretations of the findings in each country. All three countries of the study are members to the EU and the Council of Europe but these two organisations differ with regards to whether members are obliged to follow policies with the Council of Europe being a less influential but more diverse supranational organization than the EU. Before I move on to analyse the curriculum, I shall briefly outline some of the main features of the educational system in each country.

The Greek, German and English Education and Curricular Systems

Education in Greece is compulsory until the age of fifteen, including a six-year primary (*dimotiko*) and three-year lower secondary (*gymnasio*) education. The curricula are drawn up by the Pedagogical Institute and approved by the Ministry of National Education and Reli-

gious Affairs. Compulsory subjects at primary level are religion, Greek language, mathematics, history, environmental studies, geography, physics, social and citizenship education, music and arts, a foreign language and physical education. These subjects (except environmental and arts studies) are compulsory throughout junior high school. Additional compulsory subjects at secondary education include ancient Greek, a second foreign language, chemistry, home economics, computer science, technology and school vocational guidance. In 1996, Greece responded to the presence of (im)migrant communities in the classroom with a law on *Greek Education Abroad, Intercultural Education and Other Provisions* (Government Gazette 1996). This represented the first official recognition that immigrants were there to stay and that diverse communities had specific educational needs. The legislation established 26 so-called ‘intercultural schools’ which soon became institutions which catered exclusively for ‘foreign’ students as Greek students largely stayed away from them fearing that they offered limited opportunities for learning (Nikolaou 2000). While the intercultural and European dimensions were not perceived as compatible throughout the 1990s, a shift at policy-level appeared to occur in 2003 when the Ministry of Education overhauled the curriculum to incorporate a European *and* intercultural dimension under the general principle of ‘strengthening cultural and linguistic identity within a multicultural society’ (Damanakis 2005). New school books and curricula have been gradually introduced in schools from September 2006.

Unlike in Greece, the German school system is more or less under direct control of regional governments with mandatory curricula for all ages and levels. Core subjects in primary education generally include reading, writing, arithmetic, an introduction to natural and social sciences, art, music, sport and religious education. Secondary curricula depend on the type of institution, but usually continue primary core subjects, and include at least one foreign language and natural and social sciences. For example, in Baden-Württemberg – my home state and the region selected from Germany for the purpose of this article – there are three types of secondary schools: vocational-track schools (*Hauptschule*), secondary intermediate schools

(*Realschule*) and university-track grammar schools (*Gymnasium*). Building on various earlier initiatives to implement a European dimension (e.g. the 1978 and 1990 'Europe in the Classroom' documents), in 2008, the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education published the revised document 'Europe at School' (*Europabildung in der Schule*). It stated that the goal of education must be 'to awaken in young people the consciousness of a European identity; to prepare them to be aware of their responsibilities as citizens of the European Community' (Kultusministerkonferenz 2008: 6f.). In 1996, the Kultusministerkonferenz also issued the guideline 'Intercultural Education at School' (*Interkulturelle Bildung und Erziehung in der Schule*) stating that federal states should 'overhaul and further develop their curricula and guidelines of all subjects with regard to an intercultural dimension [and] develop teaching materials which address intercultural aspects as an integral part of school and education' (Kultusministerkonferenz 1996). Most recently, educational standards binding for all federal states were agreed on, and the 2004 curriculum reform in Baden-Württemberg was largely based on the skills students should have acquired by a particular grade or level.

In contrast, the English school system and curriculum is not in direct control of the (regional) government and there is considerable room for schools to develop rather different approaches to European and multicultural issues. The National Curriculum compulsory subjects for key stage 1 to 3 (age 5-14) include English, mathematics, science, design and technology, information and communication technology (ICT), physical education (PE), history, geography, art and design and music. A foreign language is also compulsory at key stage 3 (age 11-14). Unlike multicultural education, which specifically appeared amongst the cross-curricular themes and dimensions of the 1988 National Curriculum, the European dimension has received little attention. In September 2002, citizenship became a statutory requirement from key stage 3. At KS4 (age 14-16), there are fewer compulsory subjects: English, mathematics, science, ICT, citizenship and PE. In addition, a new category of curriculum entitlement areas, comprising the arts, design and technology, the humanities and modern foreign

languages has been introduced from 2004. As part of this latest reform, modern foreign language learning beyond the age of fourteen ceased to be compulsory in September 2005, and the then Department for Education and Skills (DfES) published the guidance paper *Developing the Global Dimension in the School Curriculum* (DfES 2005). A global dimension and sustainable development is also one of seven cross-curricular dimensions implemented in schools since September 2008, others being creativity and critical thinking; technology and media; enterprise; community participation; cultural diversity and identity; and healthy lifestyles (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 2007). This outline of the latest curricular reforms and policy responses not only sets the framework for the curriculum analysis, but also raises some methodological issues in terms of cross-national comparisons.

