MULTIDIMENSIONAL CITIZENSHIP AND EDUCATION: THE CASE OF GREECE

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the configuration of Greek multidimensional citizenship through education. Multidimensional citizenship can be best understood comprising of four elements: the personal, the social, the spatial and the temporal (Karsten et. al 2000:131). These elements do not operate in isolation but intertwine and influence each other. In this paper I will explore how the spatial and temporal elements influence the personal and the social as far as Greek citizenship is concerned. The importance of this study lies in understanding the complexity of the formation of multidimensional citizenship in a country with a disturbing history. Thus we can grow more aware of how complex powers can operate in the formation of multidimensional citizenship.

Key Words:, *Citizenship education, Greek nationality, multidimensional citizenship.*

ÖZET

Bu çalışmada eğitim yoluyla Yunan çok boyutlu yurttaşlığı ele alınmaktadır. Çok boyutlu yurttaşlığı en iyi şekilde anlayabilmek için dört boyutu irdelemek gerekmektedir: kişisel, sosyal, uzamsal ve zamansal (Karsten v.d. 2000:131). Bu boyutlar birbirlerinden bağımsız olmayıp birbirleriyle etkileşim içindedirler. Bu çalışmada Yunan yurttaşlığı bağlamında uzamsal ve zamansal boyutların kişisel ve sosyal boyutları nasıl etkiledikleri ele alınacaktır. Bu çalışmanın önemi karmaşık bir tarihe sahip bir ülkede çok boyutlu yurttaşlığın yapılanmasını anlamakta yatmaktadır. Böylece çok boyutlu yurttaşlığın yapılanmasında karmaşık güçlerin nasıl rol aldıkları konusunda daha bilinçli olabiliriz.

Anahtar Sözcükler: *Çok Boyutlu Yurttaşlık, Kişisel, Sosyal, Uzamsal ve Zamansal Boyutlar.*

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1. Introduction.

Citizenship is a complex and multidimensional concept, with long disputes about its proper use (Beck, 1998). The classical definition of citizenship rests on the assertion that citizenship involves a *fusion between rights and obligations* (Ichilov, 1998). This needs caution, because as A. Giddens (2000: 24) says: "there are no rights without responsibilities (...) but this must apply to everyone in society".

T. H. Marshall (1950) conceptualised citizenship as involving three elements; the civil (which concerns the right to individual freedom), the political (which concerns the right to participate in the exercise of political power) and the social (which is based on the individual's obligation to contribute taxation to a state system of provision that can redistribute resources to citizens who cannot provide for their own needs). By citizenship, Marshall (1973: 70) meant "full membership of a community", where membership entails participation by individuals in the determination of the conditions of their own association.

Recent descriptions support that citizenship consists of legal, cultural, social and political elements, and provides citizens with defined rights and obligations, a sense of identity and social bonds. But citizenship does not depend solely on legal status; it also requires a *sense of belonging*. Consequently when referring to citizenship we need to address the cultural and personal aspects of citizenship, focusing on issues of identity, as well as addressing structural and political issues (Osier and Starkey, 1996). Issues of identity can be well described as *dispositions and attitudes* and that is a crucial matter in order to understand the resistance any change in citizenship status can bring.

Heater (1990) claimed citizenship as one of the identities that the person has, helpful "to tame the divisiveness" of our identities, which stem from differences of gender, race, nationality, religion and class; he suggested that citizenship, though not covering the other identities, overlays them. In other words citizenship can disguise differences and that may lead to a differentiated degree of citizenship identity. This is obviously true in the case of multicultural societies, although, even in the most homogeneous society, citizens will possess more than one identity.

Bottery (1992) claimed that citizenship should be globally oriented, due to the universality of many challenges and problems. It is worth recalling the famous observation of the American sociologist Daniel Bell about the role of the nation in the global era: "the nation state is too small to solve the big problems but too big to solve the small ones, too". A middle course could be that values and demands of national citizenship should not be denied but combined with the

idea that no nation operates in isolation from others, so that citizenship must combine the national and the multinational dimensions.

