

Evaluation of the degree of cross-curricular connections between citizenship education and home economics: A way towards effective citizenship in the contemporary era¹

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Abstract

The basic pedagogic principle of cross-curricularity is found in the Hellenic National Curriculum and is included in the Cross Thematic Curriculum Framework (CTCF). It is connected to the need for the quality development of each pupil's "worldview/cosmoidle/cosmo-theory" through the promotion of an informed, critical and cooperative-active democratic citizen. Fostering such a democratic citizen needs to be promoted through teaching methods and materials that may create an added value in a post-truth world. On this basis new educational material was produced in Greece (2003-2007). The aim of this study is, through the analysis of Citizenship and Home Economics educational material texts, to identify the possibilities to connect cross-curricularly (or, cross-thematically) the material of Citizenship with that of Home Economics –two curriculum areas that may provide real-life, critical thinking skill sets through Teaching-Learning-Assessment (T-L-A). Text content analysis is applied to texts of specially selected units in each of the aforementioned courses; these are related to consumerism and are attributable to it in a multi-disciplinary way, with a focus on citizenship. In the case of this study, text analysis concerns the Gymnasium (Secondary Compulsory Education) Home Economics lesson unit dedicated to "Consumer Behavior" and the one on "Social Problems" in the Citizenship lesson. A comparative analysis of the findings is presented; the potential extensions among the investigated lessons and their pedagogical-educational effectiveness are highlighted, mainly on the basis of their potential contribution to the student's development of the democratic citizen's competences.

Keywords

Effectiveness Evaluation, Cross-curricularity, Social and Political Education, Home Economics, Citizenship.

¹ If this paper is quoted or referenced, we ask that it be acknowledged as:

Vardalou, N. & Karatzia-Stavlioti, E. (2020). Evaluation of the degree of cross-curricular connections between citizenship education and home economics: A way towards effective citizenship in the contemporary era . In B. Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz & V. Zorbas (Eds.), Citizenship at a Crossroads: Rights, Identity, and Education (pp. 397 - 411). Prague, CZ: Charles University and Children's Identity and Citizenship European Association. ISBN: 978-80-7603-104-3.



Introduction

Both the effectiveness and the improvement of the quality of education are based on effective teaching and learning (Craft, 2001; EU, 2003; Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2005; Sawyers, 2006). As a consequence, educational policy and pedagogic-educational research often focus on the school and class levels; in this frame, the development of school curricula has been proved to be one of the most important means towards the improvement of school quality (Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2006; OECD, 2004; OFFSTED, 2005). On this basis, the Greek Thematic Curricula Framework (CTCF) and the consequent specialized curricula as those of Social and Political Education (SPE) and Home Economics (HE) were designed. In the framework of these curricula, the relevant textbooks and educational material were produced, on the basis of a project that lasted 4 years (Hellenic Pedagogical Institute (HPI), 2003-2007). Also, in-service training took place for the teachers so as to enable them to effectively use the aforementioned educational material; all the above, aiming towards self-regulatory life-long learning (Jarvis, 2000). Generally, it is noted that special importance should be given to the cultivation and development of the characteristics of democratic citizenship.

The developers of the CTCF (from this point on, this term is considered to refer to all the specialized curricula and the educational material as well) consider them as providing a holistic, systematic and innovative approach to the Greek compulsory education; an approach, which could be the basis for the school modernization in Greece from both, the curricula and the relevant educational material content; all the above through suggested appropriate cross thematic; or, as also named cross curricular methodologies, that could affect all the aspects of the school practice (Flouris & Pasias, 2008; Karatzia-Stavlioti & Alahiotis, 2007). In the aforementioned texts, there are special references to the development of a free, democratic citizen that would participate in the social realities. Considerations are made that the creation and use of connections and projections, through the cross-thematic approach, could effectively contribute towards this direction.

In this article, the most important elements of the CTCF are studied, and presented with special reference to the development of citizenship. The method of content analysis with elements of discourse analysis (Ball, 1994; 2008; Berelson, 1952; Weber, 1990) is applied to the texts referring to the specialized unit of "consumption". The aim is to isolate the innovative issues and characteristics in the examined texts and to relate them to the major trends in the field of citizenship regarding Teaching-Learning-Assessment (T-L-A) (Constantinou & Constantinou, 2017; Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2010).

