This paper is taken from

Reflecting on Identities: Research, Practice and Innovation
Proceedings of the tenth Conference of the Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Academic Network

London: CiCe 2008

What Room for European Citizenship? Exploring Constructions of 'Europe' in Geography Curricula across the Divide in Cyprus

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Abstract

'Exploring Europe and Ourselves: Geographies and Identities at Work' is a bi-communal project in Cyprus (funded by the UN Development Programme-Action for Cooperation and Trust) which compares geography education across the divide. This paper draws on the first phase, presenting a comparative analysis of how 'Europe' is represented in Geography and Social Studies primary and secondary curricula (textbooks, pupils' books, teachers' books) used in Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot schools. This is located within the literature on Europe and the nation in relation to Geography education and textbooks. The paper analyses textbooks and syllabi, and concludes with a discussion of the findings and their implications for Cypriot and European citizenship in a divided Cyprus.

Geography education, 'Europe' and citizenship

Geography has been a social studies subject favoured for inclusion in many European countries' curricula since the end of the 19th century, as it was a field 'privileged' with ideological use, with a long tradition and responsibility of supporting nation-states in their modernist project for inculcating national identities. In the context of Cyprus, Geography (along with History and the English language) was a subject which created great friction between the British authorities and the leadership of the Greek-Cypriot authorities in the 1920s and 1930s, as the former imposed a curriculum comprising of local and imperial geography, rather than the geography of 'motherland' Greece that was previously taught. This was just another example of how the curriculum was perceived as a forum of developing national identities by all parties. Research indicates how textbooks in various subject areas, including geography textbooks, have been found to reflect ethnocentrism, nationalism, racism, colonialism, imperialism, sexism, paternalism and Eurocentrism. Geography has also been considered as crucial in the building of a European identity and sense of community. It was thus amongst the first subjects (along with languages and history) identified by the European Union and the Council of Europe in their pursuit of developing a European dimension in their member-states' curricula as well as in European schools.

In consequence, and as the European Union and the Council of Europe have increasingly, and over the last fifty years, been encouraging their member-states to endorse a 'European dimension' in their education and curricula, 'Europe' has been evident in academic discussions and debates over its meaning as well as over how a European dimension could be introduced in school and higher education, teacher

education, curricula and textbooks. As European education policy increasingly focused on developing a sense of European identity and citizenship over the years (see Brine, 1995; Karlsen, 2002), academic discussion focused on its contents. Postcolonial, postmodern and social constructivist critique have indicated the many ways in which 'Europe' has been 'invented' over the centuries in eurocentric ways to exclude various 'Others' (Asia, Africa or Eastern Europe for instance) (*c.f.* Delanty, 1995; Said, 1993; Coulby and Jones, 1995). In the context of this literature, some academics have argued eurocentrism that permeates several EU documents and its educational policy which defines European citizenship on ethnocultural grounds end excludes from European citizenship those who do not fit ethnocultural criteria (e.g. Hansen, 1998; 2004; Nordenbo, 1995). Other research however has indicated that the EU and the Council of Europe have been increasingly defining European citizenship in more open and flexible ways, which do not draw upon ethno-cultural identities but on the discourse of post-national citizenship, of rights and participation, of civic values and skills, thereby allowing socio-cultural diversity (Keating, 2007) and ascribing more political and civic content to 'Europe'.