The rapid growth of interest in the *politics of environmentalism and animal rights* has added a further dimension to the concept of community, effectively claiming citizenship rights for future generations, non -human species and the earth itself (Wilkins, 2000). Many of these 'new social movements' are in essence "virtual communities", with individuals communicating via Internet, such as the J18 "anti-capitalist movement". These communities provide the most significant challenge today to the conventional liberal democratic notion of citizenship (Wilkins, 2000), exempling how the national citizenship alone will not be enough to meet the challenges of the 21st century as the world becomes more interconnected and interdependent and multidimensional citizenship is essential in meeting the needs of society.
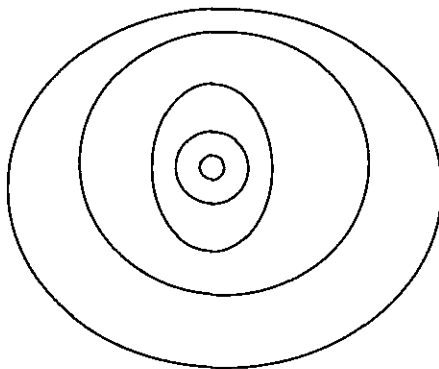
Multidimensional citizenship can be best understood comprising of four elements: the personal, the social, the spatial and the temporal (Karsten et. al 2000:131). These elements do not operate in isolation but intertwine and influence each other. In this paper I will explore how the spatial and temporal elements influence the personal and the social as far as Greek citizenship is concerned. The importance of this study lies in understanding the complexity of the formation of multidimensional citizenship in a country with a disturbing history. Thus we can grow more aware of how complex powers can operate in the formation of multidimensional citizenship.

2. Spatial And Temporal Dimensions in Multidimensional Citizenship

The spatial aspects in multidimensional citizenship go without saying: one important and basic way of perceiving multiple identities is according to locality. We all are citizens of our local community, our region, our nation state, the supra-national condition(EU for example) and of the world. Although as many researches have depicted, there seems to be a push and pull relationship between the nation /state and globalization, in a fully built sense, we can support the idea that all senses of belonging can coexist and that one way of sensing citizenship does not need to devalue other ways of belonging.

The question that arises is what happens if there is a contradiction of directions and interests between the various levels of spatial based citizenship: there is a case where there might be a rival between authorities that stem from different levels, and there might arise the need of support for the identification of the one to be enforced. On the one hand, there seems to be a trend where the smaller the level, the easier it is for one to coincide and the bigger possibility to influence, and the larger the level, the possibility to coincide and to intervene

gets smaller. On the other hand global issues affect all and this fact seems to unite people regardless of level of intervention.


Graph1: Multiple identities according to space.

The temporal aspects in multidimensional citizenship are crucial as well. Personal and social dimensions of multidimensional citizenship are in some way historically conditioned. Historically many areas had different conditions, background or even occupational status and that is something to take under observation when examining multiple identities. In that sense we must not be so preoccupied with the present that we lose track of the past and the future. Citizens need a rich knowledge of their own and the world's history to give them the sense of connectedness and rootedness, and the depth of understanding that are essential to the practice of the multidimensional citizenship. Tempo-centrism can be misguiding to that.

Past   Present   Future
⟶
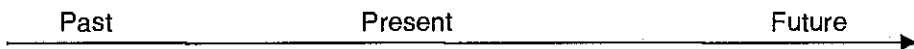
Graph 2: The axis of time.