So, the purpose of this study is to investigate the way that the characteristics of a democratic citizen of today are expressed in the examined text content, with special reference to the texts regarding "consumption", a term that exists in both lessons. Furthermore, the ways that these lessons are connected to cross-



curricularly and the formed learning outcomes for (democratic) citizenship are explored. More specifically, the answers to the following questions are sought:

- What are the basic characteristics given to citizenship and what are the ways that these are supposed to be promoted in Greek Compulsory Education?
- What are the innovative cross-thematic/cross-curricular characteristics in CTCF, and in which ways do they contribute to the promotion of democratic citizenship?
- How is the idea of "consumption" used as a valid framework to study, isolate and note the effective connections that empower the qualities of citizenship?

The characteristics attributed to citizenship and the ways that these must be promoted in Greek Compulsory Education

In the field of citizenship there is a strong support of the use of a cross thematic/cross/curricular pedagogic approach and the consequent holistic acquisition of the relevant knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviors. These may be related to the, so called, basic, key and multi-prismatic competences (Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stalioti, 2006, 2009; OECD, 2004) and, they are thought to characterize the contemporary globalized technological societies of today (OECD, 2012; Ross, 2008).

The above are often mentioned in the political documents of international organizations that show interest in education and affect it, such as the European Union (EU, 2003), its educational section Eurydice (2012), and the Organization of Economic Development and Collaboration (OECD), mainly through the Program of International Student Assessment (PISA) (OECD, 2004; 2012). It must be noted that in the aforementioned texts there are special references to the importance of the pedago-educational emphasis on the development of the basic keycompetences. These are considered to represent the way to progress towards the common goals for education and training and to format the quality indicators and the standards for these goals. These competences are supposed to be cultivated "horizontally or cross-curricularly", mainly in compulsory education, in order to become the basis towards life-long learning (Jarvis, 2000; Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2005). It is also expected that in this way the aims of the Lisbon Treaty that the members of the EU signed in 2007, may be approached more effectively (Karatzia-Stavlioti & Lambropoulos, 2009).

More specifically, in the aforementioned texts, it is obvious that the cross-curricular competences for individual citizens shall promote the following: a) knowledge for political, economic state issues b) the ability to solve problems, c) self-perception and self-concept, and d) the ability to communicate. Curricula content, together with cross curricular approaches are successfully used to achieve the following (Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2006; 2009; Balias, 2008E; Eurydice, 2012):



- Development of political literacy, so that the citizens might be well informed on citizenship (they know the basic issues and understand the main concepts of citizenship).
- Critical thinking acquisition and analytical skills development.
- Development of specific values, attitudes and behaviors (e.g. respect, acceptance, equality).
- Encouragement of active participation at both, the levels of school and community.

Special emphasis is given to the use of innovative and socially interesting important themes, issues and problems, including those of bioethical and neotechnological content Cross-curricularity must effectively be used by connecting cooperative, participating and creative activities (Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2006; Sawyer, 2006).

Innovative and cross-curricular characteristics that exist in CTCF with reference to Citizenship Education and Home Economics and contribute towards democratic citizenship.

In the text of the introductory part of CTCF, the main cross-curricular competences are described in a way that reflects similar references in various texts of social and general educational content (Karatzia-Stavlioti & Lambropoulos, 2009; Nikolaou & Papadema, 2012; OFFSTED, 2005; Spinthourakis & Karakatsanis, 2011). These cross curricular competences could be summarized as follows:

- Communication (e.g. speaking, listening, reading, writing, argumentation, dialogue).
- Use of a variety of information and communication sources and tools in order to find, analyze, evaluate and present information as well as to be protected from "information pollution".
- Collaboration with other individuals in group activities.
- Critical processing of information, values and beliefs.
- Radical choice on both individual and social levels.
- Effective resource use (physical, economic, social etc).
- Knowledge use and value acquisition that are appropriate to form personal opinions and decision making. More specifically, the promotion of the pupils' "cosmo-theory" to their own benefit.

Home economics is a subject of Greek secondary compulsory education of crossthematic nature, as its units are close to themes that may be connected to other lessons of the curricula, that is cross-curricularly or horizontally. The ability to have connections with other subjects and units is considered to be applied vertically (in different classes) as well. In such ways, the main characteristics of a (democratic)



citizen of today may be isolated mainly as informed, critical and participative in contemporary society.

