Cosmopolitanism or Something Else?
A comparative educational research on primary school policies
between Greece and Europe

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Abstract

In the 21\textsuperscript{st} century, cosmopolitanism has become an ever emerging concept, as scholars turn to this worldview with the hope to address the unavoidable impacts of globalization. Simultaneously, the new educational trends in Europe in combination with the ongoing socio-political changes create new needs that demand a more cosmopolitan interference. With this in mind, the present research attempts to examine whether and how cosmopolitan ideals are promoted through education policies in Europe and to what extent these cosmopolitan ideals succeed to reach national policies and school practice in a country as Greece. To this end, the author conducts a qualitative multilevel study between Europe and Greece and bases her study on two research methods: interviews and document analysis.

The interview and document analysis that follows leads to a comparison not only between the European and the Greek context but also between the policy and practice level that spawns a better and deeper understanding of how education promotes and can promote cosmopolitanism. The findings of the research highlight that the dilemma of whether to employ an ethnocentric or cosmopolitan educational approach can be acute. Parallel to that, the conflicting conceptions of cosmopolitanism between Greece and the European Union tend to render the moral aspects of education quite numb. Finally, the research closes with some recommendations for the future and suggestions for further studies.

Keywords: cosmopolitanism, globalization, primary education, international and comparative education, qualitative research, Greek curriculum, European education policy
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEPPS</td>
<td>Cross-Thematic Curriculum Framework (Diathematiko Enieo Plesio Programmation Spoudon)</td>
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<td>DG EAC</td>
<td>Directorate General for Education and Culture</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESYP</td>
<td>National Education Council of Greece (Ethniko Symvoulio Pedias)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ET2020</td>
<td>Strategic Framework – Education and Training 2020</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>IST</td>
<td>Information Society Technology</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>PISA</td>
<td>Program for International Student Assessment</td>
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<tr>
<td>TFEU</td>
<td>Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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Chapter One
Background of the research

1.1 Introduction

Educational practices and policies are bound by various definitions and affected by even more factors; therefore, they have always been a subject of controversy. In the course of time, different notions have naturally reformed educational policies and initiated new pedagogical strategies to be put in practice. Nowadays, key notions such as globalization, multiculturalism, identity and citizenship, are those who impose the need for re-evaluating the educational system, through theoretical analysis and practical implementation (Burbules and Torres, 2000).

Similar to other social sciences, education constitutes a dynamic area of study constantly evolving according to the emerging political and social circumstances. Historically speaking, in the contemporary world the ground for educational progress was basically set in the 18th century, when education adopted a more child-centred and humanitarian dimension (Gill, 2010). Schooling came to the epicentre of the community and was certainly inextricably connected with the “local”. Educational procedures began thus from the family and broadened towards the community, the nation and so on. Among the major principles of that time was “education of the mind” and engagement in the local or national community (Burbules and Torres, 2000, p.3).

With the creation of public schools, the educational process fell in the jurisdiction of the community. During that period, the determinant ideas for the educational system were maintained and embellished with other relevant objectives such as the preservation of culture, the shaping of work ethics and last but not least the establishment of citizenship. Following the educational timeline, profound changes were then detected when the organization of education rose to the level of the state. Under these circumstances, the decisive goal became the formation of a competent, qualified, national citizen. Of course, this is not surprising. Since it is the state that regulates, finances and evaluates its educational system, it is a natural consequence that the education system will be tailored to the state’s needs and agenda (Burbules and Torres, 2000, p.4).
In the 21st century, education exceeds the boundaries of school. Given the technological achievements, stimuli and knowledge that are within our grasp, interaction has never been easier and minds have never been broader. In this modern flat world, educational systems are expected to acquire a global dimension and therefore are closely assessed and guided by various international organizations such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). To this end, international assessment strategies such as the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) have been put in practice in order to facilitate international comparisons. However, due to the development of universal knowledge criteria, the educational priorities tend to lose their humanistic character and systems strive to reach certain globally aligned educational outcomes that have only to do with knowledge.

Whilst our world is getting smaller, individuals tend to get more distant. This is not a random argument if we mull over the economic and social crisis that is underway in several countries of the world. Nation-states are becoming more competitive and the pressures of globalization tend to intensify the gap between developed and developing countries (ibid.). In the Europe of crisis and meta-crisis, this is not an unprecedented phenomenon. In countries such as Greece, sudden impoverishment has devastated the citizens’ morale causing among others infringement of human rights and the emergence of far-right politics.

With an eye to address these contemporary issues, numerous scholars have revived and re-established the cosmopolitan paradigm (Habermas, 2003; Andrews, 2012; Papastephanou, 2002; Johnson, 2008; Appiah, 2006; Beck, 2006) and paid special attention to its educational dimension (Nussbaum, 1997; 2002; Vinokur & Alexander, 2013; Roth, 2015). In the hope to provide an empirical understanding of cosmopolitanism in education, the present paper will examine how cosmopolitanism is presented in European and national education policies, as well as whether these policies are put into practice. Finally, commencing from the concepts of globalization and Europeanization, the author will present cosmopolitanism in education as an answer to the globalized socio-political proceedings.

1.2 Aims and objectives of the study
In overall, the main focus of this research is to closely examine how the cosmopolitan paradigm is being outlined in European and national education discourse, by studying the primary education policy in Europe and Greece. The general aim is to generate knowledge of whether and how the European Union and its members-states employ the specific characteristics that make education policy and practice cosmopolitan. With this in mind, a qualitative study was done, where the European education policy documents as well as the national curricula were examined. In order to make a critical comparison between the European and the national level, school counsellors were interviewed regarding the impact of the EU in the national education policy-making and their similarities and discrepancies in cosmopolitan terms. This will eventually not only put the policy-practice discourse to the forefront but also provide an insight of how cosmopolitanism can be realized in practice.

To this end, the objectives have been formed as follows:

- To analyse European education policy documents, with a view to identify how cosmopolitanism is promoted to its member-states
- To analyse the national education curricula, in order to discover whether and how cosmopolitanism is promoted in the school practice.
- To examine whether and how the above policies are put into practice from the viewpoint of the school counsellors
- To identify the convergences and divergences between the European and the national education policies regarding the promotion and perception of cosmopolitanism.

Quoting Bryman (2012), once the overall aims and objectives are set specific research questions should be formed. In accordance with the overall aim of the research as well as the respective objectives the above research questions have emerged:

1. How the EU education policy affects its member-states and specifically the Greek education system?
2. How and to what extent are the EU policies and the national curricula in Greece promoting cosmopolitanism?
3. What are the convergences and divergences among EU education policies, national curricula and education practice in terms of cosmopolitanism?

1.3 Limitations of the study
Bearing in mind that the following research constitutes a Master’s thesis at the Department of Education in Stockholm University, it is understood that several limitations were faced especially with regard to the extent and the duration of the research. As understood, the nature of the Master’s thesis did not allow this research to be exhaustive and certain deadlines had to be met. With such intentions additional limitations finally emerged and certain clarifications had to be made in order to facilitate the eventual completion of this paper.

First of all, taking into consideration that the present study focuses on the concept of cosmopolitanism, one can easily comprehend that the intricacy of the idea as well as its different conceptions have been quite a challenge. Taking into consideration the vast academic material, as well as the wide historical background of this worldview, noticeable contradictions had to be acknowledged. In order to overcome this problematic, a reference to the birth and origins of cosmopolitanism was considered essential. Parallel to that, Kleingeld and Brown’s theoretical framework of categorizing contemporary cosmopolitanism (2014) was employed as a principle for the conduction of the research.

Furthermore, since the present study suggests that cosmopolitanism should be a desideratum of this globalized world, the general question should be redirected to whether cosmopolitanism has anything to do with globalization after all (Schmidt et al., 2007). However, as stated by various contemporary scholars (Pichler, 2011; Szerszynski & Urry, 2002) it is actually globalization that has made the turn to cosmopolitanism indispensable and it is in this context of globalization that cosmopolitanism can reach its full potential. Furthermore, as Caterall also maintains:

*Cosmopolitanism is an analogue of globalization, an attempt to find means of bringing order to its apparent chaos.*

(Caterall, 2011, p.342)

As far as the focus on primary education is concerned, this can also be considered as a limitation. Primary education in Greece consists of grades 1-6 and students are approximately from six to twelve years of age. One can, thus, wonder ‘why to examine cosmopolitanism in primary education and not in secondary education where students are more capable of understanding global issues?’. However, cosmopolitan values cannot be instilled overnight. Contrariwise, according to
Nussbaum (1997, p.69) continuous process ready from primary school and preschool is needed in order to create individuals that are truly cosmopolitan.

Last but not least, given the fact that the following research falls under the category of qualitative method researches, it is essential to mention that the findings cannot be representable of any population or generalized (Bryman, 2012). Parallel to that, since the data are analysed qualitatively from the researcher there are chances of subjectivity as well as interpretation from own experiences. According to Rui (2007), the risk of bias is a key problem that should be taken into consideration in comparative studies on education policies.

1.4 Significance of the study

In our flat and changing society, the continuous human relocation as well as the invigoration of nationalistic politics have rendered it essential to move towards to a cosmopolitan ideal providing equity and compassion for all. According to Schmidt, Conaway, Easton and Wardrope (2007) the rapidly altering demographics have resulted in a global discourse on human rights that should be taken into serious consideration. All the above, in connection to the recent discomforting events that have influenced not only Europe but the world as a whole, direct our attention to the upbringing of the new citizens and to the moralization of the education systems.

Greece is one of the European member-states currently facing one of the biggest human waves of our contemporary world. Under these circumstances, the country strives to keep a balance between the interest of the ‘others’ and the interest of its people. Education has to play a crucial role in this part, not only for the integration and acceptance of the new populations but mostly for the creation of a peaceful environment founded upon the principles of equity and compassion. To this end, education policies and curricula should be constantly renewed, responding adequately to the constant social changes. The EU plays a significant role in that, as it is continuously trying to keep track of the education systems of its member-states. However, it should be noted that these studies are conducted by the policy makers themselves.

Bearing in mind all the above, the current research can be a significant contribution to the field of education, by examining education policies and curricula from another angle. In addition, it can be considered significant for the field of
cosmopolitanism, as its manifestations in the different levels of education will be examined.

The multilevel nature of this comparison is also worthwhile to be mentioned at this point. According to Bray and Thomas (1995, p.484 as cited in Manzon, 2007) multilevel comparisons are capable of providing broad and balanced interpretations if used correctly. Accordingly, Alexander (2001, p.511 as cited in Manzon, 2007) has advocated the view that multilevel comparisons that range not only from the individual to the school but also from the school to the national and international levels can give a ‘back and forth’ understanding of pedagogy as the education practice is placed in its local, national and international context.

Last but not least, taking into consideration the global exchanges on education policies it is clear that comparative research in the field of education policy becomes not only relevant but also significant. Quoting Rui (2007), although educational policies travel around the world, their development and application relies considerably on their contextual background. And indeed, policies may be poles apart if placed into different contexts. Bearing in mind this contradiction, comparisons on policy level turn out to be even more substantial.

1.5 Previous research

The purpose of this part is to delineate the background of previous empirical researches regarding cosmopolitanism and educational policies. During the last years there has been exponential growth in research projects dealing with education and globalization that have offered a valuable contribution to the field of cosmopolitanism. Persuasive remarks have been made, for instance, by Steven P. Camicia and Barry M. Franklin (2010). In their research they examine cosmopolitanism and curriculum from two cosmopolitan perspectives, namely the neoliberal and the democratic. Following thorough analysis, the paper concludes endorsing a democratically inclined cosmopolitanism while giving clear recommendations for future research with focus on the interaction of globalization, cosmopolitanism, education curricula and democracy through social justice.

Similarly illuminating was Kyunghee So, Sangeun Lee, Jiae Park and Jiyoung Kang’s (2012) research, who advocated the view that the idea of cosmopolitanism appears as a desideratum of the Korean educational system. As per the authors’
findings, even though Korea has been culturally homogeneous, it has recently started to confront the difficulties of a multicultural society, demanding new cosmopolitan perspectives for the reconstruction of the Korean character. In terms of content examination, the study focuses on the educational guidelines associated with the Korean curriculum, as well as the social studies and moral education curricula. After detailed examination, the paper draws to a close with a discourse on the ambiguities wreathing the cosmopolitan worldview in the Korean education curriculum (Kyunghhee et al., 2012).

Another approach for cosmopolitanism is the making of global citizens as given in Duhn’s terms (2006), regarding the early childhood curriculum, Te Whāriki, in New Zealand. Te Whāriki presents quality in early childhood education as a constructive instrument for a particular type of child. In this article the author outlines the possibilities of interpreting Te Whāriki as a technology of citizenship. Rather than understanding Te Whāriki as a tool for good practice only, the document supports a cosmopolitan pedagogy with the aim of producing the ideal child with the potential to affirm neo-liberal visions of the future global subject.

An additional article that endeavours to examine education policy in terms of cosmopolitanism, nationhood and national identity is this written by Oslera and Lybaek (2014). The article on the account of the Behring Breivik’s July 2011 attacks in Norway, examines education policy from both an extreme right political perspective and a cosmopolitan one, as formed throughout the national and international debates. Furthermore, it concentrates on the evaluation of cross-curricular methods for equity and justice and for tackling racism in multicultural societies, while suggesting a cosmopolitan citizenship education grounded on diversity.