Research Design and Methodology

The study focuses on the extent to which Europe and multiculturalism have been intertwined in geography, history and citizenship education curricula in Germany, England and Greece. I found these subjects particularly important to analyse as they have been found to respond to cultural diversity and calls for a European dimension in education because of their identity-formation intent. Schissler and Soysal (2005) argued that history and citizenship education textbooks and curricula tend to recast the nation in European terms because of a broadening of human rights discourses, decolonization, social movements of the 1970s and the end of the Cold war and subsequent European integration processes⁴. They also refer to the difficulties textbook authors and curriculum planners face when dealing with migrant groups. Neave (1984: 120) commented from a British perspective that history, geography and citizenship education have always included a European dimension as part of their relative disciplines but what they have not done is to include ‘the notion of educating for European citizenship as an integral part of their programme’. Luchtenberg (1996) found that European and multicultural

education are practised in similar subjects including history, geography and citizenship education although European education is more connected to geography than is multicultural education. Historically, these three subjects, and citizenship education in particular, have represented the state's most formal and direct means of creating citizens and shaping young people's identities. Citizenship education, according to Osler (1994: 40) 'encourages the development of an inclusive rather than an exclusive understanding of national identity and citizenship'.

There are several issues to be taken into account conducting comparative curriculum research. Pepin (2005) argues that one of the main problems which tend to arise in cross-national case studies is that of *equivalence*; in other words, how to study the same issue in different cultures and societies. Firstly, conceptual equivalence refers to the question of whether or not the concepts under study (i.e. multiculturalism and Europe) have equivalent, or any, meaning in the cultures which are being considered. Another problem is that of linguistic equivalence and the problem of translation in particular. In this study, I had to be careful when translating curricula from German and Greek to English so that words and concepts did not change their meaning. I also had to be careful when selecting age groups, grades and documents in the three countries to provide for a meaningful comparison. For example, in England, there are National Curriculum guidelines but schools and teachers design their curricula for all subjects. I thus collected the schemes of work or syllabi from two Inner London secondary schools because of existing links with these schools through a previous research project (Faas 2010). In Germany, where the school system is federalised, I focused my analysis on the federal state of Baden-Württemberg. This meant that I could choose between three mandatory curricula – one for the vocational-track Hauptschule, another for the intermediate Realschule, and yet another for the university-track Gymnasium. In contrast, Greece only has one type of lower secondary school (*gymnasio*) with a mandatory national curriculum.

Two main criteria were applied to the curricular analysis in an attempt to minimise such problems of equivalence: (a) age and (b) compulsory schooling. Most students were aged be-

tween ten and fifteen and my analysis included the first five years of secondary schooling with the exception of Greece where I analysed the final two years of primary schooling and the full three years of *gymnasio*. The reason for this anomaly had partly to do with the second criterion, compulsory schooling. In England and Germany, school ceases to be compulsory at sixteen whereas it is fifteen in Greece. This anomaly is, however, less significant in the sense that the final two years of Greek primary education include geography, history and citizenship education which exists only to a limited extent in England and is not the case in Germany. Arguably, I could have included Years 5 and/or 6 in England because geography and history are optional at KS4, but school management staff in the two London schools from which I collected the schemes of work assured me in personal communication that their students must study each curriculum area and this includes economics, geography, history and/or sociology. All three countries had recently overhauled their curricula and thus had a chance to respond to European and national calls for a European and intercultural educational dimension – Greece in 2003, Baden-Württemberg in 2004, and England mainly between 2005 and 2007. The documents analysed in this paper are the ones introduced in these new curricula for each country. It is beyond the scope of this study also to consider teacher interpretations (see Hauler 1994, Osler 2011) or student responses to Europe and multiculturalism (Faas 2010).

A conceptual and analytical framework linking European and multicultural educational dimensions, as shown in figure 1 below, guided the curriculum analysis:

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Subject curricula within countries could usefully be clustered into four categories: firstly, *inclusive national* (i.e. curricula that include a range of multicultural topics combined with a national dimension); secondly, *inclusive European* (i.e. curricula which include a range of multicultural topics combined with a more European dimension); thirdly, *exclusive Eurocen-*

tric (i.e. curricula with a strong European dimension and few, if any, units around ethno-cultural diversity); and finally, *exclusive ethnocentric* (i.e. curricula with a strong national dimension and few, if any, units around ethno-cultural diversity).