Social and Political Education (SPE) is a subject that is found as independent in the curricula of the two last years of primary education and in the third year of secondary compulsory education. In the first years of primary education the lesson of "environmental studies" includes issues of social content that are treated holistically. The content of SPE is suitable for connections horizontally and vertically contributing to the holistic cultivation of the social role of the school. We present a short piece of text from the SPE curricula description that shows the strong connection that this has with the lesson of Home Economics.

Together with other lessons such as ... Home Economics it contributes to enabling pupils to deal with and face the difficult questions and the doubts of social and ethical questions that often appear in their personal and social life" (Introduction of SPE curricula, 2003).

The ways that the concept of "consumption" is used as a valid framework to study the effective connections that contribute to the strengthening of citizenship.

The fact that the theme "Consumption Education" exists in units and chapters of various lessons is a reality that shows the necessity towards the enforcement of the social role of the school, so that the pupils might be prepared to become democratic citizens and efficient consumers. That is, consumer behavior is founded on ideas, techniques and theories that relate to people and societies, and have been developed by scientists of various disciplines of the environment (Lawton, Gains & Gardner, 2004; Sawyer, 2006).

It should be noted that although "consumerism" (the actions related to consuming) is mostly treated as an individual and social matter in HE, it is faced mainly as a social problem in SPE. In the curricula text of SPE, consumption is considered a part of youth socialization that plays an important role in the fulfillment of their identity and image. In the lesson textbook (p. 42, picture 5.8), a connection is made between the role of the youth some years ago and their role today. It shows the changes that led the youth to become major contributors to consumption (Kakana, Kamarianos, Metallidou & Botsoglou, 2008; Karatzia-Stavlioti & Lambropoulos, 2009).

The curricula of both subjects point out that the continuous importance paid to the consumer idea disorients the youth and leads them to the non-criticized following of "bad" examples. As a result, schools must play the supportive role to prepare pupils appropriately and assist them in choosing examples that respect human values. In general, in the SPE curricula it is written: "citizenship education



assists pupils to become more informed, critical and collaborative" which may be summed up as follows:

Informed citizen; mainly regarding their rights and obligations. That is to know (what) and to understand (why) the dangers that may exist in their everyday life. The information regarding over-consumption must not be limited to a list of practical directions/rules without focusing on any scientific factors. So, the curricula and the educational material in general, should always point out the importance of consumption activities as well as their possible implications for the greater society. The above make pupils more responsible, in a critical way, for their actions and their own life. As a result, it must be pointed out that such issues should be approached from a multi-angled and cross-thematic perspective (also see EU, 2003; Koustourakis, 2018).

Critical citizen; Critical thinking of pupils is cultivated through the communication and conversation regarding the important issues and problems of every citizen, as well as the realization of relevant activities. As it has been mentioned in the texts of the Combat Poverty agency many years ago (1991, p. 15) "it is difficult to imagine pupils as active and critical citizens if learning experience for citizenship remains passive". In the text of the CTCF and, more specifically in the book written for the teachers of citizenship education (2007, p.45) it is stated that pupils are problematized on the social problems that are created through over consumption: "The citizen must be informed. The needed skills for the citizens of today are those of participation and social sensitivity towards the problems of society." Some researchers (Balias, 2008) place the dilemma of the priority between the ideas of a consumer and a citizen: "consumer vs citizen"; they refer to whether a person is interested in social issues and problems exclusively for the satisfaction of one's own needs, or because one actively participates, cares for and shows interest in other people and the environment (Lawton at al, 2004). These issues are investigated deeper in the section of the findings.

Participative-Active citizen; The development of the skills of participation and responsible action encourages pupils to play an important role and participate in solving social problems and issues (Ross, 2008). The active participation of the pupils is promoted through the frame of cross curricularity, not only in school but also in the community as well through activities offering citizenship and learning opportunities, e.g. the participation in school boards and in out of school activities (Eurydice, 2012; Koustourakis, 2018).

Home Economics is, generally, considered a cross- thematic (or cross- curricular) subject, which often connects the other subjects taught in a specific class. However, the value of every individual lesson is recognized as a whole. As written in the CTCF, HE is supposed to have an important role in preparing pupils for the subject of SPE and in empowering the fulfillment of its goals. This may effectively happen since through HE related values are introduced and the needed meta-



cognitive skills are cultivated. The aim of this study is to identify and explore, through content analysis, the cross thematic connections that exist in the Greek CTCF and the relevant educational material of Social and Political Education (SPE) and Home Economics (HE), in the unit of consumption and clarify the way by which learning might be strengthened and the broader aims of each lesson could be fulfilled.