Last but not least, insightful views of cosmopolitanism are also provided by Miri Yemini, Hed Bar-Nissan and Yossi Shavit (2014) in their research on Israeli education regarding globalization, internationalization and cosmopolitanism. The authors begin by acknowledging the tenuous balance between international and national pressures in the school levels. After determining the roots of these pressures in the public school system, the research specifies with qualitative and quantitative data, how global and local procedures affect national curricula, contributing thus to the fields of both cosmopolitanism and nationalism.
1.6 Structure of the paper

The following paper is divided in six chapters that correspond to the aims and objectives set for this empirical research. Chapter 1 is the introductory chapter where the aims, objectives and limitations of the study are clarified. Simultaneously an explanation of why this particular research is of interest is provided. The introduction is followed by Chapter 2 which entails the conceptual and theoretical framework of this research, regarding the concepts of globalization and Europeanization and the theoretical paradigm of cosmopolitanism. Chapter 3 provides the methodology of this research explaining thoroughly the research design, strategy and methods employed. After having set both the theoretical and methodological framework, the paper continues with a thorough but not pedantic analysis of the collected data that is presented in Chapter 4. Following that, Chapter 5 provides a discussion on the key findings employing the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2. Finally, in Chapter 6, the author draws some conclusions on the discussed findings and provides new points of departure for further research.
Chapter Two
Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Globalization and Europeanization as key concepts of the research: opportunities and challenges

Although globalization is one of the most frequently discussed phenomena, several authors accept the ambiguity of its definition and acknowledge its significance in the various academic discourses (Torres, 2013; Singh, 2004). As Burbules and Torres (2000) maintain, globalization cannot be given a clear definition unless the economic, political and cultural terms are taken into consideration. In terms of education, globalization can be seen as a neoliberal process that has emerged through the involvement of international organizations and the development of somewhat invasive approaches for assessment, evaluation, testing and teacher training (ibid.). This means that the globalization of education comes to some extent in conflict with the sovereignty of the nation-states as far as their education systems are concerned.

To this argument, Spring (2014, p.1) represents globalization in education as a “superstructure” of educational policies and practices. Concretely he explains that while nation-states remain responsible for their education systems, they are actually affected by these international procedures, since a plethora of them are willing to adjust their education systems according to these policies in order to become globally competitive. In addition, in order to summarize the current educational trends, Spring introduces the terms “global corporatization” as well as “economization of education” (2014, p.2). Both terms refer to education as an investment for employment and economic prosperity, while focusing on the development of the so called “soft skills” that will increase the individuals’ adjustability to the business environment (ibid.).

Now, regarding the “pros and cons” of this globalizing process, it is understood that no clear conclusion can be drawn. As stated by Burbules and Torres (2000) the positive character of globalization can be understood once the expansion of the human rights and democracy is taken into account. Furthermore, they agree that globalization has ameliorated the living standards for many especially when it comes to travelling and cultural exchange. Yet, this is not the case for everyone. When it comes to the
challenges opposed by these globalizing trends Burbules and Torres (2000) observe that these can expand from social inequality within and among countries to structural unemployment and urban violence.

In the same fashion, globalization can have contradictory effects on education as well. Concretely, according to Burbules and Torres (2000) initiatives supported by global organizations such as education for all, education for peace, eco-pedagogy and so on, cannot be ignored. However, one should also acknowledge the manifold educational challenges that have emerged due to globalization and the global economic interrelationship. As Suárez-Orozco (2007) illustrates, there are five ways in which education has been affected by globalization. First of all, given the wide economic interdependence, there is a general need of regularly keeping knowledge and skills up-to-date while changing working environments time and again. As this is not feasible for everyone, social and economic inequalities tend to emerge requiring immediate attention to equity and quality of education. In addition to that, the facilitation of mobility and cultural exchange demands more complex linguistic knowledge as well as a strong cultural awareness. To this end, global concerns as well as our capacity as “citizens of the world” (p.139) should be enlightened through education. Last but not least, Suarez-Orozco refers to globalization as a process of internationalizing education and specifically higher education, resulting in a notable education-related cleavage between developed and developing countries.

In the recent literature globalization is frequently accompanied by another emerging term: Europeanization (Wallace & Wallace, 2000; Cowles, Caporaso & Risse, 2001; Schmidt, 2002; Dale and Robertson, 2009). While the definition of the term may seem quite self-evident, there has been some controversy regarding its relation to globalization. According to Wallace and Wallace (2000) Europeanization constitutes a regional type of globalization. To strengthen this argument, they argue that both globalization and Europeanization are institutionally reinforced and have not only a strong financial involvement but also an expansionary approach. In contrast to this view, Schmidt (2002) and Cowles et al. (2001) maintain that Europeanization does not have to do with globalization. Concretely, Schmidt regards Europeanization as a vision of the European countries to turn Europe into a new political body. Furthermore, both Schmidt (2002) and Cowles et al. (2001) advocate the view that globalization can be rather destructive for the European countries and Europeanization might as well operate as a safeguard against the pressures imposed by globalization.
Although there are diverging opinions on whether Europeanization has a top-down or bottom-up approach, it is clear that we are talking about an institutionalized phenomenon. As Alexiadou (2014) remarks, the term “Europeanization” in the political discourse is generally associated with the influence of the EU on its member-states’ national policies either directly on a treaty-basis or more indirectly, through benchmarks and guidelines. However, this does not mean that Europeanization is solely tied to its institutions. The EU is just one of the bodies that promote Europeanization, meaning that Europeanization can also take place outside the EU and its institutions. In this context, education rather falls in the second category as it is not Treaty-based. According to Alexiadou (2014) the educational guidelines proposed by the EU should be critically examined. As she explains, in the field of education Europeanization can be understood once the political nature of education policies is recognized. Furthermore, she adds that the “co-constructive” processes between the Union and its member-states should be also taken into account. As the Commission cooperates with its states in the policy making process, policies issued from the Commission are possible to have been initiated from individual member-states, serving thus particular agendas (ibid.).

2.2 The cosmopolitan paradigm

2.2.1 From the Stoics to the 21st century

In an effort to explain what cosmopolitanism as a worldview represents it is advisable to quote Hayden who suggests that cosmopolitanism can be interpreted as “belonging on the part of all individuals in a universal community of human beings as moral persons” (2009, as cited in Andrews, 2012, p.416). Indeed, taking into account its etymology, deriving from the Greek words “cosmos” (world) and “politis” (citizen) one can easily comprehend that the cosmopolitan ideal envisions a community of world citizens where democracy and equality among all prevail. As Papastephanou (2002) also asserts cosmopolitanism can be the primary impetus for cultures and societies freed from false morality and narrow-mindedness.

Cosmopolitanism as a theoretical concept was initially propounded in ancient Greece first by Diogenes the Cynic and short after by the Stoics, who advocated the view that every individual relates to two different communities: the local community and the community of our ethical duties (Nussbaum, 2002). According to them, we as individuals should avoid committing to any government or regime and instead remain
loyal to the moral community, the one that connects all human beings. In order to do so, individuals are not expected to abstain completely from their local attachments nor to regard of them as shallow, but they are expected to appertain first to humanity as a whole. Such an affiliation is fundamental when it comes to the enhancement of profound personal qualities, such as justice and goodwill that the local community develops partway. As Leung also maintains (2009, p.378), the cosmopolitanism of the Stoics occurs as a “political event” based on a “natural law”, that should have the ultimate recognition among individuals.

Although the Stoics were the first to formulate a view regarding cosmopolitanism, it was not until Kant’s “Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch” that this theoretical paradigm gained serious attention. According to Immanuel Kant’s work, human rights as rights of the citizens of the world should be protected by a universal treaty of a cosmopolitan system. Despite the strong political dimension of Kant’s cosmopolitanism one cannot neglect Kant’s moral philosophy and the Stoic influence in it when shaping the cosmopolitan citizen. As stated by Johnson (2014), by posing the question “what ought I do?” individuals can develop deep and long-lasting morality especially regarding equality, respect, sense of duty and autonomy. Adding to that, as Nussbaum aptly complements (1997, p.12 & 2002, p.8), Stoic cosmopolitanism is also evident in Kant’s “kingdom of ends” where the “moral law” is reinforced by the sense of equality and respect as internal motivations of the individuals. This “kingdom” is actualized under universal laws that draw upon the moral responsibility of acting “only on principles which could earn acceptance by a community of fully rational agents each of whom have an equal share in legislating these principles for their community” (Johnson, 2014, section 8). In other words, every member of the wider community behaves according to the principles shared and accepted by the community while being equally accountable for their forming.

Kant’s worldview has been followed by a wide circle of academics throughout the years giving a new boost to the cosmopolitan paradigm with a view to tackle the impact globalization has had on humanity (Appiah, 2006; Beck, 2006; Nussbaum, 2002). This upcoming interest for humanitarian values led to a continuous and profound discussion connecting cosmopolitanism with the majority of the social sciences shedding thus light to its political, cultural and moral dimension (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Despite the diverse facets of cosmopolitanism seen in the contemporary world, Cheah (2006) illustrated that the modern-day cosmopolitanisms agree on the existence
of three fundamental elements. First of all, it is widely accepted that a universal solidarity network should be formed as globalization has dramatically affected the sovereignty of the nation-states. Secondly, there is a general consensus that the current interconnectedness demands new political institutions and organizations that have a global outreach and give a wider sense of belonging and cosmopolitan a solid ground of democratic standards and ethical values that recognize no national borders is required.

Despite the fact that there seem to be clear guidelines upon which cosmopolitanism has been shaped in the new era, it is purposeful to shed light upon the different kinds of cosmopolitanism prevailing at the time being for the facilitation of this research. Taking into account the opinions formed by different scholars of the field there have been various interpretations of this theoretical worldview. According to Kleingeld and Brown (2014), one can distinguish four kinds of cosmopolitanisms: the moral cosmopolitanism, the cultural, the political and the economic. Adding to that, Vinokur and Alexander (2013) acknowledge a fifth kind of cosmopolitanism, the sociological - anthropological cosmopolitanism where cosmopolitanism is regarded as a current sociological state. Given the various conceptions of this theoretical paradigm it is appropriate to make some clarifications regarding their representations, in order to facilitate the identification of the various conceptions of cosmopolitanism in education.

2.2.2 A theoretical framework for classifying cosmopolitanism

Although Vinokur and Alexander (2013) seem to provide a more comprehensive analysis on the different kinds of cosmopolitanism, it is rather complicated to interpret education from the sociological cosmopolitan spectrum, as cosmopolitanism needs to be accepted as an existing social order. For this reason, the classification proposed by Kleingeld and Brown (2014) will be used as a theoretical framework for the development of this empirical research, while the association of the different kinds of cosmopolitanism with education will be also presented.

Moral cosmopolitanism

Among the different kinds of cosmopolitanism, the moral perspective has been the one most commonly debated in the world of social sciences. Moral cosmopolitanism, in a simplified definition of it, grounds on the notion that our responsibility to help others should not be overshadowed by our responsibility to help our compatriots (Kleingeld &
Among all the scholars of moral cosmopolitanism, the most fervent proponent has been Martha Nussbaum who suggested a new cosmopolitan approach to education based on tolerance and openness (Nussbaum, 1996). According to Nussbaum, individuals are expected to regard all humans as part of their community without though putting aside their own cultural or religious identities. In order for this to happen, individuals are simply asked to apprehend the whole world as one entity. In her discussion on cosmopolitanism, Nussbaum envisions a cosmopolitan education that can be realized if students are provided enough space for their vivid imagination especially when it comes to the different. For Nussbaum, students should be exposed to the “different” to such a degree that they can finally comprehend common values and ends not only among cultures but also among different periods in time. Under these circumstances not only would we be able to learn more about ourselves but also pledge our allegiance to the rest of the world. Despite the profound impact of Nussbaum’s work on patriotism and cosmopolitanism, Nussbaum herself changed her views in the late 2000’s stating that an abstinence from our local identity can lead to an unexpected uprooting that can be critical for the individual (Nussbaum, 2008). Bearing this in mind she proposed a so-called “globally sensitive patriotism” that diversifies from the narrow-minded version of patriotism, approaching thus Appiah’s perception of “rooted cosmopolitanism” (2008) and Hansen’s approach of “reflective openness to the new with reflective openness to the known”. (2011, p.1).

**Political cosmopolitanism**

Together with moral cosmopolitanism comes political cosmopolitanism, which has been expressed in various ways, from world-state theories to the theory of “cosmopolitan democracy” (Kleingeld & Brown, 2014). This political paradigm has been strongly influenced by Immanuel Kant and his successors, such as Habermas (ibid.), who advocated the view of a single worldwide constitutional order founded on the principles of cosmopolitanism, with a clear focus on the legitimization of the human rights on a global level. The discourse on political cosmopolitanism has also been associated with global citizenship as well as other transnational theories and has been presented as an answer to the ever-growing immigrant waves and multiculturalism. To be more concrete, Benhabib asserts that citizens of a nation-state should be inevitably welcoming those claiming political asylum as an obligation to their political rights (2004, as cited in Vinokur & Alexander, 2013). When it comes to education, as Vinokur
and Alexander (2013) maintain, political cosmopolitanism can be seen and expressed in the lesson of civics education which promotes societal and political awareness in the local as well as in the global level.