Curriculum analyses have hitherto largely focused on either national and European dimensions (e.g. Hinderliter Ortloff 2005, Savvides 2006, Keating 2009, Michaels and Stevick 2009, Philippou 2009) or multicultural and global dimensions (e.g. Wilhelm 1998, Graves 2002, Arber 2005, Marshall 2009), thus often neglecting the ways in which these dimensions intersect. However, there is more general literature on the European dimension that deals with issues of intra-European diversity. For example, Sultana (1995) fears a potential Eurocentrism and Tulasiewicz (1993) argues that confining the European dimension to the EU, ‘may help to present a more compact whole, but is also open to the accusation that it ignores the rest of the world’. There is a need for dissociation from a Eurocentric or ‘fortress Europe’ approach and the notion of Europe should thus also include ‘all those recent Europeans who live in Europe whose roots are in Morocco, Bangladesh or Turkey’ (ibid.: 241). Adams and Tulasiewicz (1995) include empathy; a sensitivity towards, and respect for the institutions and the feelings of others; teaching in multicultural classrooms; the role of Europe in the world; European citizenship; and language awareness and knowledge in their definition of the European dimension. Various studies have emphasised the ethnocentrism of educational materials and textbooks in particular (see Nieto 1996, Coulby 2000) and, similarly, the Eurocentrism (e.g. Hansen 1998). Europe has been ‘invented’ over the centuries in Eurocentric ways to exclude various ‘others’ (Delanty 1995). Yet another body of literature has developed around global (citizenship) education, notably in England (see Osler and Vincent 2002). However, there is a scarcity of literature on the ways in which national, European *and* multicultural issues (intra-European diversity and diversity as a result of migration from outside Europe) are balanced and intertwined in curricula.

The content analysis of geography, history and citizenship education curricula shed light on some of these complex issues in three European countries. The quantitative analysis referred to the presence of European, multicultural and national (including subnational) topics in the curriculum. To this end, I counted which units and subunits across the five age groups in the three subject areas referred to Europe, multiculturalism and the nation-state. It should be noted here that multiculturalism was understood to include global curricular topics linked for instance with the Commonwealth; and that units were counted multiple times depending on their scope. For example, a unit titled ‘The surface of Europe and Greece’ or ‘Greece and Europe from the Balkan wars to World War Two’ would count as both national and European. I am aware that it is problematic, on occasion, to disentangle what is national and European and therefore asked curriculum designers (whom I had interviewed as part of a larger project) what they thought were national and European-oriented curriculum topics. Given that units and subunits varied from one country to another and also between the three curricular subjects, it was more useful to report percentages rather than total teaching units. The qualitative analysis focused on the discourses employed in the curriculum. For example, attention was given as to the extent to which ‘Europe’ was constructed in political, economic, geographical, historical or socio-cultural terms and the ways in which these discourses combine European and multicultural issues. The curricula and guidelines consisted of an introductory part or explanatory notes, which covertly or overtly addressed my research agenda, and a part where teaching units and activities were listed in bullet points. One of the aims was to search for definitions of Europe and multiculturalism in the introductory notes and to compare how this was reflected in teaching units. In the remainder of this paper, I shall consider the geography, history and citizenship education curricula of each country in turn.

Between Ethnocentrism and Europeanism in Greek curricula

An analysis of the Greek curriculum framework revealed an emphasis on national topics, particularly in the teaching of history where two-thirds of units dealt with Greece (e.g. the Byzantine Empire, the Greek War of Independence, and 20th century Greece). The European dimension was perhaps best developed in geography and to a limited extent in citizenship education although it should be noted that the notion of Europe is defined mainly in political terms and thus used as a synonym for the EU rather than in geographical terms (e.g. Greece and the European Union, the political division of Europe). Countries and cultures beyond Europe (or the EU) remain largely unexplored (Government Gazette 2003) There are also ample references to Greece and Europe where Europe seems to be constructed as an ‘add-on’ dimension and compatible with Greek national agendas and identities (e.g. the population of Europe and Greece, the surface of Europe and Greece). In contrast, the intercultural dimension is underdeveloped in all three curricula, particularly in geography and history (see Government Gazette 2003). Although there are occasional references in subunits to issues of ethnic and cultural diversity (e.g. realise the need for the preservation of cultural diversity within the context of a multicultural Europe), these subunits often address global or international aspects rather than multicultural topics per se (e.g. the individual and the international community, global transportation networks). Whilst citizenship and geography curricula seem to be veering between ethnocentrism and Europeanism, the history curriculum is still ethnocentric, as indicated in table 1 where the denominator for the calculations in each subject is the total number of national, European and multicultural units and subunits and the numerator the respective number of national, European or multicultural topics (e.g., in the Greek case, 22 out of 34 history topics had a national focus):