Other research has focused on 'diagnosing' how 'Europe' has been represented so far in existing curricula and textbooks. In the case of Greek, Turkish, Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot textbooks, such studies paradoxically, given the political context in all three countries which has largely been positive towards the EU, indicate that representations of Europe are rather negative and narrow. For example, in his analysis of Greek curricula and textbooks Flouris (1995) found that all references to Europe 'present the concept of Europe via war events, conflicts, aggression [in the History textbooks], as well as by geophysical and geopolitical aspects [largely in the Geography textbooks]' (p 117). More recently, Kapsalis and Kesidou (2002) concluded that Europe was largely absent for Greek primary curricula and textbooks, or when present, the content ascribed to it was predominantly geographical. Also, Pingel (2000) notes that 'Europe' is largely used in a geographical sense in secondary school history textbooks used in Greece. Antoniou and Soysal (2005) found that the Roman Catholic West enters the historical narrative as a temporary 'Other' when the Crusades, the Schism and the conquest of Constantinople/Istanbul are presented in Greek and Turkish history textbooks. In the case of the old Turkish-Cypriot history textbooks, the term 'Europe' or 'European Union' used to carry negative connotations, a representation aligned with official policy. For example, the EU was characterized as a "rotten apple" and a "poisoned carrot" (POST-RI, 2007, p 16). However, the recent change of administration, which brought about the publication of new *Cyprus History* textbooks for Turkish-Cypriot schools since September 2004, refer to the terms 'Europe' or 'European Union' with a neutral rather than a negative connotation (POST-RI, 2007).

This discussion may begin to frame our understanding how the concept of Europe becomes all the more complex in the case of Cyprus, an island lying in the Eastern Mediterranean and very close to Asia proper, part of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires at different historical periods, lying at the margins of traditional geographical definitions of Europe but also of the Middle East, a space of cultural crossings and exchanges, where East and West, Christianity and Islam have met, co-existed and conflicted each other, as evidenced by its ongoing division. This paper aims at exploring the representations of 'Europe' in geography curricula in place across the

divide in Cyprus, and by extent, how European and Cypriot citizenship are construed. The methodology followed to analyse these curricula is described in the second part of the paper.

Methodology

This paper focuses on formal curricula as these are articulated in syllabi, textbooks, pupils' books and teachers' books. It thus lies theoretically and methodologically within the sociology of curriculum tradition, which examines curriculum as a forum wherein social relations and power are discursively constructed and negotiated. Textbooks in particular are very important not 'as texts themselves but for what broader social and political debates, struggles, and orientations they represent' (Soysal, 2002, p 280). As Schissler and Soysal (2005) point out:

> In textbooks, we find what a society wishes to convey to the next generation […] [T]he analysis of textbooks is an excellent means to capture the social and political parameters of a given society, its social and cultural preoccupations, its anxieties and trepidations. […]. History, geography, and civic textbooks, though simplified, lay out for us the basic temporal, spatial, and discursive organization of regions, nations and the world (pp 7-8).

The data analysed for this study are documents comprising of Geography, Environmental Study, Life Science and Social Science syllabi, textbooks, workbooks and teachers' books which were in used in Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot schools across the divide in Cyprus during the school year 2006-2007. There is a single-textbook and mandatory national curriculum policy, which prescribes the use of the same, official textbooks and syllabi for all schools on both sides of the divide. The full references of these documents are listed in the Report which describes the full findings of the study (Philippou, Latif and Karahasan, forthcoming). Next to each teaching material the code indicated (e.g. GC/1A, TC/4B etc.) will be used in the presentation of findings to refer to each document. The initials GC and TC denote whether the textbook in question is used in Greek-Cypriot or Turkish-Cypriot schools respectively; the number which follows indicates the grade level; and the capital letter the type of document referred to (A; pupils' textbook; B: Teacher's Book).

To analyse the data outlined above, both quantitative and qualitative approaches were adopted. The quantitative analysis was necessary so as to provide an overview of the scope of European content in Geography education and comparable quantitative data to compare Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot Geography Education on Europe. The frequency and scope of European content, certain key terms and themes in the text were investigated, as well as a categorisation and quantification by type (e.g. political, geophysical and others) and by area (Europe, Cyprus, world etc) of all the maps included in the documents analysed (c.f. (Philippou, Latif and Karahasan, forthcoming). The findings of these analyses are not presented in this paper; however they will be used to frame the analysis of representations of Europe and citizenship.

