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Ten years later: Greek university student teachers' national and European identities

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Introduction

The world community, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, is confronted by the unprecedented challenges of a rapidly changing human and physical environment. The globalisation of the economy will rearrange both politics and the economies of the new century. It is thought that there will be no national products or technologies, industries or corporations (Reich, 1992). Technological change has already affected every segment of life, work, leisure, and interpersonal relations. It is argued that technological innovation heavily influences not only economic but also social and cultural development. Its promise to solve the problems of hunger, environment, destruction, and disease contrasts with fears of ethical and social disintegration (Hauchler and Kennedy, 1994). The interconnectedness of population growth, ecological deterioration and social conflict represents another imminent challenge (Snyder, 1995). National or supranational communities experience a loss of shared common values. Hundreds of thousands of people are moved from one place and culture to another, as a result of political or economic events. These persons are, as a consequence, left unconnected, rootless in foreign and/or hostile environments.

Within this context - which has now lasted for several decades - a number of European nations conceived and gave birth to a new economic and political entity, the European Union. Old and new needs and values propelled a number of nations to form a common project that has served as the catalyst for ushering in a new historical era for Europeans. This development was influenced by the universal tendency towards merging and globalisation, and at the same time - we suppose - it is shaping it. The European unification project was viewed ambivalently at the beginning by the Greek population and by Greek politicians. Now, when Greece is at the threshold of the last stage of unification, namely monetary unification and participation in the Euro zone, things have change dramatically. Support for unification is unanimous with the exception of the Greek Communist Party, which comprises a small minority (5.6%). The challenge now facing Greeks is not whether it is wise to join the others in the unification project. It is how to fulfill the vision of constructing a common space of justice, peace and prosperity for all without losing their identity, language, and traditions. The double challenge, that of fulfilling the breadth and depth of the European mission and at the same time preserving their identity, being at the same time Greeks and Europeans, is now the task facing Greek society.

The citizen of today, and perhaps even more the citizen of tomorrow, must live a successful and satisfactory life in such in environment. 'How does one respond to these challenges both as a member of a particular nation-state as well as a member of the global community of nations in a manner that is thoughtful, active, personal and yet with a commitment to the common good?' (Cogan, 1998:1)

Traditionally formal education, along with the family and other social agencies, has been given the task of preparing citizens and fostering the development of national identity. At

present a new generation is called upon to face fresh challenges in a very complicated national and international context. The role of education is once again given the leading role in initiating the young to the knowledge, attitudes and behaviours thought to be essential for the foundation of a national identity. Its role is also essential to the development of the good citizen, through an understanding of history and civics, as well as through the whole curricula, hidden or otherwise. In earlier times the task of education was easier. Simpler societies and more homogeneous nation-states had less elaborated concepts of identity and citizenship. Today, the complexity of the challenge cannot be met by older and simpler paradigms. Thus education needs, in a sense, to reinvent concepts of citizenship, and these are multidimensional, multiple and nested or overlapping (Ichilov, 1998).

The important role of education in the formation of European citizenship is recognised in several documents published by the European Commission. The May 24th 1998 Resolution of the Council and the Ministers of Education of the Member States describes the objectives and the recommended action needed for realising a European dimension in education. The objectives among others include statements that focus on education's role:

- To strengthen in young people a sense of European identity and make clear to them the value of European civilisation, and of the foundations on which Europeans intend to base their development today.
- To prepare young people to take part in the economic and social development of the Community.
- To improve young people's knowledge of the Community and its Member States in their historical, cultural, economic and social aspects.

The Memorandum of Higher Education in the European Community (November 1991), a document that for years to come will be of great importance for tertiary education, approaches the role of Education in the EEC generally and that of the European dimension in Education specifically. In the Memorandum special attention is given to the European dimension in Higher Education, because with the completion of the internal market the post -1992 Community will require a far greater supply of well trained graduates than before. These graduates require first-hand experience of studying, living and working in another Community country, need to be proficient in a number of Community languages as well as to have begun to understand and appreciate the cultures and mentalities of other Community countries, and to recognise that the whole of Europe, as opposed to the single nation-state, is a cultural area of activity.

The Maastricht Treaty will be also remembered for its proposed educational changes. Article 128 A states that Community action will be aimed at:

- Developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States;
- Encouraging mobility of students and teachers.
- Promoting cooperation between educational establishments;
- Developing exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the education systems of the Member States.