_Cultural cosmopolitanism_
Apart from moral and political cosmopolitanism, another fervently debated side of the cosmopolitan paradigm is cultural cosmopolitanism, especially when it comes to educational curricula. (Kleingeld & Brown, 2014). Cultural cosmopolitanism draws upon the necessity of abstaining from one’s particular culture, while embracing multicultural settings and rejecting nationalism. As observed from Waldron (2003) and Hansen (2011, p.11), cosmopolitanism of this kind can accept cultural attachment of a certain extent for the well-being of the individual but the focus should remain on the intercultural exchange. As seen in the extended bibliography on cultural cosmopolitanism, this ethnic borrowing can be a result of volitional or forced relocation and is manifested as an opportunity for cultural interplay. While for some academics cultural affiliations are permitted and desirable, other proponents of cultural cosmopolitanism emphasize the advantages of high versatility with no cultural affiliations as a response to nationalism (Delanty, 2009, as cited in Vinokur & Alexander, 2013). In terms of education, cultural cosmopolitanism is associated with international education (Gunesch, 2004) and draws upon mobility, cultural receptivity and tolerance to the “other” while underlining the significance of reinforcing the global human rights. In this effort, civics education seems to play a determinant role in the development of cultural cosmopolitanism especially when it comes to intercultural understanding and cooperation.

_Economic cosmopolitanism_
Last but not least, another cosmopolitan view expressed in the social sciences is this of economic cosmopolitanism, which is more prevalent among economists. According to this worldview, a universal economic market where no political influence occurs ought to be developed. Proponents of this theory, such as Haynes and Friedman (Kleingeld & Brown, 2014), envision a free-trade market with open capital movements that would lead to lasting peace among nations. Despite that this sort of cosmopolitanism may sound a lot like globalization, it can be an option for poverty alleviation if understood from the perspective of the “capabilities approach” and combined with moral and
political cosmopolitanism (Hansen, 2011, p.10). In the same way, economic cosmopolitanism in education can be seen in the form of educational programs, designed in order to ameliorate the educational standards in vulnerable groups and areas. However apart from that it can also be interpreted from a more globalized perspective. Papastephanou (2012), for example sustains that this can be a means to align higher education systems internationally and create flexible individuals that can be employable across the globe.

2.2.3 Kantian cosmopolitan education and the global competences

Quoting Cavallar (2015), Kant’s cosmopolitan worldview has been influential to the contemporary pedagogical theories and has been used as a basis by numerous scholars in favour of cosmopolitan education (Nussbaum, 1996; Saito, 2010; Hayden, 2012; Roth, 2012 & 2015). Kant’s cosmopolitan thought on pedagogy, as presented in contemporary literature, draws mostly upon the principles of freedom and autonomy while highlighting the significance of critical thinking (Cavallar, 2015). With a view to comprehend autonomy and freedom in Kantian cosmopolitan terms, it should be clarified that in order to become autonomous and morally free individuals should discover truth through long cognitive procedures, that will result in a “capacity of enlarged thinking” (Nussbaum, 1996, p.10). In this context, autonomy is not something innate but rests with the potential of all human beings to reach a state of autonomy, moral freedom and self-legislation. At the same time, all human beings are asked to respect this common potential (Cavallar, 2015).

In short, Kantian cosmopolitan education has been very aptly summarized by Roth (2015), who considers it as a process of cultivating moral disposition founded on three major principles: 1) Being the source of your own thinking, 2) Enlarging your thinking and 3) Maintaining your freedom. In other words, education should be capable of shaping individuals that can think for themselves and in the position of others while maintaining a consistent way of thinking (Roth, 2015, pp.764-768). In this sense, teaching critical thinking seems to take a more substantial and wider dimension. However, such an objective can be highly debated in the national education policies as emancipation of the mind can be to the detriment of the political body of the society. As mentioned by Cavallar (2015), the conflict between critical thinking and patriotic education can be a good example of this tension. In the hope to achieve this moral
disposition Roth (2015) agrees with Kant in the need of using real examples in classroom. To be more specific, he comments that real, and not solely logical, examples are analogous to our real actions in connection with our moral obligations and can be considered as evidence to how humans conform to these moral duties.

Despite the numerous proponents of Kantian philosophy and its pedagogical dimensions, Løvlie (2012, p.119) observes that the current educational discourse is devoid of Kantian considerations as the general educational objections have been equalized with certain skills and knowledge that can be taught in schools. This can be considered to some extent true, especially if more normative concepts such as the “global competence” are taken into consideration. The global competence is a new but rather emerging concept based on the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes that derive from the cosmopolitan paradigm (Skrbiš, 2014). In an effort to educate for a cosmopolitan future Skrbiš necessitates the development of four sub-competences that go beyond knowledge acquisition. Concretely, he encourages teachers to teach their students responsibility, openness, commitment and compassion (p.8).

Similarly, the competences and virtues that fall under the umbrella of cosmopolitanism and should be taught in classrooms have been also debated by Saito (2010) in his actor-network theory and Hayden in his dissertation on cosmopolitan and moral education. However, cosmopolitan education is again dealt with normativity as concepts such as moral freedom and autonomy are rather absent. Furthermore, while there is comprehensive discourse on which main principles should be emphasized cosmopolitan education, no explanation on how these competences will be nurtured is given. Roth’s approach on the use of examples is exactly filling these gaps on how a cosmopolitan design of education can be accomplished in pedagogical practice.
Chapter Three
Methodology of the research

3.1 Research strategy and design

Given the fact that the current study emphasizes the examination of educational policies from the various cosmopolitan perspectives, the qualitative research strategy was regarded as more appropriate for such an analysis. This choice not only allows the researcher to conduct her study descriptively instead of figuratively but also contributes to a more constructivist interpretation of the social world through the interaction of individuals (Bryman, 2012, p. 380). According to Taylor et al. (1997, as cited in Rui, 2007) policy analysis needs to be guided by a qualitative research approach as it is capable of underlining the diverse contexts policies are formed in.

Regarding the interpretation procedure, the author uses abduction as a form of reasoning since the empirical point of departure derives from the individuals’ explanations concerning the studied subject. To be more specific, as Douven (2011) has explained, abductive reasoning gives explanations a theory-confirming role as the explanatory reflections of the participants test the credibility of some hypotheses. To this end, the interpretation of the findings is inextricably linked with the participants’ perspectives. Although a sort of induction is also implied in this progression, the form of reasoning is abductive as the final conclusions rely significantly on the standpoints of the participants (Bryman, 2012) and not on statistical data (Douven, 2011).

As far as the research design is concerned the study was conducted following the comparative framework for the data collection and analysis. The comparative research design is of significant use in the current attempt since a better understanding of the social phenomena can be achieved through the comparison of two different but interrelated cases. According to Bryman (2012, p.76) when the comparative design is applied in a qualitative research strategy, the research takes the form of a “multiple-case study” and implies the investigation of more than one case. In the present study two cases of educational policy in primary education will be compared, namely the European educational policy and the Greek one. Under these circumstances, the researcher is in a more favourable position when it comes to theory building but the originated conclusions cannot be generalized. However, provided that the context of
comparison will be determined by transnational settings the current research design can also take the form of a cross-national design where the phenomena of interest are examined under different socio-cultural circumstances (Bryman, 2012).

Goodrick (2014) and Lijphart (1975) refer to the above research design simply as a “comparative case study”. The case-oriented nature of the research (instead of a variable-oriented one) engages eventually the researcher to present the contrasting cases in great detail. Furthermore, as Ragin (1987, in Lor, 2011) has argued, such a descriptive and analytic case examination is capable of providing the author with a solid ground for “interpretivist metatheory.

3.2 Sampling method and process

Bearing in mind the qualitative nature of the study, the author benefits from the purposive sampling method for the selection of documents and participants. In this instance the research questions will operate as guiding principles for the selection process and the units selected will have a direct connection to the questions being asked. By applying this method, the author increases her chances of collecting more scientifically relevant data and avoids making generalizations to a whole population.

For the successful selection of documents and participants a common sampling strategy for the qualitative research will be employed, this of sampling in levels (Bryman, 2012). According to this sampling strategy two levels of sampling should first be distinguished -sampling of context and sampling of participants.

3.2.1 Sampling of context

As far as the sampling of context is concerned the researcher aims to examine the relation between the European educational policy and the Greek educational policy and practice. Both educational policies are meant to be examined according to the theoretical framework for categorizing cosmopolitanism and their similarities and dissimilarities will ultimately be expressed.

Education is something that each member-state of the EU is solely accountable for. However, the EU affects the education systems of its member-states with a series of programs and guidelines that are developed to ensure educational progress. In 2009, the Directorate General for Education and Culture (DG EAC) created a new strategic
framework - Education and Training 2020 (ET2020) - set out to tackle mutual educational and cultural challenges. This strategic framework in combination with country analyses and several policy papers constitutes a solid educational proposition from the European side and has to be taken into consideration and implemented by all its member-states (Council of the EU, 2009).

Greece is currently experiencing an intensively transitional period where the economic matters tend to monopolize the public opinion and educational issues are discussed only in terms of finance. According to OECD (2013), even though the crisis raised the value of education, the pressure felt on the public funds for education and especially in primary and secondary education was noteworthy. The EU has had a serious impact in every level of the Greek policy making process not excluding education. As understood the proposed strategic framework demanded an immediate response by the Greek government and adjustment of the educational policies.

Even though comparing and contrasting the whole EU with one of its member states is not something feasible, the reciprocal relation between EU and Greece can make the examination of their educational strategies not only meaningful but also comparable. Given the fact that the EU operates at a multinational level whereas Greece is at the national level, the goal was to examine whether the Greek educational policies align with the European educational policies and propositions as well as the divergences and convergences between these two. Parallel, this comparison was also drawn to the level of the school practice in order to provide a deeper understanding of the gap between policy and practice. Finally, as Manzon (2007) explains, a comparative research as such can be summarized under the term “multilevel comparison” as comparisons expand between the macro- and meso-level.

3.2.2 Sampling of documents and participants

After having specified which contexts will be investigated it is significant to define which documents and participants have been included in the data selection process. The sampling process of documents and participants followed the “generic purposive sample approach” where the criteria of selection were fixed and accepted. In this instance the type of the selected documents as well as the traits of the interviewees were already established and a priori. Since the area of interest for this particular research is the educational policies in Europe and Greece, examined respectively from a cosmopolitan
perspective, documents such as the ET2020 and the national curriculum are of particular significance. Apart from the above, any educational policy document published from either of the EU’s institutions was considered relevant and tested for suitability. As far as the Greek side is concerned, the national education curriculum was the core document for this study, while some parts of the constitution were also regarded as noteworthy and were taken into consideration.

Concerning the complexity of the particular research questions and of the study as a whole, it was purposeful to gather a small but fully conversant sample of participants in order to gain as much explanatory answers as possible. The interviewees chosen were educational counsellors who had extensive teaching experience and now were involved in the educational system from a rather organizational perspective. According to the Ministerial Decision No. F.353.1 / 324/105657 / D1 / 02 (Government Gazette 1340 / 10.16.02) the school counsellors are responsible for supporting the implementation of innovations introduced in education as well as pinpointing the weaknesses of the proposed strategies and proposing solutions. Since the author’s particular concern was to reveal how the Greek side answers to the European propositions and highlight the similarities and dissimilarities between the European and national educational strategies from a cosmopolitan perspective, the school counsellors’ opinions were seen of scientific value, due to their wide professional experience and high level of education. Given the big amount of the formal documents that had to be analysed and with a view to render this research feasible, five school counsellors from the north municipalities of the country were interviewed. As far as the sampling process is concerned, the first two school counsellors were contacted with a “generic purposive sample approach” through the offices of Primary Education. Thereafter, the “snowball sampling approach” was employed and the two interviewees contacted three more counsellors from their network of contacts.

3.3 Research methods

Taking into account the most prevalent research methods for the qualitative research strategy the present research can benefit from a multi-method approach and particularly from the methods of policy document analysis as well as qualitative interviewing.

To begin with, the basic source of data for the current study was a series of formal policy documents deriving from the EU and the Greek state. As far as the
European documents are concerned two policy documents are examined, this of the Council Conclusions on Education and Training 2020 as well as the document on the Key Competences for Lifelong Learning issued by the European Commission. Concerning the Greek level, the national education curriculum was considered as the most relevant policy document. Concretely, as the Greek curriculum constitutes a rather extensive policy document, substance will be given on the general section as well as the sections concerning the subjects of “History”, “Religion”, “Social and Citizenship Education” as well as “Environmental Studies” and “Flexibility Zone”. The author’s intention was to examine these documents from a cosmopolitan perspective and identify convergences and divergences between the two levels. While choosing the amount of documents that had to be selected and analysed the author was guided by Scott’s (Scott, 1990 in Bryman, 2012) four criteria of evaluating documents: authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. As Bryman (2012) maintains the authenticity and meaning of documents deriving by the state is not worth to be argued -governmental papers are perceived as authentic and comprehensible. However, their credibility as well as representativeness can frequently be debated. According to Bryman (ibid.) lack of credibility implies that the document is in other words biased. In governmental papers bias can often be the case but this does not mean that these documents lose their value. On the contrary they become even more intriguing due to the bias they entail. As far as representativeness is concerned, this is an issue that cannot be overcome as easily. According to Trueman (2015) document representativeness can be affected in various ways such as survival or document availability. However, it is still not clear if representativeness should worry a qualitative researcher as no qualitative study intends to be representative and generalizable.