Content analysis was not sufficient in revealing the meanings ascribed to 'Europe', how representations of Europe, and by extent European and Cypriot citizenship were being discursively constructed in the text. It was therefore necessary to turn to qualitative and discourse analysis techniques.   Qualitative analytical methods were employed, including inductive and deductive analytical techniques; the latter entailed 'traditional' coding under the themes-definitions of 'Europe' and approaches to 'citizenship' which are described below. The categories formed to explore the meanings ascribed to Europe and their definitions are shown in Table 1:

Table 1. Definitions of Categories of Representations of 'Europe'

'Europe' as	Category Definition	Questions
a geographic entity	content referring to the study of Europe as a continent, geographical information	What geographical definitions are given for Europe? Where are the boundaries between Europe and other continents located? Which countries are included and excluded from Europe? What kind and how much geographical information is available for Europe?
an economic entity	economic collaboration and institutions, freedom of movement of goods and people	What definitions are given to Europe as an economic entity? How does the EEC/EC/EU feature in these definitions? How is economic collaboration and institutions depicted? How does freedom of movement of goods and people feature in these definitions?
a political entity	set of values, institutions, organisations, events, nations, countries, democracy, human rights	Is Europe defined as a set of political values, institutions, organisations, events, nations and/or countries (which?)?
a historical entity	a historical concept with a past, present and future, social and cultural history,	Which historical moments of Europe are referred to? (if any?) These historical moments are they political, cultural, economic, religious etc? Are conflicts and peaceful periods referred to?
a cultural entity	culture, arts, sciences, languages, religions, people, education	What cultural content is ascribed to Europe? Which are the cultural foundations and contents of Europe according to the textbooks? What is the cultural profile of Europe today? Is diversity/multiculturalism acknowledged? How? How much information is given on culture, arts, sciences, languages, religions, people, technology?

During multiple readings of the text key questions were sought to be addressed such as those included in the third column of Table 1, the answers to which were expected to provide answers to the broader question of how Europe was represented/defined in the text.

To address the question on citizenship, the analysis focused on two types of citizenship: what Habermas (1994) called the legal definition of citizenship consisting only of

political membership, membership to a state as the first type of citizenship; and the socio-psychological or affective state, national identity or citizenship which is derived from self-identification with a particular national group and is used to denote identities associated with nation-states (and not just states) as the second type of citizenship. Historically the formation of nation-states has been based on an exclusive or ethno-cultural model of community formation (Habermas, 1996), a model which sought to draw a direct, causal link between culture and an ethnos (see Cederman, 2001). The notion of 'citizenship' has thus been historically associated with the modernist creation of nation-states and their efforts to define who 'belonged' as 'members of' their legal jurisdiction by defining not only their political, but also their cultural and social citizenship, thereby often conflating legal-political and ethno-cultural citizenship. Thus, during the analysis answers were sought relating to which type(s) of citizenship were discursively constructed for Cypriots and Europeans and how European and Cypriot citizenship were linked in the text.

Representations of Europe

One of the first remarks we need to make before presenting the findings on representations of Europe, is that comparatively speaking, there was a lot more content on 'Europe' (as compared to other geographical areas: Cyprus, Greece/Turkey, world geography) in Greek-Cypriot rather than in Turkish-Cypriot textbooks (17.41% as opposed to 0.88% of all the pages). Similarly, there were fewer references to 'Europe' in the latter than in the former case. In both textbooks however 'Europe' was ascribed more frequently a content which denotes material aspects and less frequently content which refers to people and their activity, either as individuals or as a 'European' group. These findings influenced our findings over representations of Europe presented below, as these tended to be more sophisticated or detailed in the Greek-Cypriot textbooks.

Europe as a geographic entity: a continent

The use of the term 'Europe' to denote the geographical entity of one of the continents of the world is one of the most frequent in both Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot textbooks. However, in the former, 'Europe' is clearly and rigidly defined in both text and maps with the traditional geographical definition of Europe from Iceland to the Urals and Caucasus, includes the islands of the Mediterranean and Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan and excludes most of Turkey (Eastern Thrace is labelled as 'Turkey (Eur[opean])' and Russia (distinguished between European and Asian). These boundaries conflate Europe's natural with its political boundaries, thereby supporting a rigid and uncontested definition of Europe (e.g. in GC/8B, maps on p 4 and 6), a definition which also draws upon cultural content, as discussed later. In both Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot textbooks, the geographic location of Cyprus is depicted as in the crossroads of three continents: Europe-Asia-Africa. However, TC/10A distinguishes between political, cultural and geographical boundaries and states that 'Cyprus belongs politically and culturally to Europe, and geographically to the Middle East' (p 4). Finally, 'Europe' is rather openly defined in Turkish-Cypriot textbooks: in both European and world maps, Europe is not separated from Asia or from any other continents with boundaries. Instead, Europe is denoted with an inscription in the world map called 'Europe' without a boundary clearly delineating it. In this way, 'Europe' is

not rigidly defined as a geographical entity in the maps, nor in the text of the Turkish-Cypriot textbooks.