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The present history syllabus is introduced with a short statement of the teaching and learning aims of history classes, including the development of historical thinking and historical aware-

ness. The educational authorities specify that history classes should make pupils aware that the modern world is a continuation of the world of the past (Government Gazette 2003: 99). To this end, most of the Year 5 (ages 10 to 11) and Year 8 (ages 13 to 14) curriculum deals with the rise and fall of the Byzantine Empire and its contribution to civilization worldwide whereas national teaching units in other years reinforce Greece's struggle for democracy, freedom and national independence. History is also the only social science subject taught throughout the nine years of compulsory schooling in Greece and thus elevated to the status of mathematics and Greek language. The main purpose of the reformed history curriculum still lies in the development of national consciousness and citizenship with Europe and multiculturalism being only marginally addressed. In the words of the President of the Pedagogical Institute (Alahiotis) who wrote the introduction to the present curriculum, 'educational change in Greece at the present time should focus on the preservation of our national identity and cultural heritage on the one hand, and the development of European citizenship awareness, on the other' (Government Gazette 2003: 5). The importance of history in the Greek educational system becomes further evident in the latest controversy over the portrayal of Turks and Greeks in a new history textbook in Year 6 (ages 11 to 12)⁵.

In contrast, the compatibility of national and European citizenship agendas and identities are well developed in the contemporary geography curriculum whose objectives include realising that every European country is set within a wider context and how it is interdependent with other European countries. It also recognises the physical features of the European environment and describes how they influence the lives of Europeans. Although at one point, in Year 7 (ages 12 to 13), the objective is to recognise cultural differences between groups of people around the world in the way they themselves deal with environmental problems, a majority of units that deal with global and/or intercultural issues emphasise Europe (e.g. the physical features of the continents with special emphasis on Europe). This 'special emphasis on Europe', coupled with units in which Europe appears synonymous with the EU (e.g.

Greece and the European Union) amount to a sense of Eurocentrism being added onto the prevailing ethnocentrism which, in the national political framework, is based on common ancestry, the orthodox Christian religion and Greek language (Government Gazette 2003). Macro-political discourses are therefore reflected in the shaping of these subject curricula. Although some frictions with the European Commission still remain over the role of the state around monopolies and centralization, Greece has overcome the ambivalence of the 1980s and 1990s towards Europe and now considers the national and European agendas as largely compatible⁶. It remains to be seen whether the odd reference to cultural and ethnic diversity in the current geography curriculum is simply recognition of the culturally diverse nature of the Greek society or a more coordinated effort to address the presence of non-European and non-Christian immigrant communities.

The veering between ethnocentrism and Europeanism could also be seen in citizenship education which is taught in the last two grades of primary school and the third grade of junior high school (*gymnasio*). The objectives of the citizenship and social studies programme include students' cultural development by strengthening their national and cultural identity, by making them aware about the nature and the role of the various groups they belong to and ready to accept diversity; and the development of young people's Greek identity and awareness based on Greek national and cultural heritage (Government Gazette 2003). The present citizenship curriculum fuses notions of both ethnocentrism (by outlining the political system of the Greek state, the Greek citizen rights and responsibilities and the importance of the Constitution) and Europeanism (by reiterating the thoughts of the President of the Pedagogical Institute to focus on both national identity and cultural heritage *and* European citizenship). This, then, results in one unit per age group entitled 'The individual and the European Union' discussing the background of its foundation, current member states and the notion of a European citizen. The Greek citizen is constructed as a European citizen in these units and the objective of Year 9 (ages 14 to 15) clearly states that 'pupils should [be] aware of the fact that

they are Greek and European citizens at the same time' (Government Gazette, 2003: 125). This is not surprising given that successive governments have emphasised the cultural relationship between Greece and Europe, underpinning the Greeks' claim that they are European and conversely that Europeans are really Greek. Arguably, this conceptualization of Europe does not include all those immigrants and students in Greece originating from Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania or Asian countries including their rights and responsibilities as immigrants in Greece. However, there is also one unit in each year group that addresses 'the individual and the international community'. Given that these units deal with human rights issues, they could well be seen as a response to the multicultural nature of Greece.

Toward Multicultural Europeanness in German Curricula?

The German case is complicated not only by the country's differentiated state-controlled education system, but also by the 2004 curriculum reform in states like Baden-Württemberg (Kultusministerium Baden-Württemberg 2004). Although this reform changed little if anything with regard to the implementation of a European and intercultural dimension, it introduced educational standards based on specific skills students should have acquired by a particular grade (Years 6, 8 and 10 of secondary school). It also introduced compulsory foreign language learning from first year in primary schools as well as core and school-based curricula. The core curriculum is mandatory for all schools and comprises around two-thirds of teaching time whilst the school-based curriculum is designed by the respective school.