Description of the research technique.

Berelson, who is considered the founder of content analysis, states that:

"It is a research technique which aims at the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the clear meaning of communication" (Berelson, 1952, p.18).

At a later time, he completed the aforementioned meaning by adding that communication may be written or oral and that the major aim of the analysis is the interpretation of the communication it describes. Krippendorf (2004) considers content analysis a research technique to draw reliable conclusions, which are both, repeatable and make meaning in the frame they are used (Krippendorf, 2004, p.21). Researchers that applied content analysis (Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2006; Koustourakis, 2018) consider that it aims at the extraction of valid conclusions for the explanation of the text under investigation, through a systematic and objective analysis of the existing information.

To carry out the current research, the connections of the two examined lessons were identified in the unit content of the textbooks that refer to consumption. The technique of content analysis had to be enriched with elements of discourse analysis (Ball, 1994; 2008). In this analysis the ways by which a theme or a discourse is being discussed are investigated, in reference to the related aims. This way, the findings framework becomes more complete (Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2006). Apart from the text of the indicatively chosen units, that are related to consumption, ("Consumer behavior" in HE and "Social Problems" in SPE), the analysis was enriched by exploring the relevant pictures as well. The role of pictures in textbooks (Pingel, 1999) is considered to be a visual connection and representation of knowledge. In the analyzed text units, important contemporary social and political issues are presented. Such might be poverty, under-feeding and other social issues and problems that exist in the contemporary societies, which the pupils need to understand and face in connection to consumption.

Below, representative pieces of text are shown from the SPE teacher's book. Similar text content exists in the HE teacher's book, which is not presented for reasons of "economy" in space.



The problem of world poverty is connected to the environment since poverty in the Third world is connected to the consequences of the over-exploitation of the natural resources" (Teacher's book, SPE, p. 46).

The pupils are called to discuss and connect the over-consumption of the developed North to the "misery" of the Third world. The consumption may be combined to the class participation in recycling projects (in collaboration with the District committees) (Teacher's book, SPE, p. 47).

It was considered necessary that the analysis be further specialized, so that it could representatively cover the differences in the ways and the strength that cross curricular references and connections appeared. A careful studying and noting of the data assisted in isolating the basic characteristics of the cross curricular references in the texts, and led to the formation of a related research protocol. More specifically, this protocol would include information on whether a specific reference is direct- that is to what extent a specific cross curricular reference is direct and the cross curricular concept that is found in the connection (and exists as a fundamental concept in both lessons) is clearly and strongly expressed (see Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2006 for a full description on these An important element of this research investigation and concepts). reference/connection isolation is the expression of the degree of "tension/strength" by which each reference is made (that is, whether it is organically and emphatically related to the content being analyzed). Every category of connections may be expressed in a combined way as to the aforementioned two characteristics (direct/indirect, strong/not strong/weak). So, an important methodological consideration is made in using the combined (from categorization the thematic/cross and B) of cross curricular references/connections:

- A. a. Direct reference-mainly in the text/obvious b. Indirect- mainly in pictures, notes, activities/hidden
- B. a Strong/emphatic b Not strong/weak/.

Every connection/reference is described by the use of the two characteristics so that the understanding of the cross curricular connection may be understood more deeply and used more effectively in the pedagogical practice. So, each reference gets a sign to show the description of the connection it stands for, such as: Direct-Strong (DS) Direct-Not Strong (DNS), Indirect-Strong (IS), Indirect-Not strong (INS). It is obvious the more direct and stronger the reference is, the more effective it is and the more it may contribute to the holistic, deep learning (Vardalou, 2017).



Findings

In Tables 1 and 2, representative examples are shown from the analysis of the text of the educational material (pupil textbooks and teacher's books) for the SPE and HE. This analysis was approached even better by identifying the basic-fundamental concepts in the each subject's content. This way, more connections and, especially, extensions and projections were identified, in a way that a holistic understanding and deep learning might be promoted. This research procedure was carried out according to the methodological protocol and with reference to the three major qualities of a (democratic) citizen (i.e., informed, critical and collaborative-active). In the short table below, a representative example of the detailed content analysis is presented. The columns of the table represent the two subjects. The concepts used to describe the connections are below the titles and the pieces of text are "the analysis examples". The type of connection is written at the beginning of each identified example.