Europe as an economic entity

Europe is also represented as an economic entity, especially in the case of the EU (and its predecessors). Economic information on European countries is quite wide-spread in the textbooks across the divide, even when the topic of study is not Europe per se, because economic data is used frequently to illustrate Cyprus's imports and exports, number of tourists or to compare various' countries (in and outside Europe) production of various products e.g. top ten countries in the production of wheat. This information is organised usually around sectors of the economy, namely agriculture, animal stocking, fishing, industry, services (tourism, transport etc). The EU features quite prominently in this economic definition of Europe, as it is presented as an economic space where freedom of products (and movement) is allowed, something portrayed as one of the key benefits of EU membership and one of they key reasons why it was founded by both sides' textbooks. Economic content is ascribed to Europe when there is reference to colonialism and imperialism and the ways in which many European countries exploited the natural resources and human labour of their colonies around the world to build strong economies, to the economic devastation of these colonies until today. Such content, given at times through a post-colonial and at times through a Eurocentric-colonial perspective, is quite prominent when the geography of Australia, the Americas and Africa is studied. Finally, Europe is portrayed in economic terms when it is described as a destination for immigrant workers from Turkey, Greece and Cyprus in the past and from many Third World countries today. Especially in relation to the EU, economic migrants from Eastern Europe to the EU are referred to as an outcome of the political changes of the 1990s. Economic disparities within Europe also feature in the textbooks i.e. between North and South in GC/8B as well as in the economic specialisation of its areas i.e. heavy industry in the Ruhr area, forestry in north Europe, the polders in the Netherlands, tourism in the Alps etc.

Europe as a cultural entity

Europe also acquires cultural content, a content largely located in Greek-Cypriot textbooks. For example, in GC/5A, GC/8A and GC/8B, ancient Greece and Rome are presented as the cultural foundations of Europe. Euro- and ethno-centrism both find their way in a single paragraph: 'Europe was inhabited since very ancient times and its peoples progressed like nowhere else on earth. The European culture constitutes the continuation of the ancient Greek and Roman civilisation. An important element of the European cultural heritage are also the teachings of Christianity' (GC/5A, p 100). The Greek, Roman and European cultures are presented as homogeneous and linear and as if they were not influenced by other cultures. This argument legitimises Cyprus's identity in relation to Europe in the Greek-Cypriot textbooks, as argued later. The cultural content ascribed to Europe is essentialised and reified and is identified largely with language, religion, habits and customs, scientific discoveries, education and the fine arts. As in the case of colonisation, economic relations are viewed as an opportunity for cultural influence (or even imposition) of European colonisers over the colonised peoples. However, there are instances where cultural interaction, facilitated by trade, is

admitted (e.g. in TC/10A). It must be noted that in the Turkish-Cypriot textbooks, Europe is not defined as culturally superior in relation to other continents but just as one of the seven continents in the world; perhaps because it does not contain any cultural content in these textbooks that would position it antagonistically to the rest of the continents.

Europe as a political entity

In both sides' textbooks, political content to Europe is largely located in the way in which the European Union is described as an organisation moving beyond its initial economic aims to a political entity protecting, through its institutions, political and civic values, democracy, human rights. These political values are also highlighted when the Council of Europe and its role in Europe is discussed. Indeed these political values are construed as European and Europe as a safe-heaven of democracy and respect for human rights. As a political entity, Europe is represented as having undergone major political change after the end of the Cold War and especially during the 1990s. However this political content to Europe seems rather small in comparison to its economic and cultural representations. It must also be noted that as a political entity, the term 'Europe' is often used interchangeably with the 'EU'.