The impacts of the aforementioned European and national policies on education have been investigated for quite some time by social science researchers. Research on the European dimension in the curriculum and school textbooks, for example, described how Europe and European integration became part of the German secondary school curricula and textbooks. For instance, Hauler (1994) found that, out of seventy Year 10 (ages 15 to 16) annual lesson

plans, twenty included eight or more hours of teaching the European dimension; thirteen did not cover this teaching unit at all; and in almost half the classes a mere three lessons were spent on 'European Integration and Unification'. Kesidou's (1999) analysis of geography, political studies and history curricula of grammar schools in Baden-Württemberg found that teaching units in both geography and political studies specifically dealt with European unification. However, at the time, the term Europe referred to central and western Europe without mentioning Eastern Europe. The notion of Europe was particularly integrated into subjects such as geography and history (Kultusministerium Baden-Württemberg 2004). For example, in the geography curriculum of Baden-Württemberg, the entire Year 7 (ages 12 to 13) in the vocational-track Hauptschule was spent on Europe; in the university-track Gymnasium, three out of four teaching units in Year 6 (ages 11 to 12) also dealt with Europe. Given that there is little if any difference between those three types of schools (Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium) in terms of addressing the interface of a European and intercultural curricular dimension, I decided to focus on more general findings here. Unlike in Greece, the Baden-Württemberg geography curriculum is a good example of what I would call an inclusive European curricular approach (the bottom right quadrant of figure 1). About one-third of geography teaching units deal with national (e.g. cities and industrial areas in Baden-Württemberg, mountains in south-western Germany, areas of Germany), European (e.g. European integration, the continent of Europe, socio-economic processes in Europe) as well as intercultural and global topics respectively (e.g. culture zones including the Muslim world, living in one world, India and China). Arguably, this may be the result of Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK) guidelines around both European (2008) and intercultural education (1996). The introductory notes of the current geography curriculum refer to the importance of a local, national, European and global perspective thereby promoting the creation not just of European citizens but 'self-reflective, ethically responsible world citizens' (Kultusministerium Baden-Württemberg

2004). At the same time, one of the stated goals of this subject is to awaken the value of, and understanding for, other peoples and cultures.

The country's Europeanised national identity (see Goetz 1996, Risse and Engelmann-Martin 2002) can perhaps best be seen in history, where one would perhaps expect an ethnocentric view like in the case of Greece. However, as shown in table 1, Baden-Württemberg has a relatively equal balance between national (45.5%) and European (36.4%) history topics. Such topics include Europe and Charles the Great, European unification, the Enlightenment in Europe and Germany after World War Two. Up to half an academic year (Year 6 in the case of Hauptschulen and Year 7 in the case of Gymnasien) is spent on Europe whilst issues of cultural and ethnic diversity are somewhat marginalised in the contemporary history curriculum (13.6%), especially compared with geography. This is suggestive of the general struggle Germany, including regional education policy-makers, face of redefining the country's Europeanised national identity in intercultural terms (Faas 2010). Notably, the introductory note to the current history curriculum refers to the 'importance of developing a European identity when dealing with the different historical epochs' (Kultusministerium Baden-Württemberg 2004) as well as the need to promote tolerance and values of a pluralistic democratic society. Students are required to learn about the importance of antiquity for the development of European civilization and culture and, in doing so, are taught that the notion of a European identity has a long history. They are also taught about the processes of European integration from the 1957 Treaties of Rome to the 2002 launch of the Euro as a single currency. Despite the national-European emphasis, there are topics that address multicultural issues; for example, there is one topic area on past and present migration ranging from the 'folk wandering' between the third and sixth centuries and the emigration from central Europe through World War Two expulsions to present-day integration problems and refugee movements.

In contrast, the European dimension (and intercultural dimension) had a surprisingly low priority in political studies/citizenship education (Kultusministerium Baden-Württemberg

2004). For example, in the vocational-track Hauptschule, there were only two units in each type of school explicitly dealing with Europe and/or the European Union (European unification and Germany, Peace and security policy in Europe). The main purpose of citizenship education in Germany thus seems to have been to continue to remind young Germans that their country is a federally-organised parliamentary democracy. Students get to know and discuss democratic elections, democratic forms of government, political parties, Germany's basic law called 'Grundgesetz', and the meaning of the freedom of press. It should be noted here that, for decades, a 'gap' existed between the constitutional ideal of one German national identity and the reality of two German states. The 1990 reunification was a crisis for West Germany as it regained full political sovereignty and thus had to reinterpret its role in European and world politics; for East Germany, it was a different crisis as it had to come to terms with economic, social and ideological changes created by a new political union of two national identities whose historical paths had been diverging for two generations (Piper 1998). The seemingly ethnocentric nature of contemporary citizenship (political studies) curricula should therefore be seen in the context of these socio-historical developments. However, the current political studies curriculum addresses 'the living together of different cultures'. In this particular unit, students are familiarised with the ways in which increasing mobility results in cultural meetings and exchanges and how to develop respect and understanding for other cultures. Another unit (in the Gymnasium curriculum) explicitly deals with the forms, causes and impacts of immigration. Whilst the Baden-Württemberg curriculum promotes inclusion around notions of Europe, particularly in geography, the English curriculum takes the national dimension as the starting point to address notions of diversity.