Table 1. Cross curricular connections in the studied texts in relation to the qualities of the citizen and "consumption- the causes" (Commercials, Media, Technology/needs increasegood increase, development of the ideas of consumer)

HOME ECONOMICS	CITIZNSHIP EDUCATION
INFORMED CITI	
(Communication-Interaction-System-Che Unit 1.4.c Table. 1,1 (Direct-Strong)	(Unit 4.3) (Direct-Strong)
Media increase the material needs and the demands of	
members(consumerism)	informing, but as hidden one the cultivatio
advertisement acts negatively and creates to pupils a	
feeling of inferiority when they do not possess what	
they want	Often, through advertisement, the medi-
consumption mania, thread for family budget.	interfere in negative examples such a
Unit 1.4.d (Direct-Strong)	consumerism.
Seeks for the appropriate information for the product	
being influenced by the commercials	
Unit 2.2. (Direct-Strong)	
Special study of the way that teenagers spend money,	
who are more vulnerable (easily persuaded) consumers.	
Others consider commercials create needs that	
people do not really have and they are led to over-	
consumption.	

Having extended the analysis to the connections in all the findings per lesson and for all the three citizen qualities/characteristics, it can be stated that:

- There are cross curricular references in both subject areas, with that of HE to have the most in all three characteristics.
- Most connections are found in the content of the textbooks, mainly in reference
 to the causes of consumerism and the necessity for an informed citizen –a fact
 which is indicative of the way that the cognitive content is formed out in the
 textbooks.
- The concept of a critical citizen is identified in connections related to activities of seeking information on issues of individual and social consumption.



• In the case of a collaborative, active citizen, the connections are related to example presentations, in which the basic concepts of civilization, system and interaction exist, in a way that the importance of the active participation in common affairs is shown.

Below, an example of a Table is presented in reference to the consequences of consumption.

Table 2. Cross curricular connections in the studied texts in relation to the qualities of the citizen and consumption- "the consequences" (Scarce physical resources, unequal distribution, Poverty, Environment).

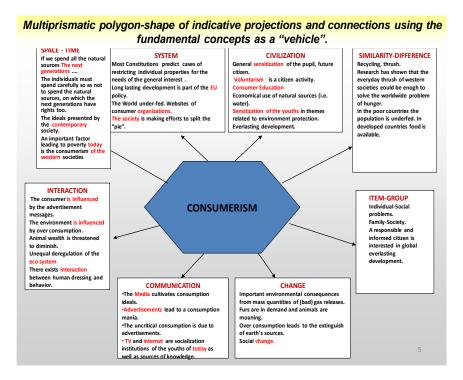
HOME ECONOMICS	CITIZNSHIP EDUCATION
INFORMED CITIZEN (Communication-Interaction-System-Change-Similarity/Difference, Space-Time)	
Un. 3.1.b (Direct-Not Strong) In the poor countries the food is not enough, the population does not eat enough. In the developed countries there is food availability.	$\label{eq:Un.6.3} \textbf{Un.6.3'Direct-Strong)} \\ \Sigma \textbf{an important factor that leads to poverty today is the over consumption of the West countries.}$
	Un.6.3 Direct-Strong) According to UNICEF 2% Me βάση τη UNICEF the 2% that over consumes food faces problems of over-weight another part is under fed.
Un.,6.6.7 p.94 (Direct-Strong) Ecological planning makes information of the consumers necessary so that they can choose ecological products. Picture 6.17 p. 94 (Indirect-Strong) The ecological "bunch" of the EU certifies that an ecological product is manufactured on the basis of an ecological planning.	Picture.12.12 (Indirect-Strong) Research has shown that every day thrush of the western countries would be reproduced by the countries of the western countries would be reproduced by the countries of the western countries would be reproduced by the countries of the western countries would be reproduced by the countries of the countries were considered by the countries of the co
	Un,12.5.4. p.118 (Indirect-Strong) The bio-places are protected by the government. You may be informed in the site www.wwf.gr .
7	Picture 12.11 (Indirect-Strong) Greenpeace The sites are in the website of the Ministry of Education, e.g. www.minenv.gr
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It may be pointed out that:

- The degree of directness and strength of the references on the consequences of over consumption is higher in SPE.
- The references in HE are, however, easily identified.
- The cross curricular connections found show the ways that these two subject areas complement and strengthen one another: in the language used, the picture content, as well as in the activities promoted.
- It is acknowledged that the cognitive knowledge of the consequences of consumption as well as their recognition, and addressing them in a critical manner led to the promotion of active participation in actions against their problematic consequences.
- These connections could be extended to other subjects that the pupils attend in the same class, strengthening the pedagogic results.