Europe as a historical entity

Historical representations of Europe are closely related to cultural ones, especially in the Greek-Cypriot textbooks. Key historical periods in GC textbooks are the Greek and Roman heritages, the Christian roots of Europe, Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution, Colonisation, the French Revolution, World War II, the EU, the end of the Cold War and its political implications in Eastern Europe. A non-conflictual past is selected to represent Europe, with the exception of World War II, portrayed as setting the scene for the foundation of the EU and the Council of Europe, and the conflicts before and after the Cold War in Eastern Europe, processes also linked to the enlargement of the EU and the Council of Europe. In Turkish-Cypriot textbooks the Greek and Roman past, Christianity and Renaissance are absent: historical moments or periods referred to are the Industrial Revolution, Colonisation, World War II, The Sevres Treaty and the Treaty of Lausanne, two Treaties which are significant in the history of the Ottoman empire.

Who are the 'Europeans'?

References to Europeans as a group largely occurred in both sides' textbooks to describe colonisation and the 'discoveries' of European explorers, drawing largely upon the historical representations of Europe presented earlier. For example, in TC/10A it is stated that: 'Four or five centuries ago Europeans regarded themselves as the poor neighbours of Asia and Africa. ...In the eyes of Europeans their recourses meant wealth...Rich resources of Africa and Asia inspired the first European geographic discoveries' (p 185). In Greek-Cypriot textbooks, the term Europeans is at times used interchangeably to 'Whites', for example, in the case of South Africa or Australia. Europeans was also used as a term to denote the inhabitants of the European continent. For example, in GC/8B the chapter on the general overview of the continent of Europe is structured into two sections examining a. European space and b. the Europeans. Finally,

Europeans is a term used to denote EU citizens in attendant chapters, who are mainly described as the inhabitants of EU member-states. For example, 'The ultimate goal of the EU is the political union between member-states. Within this union all European citizens will be equal, without any discrimination, but each people will have the right to keep and protect their national identity. All the inhabitants of Europe will have the right to settle (live) and work in any country of the Union they wish and their rights will be respected by everybody, like if they were in their homeland' (GC/5A, p 113)

References to individual European peoples (e.g. the English, the French etc) and personalities (e.g. musicians, artists, scientists, politicians, authors etc) was another way in which Europeans were portrayed. In this case we find an emphasis to those peoples of which the country is studied (e.g. in GC/5A and GC/8B), who are mostly Western Europeans, or EU citizens, and to those personalities which are considered to have had a great historical contribution to European elitist culture and politics (e.g. Beethoven, Schumann, Gutenberg etc). Less frequently, Europeans are anonymous children or adults voicing an opinion or information about their country or the EU or Europe e.g. a Finnish boy, a Maltese girl and so forth in TC/3A, TC/4A and GC/5A.

What can be argued therefore is that in both textbooks both types of political-legal and social-cultural European citizenship appear. The implications for European citizenship of this distinction is that in the former case it is restricted to the seven supernational rights introduced by the Maastricht Treaty and is granted only to existing citizens of an EU state; access to human rights depends on the citizen status rather than being a human being. In the latter case, Europeans are defined on cultural-historical grounds; European citizenship as ethno-cultural identity is defined in exclusive ways in the textbooks restricted to the Greek-Roman, Judaic and Christian heritage, the colonial past of 'White' supremacy and elitist culture; this latter definition, however, occurs in the Greek-Cypriot textbooks and has serious implications over the construction of Cypriot citizenship as well, as argued below.

Cyprus in relation to 'Europe'

There is a lot more content (number of pages, number of references number of maps of Europe) in Greek-Cypriot textbooks in comparison with Turkish-Cypriot textbooks, and that can be largely attributed to the ways in which the identity of Cyprus is positioned in relation to that of 'Europe' in the two educational systems. In the case of Greek-Cypriot geography textbooks, the large number of references is connected with the fact that the Republic of Cyprus has had relations with the EEC since the early 1970s, which culminated to its full membership in 2004, as explained in the textbooks. Recognised as the legitimate government on the island by the EU, the textbooks make frequent references to its relations with the EU as a clear-cut issue of membership despite division, a division which is not illustrated in almost any map in the Greek-Cypriot textbooks.