The second research method used was qualitative interviewing, mostly in the form of semi-structured interviews. The role of the semi-structured interviews is pivotal for this research as there is a substantial need of generating thorough and descriptive answers. Since this research is regarded as an interpretative study the interviewee’s understanding is placed on the forefront with an intention to construe the different educational policies from their point of view. Given also the fact that this is a comparative case study it is indispensable that some kind of structure and preparation will occur in advance with a view to achieve better cross-case comparability (Bryman, 2012). The school counsellors’ interviews took place at a place of convenience in a one-to-one setting for the interviewee’s ease. All of the interviews were expected to reply to
some certain questions in order to have compatible results, but the interviewee had the freedom to answer however he/she desired leading the discussion to additional findings. The questions asked had a common format and terminology so as to assure that no misunderstandings would occur from interviewee to interviewee. Bearing this in mind an interview guide (see appendix, pp. 68-69) was made but alterations, concerning the order of the questions or such as going in-depth in a certain topic, were inevitable during the interview. At this point it is apt to mention that the interviewees were asked to address issues concerning both the European and the Greek side as the author wished to see how the participants experience and interpret this cross-national influence and interconnectedness. In order to facilitate the transcribing process and achieve as more accurate data as possible all interviews were recorded.

3.4 Data analysis

For the analysis of the selected qualitative data the thematic analysis method was implemented from a case-oriented perspective. When describing the data analysis as case-oriented it is implied that the viewpoint of the interviewees is being presented as a possible explanation for different phenomena. In other words, as Morrill, Yalda, Adelman, Musheno and Bejarano (2000) have also remarked, it provides an alternative perspective in the interpretation of the social processes. Thematic analysis means that the data, namely the official documents as well as the interviews were divided into themes. A theme can simply be a category relevant to the research questions that offers some kind of theoretical understanding of the gathered data (Bryman, 2012). What makes this category useful is the various codes that are attached to it and seen in the different documents and transcripts. A code here can be an expression or a component that generally recurs in a particular theme. For this thematic analysis two directories of themes (categories) were created, according to the different motifs that occurred after reading thoroughly and processing firstly the policy documents and then the counsellors’ interviews. Special attention has been paid to the features that reappeared in the collected data, the way the interviewees answered to the different questions as well as the missing data.

For the thematic analysis of the EU and Greek policy documents three themes were developed. The first theme analyses how cosmopolitanism is expressed in the target setting level. The second theme concentrates on the proposed key competences
for the future in order to reveal to what extent they promote cosmopolitanism. The third category emphasizes the representations of the national, European and global element in these documents, with a view to understand if they outbalance one another. For the thematic analysis of the interviews, six different categories have been created providing not only a comparison between the European and national education guidelines but also a comparison between education policy making and practice. Accordingly, the themes that occurred concerned:

1) Counsellors’ understanding of cosmopolitanism
2) Ideas regarding the role and goals of education in Greece today
3) Differences between education policy and practice in Greece
4) Differences between the European education policies and the national educational practices
5) Traces of cosmopolitanism in the Greek education policy and practice
6) Counsellors’ perceptions regarding EU policy and its relation to cosmopolitanism

While thematically analysing the data, it was considered meaningful to deploy a computer-assisted qualitative analysis with the help of QSR NVivo, version 10 (2012). The program offered great assistance especially when it came to coding and linking one’s own comments. This procedure ensured that a more holistic approach would be followed as new subcategories came constantly to the surface. Adding to that, minor codes could be added to more general categories and different relationships among codes could be tested.

3.5 Trustworthiness

The evaluation of the study has always been a challenge for the qualitative researcher. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994, as cited in Bryman, 2012) trustworthiness is a major principle when it comes to qualitative research evaluation. For this reason, it is desirable to assess the research’s trustworthiness through the examination of the four following criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability.

With a view to fulfil the first two criteria the researcher had to assure that the study findings were not only credible but in some ways transferable. To begin with, the credibility of the findings was actualized by achieving the acceptability of the results by the interviewees. Once the interviews had been transcribed they were sent back to the
participants for confirmation. Therefore the interviews had a dual use, initially as a tool to triangulate the researcher’s findings of the document analysis and secondly as a primary source of data. As far as transferability is concerned, the author employed the method of “thick description” (Geertz, 1973a as cited in Bryman, 2012) for the description of the European and Greek context as well as the data discussion. As most qualitative researches tend to be confined by the social contexts they study, a detailed description of the aforementioned contexts needed to be given. With this method the researcher provides the readers with a clear guideline for drawing conclusions about similar or dissimilar environments, making thus the findings transferable.

In terms of dependability, all phases of the current research had to be recorded. Since NVivo was used as a tool for the data analysis, the researcher had the opportunity to keep complete records of not only the interviews and documents but also the codes and memos used for linking the various information. These were then reviewed on a regular basis by the author’s supervisor, who guaranteed the quality of the procedures followed. Last but not least, when it comes to confirmability, it is comprehensible that total impartiality from the researcher’s side is rather unachievable. However, the theoretical and conceptual models presented in the previous chapter of the paper have provided strict guidelines for the generation of findings. Moreover, it might as well be enough to say that the author has acted with the best motives and with no desire to deceive the readers of this paper.

### 3.6 Ethical considerations

According to Diener and Crandall (1978, as cited in Bryman, 2012) ethical consideration in social research has attracted a lot of discourse focusing mainly on four distinguished areas: 1) harm to participants, 2) lack of informed consent, 3) invasion of privacy and 4) deception. Despite the fact that these four points somehow overlap one another, they functioned as clear ethical principles that had to be taken into account.

In order to ensure that none of the above would become an issue in the conduction of this research, some additional precautions had to be taken. First of all, it was decided right from the outset that the identities of the participants would be held confidential and unidentifiable. For this reason, the interviewer asked the participants not to refer to any names during the interviewing as they would be recorded. This was quite a significant part of the procedure since their anonymity had to be secured while
recording the interviews. The inquiry was also described as a voluntary procedure and the participants had the right to refuse partaking or continuing with the interviewing at any part of the process. Furthermore, the researcher undertook the responsibility of thoroughly informing all the interviewees about the nature of the research, the content of the interviews as well as their role and rights as participants. Last but not least, in order to avoid any kind of mislead a pilot study was run so as to minimize the chances of deception.

3.7 Pilot study

Given the fact that interviews were applied in this qualitative study it was advisable to conduct a pilot study prior to the official study so as to examine the reactions of the participants towards the questions posed. This has indeed facilitated the detection of any challenging or misleading questions that had been overlooked. Parallel to that the researcher was given the opportunity to set a more accurate time-frame concerning the delivery of the research and the collection of the data for each participant. Despite that, the aim of the pilot study at that point was not to estimate the time schedule of the whole research but mainly to clarify whether the posed questions are somehow offending or deceptive.
Chapter Four
Data analysis and Findings

4.1 The European context

4.1.1 The European Union on Education and Training: a historical introduction

Although every member-state of the EU is in full authority of their educational systems, the EU itself attempts to support its members’ common challenges by developing a joint educational framework. The EU’s subsidiary role on education and training is reinforced by the Article 165 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), according to which the Union promotes quality education and cooperation among its members while simultaneously respecting their cultural and linguistic differences. Regarding the Union’s specific goals, it is appropriate to mention that the EU commits to encourage socio-educational exchange and mobility of students and teachers by developing a European educational dimension (EU, 2008, art. 165).

The EU initially partook in the educational discussion in the mid-1980s with a series of programs that would later on result in the inclusion of both education and vocational training in the European Treaty (European Commission, 2006). Taking into account the various exchange programs (Comett, Erasmus, PETRA, Lingua, FORCE) proposed by the European Commission already from 1986 it is understood that strong attention was paid to the level of cooperation among the member-states of the EU. Parallel to the introduction of these programs the Commission took some further measures in order to strengthen the importance of education and training in the EU. Until 1991 the Commission had submitted several documents as well as three memoranda with an intention to introduce common educational objectives and raise awareness about the member-states’ mutual challenges. In addition to that education and training where also brought to the forefront of the social dialogue where a common approach regarding quality basic-education and vocational training was achieved (ibid.)

The final boost was given in 1992 when education and vocational training where ratified with the Maastricht Treaty and a new framework for European cooperation was introduced (European Commission, 2006). According to the Articles 126 and 127 of the
treaty the Union would have a firmly supportive role to the education and training system of each of the member-states valuing thus their uniqueness. As understood, no common European policy was introduced and no equalization of the national systems was intended. On the contrary this act aimed to enhance the inter-European relations and practices while leaving the national systems in the hands of the member-states.

As understood the 1990s played already from the beginning a very significant role in the fate of education and vocational training. After its introduction in the Maastricht Treaty and given the upcoming wave of globalization education began to be perceived differently. The years 1993-2000 are notably related with the concepts of “knowledge society” and “lifelong learning” which very aptly described both the challenge and the desideratum of that period. (ibid.) The central meaning of these two ideas was that in a production- and knowledge-based community, knowledge should not only be accessible but also updated in a regular basis. For this reason, lifelong learning was introduced as a framework for communal and national development. Parallel to that, additional action was taken concerning the support of people with disabilities, the equal opportunities between men and women as well as xenophobia and racism.

Last but not east, the 90’s work com0es to an end with the signing of the Bologna Declaration in 1999, according to which all European higher education systems had to be harmonized. This new initiative prescribed the simplification and compatibility of higher education degrees for the facilitation of mobility among students and workers. For assessment purposes the Bologna Declaration was to be followed by a series of regular ministerial meetings, known as the Bologna process (Arriazu, 2015).

*The Lisbon strategy and Education and Training 2010 and 2020*

The onset of the 21st century finds EU in quite an ambitious phase inaugurating the era of “knowledge-based economy” (European Council, 2000). As stated by the OECD (1996), this period recognizes knowledge as a key-factor of economic prosperity and highlights the role of technology, information and learning for a competitive economy. At this stage, with a view to increase the Union’s social cohesion, develop its economic competitiveness and enhance its job market the Lisbon European Council sets firm yet necessary objectives to be fulfilled by 2010. As stated in the Lisbon strategy (2000), the central aim of this effort was to “make the Union the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion”. Determined to actualize
this vision, the European society called for modernization and investment on its human force and transformation of the education systems in order to accommodate the knowledge-society (ibid.).

The particularization of the educational goals came in 2002 with the strategic framework for shared educational goals by 2010, introduced with a clear aim to improve education systems of member-states in terms of effectiveness, quality, accessibility and openness (Council of the EU, 2002). However, while a lot of emphasis was given upon the assigned shared goals, their accomplishment was considered rather challenging. To that end, the Education Councils tried to enrich the Education and Training 2010 framework with a series of common denominators for the national strategies that were to be achieved by every member-state. In short these denominators were associated with:

- Individuals’ key-competences for the knowledge society
- Teachers’ and trainers’ qualifications
- Non-formal and informal learning
- Lifelong guidance
- Vocational education and training
- Quality of mobility for educational reasons
- Efficiency in education and training (European Commission, 2006)

Parallel to that, the European Council also acknowledged the significance of numeric indicators as proposed objectives for the year 2010 (ibid.).

The successor of the European strategy 2010 was the Education and Training 2020 strategy (ET2020), which was initiated with new objectives adjusted to the ongoing economic crisis as well as Europe’s rather ageing population (Arriazu, 2015). This new framework sets new strategic goals for 2020 and deals with the above educational areas:

- Lifelong learning and mobility
- Quality and efficiency of education
- Equity, social cohesion and citizenship
- Creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship

Since ET2020 is still operating, it will be one of the key-documents to be examined in the following research.
Historically, although the member-states have experienced an evident intensification of the Union’s involvement in their national educational policies and a diversification of the chosen practices, it is worth mentioning that lifelong learning has continuously been playing a predominant role in the policy-making process. This can be easily interpreted though, as the knowledge-based economy calls for an incessant replacement of competences and qualifications (European Commission, 2006, p.226).

4.1.2 Analysis of the key-documents of the European primary education policy

The unceasing needs created by globalization could nevertheless not be neglected by the European institutions. As seen throughout the historical overview of the European initiatives, the Union has been fervently trying to modernize the educational systems of its member states while adapting its basic infrastructure to the knowledge society. Considering the excessive academic discourse on cosmopolitanism in an international and a European level it is essential to examine some key-documents of the EU on education from a broad cosmopolitan perspective. By this the author suggests that the EU policy documents will be analysed from Kleingeld and Brown’s (2015) theoretical framework of categorizing cosmopolitanism and the different kinds of the cosmopolitan perspective will be pursued in the European documents. Furthermore, since the focus of the present study lies mostly on primary education, the following documents have been chosen with regard to this decision.

In an effort to provide a comprehensive analysis of the European direction on education policy the author recognized the need to examine a series of official papers published from different organizations within the EU. However, given the limitations concerning the length and duration of the paper, some important decisions had to be made. With this in mind, the following material is a result of an in-depth analysis of two documents published by the Education and Culture DG of the EU and the Council of the EU and covers the scope of the ET2020 as well as the key competences for lifelong learning proposed by the Union. For a more comprehensive analysis and a better employment of the theoretical framework, the information provided by these documents is categorized in three themes referring to the aims and objectives of the education systems, the competences proposed for the near future and the representations of the local, European and global component.
When reading the Council conclusions (2009) on education and training for the years to come (ET2020) it becomes evident right from the beginning that education and training are acknowledged as a means to lead our way through globalization and the knowledge society. Adding to that they are also seen as parts of a European strategy which will encourage “personal fulfilment, social cohesion and citizenship” (Council of the EU, 2009). To be more specific, ET2020 has the dual aim of promoting the personal, social and professional accomplishment of all citizens as well as providing employability and sustainable development, while endorsing democratic principles, social unity, dynamic citizenship and intercultural exchange (ibid.)