To the extent that education is vital for building an integrated Europe of citizens, so too is the education of teachers. Jean Monnet, a founding father of the European Union, asserted that he would start with education if he were given the opportunity to build a unified Europe once again. Accordingly, from a variety of resolutions, guidelines and other official sources, one can discern not only the importance of teachers but also common issues on the subject of the European dimension in teacher education. Teachers should be able to properly interpret Europe to their pupils and to provide a European frame of reference for their own work in various aspects of the schools' curricula (Vamvoukas, 1991).

Our motivation to conduct both the first survey ten years ago and the second more recent one sprang from an awareness of the importance of education in general, and of teachers' education in particular, for the development of European citizenship. This is especially true when considered either parallel to or in tandem with that of the development of Greek identity. Thus, we sought to investigate third and fourth year student teachers' views on European integration. Specifically our focus was on their beliefs, expectations and attitudes towards European integration (Papoulia-Tzelepi, 1992).

The aim of this study is to investigate similar issues and to reveal whether, after so many developments, student teachers' attitudes and expectations towards and for European Unification have changed, and in what direction.

The specific concerns of the current study include:
- Student teachers' concepts of Europe and its role in the world.
- How European Unification is influencing their studies, their future profession or their personal life.
- How they view themselves as citizens of Europe and how they feel about this identity.
- How they think issues of cultural and/or national identity should be approached in the teaching of history, or the teaching of languages, or the transmission of a national cultural identity.

It is also of interest to see whether the above concerns are influenced by gender, place of permanent residence, or by other factors. It is hoped that by investigating these concerns it will be possible to draw together aspects of identity and citizenship, and to see whether students have moved towards more open or multiple, or nested, identities and more varied concepts of citizenship.

Methodology

Survey Sample
Our sample came from two separate pools of students. The first group comprised 170 students who were surveyed in 1991, while the second group numbered 111 who were surveyed in the year 2000. Both groups were made up of third and fourth year undergraduate students enrolled in the Department of Education at the University of Patras. The reason we chose to survey third and fourth year students was that we felt that by the time they had reached the second half of their tertiary studies they would have a more mature and highly developed sense of their identity, in contrast to students just

starting out on their studies. Another consideration was that by that time they would potentially have developed a wider awareness of the meaning of 'Europe' from courses taken and media exposure.

It is our belief that the sample in both instances, while small, is representative of a wider category of Greek youth during the respective time periods the surveys were conducted (1991 and 2000). Both sets of students can be considered to be representative of young Greek adults who had completed their secondary education studies, had successfully achieved entrance to and were or are at the time the survey was conducted, enrolled in tertiary institutions studying in order to become primary school teachers.

Data collection methodology
The data was collected using a slightly modified version of a questionnaire designed by the Sociology Department of the University of Nantes (Chaudron et al, 1991; Dept. de Sociologie, Universite de Nantes – Questionnaire, 1991). The modifications were such as to allow for a greater relevance to the Greek situation. The authors of this paper are responsible for implementing the modifications made to the original survey instrument.
Both surveys were administered during the course of the respective academic years and in one sitting. The first questionnaire of 71 questions was administered in the second semester of the academic year 1990-91 (spring 1991). The responses were restricted to a single choice; students chose the appropriate answer to the specific questions by ranking their choices, picking from multiple choice responses or identifying the choices they felt reflected their attitude on the given question. The second questionnaire was conducted at the end of the first semester of the academic year 1999-2000. A review of these questions concluded that some were no longer current and were removed, leaving 62 questions. Our analysis is based on the data derived from only those questions for which responses are available for both groups.

The survey contained questions focusing on students' opinions, attitudes and expectations with regard to European integration. The survey had a limited number of questions seeking very basic demographic information. No identifying information was asked for or collected so as to be able to match responses with any specific student. It is believed that this anonymity allowed students to give voice to their opinions more freely. The survey's limitations in identifying the true beliefs, attitudes and expectations of the students is more a consequence of the degree to which they were able to self-assess or reflect and counter, if necessary, the accepted group attitude and stance on the subject. The survey's ability to successfully identify the aforementioned perceptions of the students is thus less a result of their understanding or lack thereof of the questions (Williamson et.al., 1982, Oppenheim, 1986) than one tied to the question of self-reflection on the ability to make a commitment.