The second reason seems to relate to the cultural definition of Europe given in the textbooks discussed above: Cyprus is represented as distinctly European by the text and all European maps in Greek-Cypriot textbooks, not only because of its geographical position in the Mediterranean, but because of its cultural heritage which associate the

island with the Greek and Roman civilisations and the Christian heritage. As Cyprus is clearly located in Europe for Greek-Cypriot textbooks, then Europe becomes a logical selection of a region to study moving from national to regional to global within the 'expanding horizons model' of geography education. This finding, apart of representations of Europe clearly denotes representations of Cyprus in the textbooks: Cyprus is defined as homogeneously Christian Orthodox and Greek-speaking in two maps depicting religions and languages in Europe (GC/8B) respectively. This is in accordance to how Cypriot identity is constructed in the text; the quote which follows is quite characteristic and exemplifies the construction of Cypriot identity in a more elaborate way than in other instances in the text:

> Achaeans colonised the island right after the Trojan War and contemporary Cypriots are considered their descendants. Archaeological research and findings provide evidence of the incorporation of Cyprus to the Greek world which continued from those Classical times, to the Byzantine period and today. The Greek element, despite Ottoman occupation and rule for 300 years, comprises 80% of the population. Only 11% of the population are Turks and they are the remnants of the Ottoman conquerors and a product of Islamisation of part of the inhabitants of the island. Cyprus since 1960 is an independent state. During the last decades, Cyprus has, despite obstacles and the brutal Turkish invasion in 1974, done miracles. […] Cyprus, based on archaeological heritage, on the Christian and European tradition and culture follows its European orientation and destiny. Conquerors come and go. Nobody succeeded in changing its Greek and European character (GC/8A, pp 8-9)

In this narrative, as in many other instances in the Greek-Cypriot textbooks, Cyprus's Europeanness is attached to its perceived Greekness, thereby being defined as monocultural and exclusive of other communities and minorities of Cyprus. This is not the case when Cyprus is examined demographically in attendant chapters in GC/4A and GC/8A, where reference is made to the various communities and minorities living in Cyprus. It must be noted, however, that in these chapters, the 'majority' of the Greek-Cypriot community is emphasised and that the historical narrative which links present-day Cypriots to the Achaeans remains unchanged as in the above quote.

It has been argued that 'Europe' has been re-interpreted diversely in the sociopolitical contexts of member-states, a diversity welcomed as respect to national/local particularities. In the case of Greek-Cypriot geography curricula 'Europe' seems to have been 'domesticated' and used to enhance national (Greek) identity, by linking Europe to Greek-Roman and Christian culture by excluding Muslims or Turkey and by construing Cyprus as European due to a perceived 'Greekness'. This understanding deepens divisions within Cyprus, as it reinforces the national (Greek) identity of Greek-Cypriots and excludes other, old and new, communities from a Cypriot identity and those non-fitting the European stereotype, including Turkish-Cypriots, from 'Europe'. This finding is in stark contrast to the Turkish-Cypriot textbooks, wherein references to Europe are scattered throughout a diverse material which does not directly address 'Europe', with

the exception of a chapter on the EU in TC/10A. As 'Europe' is ambiguously defined and marginally present in Turkish-Cypriot textbooks, so is its relation with Cyprus.