Reinforcing Multicultural Britishness in English Curricula

England was the only one of the three countries still implementing its latest curriculum reform at the time of data collection in 2007. However, unlike in Germany and Greece, schools are not necessarily obliged to incorporate the proposed changes. It was also the only country in this study explicitly developing a global dimension in the curriculum in addition to the existing multicultural dimension. The ‘importance statements’ for each subject, issued by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) provide a signpost for schools when embedding a global dimension across the curriculum. For example, in the reformed citizenship education curriculum, students learn about their rights and responsibilities, democracy and justice as well as identities and cultural diversity in the UK. In geography, students learn about the complex and dynamically changing world, how places and landscapes are formed, how people and environment interact, and how a diverse range of economies and societies are interconnected. ‘Geography inspires pupils to become global citizens by exploring their own place in the world, their values and responsibilities to other people, to the environment and to the sustainability of the planet’ (QCA 2007). Similarly, in history, students are asked to develop their own identity through an understanding of history at personal, local, national and global levels. Unlike in Germany and Greece, these chains of identities hardly include the supranational European level as the curriculum guidelines do not explicitly mention the development of a European identity and citizenship alongside the other dimensions. ‘Learners need opportunities to explore their own range of identities: personal, group, regional, national and global’ (QCA 2007). Arguably, this is a result of the fact that the concept of Britishness mediated through multicultural values remained primary in English discourses (see Faas forthcoming) whereas Europe became a focal point for national political identities in German schools.

Paradoxically, however, the multicultural curriculum dimension (now called ‘cultural diversity and identity’) occasionally refers to Europe. For example, the guidelines state that, in history, students explore the history of their community, Britain, Europe and the world. They develop an understanding of the diverse experiences and the range of ideas, beliefs and

attitudes of people in the past and how these have shaped the world. Similarly, in citizenship, students learn about ‘the UK’s relations with the European Union and the rest of Europe, the Commonwealth, the United Nations and the world as a global community’ (QCA, 2007). According to the revised key stage 3 (age 11-14) and key stage 4 (age 14-16) programmes of study, a European dimension can be incorporated when exploring topical issues, including migration, human rights, the environment, diversity and identities. The reference to ‘the European Union and the rest of Europe’ alongside the global dimension indicates a non-Eurocentric and therefore more multicultural conceptualization of Europe – a marked contrast particularly to Greece. However, it should be noted that the national and multicultural dimensions remain the dominant ones. ‘Identities and diversity: living together in the UK’ is one of three key concepts of the revised citizenship programme (the others being ‘democracy and justice’ and ‘rights and responsibilities’). The explanatory note of this key concept reads that students should ‘explore and develop their understanding of what it means to be a citizen in the UK today (...) and how migration has shaped communities and what unifies groups or communities’, the shared values that the UK is committed to (QCA 2007).

Not surprisingly therefore, an analysis of the schemes of work from two Inner London comprehensives revealed that, with the exception of history, there was a balance between national and multicultural topics in both geography and citizenship education curricula (see table 1). The European dimension seemed to be furthest developed in history, but it is worth noting that these were mostly topics around the two world wars (e.g. World War One, Germany 1918-1945, Hitler and the Holocaust). There was not a single post-war European topic, or even subunit, in the history curriculum or reference to the historical development of the EU. Instead, the curriculum celebrated British history (e.g. from Henry to Elizabeth, the English Civil War, Britain 1500-1750, Britain 1750-1900) and linked national developments to England’s emerging role as head of the Commonwealth (e.g. South Africa, slavery). The new National Curriculum guidelines emphasise that students should understand ‘the major events,

changes and developments in British, European and world history covering at least the medieval, early modern, industrial and twentieth-century periods' and the explanatory notes went further stating that students need 'an understanding of the changing nature of conflict over time and attempts to resolve conflict and develop cooperation, including through international institutions such as the United Nations and the European Union'. Clearly, there was little teaching about recent events with the exception of apartheid in South Africa and the Cold War. There was only marginally more around issues of ethno-cultural diversity at the time of data collection, but this may well change given the new focus on cultural, ethnic and religious diversity and emphasis on 'the impact through time of the movement and settlement of diverse peoples to, from and within the British Isles' in history (QCA 2007).