The spatial and temporal aspects of multidimensional citizenship do not operate in isolation but intertwine: we can portray the temporal and spatial dimensions as below:

Space

Time
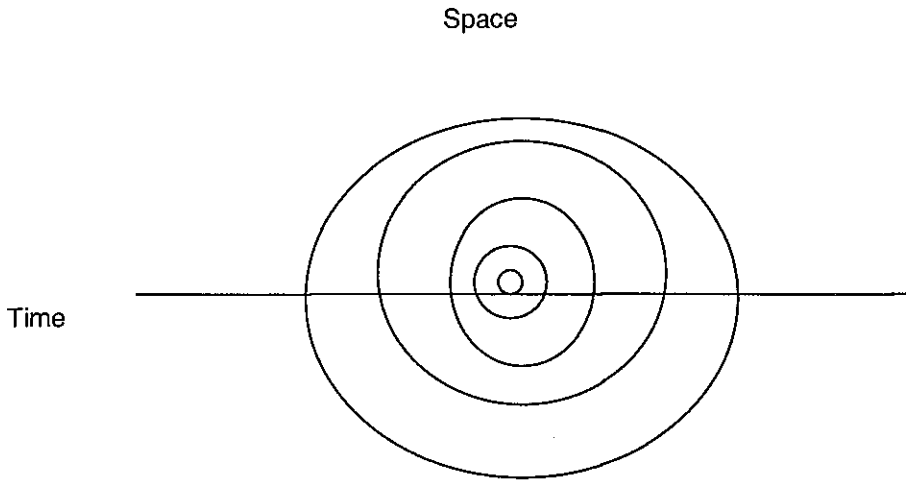
Graph 3: The interconnectedness of the temporal and spatial dimensions in citizenship

Multidimensionai citizenship requires that citizens should be able to live and work at a series of interconnected levels from the local to the multinational. One cause of resistance to multidimensional citizenship identities is the fact that the change of dispositions create resistance and especially if temporal and spatial differentiations occur to support that. Change sometimes does not occur in a natural condition and political reasons are proven to be insufficient to dispositional change. Multiple identities can lead to role conflict and hard choices for individuals. Thus multidimensional citizenship education would require that we provide a deliberative and reflective framework for students to understand their multiple roles and to provide them with the skills to cross boundaries, whether they are spatial, or temporal, or cultural.

This, at the most basic level requires that citizenship education includes what Haveney called "respective consciousness", the recognition or awareness on the part of the individual that he or she has a view of the world that is not universally shared and that this view of the world has been shaped and continues to be shaped by influences that often escape conscious detection and that others have views of the world that are profoundly different from one's own (1976, p.4). At the most advanced level it would ask that citizens understand how one or more other cultures feel from the same point of an insider.

3. Spatial And Temporal Dimensions In Greek Citizenship Formation

It has been suggested that the development of the concept of the nation and its relation to the concept of the state acquired diverse meanings depending on regional variations, for example the meaning is being conceptualized in different manners in Western, Eastern and Southern Europe (Diamandouros, 1983). In Western Europe, where the French Revolution and the presence of a strong civil society influenced the concept of nationalism, an emphasis on individual rights was generally understood within the framework of liberalism. Eastern European nationalism, is itself a product of the Western European experience centered, not on French, but on German prototypes. In Germany the construction of nationalism had as a central element "the substitution of the concept of 'Volk' for the concepts of individual or citizen. Greece resembles closer to Eastern European nationalism. In other words, German, Eastern and Greek nationalism aimed at preserving the truths of the culture, the organic unity of the people conceived not as individual entities but as members of the group (Konstantellou, 1992:64).

The fact is that Greeks during 400 years of the Ottoman occupation had found their own ways to exist that had not much to do with the institutions of the west. Within the multiethnic Ottoman Empire, the Greek subjects had forged institutions that allowed them security and in some cases even prosperity vis a vis the centralized Ottoman state. The most important institution was the extended family, which became the central mechanism that safeguarded the interests of its members in their dealings with state authorities.

The extended family gave rise to an intricate clientage network that insured the protection of family members (clients) by powerful patrons who functioned as intermediaries between the family and political authorities (Konstantellou, 1992). This gave rise to an ethos of pronounced localism and parochialism, which can be found even today in Greece, that was effective to impede national integration by placing a premium on primordial sentiments, and by producing fierce and lasting local and regional attachments"(Diamandouros, 1983). It was this ethos that was challenged by the small but dynamic group of westernizing Greeks, the modernization group, who attempted to establish the foundations of a western state.