As far as Cypriot citizenship is concerned again there are politically significant differences between GC and TC textbooks which relate to the differences found between constructions of European citizenship. GC textbooks refer to European citizenship as a political citizenship for all citizens of member-states, including the Republic of Cyprus since 2004. In consequence, Cypriot citizenship as political-legal membership is in theory inclusive of all communities living in Cyprus, of all Cypriot citizens of the Republic of Cyprus as an EU member-state. When references to the demography of the island occur in the textbooks, reference to the various communities is made (namely Turkish-Cypriots, Armenians, Marinates, Latins which are recognised by the 1960 Constitution and the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus); however, these communities' presence on the island is actually historically and culturally de-legitimised, in comparison to the 'longer' Greek-Cypriot presence on the island and the 'largest' percentage (e.g. GC/4A). So on the one hand Cyprus is acknowledged as multicommunal, on the other it is construed as historically Greek (despite repetitive conquest). What unites Cypriots in this sense is a shared geographical space (undivided in almost all maps) and political community (based on the 1960 Constitution), not cultural or social heritage. Thus, Cypriot citizenship as social-cultural citizenship is virtually non-existent, but acquires such a content when it is used to denote a (Greek)-Cypriot national identity, evidenced by the interchangeable use of the terms 'Cypriot' and 'Greek-Cypriot' in the text, thus excluding non-Greek-Cypriots from a Cypriot cultural identity.

In Turkish-Cypriot textbooks Cypriot citizenship is even more complicated, in the sense that maps depict Cyprus as divided into north and south; however the north since 1983 hosts the self-proclaimed 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' which is not recognised by the international community or the EU as a legal state and which holds an ambiguous status within the EU until the Cyprus problem is resolved; therefore there is no clear political-legal meaning ascribed to Cypriot citizenship, since the Republic of Cyprus is not recognised as legitimate in the Turkish-Cypriot textbooks. In consequence, the contents of a European citizenship remain unclear, since political rights into the EU can for the time being only be exercised through the political-legal Cypriot citizenship granted by the Republic of Cyprus, which, we need to note, many Turkish-Cypriots applied for ever since the easing of travel restrictions between the two sides of the island in April 2003. At the same time, therefore, Cyprus is seen as naturally European the textbooks due to its EU membership in, which is actually why content on the EU is present.

Discussion

This paper involved an investigation of how 'Europe' is represented in geography and social studies curricula in primary and secondary education across the divide in Cyprus, in order to indicate the textbooks' approaches to European and, by extent, Cypriot citizenship. In comparing Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot geography curricula we noted a number of similarities and differences. The division of Cyprus seems to be related with different representations of Europe, as it seems to function as a filter

through which Europe is defined in different ways by Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot curricula: for the former Europe is clearly and unquestionably defined; this definition includes Cyprus because of its Greek and Christian cultural profile as well as its geographic position in the Mediterranean. Cyprus is not divided because the post-1974 situation is 'denied' or construed as temporary until a solution is found. For the latter, Europe is more openly or ambiguously defined, therefore leaving more space for Turkey to be included as well as the northern part of the Island which has a rather ambiguous political status within the EU. This openness in defining Europe is in contrast with the emphasis on the division of Cyprus in almost maps depicting or including it. By doing this, the division in Cyprus is 'normalised'. To conclude, in Greek-Cypriot textbooks Europe is rather rigidly geographically defined, a definition which, however, draws clearly upon political and cultural criteria. A rigid geographical definition is not given, as indicated in this study, in TC textbooks.

'Europe' has been viewed as a curriculum framework wherein national identities loose their ethnocultural content so that they are less exclusive (c.f. Soysal, 2002) -a role historically assigned to nationhood by modernity. Indeed in Cyprus, it seems appropriate for geography education and teacher education in geography to ascribe to European citizenship the content of the economic and political representations of 'Europe' described earlier, which both communities share and which provide much more space or common ground for Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots to consider. However, tackling with European citizenship as social-cultural identity can also be pedagogical meaningful: when 'Europe' is defined as a cultural or historical entity, post-modern approaches, illustrate, for example, how the perceived 'foundation' of Europe, the two great civilizations of Greece and Rome, drew from the Arab, Indian and sub-Saharan culture: European citizenship 'embraces regions where traditions and origins owe as much or more to Islamic and Arab philosophy and morality as to Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian' (Byram and Risager, 1999, pp 47 - 48). If Europe is defined in these 'hybrid' cultural terms, then what better example than Cyprus and Cypriot citizenship to illustrate how diverse religions, cultures, traditions interacted, influenced as well as conflicted one another in Europe. Problematising in pedagogically meaningful ways the teaching of European geography would in this scenario implicate re-constructing Cypriot and European citizenship in inclusive ways.

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