In contrast, both geography and citizenship education curricula are examples of, what I would call, an inclusive national curricular approach (the top right quadrant of figure 1). Unlike Germany, which, in geography at least, allied notions of inclusion with Europe, the schemes of work in English schools attempted to retrieve a common bond between the national majority and minority ethnic communities through the promotion of multicultural Britishness. In citizenship, for example, students examined the diverse composition of the British society by looking at national statistics, the work of the Commission for Racial Equality and the MacPherson report⁷. In Year 9 (ages 13 to 14), in both schools, there was a unit on 'promoting interracial tolerance' where students learned about Holocaust Day and the life of Martin Luther King. In Year 10 (ages 14 to 15), in one of the two schools with a particularly large number of minority ethnic students, there was a further unit on 'Taking part', which discussed the ethno-religious festivals of Eid and Ramadan. In the other school, there were more general units on human rights and discrimination in society. This suggests that English schools modify the National Curriculum guidelines according to their particular needs and the diversity of their school intake. It should be noted that this is possible because, unlike in Germany and Greece, there is considerable room for schools in England to develop their own approaches to

national curriculum guidelines. In contrast to the prevalence of multicultural and national topics in both geography and citizenship (e.g. local democracy, the UK, governments and voting, local settlement), there was only one European teaching unit in both subjects respectively. The geography guidelines merely state that students should study ‘local and national perspectives. It should also include the geographical aspects that underpin a young person’s identity and their global citizenship’ (QCA 2007). This new focus on a global dimension presents a marked contrast to countries like Greece and Germany.

Comparisons and Conclusions

This article shed light on the ways in which national, European and multicultural issues have been addressed in geography, history and citizenship education curricula in three very different European countries. Although one might at first sight classify Germany and Greece as having largely similar approaches (both with a more monocultural vision), the combination of European and multicultural agendas in this study has provided us with a more nuanced perspective. Arguably, whilst Greece based her monoculturalism on the protection of national values, Germany embraced European values. In terms of conceptualising these different approaches (see figure 1), macro-politically, Germany could be seen as representing the more exclusive Eurocentric political and educational approach whilst Greece would be an example of a more exclusive ethnocentric approach. England, by contrast, represents a more inclusive national approach, thus allying the national with the multicultural dimension.

The curriculum analysis further revealed that, in most cases, the relationship between (national), European and multicultural values and agendas was put together in rather different ways depending on the school subject. Although history was largely ethnocentric in all three countries, the level of ethnocentrism was considerably higher in Greece than in both England and Germany. In fact, in Germany, there was not much difference between national and Eu-

ropean history topics. The analysis of the geography curriculum indicated Germany's attempts through recent curricular reforms to add more multicultural and global topics to its European dimension. Similarly, in Greece, geography was perhaps the most ideal subject to trace recent policy shifts – in this case from ethnocentrism to a more European dimension. In England, the political approach of allying the national with the multicultural could also be seen in education where both citizenship education and geography revealed an equal number of national and multicultural topics, recently complemented by a more global dimension.

Despite converging trends around the need to respond to the increasing cultural diversity across Europe, as evidenced not just by this curricular analysis but also by the adoption of the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum (Council of the European Union 2008) – EU member states continue to set different priorities in relation to European and multicultural issues. In England, following the London bombings in 2005 and subsequent *Diversity and Citizenship in the Curriculum Research Review* (Department for Education and Skills 2007), schools were obliged to promote community cohesion under the principle of 'Identity and Diversity: Living Together in the UK' (Department for Children, Schools and Families 2007). At the same time, the National Curriculum guidelines advocated a global and multicultural dimension which incorporated to a limited extent the notion of a European dimension. Germany, by contrast, continues to privilege Europe as a cross-curricular theme and the latest curriculum reform in the federal state of Baden-Württemberg was not necessarily triggered by macro-political events such as terrorism and calls for more social cohesion but by the introduction of national educational standards and subject clusters to monitor variations from one federal state to another. In Greece, the challenges of diversity formed part of the latest Greek curricular reform, albeit with far more modest outcomes compared to England. Curriculum planners noted that 'the fabric of society changes, becoming enriched with diverse cultural, linguistic, national and socio-economic characteristics' (Government Gazette 2003: 9), but progress beyond a mere recognition of ethno-cultural diversity remains slow (see also Pal-

aiologou and Faas, forthcoming). If policy-makers and curriculum planners further acknowledge Europe's historical and migration-related diversity, then this could lead to less ethnocentric definitions and constructions of Europe (and the nation-state) which were differently reflected in this comparison of geography, history and citizenship curricula.