Since before the Revolution, one can find two interest groups in Greece: the traditionalists, (which included the Church, the landowners and the Phanariots) and the modernization group. Within a context that emphasized the cultural unity of the people, according to the romanticism movement of the 19th century, the past and history carried tremendous weight. Moreover the Greeks found themselves in a unique situation because of its relation to Classical Antiquity and to the support of the Phil-ellinist movement.

From its inception Greece was beset by a double anxiety of influence. It had to prove to modern European nations that it was worthy to be part of their community and at the same time to prove to itself that it was worthy of its glorious past (Jusdanis, 1991). So on the one hand the Modernization group had its focus on how to Europeanize the nation, while the traditionalists focused on how to preserve its tradition, which was highly influenced by eastern culture.

Historically Greek national identity has been rooted in different areas. On the one hand there is the claim that the West had been created on the value basis of the Ancient Greece. This claim that Ancient Greece is the birth country of the western civilization was a reason for national pride and a drawback for significant changes. At the same time Greece was always close culturally to the East and the Balkans (note for example religion, music, food, values etc.). The fact is that Greece was never East, nor West, but included features of East and West together.

Although with the revolution and the establishment of the Modern Greek state it seemed that the modernization group had victory to record, it seemed a "burning" victory. As N. Mouzelis has remarked, if they had succeeded in imposing a Western form of government, they were less successful in making it function in the same way as in the West, since it did not take the traditionalists long to infiltrate the expanding State apparatus and to gear the whole political system to the safeguarding and promotion of their interests.

### 4. Citizenship Education In Greek Schools

The view of citizenship taught in the schools has often been unduly passive and conformist and it has discriminated against girls and minorities students (Anyon 1980, Crick & Porter 1978, Kertis et al. 1992). it has often reflected the interests of those in power in a particular society and thus has been a measure of indoctrination and the establishment of ideological hegemony rather than of education (Apple 1999, Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, Snyders, 1976, Popkewitz, 2000).

Schools of nation/states were intended to give the young citizens a sense of identity and often of national pride and to teach them the rights and duties of citizenship as officially defined. In order for the citizens of the nation/state to protect its territories the "fear of the enemy" was invented (Coulby & Jones, 2001). In Greece the construction of the "enemy" presented through education is a phenomenon with noticeable changes, which was a product of historical circumstances. During the 19th century the Albanians were thought to be a race similar to the Greeks, since they both were generated from the ancient race of Illirious, and the fact was portrayed in the textbooks of the time. After the loss of

the territories of North Ipiros there is no more mention of that. The fact of portraying the "other" though historical circumstances   can be observed with reference to the Arabs, the Bulgarians, the Russians, the Turks or the Yugoslavians.

As far as Citizenship Education in the Greek Educational System is concerned, there were two proposals for its approach, the *'Greek-Christian'*, traditional and the *Modern-Individual rights,* which are reflections of the two basic ideologies in the country's social and political field. In the political and the citizenship field, the dissimilarity is found in the relation of the law to the human factor. It is about the 'individualism' of the Greek citizen and his/her problematic relationship towards the State, due to this fact. This particular characteristic of the Greek citizen is considered, by both the proposals, to be a major problem in Greek society and the main cause of the above dissimilarity.