An indicative sample of the above extensions and projections to other lessons may be seen in the Graph that follows. It shows the connections to the concept of consumption with other lessons or various content that may be formed through the application of the basic cross curricular competences (the ones under the title).





Graph

Even more, the results of the study lead to some more specialized conclusions of pedago-educational nature. It may be supported that most direct and strong cross curricular connections are found in the category of "informed citizen", in both subjects explored. Through the vehicle of cross curricular concepts (e.g. similarity-difference) the content and the boundaries of the terms and of the more specific concepts are clarified; that is they are placed in the conceptual and theoretical framework of the qualities of a citizen, so as to recognize and face the causes and the consequences of consumption. Also, through direct but not strong references, the three qualities of a citizen are approached interactively and deeply learned; information and discussion are used to project the cross curricular connections to everyday life situations on the basis of the strengthening of the social role of the school (Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2006; 2009; Eurydice, 2012; Kakana et al, 2008).

Regarding the quality of the formation of the characteristic of a "critical citizen", it must be mentioned that it has mainly indirect, strong or not strong connections, so as to lead pupils to show, discuss and use the theoretical, language, and social behaviors in an analytical, critical and creative way. Even more, pedagogical practices are used in the maximization of the learning result/output. In a similar manner, the "cooperative-active citizen" quality is promoted through cross-curricular connections (Ross, 2008, Koustourakis, 2018).



Discussion-Conclusions

Exploring the cross curricular connections between the subjects of SPE and HE of lower secondary education with the use of the idea of consumption, emphatically leads us to important issues of teaching and learning. Firstly, it must be noted that CTCF was used as a common framework for the creation of educational material. This situation is of assistance to the producers of the cross thematic educational material (Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2006). More specifically, the isolation and the exemplary reference of the major, basic cross curricular competences in CTCF is of great and significant assistance to all educational material producers. This way, cross curricularity offers pupils the opportunity, not only to know about social issues but to extend this knowledge in a spherical and holistic way (e.g. not only to know that money is an economic measure, but a social institution as well). So, the social role of school is underlined as regards money and assists pupils in using their buying ability effectively.

Consumers – citizens ought to think about the consequences of spending on both individual and social levels in order to make radical decisions and choices (e.g. to be able to process the theme that a commercial/advertisement often leads to the increase of needs, and, in turn, to the increase of goods with a final result to be over consumption and poverty). An only one way approach of the theme of poverty could lead to the surface conclusions that survival is exclusively due to personal failures, ignoring the deeper causes. In contrary, a multi-prismatic, spherical and holistic approach of the issue of over consumption and loaning of people, treats poverty not only as a personal consequence, but as a social one, due to the unequal consumption of the scarce resources. This thinking leads to more socially effective conclusions.

In the subject of HE pupils are constantly urged to consciously consume. Also, the importance of a consumer "ideal" is used to sensitize them towards social solidarity. The concept of "value", beyond its economic-consuming meaning, reflects understanding and prosperity among citizens of the generation of the contemporary society, as well as future generations. In the subject of SPE, pupils are mostly urged to participate in collaborative actions for "sustainable development". Also, cross curricular connections are used to support pupils to become critical thinkers who would develop attitudes of social responsibility and solidarity.

In the Greek curricula (CTCF), through the cross thematic approach, the "strong framing" (according to Basil Bernstein) of the two subjects may become "loose" and cross thematic. "Reframing" in this case refers to using pedagogically "larger" themes such as consumption. This synergy aims to enable pupils to become critical and politically literate, capable of overcoming existing experiences, developed attitudes and become socially responsible with solidarity for their effective participation in issues of citizenship today.



The aforementioned situation is considered important in the contemporary globalized world with a post-modern culture (EU, 2012). It is obvious that the role of the teachers in the effective learning and the cultivation of the pupil's cosmotheory is central. Cross curricular or cross thematic approach supports holistic and multi prismatic learning in pedagogic practice (Alahiotis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, 2012). In this pedagogy, cooperative processes are realized with increased effectiveness as well as the promotion of the improvement of the educational system and the social role of school at an age with many challenges.

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