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Notes

- 1 The EU currently has 27 member states, each of which has had to meet strict political and economic standards in order to gain entry. Membership of the less influential Council of Europe is determined solely on the basis of political concerns, and, as a result, the institution has a larger and more diverse set of 47 members.
- 2 The OMC rests on soft law mechanisms such as guidelines and indicators, benchmarking and sharing of best practice. This means that there are no official sanctions for laggards. The method's effectiveness relies on a form of peer pressure and naming and shaming, as no member states wants to be seen as the worst in a given policy area.
- 3 The 'subsidiarity principle' means that European Union (EU) decisions must be taken as closely as possible to the citizen. In other words, the Union does not take action (except

on matters for which it alone is responsible) unless EU action is more effective than action taken at national, regional or local government level.

- 4 In the case of History, there is an extensive literature (see for instance Nakou and Barca 2010, Grever and Stuurman 2007, Symcox and Wilschut 2009, as well as the special issue edited by Seixas in *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 2009) about the relation of the nation and the history curriculum in different parts of the world. However, the focus of this article is to examine how the nation, Europe and migration *intersect* in curricula.
- 5 There is one textbook for each subject at each grade level, and the books are distributed free of charge. This highly centralised system of textbook production reproduces the official curriculum and textbooks thus become reliable documents of the political and ideological choices of whatever political party happens to be in power.
- 6 The processes of European integration in Greece, which began with the launching of the application for full membership in 1975, profoundly challenged Greek identity. By necessitating changes in Greece's laws the reconstruction of Europe severely strained the self-perceived homogeneity and insularity (see Pollis 1992).
- 7 The Commission for Racial Equality is a non-departmental public body which tackles racial discrimination and promote racial equality. It was replaced in 2007 by the Equality and Human Rights Commission. The 1999 MacPherson report into the death of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence in 1993 outlines proposals to tackle institutional racism.

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Figure 1: Conceptual and analytical framework

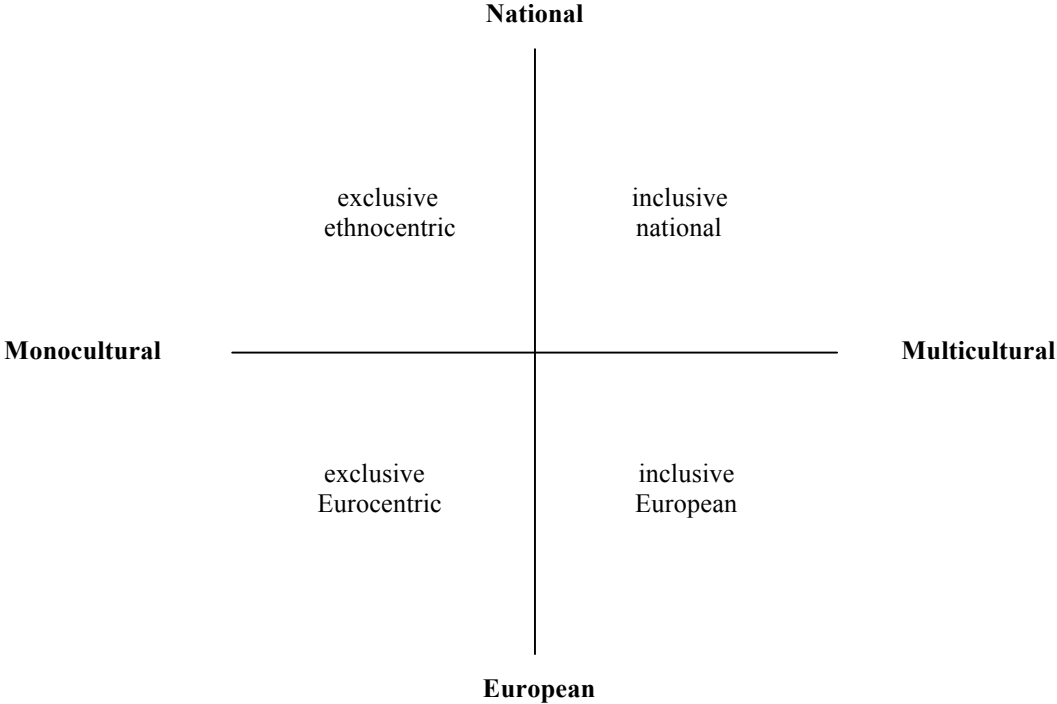


Table 1: National, European and multicultural issues in history, geography and citizenship curricula

	National topics (%)	European topics (%)	Multicultural topics (%)
Greece:			
(a) History	64.7	26.5	5.9
(b) Geography	33.3	33.3	12.5
(c) Citizenship	46.2	23.1	23.1
Germany:			
(a) History	45.5	36.4	13.6
(b) Geography	30.3	30.3	37.2
(c) Citizenship	50.0	16.7	8.3
England:			
(a) History	52.2	17.4	26.1
(b) Geography	43.8	6.3	43.8
(c) Citizenship	33.3	3.7	33.3