The 'Greek-Christian' (traditional) version is an amalgam of the modern religiosity and the reverence and morality in which it ends. It presents a priority to the collective, which identifies with the authoritative State, whose demands are in complete harmony with the above moral commands. On the other hand, the 'modernist – individual rights' version is a pure version of Enlightenment's theory about nature, which, having individual-centrism as the starting point, aims at the beneficial individual-centric covering of the personal needs. Modernism was connected with a system of State intervention (mixed economy). The modernization group, highly influenced by the west tradition did not succeed in overcoming the obstacles coming from the Greek-Christian tradition.
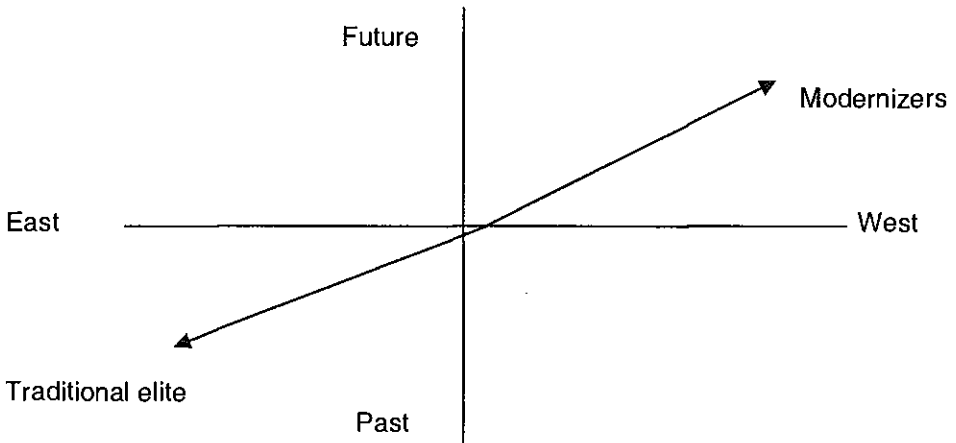
Graph 4: The configuration of the trends in Greek citizenship identity.

Therefore, the two 'conflicting' proposals focus the political incident on the State's mechanism, because, for the traditionalists it is an expression of the nation (idealism) according to place and time, whereas, for the modernists it is the necessary distributive mechanism. The main consequence of the above, common for both the proposals, is the distinction of the axis rights-duties to the basic political axis, as far as Citizenship Education is concerned (Zeidas, 2001).

As a result, we have the un-bridged conflict between the individual and the social/collective, which is presented in Citizenship education in Greece, which is obvious from the one-side development of the norms that are presented on the surface (disappearance of individual through collectivism on the one hand (conservative group) and complete distribution through liberalism on the other, (modernization group). The result of the conflict of the above traditions remains the individual-centric position of the human rights, which was established historically in the Greek nation, either it refers to the nature theory of the modern version, or to the potential-moral version of the 'traditional' proposal. And this, beyond any progress made in Greek society continues to consist a problem.

5. Recent trends in Citizenship education

In late modernity, liberal/social democracies require critically aware citizens in order to operate effectively, and this need for a sophisticated, politically literate citizenry is complemented by the skills and outlook encouraged by an educational system in which students are taught to question rather than to obey, experiment rather than learn by rote (Heater, 1990:104). However the critical citizen also creates a potential threat for a political establishment driven by a desire to maintain stability and a grip on power (Wilkins, 2000:17).

Another concern of Citizenship Education in late modernity is to embody difference. Today the school's mission of cultural homogenisation for the nation is being transformed. In A. Novoa's words (2000:34),"today we are confronted with an explosion of traditional identities and with an effort to rediscover or rather to reinvent new *identities*". The basic concept of the citizen of the nation state has to be enriched to include multiethnic, multiracial and multicultural dimensions. Many countries that are seeking to redefine citizenship education for the new democratic state are taking this delicate situation seriously. Osier (1995: 5) argues that

> *An appropriate education for the 21st century is one that encourages the development of an inclusive than an exclusive understanding of national identity and citizenship. This revitalized view of*

education would promote an understanding of the rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship not dependent on ethnic affiliation or identification, but recognizing and supporting diversity both within and between societies. This view for active, participative citizenship might therefore acknowledge diversity, interdependence and differences in perception, and might approach areas of study from a variety of cultural perspectives, encouraging students to recognize shared values.