In connection to this dual aim the EU has also formed four strategic objectives that deal with the areas of quality and efficiency, equity and citizenship, lifelong learning and mobility as well as innovation and entrepreneurship. Within lifelong learning, the EU stresses the importance of mobility around Europe as well as the globe, for both students and teachers. Parallel to that, it poses greater attention to linguistic and mathematical competences as well as the teaching profession. As far as the personal attributes of each individual are concerned, the EU brings into focus their job-related skills as well as their metacognitive capability. Furthermore, with a view to promote the intercultural dialogue, the ET2020 emphasises the respect for democracy and environment and the positive and healthy interaction of all people regardless their backgrounds. Finally, in an effort to make the EU competitive worldwide, the ET2020 highlights the vital role of creativity and innovation for this venture and skills such as digital competence, metacognition and cultural awareness are taken into consideration.

In cosmopolitan terms, this target setting involves elements of different kinds of cosmopolitanism with the most predominant being economic cosmopolitanism. As seen right in the very beginning of the Council conclusions on ET2020, the Council encourages the member-states to be open to the world and understand the strategic goals from a global viewpoint (ibid). That being said, the Council further asserts that one of the European priorities is to make the EU economically competitive worldwide accompanied by a strong human capital with high chances of employability. Economic cosmopolitanism as such can involve a twofold interpretation in the European context. On one hand, if combined with the moral and political perspective, it can be understood as a means to upgrade education systems and entrench equity and quality of education.
among all European citizens. On the other hand, it can also be interpreted as a means to make European citizens flexible and employable worldwide, establishing thus a European sovereignty (Ferry, 2011).

Apart from economic cosmopolitanism, the EU propositions can also be regarded as culturally cosmopolitan. This assumption can be justified once the importance of cultural awareness and mobility are taken into consideration. Cultural awareness comes into play with the help of citizenship education which tends to consolidate in the national curricula, while mobility is being rapidly facilitated in the context of lifelong learning. Last but not least, the development of the cosmopolitan dimension of the EU policies can be also seen through the disassociation of citizenship and nationality.

Developing competences for the future
Apart from ET2020, another similarly important document is the recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning. As these guidelines reappear in a great amount of EU’s official documents on education and have been monitored by a series of Eurydice reports (European Council, 2006; Eurydice, 2012), it was essential to examine them from a cosmopolitan standpoint.

The general reason of developing these common European indicators of knowledge was initially to adjust to the rapid changes imposed by globalization and additionally to meet the necessary requirements for equity and accessibility in disadvantaged populations of the Union (EU, 2007). Their role shall be pivotal both in arranging for a European framework for all those involved into education as well as in assuring that citizens reach their personal fulfilment and member-states receive the best possible support. In short these key competences can be summarized in the following list:

1. Communication in the mother tongue;
2. Communication in foreign languages;
3. Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology;
4. Digital competence;
5. Learning to learn;
6. Social and civic competences;
7. Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship;
8. Cultural awareness and expression.

As stated in the document published by the EU, Education and Culture DG (2007), these key-competences come with a set of knowledge, skills and attitudes that ought to be taken into consideration. Now, this is a highly important dimension of the European proposal as the learners are inquired to develop certain attitudes in order to fully acquire the prerequisite competences. To begin with, the linguistic skills and knowledge should be accompanied by a disposition towards interaction and critical, intercultural dialogue whilst respecting cultural variety. Similarly, competences in mathematical, science and Information Society Technology (IST) imply positive attitudes towards logic reasoning, ethical issues, environment and sustainability as well as collaborative networking and responsibility. Competences such as learning to learn and entrepreneurship are associated with particular attitudes such as motivation, independence and confidence to succeed. Accordingly, social and civic competence as well as cultural awareness emphasise the importance of positive dispositions towards diversity, intercultural cooperation and collaboration, aesthetic expression as well as democracy.

In our pursuit for cosmopolitan indications, the triptych knowledge-skills-attitudes has quite a lot to say. First of all, as highlighted in the first pages of the document, education has the dual task of empowering citizens both socially and economically. That said, it is understood that the EU tries to balance the Union’s economic and social needs by shifting the weight from knowledge and skills to attitudes and vice versa. Furthermore, the triple dimension of knowledge, skills and attitudes has also been identified in the so-called “global competence” which philosophically lies on the cosmopolitan paradigm (Skrbiš, 2014). While a comparison between the global competence and the eight key competences can bring about a range of similarities, some clarifications should be made regarding how these competences lack in genuine cosmopolitan attributes.

First of all, targeting the knowledge society, the Commission proposes a broadening of the necessary knowledge from the local community level to the national, European and finally international especially as far as language learning and social and civic competence are concerned. Despite the fact that the EU has also provided for certain cosmopolitan attitudes to supplement the above knowledge, it has certain deficiencies in creating a clear ethical framework that would appreciate international diversity not only in terms of the community, nation and culture, but also in terms of
political institutions, networks and the world in general with all its divergences (Skrbiš, 2014; Rizvi, 2009). It is also worth mentioning that education should neither be quantified nor concern mainly knowledge acquisition. Adding to that, it has to be ensured that moral and ethical principles are not transmitted and received unconsciously (Nussbaum, 2007 as cited in Skrbiš, 2014). Last but not least, a fully cosmopolitan education policy should nevertheless include the development of key moral values such as compassion, openness (followed by involvement) and responsibility to the “other”, as well as commitment to these ethical values and respect to diversity (Skrbiš, 2014).

The local, the European and the global element

Taking into account the aforementioned knowledge, skills and attitudes, linked with the key competences proposed by the EU, it is comprehensible that the EU suggestions attempt to combine fairly our local affiliations with our European and global responsibilities. To be more specific, there is a general perception that our social and civic knowledge should level up from the local, regional and national context to the European and the international while our skills should involve partaking in community, national and European activities, such as voting. Last but not least, it is clearly stated that one should not only appertain to its local and national identity, but also create a sense of belonging towards the Europe and the EU as well as to the world.

At the same way, cultural awareness implies that the individual is not only aware of the local, national and European heritage but can also place this knowledge to a broad international setting. Parallel to that, it is stated that an open disposition to diversity and other cultures can only be reached after the individual has reached full understanding and appreciation of his/her own culture.

4.1.3 Findings on the European dialogue on education

In a nutshell, European education policies seem to conceal various interests if examined from a cosmopolitan point of view. Taking into consideration Kleingeld and Brown’s categorization of contemporary cosmopolitanism, mostly two types of cosmopolitanism can be identified in the examined European guidelines, economic cosmopolitanism and cultural cosmopolitanism. Although economic cosmopolitanism is more evident, given especially the main goal of the EU to remain financially competitive, cultural
cosmopolitanism is also encouraged through social and civic competence as well as cultural awareness.

Furthermore, from the content analysis it is understood that the EU puts the emphasis on the employability and flexibility of the individual and the proposed key competences are developed to meet exactly this objective. As seen, the eight key competences tend to lend weight to knowledge and skills while the moral dimension of education is marginalized. In addition to that, it is evident that the EU attempts to counterbalance these deficiencies in the ethical and moral level through a set of attitudes tied to each one of the presented key competences. However, it cannot be assured that these attitudes will be produced transversely.

Finally, it can be noticed that in the policy-making level the EU mulls over the international issues. The Union’s intention to keep a balance between the local, European and global dimensions is evident when it comes to the transmission of knowledge and the strengthening of certain skills and attitudes. At the same time though, it is apparent that the individual is encouraged to gravitate towards the local and national level, while not overlooking the European context which his/her country falls in. In other words, there is an emphasis on gradually developing a sense of belonging to the local, national, European and finally global level, prioritizing thus the national and the regional against the global.

4.2 The Greek context

4.2.1 The Greek education system in social and cultural settings

When the discourse comes to the Greek education system it is essential to begin with its administration. The education system, being under the total authority of the Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs, is considered a highly centralized system. The Ministry is divided into regional sectors and directorates and is consulted by the National Education Council (ESYP) and the Pedagogical Institute, which organizes the publishing and distribution of textbooks and curricula (UNESCO-IBE, 2012).

In terms of structure and procedure, the Greek education system entails four levels of schooling:

1) Pre-school education provided both in the public (without charge) and the private (with charge) sector for infants and children until 5 years old;
2) Primary education which is mandatory and lasts 6 years (grades 1-6);
3) Secondary education which is divided into lower secondary (compulsory and lasts 3 years), upper secondary or Lyceum (optional and lasts 3-4 years) and vocational (2-3 years);
4) Higher education which is offered at universities, technological education institutions (TEIs) and other vocationally-oriented institutions (ibid.)

Education in Greece is free of charge in public schools and pupils are given their books in the beginning of the school year for free. Private schools in primary education do exist and charge tuition fees, but are also obliged to follow the curriculum and use the predetermined educational material. As far as the textbooks and the curricula are concerned, their implementation occurs at a national level. Each subject for each year of the education system has its own curriculum, textbook and teacher’s guide that is distributed nationally in the beginning of the school year. The educational framework, aims and objectives as well as some inter-disciplinary activities are provided by the subject’s curriculum and the teacher’s guide (UNESCO-IBE, 2012, p.10). The curriculum that is being applied came into force in 2003 when the new cross-thematic curricula (DEPPS) were introduced with a view to develop a multifaceted approach in learning. Subjects that actualise this venture are mainly the ‘studies of the environment’, social studies and citizenship education’ as well as ‘exploring the natural world’ (UNESCO-IBE, 2012, p.11)

In order to fully comprehend the education system in Greece one has to almost overlook its procedural and structural characteristics and instead delve into the social and cultural context in which it is placed. Taking into consideration OECD’s policy advice for Greece (2011, pp.15-16), it is essential to mention some of the social and cultural factors that shape education in Greece today and are relevant to the aims and objectives of this research. First of all, the Greek society demonstrates a genuine engagement to education especially in the personal and family level as a lot of time, energy and funds are devoted in extra-curricular education services. Furthermore, Greece’s agricultural social and economic background has given rise to a strong local culture that is committed not only to the nation but mostly to the village and the family. The national or local element can also be seen through the pride felt for the Greek history and culture, especially as presented through education and curricula. Constitutionally, Greece is fully engaged to consolidate an egalitarian society based on equity among all while ensuring national unity through a highly centralized government. Last but not least, in the civic and political level, the general population is
characterized by active involvement, not only in the form of voting and demonstrating but also through the higher education student factions that represent the national political parties.

Although the education system finds itself in a phase of modernization and progress, holdovers of a rather traditional and nationalistic era can be still identified in the everyday school life. Generally speaking, taking into consideration Hooghe, Reeskens, Stolle and Trappers’ study on generalized trust and ethnocentrism in European nations (2006), Greece was the country with the most expressed ethnocentrism and mistrust as also seen in Figure 1.

![Figure 1: Generalized trust and ethnocentrism in European countries (Hooghe et al., 2006, p.8)](image)

Adding to that, according to the governmental bulletin regarding the operation of all primary and secondary education school units (2015), procedures such as the morning pray, the national days and the school celebrations as well as the flag raising are mandatory for all schools of primary and secondary education nationwide. The pray is a regular phenomenon, taking place every school day at 8:15 am and is obligatory for teachers, while students can be excluded after parent consent. Even so, students that do not participate are obliged to follow the rest of the class and respect the time of praying. Quoting Tsioumis, Kyridis and Konstantinidou (2013, p. 67) “it can be said that the full exercise of social and cultural rights and the religious freedom of other religious groups
such as Catholic Christians or Jehovah’s Witnesses, is not enough provided.” In addition to that the flag raising is mandatory the first Monday of every month, as well as in the national celebrations. As far as these national celebrations are concerned, all general schools are obligated to be closed on three different national anniversaries and, depending on the location of the school, the local anniversary. These national anniversaries are always accompanied by a school celebration the day before and a disciplined school and military parade on the day of the anniversary. The school celebrations are organized by the teachers and the school administration and students participate either by singing in the school choir or by reading poems and making short dramatizations of historical heroic moments.

4.2.2 Cosmopolitan or ethnocentric? A brief analysis of the primary education curricula

As already mentioned in the above section the Greek education curriculum constitutes a complex and large-scale tool that is divided in sections according to the level of education and the taught subject. That said, in the website of the Pedagogical institute one can have access to the general aims of the curriculum as well as the individual subject curricula and their analytic objectives. For the conduction of this research the author decided to focus mostly on the aims and objectives of the general curriculum as well as the aims for particular subjects relevant to competences such as cultural awareness and critical thinking as well as social and civic competence. With this in mind, priority was given to the subjects of ‘history’, ‘religion’ and ‘social and civic education’. Given also the fact that the curriculum in primary education is interdisciplinary, especially in the early years, the curricula of the subjects ‘environmental studies’ and ‘flexibility zone’ have been also taken into consideration. As in the analysis of the European policy documents, thematic analysis will be also used for the Greek education curricula. Again, the themes will pertain to the same three thematic areas in order to increase compatibility and comparability among the various policy documents.