Citizenship construction is dynamic, reflective and acceptable to changes. Today Greece is confronted with major national identity changes, the most significant of which are due to the European Union and globalization. During the last twenty years, more than 10% of the school population is non-Greek and that is a responsibility the educational system has to overtake. The latest enlargement of the European Union creates a new challenging context for Greece.

Educational reforms in Greece have been very well described as "the reform that never was" (Dimaras, 1995). Efforts that have been made to improve features of the educational system are been constantly stopped and the pendulum swings back to the previous position. This is very much true for citizenship education in Greek primary schools. But since citizenship identity is dynamic, citizenship education needs frequently updating, in order to include recent changes.

Due to the highly centralized educational system in Greece, the content taught in Greek schools today was written more than twenty years ago. Inevitably there is no reference to multiculturalism, globalization or immigrants. The last curriculum reform, which will be implemented by 2006, is proven to be narrow to global trends. Citizenship education curriculum reform and the multidimensional aspect need enforcement. A different reflective outlook to curriculum reform needs to be enacted.

6. Conclusions

Citizenship education entails the development of the civic knowledge (cognitive aspect), skills (behavioural aspect) and dispositions (normative aspect) necessary for making informed decisions about and exercising responsibilities and rights in a democratic society. Educating citizens for a democracy effectively means that citizens will be actively involved in the public sphere, and they will not accept passively the dicta of others or acquiesce to the demands of others (White, 1996).

Citizenship of course is not a new concept. One of the basic functions of schooling is the construction of the desired citizen. But citizenship education in

Greece has been unnecessarily narrow, emphasizing national priorities and neglecting the multinational. It has been confined to formal instruction rather than been infused at schooling as a whole, taking too passive a view of what citizenship entails. Instead, in order to meet the challenges of the 21st century (social and economic inequalities, environmental deterioration, unequal access to information technologies, reduced privacy, threatened peace and security) a multidimensional citizenship is needed. Citizenship is more about dispositions and attitudes than it is about skills and knowledge and that is something education has to take into consideration

The problem as it appears is "what is the profile of the present Greek citizen?" Which are his characteristics? Has he the characteristics of the western European or the Eastern? Does he act according to the Mediterranean idiosyncrasy or according to the Balkan? The answer to all these has not been completely clarified. Nowadays, when we refer to a Greek citizen, of course, we do not mean the one who is Greek in origin. A Greek citizen is the one who is influenced in his everyday life by the political, cultural and economical activities, which occur in Greece, in the EU, as in the world. Attitudes, identities, dispositions are well rooted in time and space and therefore change in political status does not consequently lead to change in citizenship identity. This recognition is essential if we are to deal with problems in depth. But educating for citizenship today involves teaching thinking for oneself while at the same time listening to and respecting the viewpoints of other people in order to become personally engaged with the problems and issues that confront one's society. And Greece of today with the multicultural dimensions it faces has to deal with these issues. Some academics speak of deliberative citizenship education arguing that citizens must be educated to be able to think, reflect, discuss, and to act in ways that are rational, reasonable and ethically defensible (Cohen 1989, Mathews, 1996, Miller, 1993)

The question to be asked and the starting point of any reform should be what kind of citizenship is envisaged. The second question is what kind of citizenship we possess. And the second question involves analyzing and including the global condition. We have to ask where we are and where are we going to. Temporal and spatial elements of citizenship are to be included, since they affect both the personal and the social aspects of citizenship identity.

7. Some Afterthoughts

When Turkey becomes full member of the E.U. new opportunities for Greeks and Turks are to be open: historical memories persuade us of the possibility of harmonic co-existence of the two nations. Citizenship education for the construction of the desired citizen of both nation/states has tended to create

the "fear of the enemy" of the "Other". The fact remains that dispositions and attitudes are rooted in time and space, and information based knowledge are susceptible of change. So, in this regard both countries have to contribute mutually to the alteration of information of the "Other" that is delivered through education. On the other hand both time and space memories will contribute to the development of a deep and sincere relationship. There are more commonalities than dissimilarities in this context and that is something most of us share and believe.

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