*Cosmopolitanism in the target-setting level*

According to the Greek constitution, the primary and secondary education is responsible for the harmonic, universal and balanced development of the intellectual and
psychosomatic capabilities of all students, in order to become complete and creative regardless of their gender or origins (Pedagogical Institute, 2003, p.5). Starting from the basic educational principles, the education system in Greece is committed to provide general education for all that is capable of nurturing the pupils’ interests and capabilities, ensuring equity for all students and reinforcing their cultural and linguistic identity in a multicultural society. In addition, education is responsible for environmental awareness, physical, social and mental development as well as sensitization for issues regarding human rights and global peace (Pedagogical Institute, 2003, p.3). These principles are respectively followed by aims that adjust to the main subject as well as to the attitudes, knowledge and skills presented in the DEPPS for this particular subject.

When further examining the general principles of education, it is essential to mention how the reinforcement of the cultural and linguistic identity is perceived, as well as how awareness on issues concerning the human rights can be achieved. As stated in the first section of the curriculum, the current state of multiculturalism both in the national level and in Europe can be considered ‘healthy’ if the dominant traditions are invigorated and cultural diversity among citizens is respected. For this to be actualized, the individuals should be linguistically competent, have a combined historical and cultural awareness and be capable of cooperating in order to reach shared goals. Simultaneously, they should maintain their national and cultural identity through the national, cultural, linguistic and religious education (Pedagogical Institute, 2003, p.4) Apart from the above, schools should be functioning at the suggestion of the human rights, such as meeting others with respect, denouncing discrimination and promoting freedom of thought and expression (ibid.).

Taking these fundamental principles into consideration, one can reach the conclusion that the education system has some moral cosmopolitan inclinations while striving to keep the balance between the national and the global affiliations. To be more specific, the curriculum brings notice to the development of ‘complete’ individuals that have strong ethical values, with respect to humanity and cultural diversity. Simultaneously, it acknowledges the significance of being locally or nationally affiliated and maintaining one’s cultural and national identity. Another thing worth mentioning is that the curriculum also refers to the Greek society as part of Europe and the EU and pinpoints the importance of reform in order to become European citizens (Pedagogical Institute, 2003, p.2).
Developing competences for the future

According to the curriculum, the learning procedure should be organized in such a way that all educational goals are met. Therefore, each subject provides a set of general education goals that consist of knowledge, attitudes, skills and values. After the cross-thematic curriculum was put into force, some of these skills and abilities were strictly connected with certain subjects whilst others were brought to a wider perspective and were thus considered fundamental. These abilities can be characterized as cross-thematic since they were promoted through the horizontal connection of certain school subjects (UNESCO-IBE, 2012) and are described as follows:

- Communication skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing as well as dialogue, argumentation, etc.);
- Effective use of numbers and mathematical concepts in everyday life
- Ability to use various sources of information and communication tools, in order to find, analyse, assess and process information as while following the code of conduct.
- Cooperative skills
- Ability to critically process information, values and views.
- Problem-solving ability developed through the essential strategies of planning, evaluation, giving feedback and counteractive intervention.
- Ability to make rational choices on a personal and community level
- Ability to manage resources (natural, financial, social, etc.)
- Creative thinking and appreciation of art
- Ability to form personal views and make decisions based on the utilization of knowledge and values.

From the cosmopolitan angle, qualities as the above cannot be overshadowed especially when the moral perspective is taken into consideration. Given these points, critical and creative thinking, as well as a set of values seem to play a dominant role in the Greek education system. As stated in the Cross-thematic Curriculum Framework for compulsory education (2003), the values of freedom, democracy, peace and respect for the human rights are fundamental for the development of an intimate understanding of our society. At the same time, it is highlighted that values as such will eventually enable individuals to act as active and responsible citizens in a fluctuating and challenging
society. Although none of these abilities refer directly to cultural awareness and openness towards the ‘other’, it is clear that the curriculum encourages the development of critical and creative thinkers, guided by fundamental global values. To put it differently, this suggests that individuals are enabled to knowingly develop attitudes concerning global peace and mutual respect instead of acting out of habit. Finally, it is worthwhile to mention that the interdisciplinarity of the curriculum has given vent to non-technocratic abilities that aim at shaping well-rounded students and individuals.

Conceptions of the local, the European and the global element

While the general education principles and goals give emphasis on the balancing between the national, European and global level, the curricula and the content of the individual subjects lose unfortunately touch with the European and the global matters.

Subjects such as ‘history’ and ‘religion’ are highly characterized by the national element as students are asked to develop their historical and religious awareness. Under these circumstances, the learning contents become quite ethnocentric and focus almost exclusively on the Greek history and Orthodoxy. According to Tsioumis et al. (2013) Orthodoxy has been acknowledged as the prevailing religion in Greece and stresses that one of the main educational objectives should be the development of national and religious awareness of all Greek citizens. As far as the subject of ‘religion’ is concerned, it is understood that no substantial reference to any other religions whatsoever is made in classroom by the end of the 6th grade. With this in mind, Christianity and the “Orthodox spirituality” are intensively promoted (Tsioumis et al., 2013, p.67) whereas students with diverse religious expressions are basically excluded (Zambeta, 2000 in Tsioumis et al. 2013). In spite of that, significant references to important values and attitudes such as solidarity, equity, love and respect are promoted (Pedagogical Institute, 2003, pp.136-138). In contrary to the subject of ‘religion’, the subject of ‘history’ does refer at some points to other cultures and nations but always under the Greek historical context. Historically, Greece is put in the broader European context in the end of the 6th grade where Greece is discussed under the prism of the 20th century history.

As far as ‘social and civic education’ is concerned, it has to be pointed out that social and civic competence is firstly promoted through the cross-thematic subject of ‘environmental studies’ (grades 1-4) and then reinforced by the autonomous subject ‘social and civic education’ (grades 5-6). ‘Social and civic education’ both in 5th and 6th
grade is almost equally divided in four units representing respectively the citizens’ role in the community, in the nation-state, in Europe and in the world at large. What is striking about this, is that the textbook and curriculum manage to raise important social issues in their international dimension, referring thus to international organizations and our positionality with regard to the international community. Nonetheless, this does not prove that their adaptation in the school reality is just as successful.

In the cross-thematic subject of ‘environmental studies’, studied in grades 1-4, we can observe an opening of the educational content from the local level of the family and the class (studied in the early years), to the national and the European level (Pedagogical Institute, 2003, pp.306-337). Simultaneously there is also a gradual transition from the study of the natural environment around us to the study of the local, national and European civilization. Even so, the subject lacks in providing significant knowledge and awareness in an international level, despite its smooth and insightful progression from the local to the European level. In cases like this, where there is a good potential of reinforcing cosmopolitan values, the subject ‘flexibility zone’ should play an important supplementary role. The ‘flexibility zone’ is a cross-thematic subject that attempts to enrich the educational practices with up-to-date and relevant social issues. In this context, teachers are asked to undertake collective projects from a series of thematic areas, proposed by the Pedagogical Institute (2003, pp.618-619). From the nineteen proposed areas of interest only one is directly related to cultural awareness whereas some of the rest can be integrated in an overall European or global context, if the teachers wish to.

4.2.3 Summary of findings

Summarizing the findings from the content analysis of Greek education curricula, one can conclude that the general goals of the curriculum are to some extent cosmopolitan-oriented, while strongly maintaining its ethnocentric tone. To be more specific, the strong ethic framework in combination with the significance of values and critical thinking express signs of moral cosmopolitanism that are worth mentioning. Furthermore, the general target to educate well-rounded individuals, can also provide a fertile ground for the development of true cosmopolitans.

Positively preoccupied by the general section of the national curriculum, one can easily identify various inconsistencies when the focus is laid on the individual subject
curricula. Taking into consideration the content of the discussed subject curricula, a “monocultural” dimension of education comes to the surface. To be more specific, the knowledge provided in the examined subjects concentrates merely on the national level with some brief references to Europe and even briefer references to the world as a whole, failing thus to make provision for a cosmopolitan education. Moreover, given the density of the curriculum it is understood that a possible overload of knowledge takes place, not allowing the development of critical and creative thinkers. Finally, a rough comparison among the analysed subject curricula shows that only the subject of social and citizenship education can provide some conditions for the development of a global sense of belonging, but again in a very limited degree as the subject is taught only once a week.

4.3 From policy to practice

Having critically analysed the most significant European and national policy documents, it is considered essential to proceed to the analysis of the data retrieved from the interviews with the primary school counsellors, in order to reach a full understanding on how policies are put into practice and whether a disposition towards the cosmopolitan ideal is actually promoted. Although only school counsellors from Greece were interviewed, this analysis cannot be included in section 4.2 as its contents refer both to the European and Greek level through comparison and cross-level analysis.

4.3.1 Interviews with the primary school counsellors in Greece

As far as the background of the interviewees is concerned, the primary school counsellors of this study have more than twelve years of experience as teachers and more than four years of experience as school counsellors, whereas two of them have also worked in the position of the principal. From the answers of the school counsellors six thematic categories were developed in accordance with the aforementioned aims and objectives.

Counsellors’ understanding of cosmopolitanism

Asking the school counsellors what cosmopolitanism can possibly suggest was one the most challenging questions of this empirical study, as some of them had never heard of the concept before whereas others were somehow familiar with it but could not really
pronounce upon it. The Greek etymology of the word made it, of course, easier for them to reach a general understanding of this worldview. Their eventual explanation could thus range from “a mutual interaction and communication between nations and states in the European level and worldwide” to “acting as citizens of the world, promoting equity for all”. Considering their perceptions on how our local and national attachments will see eye to eye with our global obligations, there was a general consensus that our national and cultural identity should not be overshadowed. Concretely, one of the counsellors stated:

“I wouldn’t consent to any kinds of cosmopolitanism if I were to dispatch from my local and national identity. I can’t think of myself committing to the world if I am not capable of appertaining first to the level that is nearest to me, namely the local and the national. To clarify my reasoning, I think we should see ourselves as a cluster of concentric circles. The smallest circle is the individual, opening up to the near family, neighbourhood, community, city and so on. In order to get attached with the last one, namely the world, it is essential first to get attached with the ones that precede it.”

This reminds us a lot of the Stoic reasoning of pledging our allegiance to the outer circle, as described by Nussbaum in her “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism” (1996). As in the interviewee’s explanation, the individual constitutes of concentric circles, among which the outer circle represents humanity. However, for the Stoics our obligation is to “draw the circles toward the centre” (Stoic philosopher Hierocles, 1st-2nd CE, as cited in Nussbaum, 1996, p. 9). In this way, we make all humanity more like our compatriots, while allowing our special identifications to determine parts of our identity. Yet the participant uses the same example contradictorily and emphasizes the importance of firstly understanding our own individual context in order to appertain to the world as a whole. In connection to the above statement, another interviewee remarked that the development of world citizens can be especially beneficial for individuals that come from nation-states that appeared and evolved in the later history. An example that he mentions is the American civilization that post-dates by far the European. Adding to this argument he says:

“The notion of the citizen of the world can contribute significantly to nations and states that emerged subsequently and lack in historical and cultural background in comparison to others. It can create the notion that all contemporary civilizations are together and determine one another. For example, nation-states such as China, Greece or Syria will unavoidably have to side-line elements of their own culture in order to succeed in
creating citizens of the world. Accordingly, the most predominant
European cultures will have to lose some of their characteristics in order to
become a part of the European culture.”

Another view expressed about cosmopolitanism had to do with its criticism. One of the
participants observed that multiculturalism in Greece, and especially in cities as the one
she lives, is a late phenomenon that intensified the recent years. This comes in contrast
with many European countries that have experienced big scale immigrations and have
cultivated elements of cosmopolitanism. According her view, being “cosmopolitan” in
Greece has a lot to do with having the means, the financial capacity as well as the
knowledge and socioeconomic status, to travel and gain experiences. Quoting Vertovec
and Cohen (2002), this refers to one of the most predominant criticisms on
cosmopolitanism and, historically, this has been to some level true. However, as
Hannerz notices (1990, as cited in Vertovec & Cohen, 2002) there is a clear distinction
between the solely “globally mobile people” and the true cosmopolitans: the
engagement and disposition to the world as a whole.

While each participant perceived cosmopolitanism in a diverse way, there was a
general consensus when asked about the personal attributes that should characterize the
“cosmopolitan”. As they mention, the citizen of the world should be open to the “other”,
respectful and compassionate. Parallel, he/she should be aware of his/her positionality
in place and time and have cultural awareness. All of the participants agreed that the
“cosmopolitan” should not be put aside his/her local and national affiliations, but on the
contrary respect the fact that everyone has a different background. Some of the
counsellors also referred to the contribution of critical thinking in the shaping of critical
and responsible world citizens.

_Ideas regarding the role and goals of education in Greece today_

Regarding the current role of the school, all school counsellors agreed upon the
significance given to “learning” as a procedure of “knowledge transmission”. In
connection to that, all of the counsellors commented on the extensive reading material
for each subject and the teachers’ desperate efforts to reach all the particular objectives.
Quoting some of their answers, they concluded that the central focus lies on knowledge
regarding the mother tongue as well as mathematics, whilst any other activity has a
subsidiary role. According to one of the counsellors, digital competence and language
learning are also pursued at school. “Howbeit”, she continues, “competences as these are rather developed in extracurricular activities.”

Some of the interviewees made also a reference to the humanitarian role of education, as presented in the target-setting part of the curriculum. While one of the school counsellors accepts that the “Greek education system has a humanitarian approach, that shapes standards of contend that had to do with humanitarian values” others suggest that the “social and humanitarian competences are not being developed as much as their skills and knowledge” and that “sensitization happens only in reference to environmental matters as well as to issues concerning racism and gender inequality”.

When asked about what the role of education should be like today, there was again a general consensus that educational goals should turn to social sciences and find ways to teach students how to discover and learn on their own. As one of the counsellors stated the role of the school should be humanitarian in practice providing students with all the necessary values and strategies to help them discover, understand and learn on their own. In her opinion this would lead to the cultivation of critical citizens, instead of passive and submissive. Agreeing to that, another participant complements:

“Ultimately, children should learn to learn and schools are responsible for providing them with a competence as such. And secondly it should teach them how to cooperate. These are two extremely significant skills. Knowledge is everywhere. And for that the teacher should have the facilitating and supportive role of teaching children how to use, trust and evaluate information and knowledge.”

Differences between education policy and practice in Greece

“You will be surprised by the nature of the primary education curricula nowadays. They have been modernized to a great extent especially as far as certain ethical values are concerned. However, this needs to be seen critically.”

Similar statements were made by the other school counsellors when the discussion shifted to the convergences and divergences between the Greek education policy and practice. Among their different views, the perception that “the current education policy is too ambitious and overwhelmed” was the most predominant. Commencing from this, the interviewees placed further focus on different aspects of the educational process and school life that were quite illuminating.
To begin with, all of the interviewees agreed that the education system, as it is, does not leave room for alternative activities and projects proposed by the teachers. As the teaching material is far too exhaustive all teachers strive to meet the goals set for each class and subject every year. Furthermore, everyone noticed that this saturation of teaching material does not allow the development of “explorative activities” as well as the “joint formulation of the teaching material”. Adding to that, one of the counsellors advocated the view that education policy making does not address the “oddments of conformism, such as the ringing bell in between breaks and the fact that all primary education children in Greece are having a spelling exercise at 8.15 am, for example…”

And indeed, as expressed by another counsellor, the two first teaching hours are as a rule dedicated to the teaching of the mother tongue whereas mathematics or science are usually scheduled for the third hour. These subjects are mostly taught in the beginning of the school day, when the students seem to be more productive, as they are considered as “high-priority subjects”. Among the subjects of our particular interest, namely history, religion and social and civic education, history is unanimously regarded as “a more prioritized subject”. In the same fashion, divergences can be found in the teaching processes followed inside the classroom, according to the participants’ views. It is generally admitted that the books and curricula are designed in order to facilitate “collaborative learning” and “cooperative teaching methods”. However, this has not totally been the case as “the teachers keep noteworthy resistance”.

As far as the promoted knowledge, skills, attitudes and values were concerned, the counsellors agreed that competences such as critical thinking and imagination that are vividly promoted through the education curriculum, are not developed “due to the structure of the textbooks and the applied teaching methods”. Furthermore, one of them commented that “imagination and creative thinking grow weaker as we move up the primary education ladder, since the learning procedure and material become more mounted.” Agreeing to that, another remarked that schools try to abolish genuine critical thinking and imagination and reconstruct them in a way to serve its purpose. “The system needs youth that abide by the rules”, he comments. Simultaneously, another incapacity brought to the surface was this concerning skills of metacognition.

“Although on policy level the system emphasizes on the importance of metacognitive skills, students don’t succeed in developing them. And here comes an example: students are not capable of fully comprehending the different concepts in math and science as no transverse processing and
understanding of these ideas occurs. This means there is a general dysfunctionality in the conceptual unpacking of different meanings. Adding to that, the vast amounts of knowledge available in schools today demand a continuous feedback and evaluation that is not being offered.”

*From the European policies to the national educational practices*

When asked about the influence of the EU in the national education system, participants expressed different opinions regarding the extent of this influence. Yet they all agreed that the EU is going to be more influential in the years to come, as “we are asked to catch up with the other European countries”. Connecting to that, one of the counsellors very aptly pointed out that this is an example of “borrowing”. According to him, there seems to be a general need of adopting and integrating elements from other European countries to the Greek education system, in order not to be deprived of the educational advancements seen in the other European member-states.

Additionally, another interviewee observed that the European instructions are mostly visible in higher education, especially after the implementation of the Bologna process. In primary education the EU concentrates mostly on the accomplishment of certain goals and cultivation of specified skills, which has resulted in an overall intensification of education. “Skills and not *paideia*”, she adds giving also an explanatory example: “In the subject of the modern Greek language, for example, this happens through the use of clearly functional texts.”

As far as EU’s key competences are concerned, the counsellors remarked that in practice only some of these competences are cultivated while others are almost abolished. There was a general unanimity that linguistic and mathematical competences as well as cultural awareness are currently cultivated at schools, whereas learning to learn and the social and civic competence are poorly developed. As mentioned by all participants, there has also been a turn towards the world of information and technology. Yet the digital competence is mostly developed by “extracurricular activities”. Considering entrepreneurship and initiative, all participants agreed that no significant progress has been seen regarding these competences. Some of them also commented that “the development of initiative is mainly down to the teachers’ methods and approaches”.

Commencing from the above, the counsellors unanimously agreed that there has been an opening overseas the last five years and mobility is encouraged especially in secondary education. To some extent, this has to do with the tense economic
relationship between Greece and the EU. Furthermore, certain participants also expressed that the competence of metacognition constitutes a contemporary educational challenge and that it demands an immediate transition to more “child-centred approaches”.

*Traces of cosmopolitanism in the Greek education policy and practice*

After having had a general discussion on the nature of the Greek education policy as well as its convergences and divergences between the European policies and the current national practice, school counsellors were asked to identify signs of cosmopolitanism in the national education policy and practice. In overall they asserted that slight efforts are being done in order to cultivate the intercultural dialogue at schools. This is actualized through projects for diversity, human values, immigration and peace. There are also national and European programs, such as exchange or extracurricular activities that aim to sensitize both students and teachers to social issues. In this context, one counsellor observes that the majority of these programs are, nevertheless, more Europe-oriented than globally oriented. Simultaneously, another interviewee pinpointed that the dialogue on diversity is well into the classroom, but it depends greatly on the practices of the teacher.

In addition to that, it was also noted that the European directions have contributed to the penetration of some cosmopolitan ideals in education. The discourse on human rights has also become meaningful, given the current migration wave. However, as a counsellor concludes, the education curricula and textbooks are so saturated that they do not allow the teachers to adjust their material to the socio-political events and the children’s needs.

Whilst some steps seem to have been made towards the cultivation of some cosmopolitan values, the scene changes when the discussion shifts to the examination of particular social and humanitarian subjects, such history, religion and social and civics education. As far as history is concerned, there is a common opinion that the subject of history is repetitious throughout primary and secondary education, concentrating merely to the national history and slightly the European, as well as that the textbooks are deficient and need reconstruction. Concerning the history textbooks one of the counsellors stated:

“For the learning of history, the manual proposed by Mrs. Repousi aimed to initiate students into the international community and simultaneously
cultivate historical awareness. From my point of view, it was a very progressive tool in terms of methodology as students could place themselves in the global community. Now, in the current state students have no connection with the global frame and teachers are not in a position to make strong interconnections. A piece of advice I personally give to teachers is to narrate history backwards, to begin namely with the current historic and global context.”

At this point, it has to be explained that the aforementioned textbook, the textbook of 6th grade in 2006, was withdrawn from schools short after its distribution since it was considered as anti-national from politicians, teachers and parents. The point of the counsellor here, that students should be aware of their positionality in the world as a whole has also been expressed by Rizvi (2009, p.264) who argued that cosmopolitan learning should not be confined by the boundaries of the nation-states, as in multiculturalism. On the contrary, students should “come to terms with their situatedness in the world”.

Regarding the subjects of religion and social and civic education, participants were less descriptive as there seems to be a clear orientation in both of these subjects. For the subject of religion all interviewees agreed that it is Orthodox-centred, without giving vent to understand other religions. Even so, there is an effort to help students understand religion as a need of the human existence. As far as social and civic education is concerned, there was an agreement that the textbook for this subject is practically the only handbook that gives an opportunity to approach the social world outside the borders of the nation-state. Another participant mentioned also the subject of geography where students had the chance to discuss about world geography in the last lessons of the 6th grade.

Finally, when asked the general question of how they would characterize the current education system in terms of cosmopolitanism, counsellors gave varying answers. Their answers waver between ethnocentrism and a balance of patriotism and cosmopolitanism. As they all remarked, the Greek education system has been highly ethnocentric the past years and it is currently undergoing a transitional phase. Apart from that, they all concluded that in the national level moral cosmopolitanism is more apparent in education policy and practice, with some signs of cultural cosmopolitanism. Nonetheless they all admitted that certain discriminations do exist. Concretely, one participant observed that schools aim to integrate minorities without encouraging
genuine cultural interaction. In addition to that, another interviewee posed an arguable question regarding the morning pray:

“The problematic with the morning pray is what we do for the foreign students. Seeing we want to be able to express ourselves religiously, we should also make sure they can do the same, find some elements that will make them feel better.”

Considering political cosmopolitanism, another participant asserted that primary education aims firstly to create citizens, not global citizens. However, this happens to a limited degree, and becomes even more limited in secondary and upper secondary education. “Understandably, we don’t only fall short in creating citizens of the world, but also in creating just citizens.” He further comments that the social and civic competence is rather developed outside the school, in evening activities. In the same way, belonging to Europe as a whole is mostly cultivated by other factors such as music, sports and football as well as fashion. Last but not least, he adds that the system encourages this aesthetic and cultural exchange but also tries to contribute to some extent by developing the moral and the ethical aspect of its students, but not the political.

Counsellors’ perceptions regarding EU policy and its relation to cosmopolitanism

School counsellors generally advocated the view that the EU policy on education promote cosmopolitanism, aiming to relieve the schools from the nationalistic character of the system. This can be seen by the several projects initiated by the EU with a view to encourage the intercultural dialogue and the humanitarian aspect of education. In spite of that, they are sceptical when it comes the particular goals and interests of EU.

To be more specific, one of the participants expressed the opinion that the EU education policy focuses mainly on technocratic competences that will enhance of the individuals’ flexibility. Further she explains that there is a general interest for adaptability skills throughout Europe which has caused an intensification of the education systems that should not be neglected. This belief seems to come in agreement with Roth and Papastephanou’s view (2012) regarding the goals of the EU to render human beings not only movable and flexible but also employable, competitive and morally engaged with the EU citizenship.
Furthermore, as stated by another interviewee, the expansion and domination of the EU can be interpreted from two different perspectives as far as our cultural orientations are concerned.

“On one hand, I really applaud all the different European projects concerning racism, equity and cultural awareness, but on the other hand I don’t know whether and why we should leave behind our elements of uniqueness. We don’t know what is in the minds of the policy-makers and I don’t regard globalization as a positive feature, especially considering the financial situation in our country”.

With this in mind, it is understood that the cosmopolitan nature of the European policies is rather dealt with scepticism, given not only the latest educational guidelines but also the present-day socio-political events.
Chapter Five
Discussion of findings

5.1 Multilevel comparison between the EU education policy and the Greek education policy and practice

After the analysis of the education policy documents in both European and national level, as well as the examination of the counsellors’ viewpoints, it is essential to devote this section for the discussion and connection of the findings. The comparison that will follow is a multilevel comparison that involves the macro-level of multinational educational policy and the meso-level of the national policy and practice in primary education. According to McNess (2004, as cited in Manzon, 2007), this procedure of processing information through the multinational and national context is capable of clarifying needs experienced in the local level as well as in the micro-level of primary school practice.

5.1.1 Comparing primary education policies

The thematic analysis of the EU policy documents and the Greek national curricula illuminates the needs emerged from the consequences of globalization. Both educational policies acknowledge the globalized reality and try to adopt a cosmopolitan-oriented education policy, yet in different contexts. With regard to ET2020 and the eight key competences promoted by the EU it is understood that the Union pursues mainly an economically cosmopolitan Europe. Flexibility, mobility and employability are three characteristics that recur in the educational policy documents and show that the EU prioritizes her financial future, making its citizens employable and competitive. To ground this argument, it is also needed to refer to the annotation made by two of the school counsellors presenting the European interference to education as an enrichment in skills and not “paideia”. Finally, arguments as the aforementioned have also been supported by Roth (2010; 2012) who highlights that the EU is not only inclined to serve the market of the knowledge-based societies but also strives to gain the full commitment of its members-states.
In contradiction to the European direction, the Greek national curriculum tries to balance this technocracy of knowledge and moral deficiency by paying attention to the ethical development of individuals through a set of progressive general educational goals. At this point, we can distinguish elements of moral cosmopolitanism, such as respect for diversity and engagement to the human rights. Furthermore, as stated in the first section of the national curriculum the aim of education should be the development of well-rounded individuals, critical and creative thinkers. Now, creativity and innovation are two traits also promoted by the EU, but in a totally different context. In the European policy innovation and entrepreneurship are substantial for the social and financial advancement of Europe as well as its global competitiveness, whereas in the national context critical and creative thinking are important qualities for our capacity as citizens. As also stated by the school counsellors, the national curricula do attempt to bring the “humanitarian character of education” into focus.

Despite this disproportion of economic and moral cosmopolitanism between the European and national context, there seems to be some convergence as far as cultural cosmopolitanism is concerned. Both educational policies tend to encourage intercultural dialogue as well as appreciation of cultural diversity, awareness of our cultural heritage, cultural expression and mutual exchange. This is also reinforced by the different European mobility programs, which are willingly implemented in the national context. Furthermore, the counsellors commented that the current curricula aim to increase the use of collaborative teaching methods, enabling thus cultural interaction inside the classroom.

Concerning how our capacity as members of the local, national, European and global community is presented in education policy, it can be said that in the European and Greek context this capacity is perceived differently. Taking into consideration the content analysis of the European guidelines, one can comprehend that certain competences such as cultural awareness and social and civic competence emphasize equally all levels of identity while acknowledging the importance of associating first with the local and national context and then proceeding to the higher levels, the European and then the global. However, already from the target setting of this educational policy it becomes clear that the EU sets these goals with a view to maintain its competitiveness in the knowledge-based economy.

Whilst educational policy in Europe seems like a “catch-22”, the Greek education curricula seem to vacillate between “ethnocentrism and Europeanism”. As
seen in the thematic analysis of the subject education curricula, there is no significant reference of our positionality in the world as a whole, whereas there seems to be a rudimentary annotation to our positionality in Europe and the EU. Furthermore, as the school counsellors mentioned, the Greek educational system has been highly ethnocentric and is currently undergoing fundamental transitions. It is, thus, understood that efforts are made to depart from this nationalistic ideology and enter the next level, namely the European, in order to reach the last one, namely the global. The same view regarding the “ethnocentrism and Europeanism” of the Greek education was also advocated by Faas (2011), who conducted an empirical study examining the national curricula of history, geography and social and citizenship education.

5.1.2 Comparing the European policy and the Greek education policy and practice

After comparing the European education policy with the Greek one, it is essential to delve into what is being done when it comes to education practice. The previous comparison illustrated that the European and Greek policies diversify in their directions towards cosmopolitanism, raising thus questions regarding the development of young students. To understand what stimuli are provided by education in terms of cosmopolitanism nowadays, it is essential to take into consideration the interviews with the school counsellors as they provide an insightful projection of the Greek education system in practice.

Beginning with the influence of the EU policies, it is generally understood that education has been intensified. This phenomenon appeared as a result of the need to respond to the knowledge-based economy and is visible in primary education practice in the form of prioritizing skills and knowledge instead of attitudes and values. Concerning these skills and knowledge, there seems to be a clear focus on the linguistic skills whereas other significant attributes have been put aside. Parallel, some noteworthy attention is being paid to the key competences proposed by the EU as a new interest towards IST and metacognition has been expressed. While examining the context on which these key competences have been developed, one of the interviewees very aptly remarked that Greece is expected to “catch up with the other countries” and that the Greek students should not be deprived of the progress made in the rest of the European countries. In terms of cosmopolitanism, this can be a possible interpretation
of how economic cosmopolitanism enters the national educational curricula and comes into practice. As expressed by Hansen (2011, p.10) economic cosmopolitanism, if understood in terms of the “capabilities approach”, can contribute to a positive borrowing among countries. Similarly, as Vinokur and Alexander state (2013), economic cosmopolitanism as such can be actualized through educational programs that aim to upgrade the education systems of not similarly developed countries.

While economic cosmopolitanism might have a dual interpretation, the systemization and intensification of education has had a one-way impact to the national education system. To be more specific, from the findings of this study there is a general agreement that education practice does not represent the overall humanitarian aims expressed in the national curriculum as the textbooks and the concrete subject curricula are knowledge-saturated. Bearing this mind, it is understood that there is no space and time for both the teacher and the student to jointly formulate the reading material. As a consequence, critical and imaginary thinking are not adequately developed.

If this is accepted as true, then we can reach the conclusion that the moral cosmopolitan values promoted through the national curricula do not actually reach the classroom to the extent they should, in order to develop critical citizens. In the same way, the skill of metacognition is also inadequately processed at schools due to lack of time for re-evaluation. All these, in connection with the “monoculturality” of specific textbooks such as the history and religion textbooks, do not develop sufficient incentives that will allow the students to think in a more cosmopolitan manner. Even though counsellors accepted that the system pursues students’ sensitization on global matters, there is not enough space for this in practice.

Despite the fact that the instilling of these moral cosmopolitan values may not be as successful in primary education, it is worth mentioning that ventures towards a cultural cosmopolitan realization are being made, especially through teachers’ mobility, as well as several projects of intercultural exchange. A good example of this are not only the European programs that are integrated occasionally into schools, but also the emerging dialogue on human rights and cultural diversity that is taken into serious consideration by everyone.

Last but not least, commencing from the above argument on cultural cosmopolitanism, a short annotation should be made to one of the counsellors’ comments on the aesthetic development of cosmopolitan interest. As he accepts, schools reproduce the students’ personal interests concerning music, art, sports and even
fashion, and this can constitute a means of promoting a cosmopolitan dimension. However, quoting Chalcraft, Delanty and Sassateli (2016, p.126) a cosmopolitanism as such should not be confused with moral or political cosmopolitanism as it is devoid of moral and political considerations. According to Hannerz (2005) aesthetic cosmopolitanism is often mistakenly confused with cultural cosmopolitanism. Nevertheless, he asserts that while the latter aims to develop openness to cultural diversity, the former emphasizes a more consumerist and cosmetic openness to the world. Conclusively, as Urry comments aesthetic cosmopolitanism is cosmopolitanism as a tourist experience (1995, as cited in Chalcraft et al., 2016, p.126).
Chapter Six
Conclusions

6.1 Working our way towards cosmopolitanism

All things concerned, the current research has tried to illuminate whether and how cosmopolitanism penetrates education policy making in the transnational, national and local level by examining the European and Greek education agenda. To be more specific, a qualitative multilevel study was conducted with a view to critically analyse the European and national policy documents that form the education system in Greece nowadays. In addition, five school counsellors were interviewed and asked to compare the European guidelines, the national policies and the school practices. As the abductive reasoning has been employed, their considerations were used as an explanation to the questions posed in the beginning of this research.

The connection between the EU and cosmopolitanism is an ambiguous one, especially when it comes to education. According to Rumford (2005), even though the EU is identified as cosmopolitan entity due to the transnationality of its decision making process, no references to cosmopolitanism have been made in the European official documents and no self-identification as a cosmopolitan entity has ever been expressed. Parallel, he adds that scholars of the EU have not been influenced by the emergence of cosmopolitanism, but on the contrary a lot of emphasis was given on the notion of European citizenship. The findings of this research can partially support an argument as such, especially if the lack of the moral cosmopolitan dimension in the EU documents is taken into consideration. To make myself clear, the EU is highly economically inclined even in education and this is obvious in the target-setting of its policies which lacks in moral incentives. Cosmopolitanism can be thus perceived only under its economic definition. Of course, this is just a possible explanation in cosmopolitan terms and not the inevitable truth. Eventually, the EU may have nothing to do with cosmopolitanism after all.

Similarly, in the national level educating for nationalism or cosmopolitanism seems to constitute the most debating question. Taking into consideration how transnational interactions have destabilized the foundations of the nation-state (Beck, 2000), several ambiguities can arise concerning which pathway education systems
should follow. In the case of Greece, education curricula tend to express exactly this recognition as cosmopolitan values try to balance out the more ethnocentric ones. In this sense what is revealed is a kind of moral cosmopolitanism that attempts to reach a compromise with the still existing nationalistic character of Greek education. In terms of curriculum, school counsellors very aptly explain that a more humanitarian approach is being cultivated with a view to counterbalance the neoliberal European pressures. This is mostly evident in the general goals of the primary education curriculum. Apart from that, European and national policies seem to be on the same page regarding some kind of moderate cultural cosmopolitanism, as cultural receptivity and ethnic exchange are encouraged likewise.

In the level of educational practice, the collision of the national and transnational interests has resulted in an intensification of education causing thus its failure. The vast amounts of knowledge, in combination with the hyper-analytical curricula and textbooks result in a merely knowledge-oriented education that is deficient of cultivating fundamental moral values. In this context, cosmopolitanism, or at least some aspects of it, is quite far from its realization. Simultaneously, as expressed by the school counsellors the Greek education system has of late been highly nationalistic. It was just recently when the education system and its curricula began to open out to the broader European and global society due to globalization and the need for intercultural relations. However, this does not mean that the scene in education has changed dramatically as national propaganda is still quite evident.

While moral incentives are not provided to a sufficient degree in order to cultivate true cosmopolitans, one of the counsellors very aptly explained that a more aesthetic aspect of cosmopolitanism can be seen in schools. In the umbrella of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, the participant includes activities of cultural interplay that concentrate on aesthetics and art, such as music, fashion, sports and so on. Now, this is an important explanatory consideration as it demonstrates that procedures of cultural interaction should be examined critically since not all of them are as deep and meaningful.

That said, challenges as the above illustrate that the pathway towards cosmopolitanism in education will be thorny. Despite the fact that human rights are repeatedly at stakes, moral cosmopolitanism has not attracted the attention it should, especially when it comes to nation-states such as Greece. Seeing that the need for cosmopolitan education has become indispensable, some recommendations should be thus made. First of all, according to the counsellors’ views, criticism on
cosmopolitanism has a lot to do with the individuals’ affiliation with its local and national background. As seen through their statements, the fear of losing their identity is stronger than their need and willingness to become citizens of the world. With this in mind it should be reminded that cosmopolitanism does not presuppose that individuals’ national identity will be threatened.

In addition to that, there has been a broad circle of scholars (Nussbaum, 1997; 2002; Vinokur & Alexander, 2013; Hayden, 2012; Roth, 2015) highlighting the significance of cosmopolitan education and proposing several theoretical frameworks towards its actualization. These viewpoints should play a fundamental role in the development of new education policies and curricula that will encourage cosmopolitan thinking. Commenting on that, the school counsellors have also agreed on the fact that the national curricula and textbooks should be the first elements to be changed in order to achieve such a lofty goal, whereas teacher education would also have to play a significant role. As Mayer, Luke and Luke (2008) maintain teacher education is gradually localized, complying merely with local as well as national curricula and evaluation methods. This can be also seen in reality as, according to one of the interviewees, teachers tend to show resistance to anything new bursting in their school routine nowadays, including pedagogical methods and material. To that, Mayer et al. suggest that teachers should be flexible and capable of moving from the local to the global and vice versa. To this end, teacher education should be founded on moral cosmopolitan values, encouraging simultaneously the development of critical and imaginative thinking and the cultivation of openness to the world.

6.2 Suggestions for future studies

In a nutshell, this research concentrated on the examination of the European and Greek national education policy and practice from a general cosmopolitan perspective. In terms of content, as the general focus was laid on one European country, it would be of great interest to conduct analogous studies in other European countries. The Scandinavian countries for example that are not regarded as ethnocentric (see figure 1, p.37) could provide a broader understanding on whether and how cosmopolitanism reaches the national levels of education practice. Parallel to that, since the present study sticks only to the European pedagogical discourse, a similar study examining thoroughly the international dialogue on education policy and cosmopolitanism would
be of particular interest. Additionally, given the fact that this research extracts information concerning merely the primary levels of education, it would be rather illuminating to examine the cases of secondary and upper-secondary education on the same matter as well as interview the teachers and students on how cosmopolitanism is perceived in education. Abstaining from the transnational comparative research design, relevant findings can also be drawn by a longitudinal study concerning whether and how the different pedagogical proposals and approaches facilitate cosmopolitanism nowadays. Simultaneously, a deeper insight into cosmopolitan education can be given through case-studies on schools that implement this theoretical concept in their education programs, and especially the moral aspect of it which seems the most challenging. Last but not least, future studies are also welcome to build on the particular findings of this research and proceed to a broader theory examination including additional kinds of cosmopolitanism such as aesthetic and sociological.
References


Appendix

Interview guide for the interviews with the school counsellors

1) Introductory question regarding the background of the interviewee:
   Previous education
   Years of experience
   Place of employment, urban-rural areas
   Years as school counsellor

2) How do you conceive cosmopolitanism as a theoretical worldview? What do you think are its main principles? Do you consider them important? Do you regard cosmopolitanism as something desirable?

3) What is your overall opinion of the Greek education system today?

4) How do you describe the role of the school and the teacher in this globalized era?

5) What are the key competences that the Greek education system aims to provide its students with?

6) How important are subjects such as History, Religion, Social and Citizenship Education?

7) Do you think that these subjects contribute towards a more cosmopolitan future? In what sense?

8) Do you think that the dialogue on the European and global issues is developed enough at schools?

9) What is the role of the EU in the Greek education system? What is the emphasis and to what extent are the European guidelines followed?
10) How do you perceive the influence of the EU on education today? Why do you think it exists?

11) What is your opinion on the eight Key competencies promoted by the EU? Do you think that they follow a cosmopolitan ideal?

12) Do you think that the EU education policies in overall promote some kind of cosmopolitanism? In what sense?

13) Do you think the Greek education policies promote some kind of cosmopolitanism? How is this reflected in practice? Do you see any traces?