The Results of the Findings
Throughout the remainder of the paper we present the findings from the recent survey and draw comparisons with those recorded in the survey conducted at the beginning of the 1990s.

Students attitudes and beliefs in relation to European integration

The questionnaire attempted to solicit responses from students that related to their attitudes and knowledge on the subject of Europe and their relationship and

understanding of Europe's relevance to their lives in general. In the section that follows we attempt to briefly summarise the major points raised by both groups surveyed, to draw comparisons where possible, and to indicate where there is some change in the students' stance and attitudes.

The more recently surveyed students perceive Europe as primarily a geographic area (41%) followed by a common civilisation and culture (23%), a community of 15 (20%) and an opening of borders (18%). In contrast to these rankings the 1991 group's perceptions of Europe were more evenly distributed, allotting 31% to common civilisation/culture, 24% to a community of 12, 22% to a geographic area and 21% to an opening of borders.

In respect to whether or not a Europe of 15 is still a plan that will be actualised in the years to come or a reality today, the responses between the two groups remain fairly constant: 72% today versus 70% in 1990 believe that it is still a plan waiting to be actualised. Also fairly consistent were the responses of both groups with respect to what they considered the function of European integration to be. In the two groups surveyed, (2000 and 1990 respectively) the order and percentages responding were: a means to avoid war (42% vs. 43%), the creation of a new society (14% vs.18%), the development of human and intellectual exchange (18% vs. 17%), dealing with economic competition (11% vs.14%) and less for financial and personal benefit (easier travel, less expensive life) or the political dimension of creating a great power (5% vs. 3%).

While they consider the idea of European integration to be of importance, the percentage of students who feel that they have little or no information, and thus feel they are poorly informed about the European Union, remains very high: 67% today vs. 77% ten years ago. In contrast is the fact that 88% today vs. the 80% of the first survey respondents say that the little information that they do have is very confusing and difficult to understand. Thus while the percentage of respondents who feel that they are not well informed has decreased, the percentage indicating that the information they are getting continues to be confusing has increased (Morgan, 1991). The students' conversations on the subject of European integration are still between friends, family, fellow students and professors, though here too the percentages have changed. In the first survey the conversation percentages ran: 90% with friends, 67% with fellow students, 46% with family and 33% with professors. Today the figures are: 66% with friends, 47% with fellow students, 65% with family and 19% with professors. These changes raise some interesting questions, such as what led to the increase in discussion of the subject with family members and the commensurate decrease in the discussion with professors? We leave these questions for reflection. This section of the survey ends with a question that about how the students feel about the idea of Europe. Here we have some interesting contrasts: the percentage of students interested in the idea of Europe, while lower today, remains fairly high (43% vs. 62%). At the other end of the spectrum the percentage that are not interested has increased accordingly, rising to 15% today vs. 4% ten years ago.

The percentage of students who have lived abroad remains small (16% today vs. 11% earlier), and the places where they have resided also remains fairly constant (Germany, Cyprus and France), and again is related to work-related migration. Also constant are the European countries they know the most about, and those they like. With respect to having knowledge about, in rank order, most to least, we have Southern European countries, English-speaking countries, followed by Germanic and Francophone countries. Retaining

their high ranking as first choice for countries as preferred destinations are France and Italy, with England and Germany following with far smaller percentages (in the first instance between a quarter and third of the respondents indicated these two countries while in the second instance the percentage dropped to single digits).

The responses given in the 2000 survey about the personal benefits students expect to gain from the European Union are expressed in different ways, but continue to retain the essence of the responses given ten years ago. To begin with, 79% today vs. 81% ten years ago feel that their lives will be affected by European integration in the longer-term future rather than in the present or near future. While both groups see the benefits as being something that will impact upon them later, the order of the specific benefits has changed over the last ten years. In the current survey, we see that first place goes to wider professional opportunities (36% today vs. 20%), second place goes to personal relations and exchanges (dropping to 20% from 28%), third place to widening of the intellect and creating new ways of thinking (dropping to 13% from 23%) and finally practical market opportunities (dropping to 11% from 20%). This reordering appears to indicate the favouring of a practical employment orientation and focus.

Students continue to see decisions as coming from centres that are far removed from their daily lives. The percentage of students who are dissatisfied with this has increased from 54% in 1990 to 76% today. This increase can perhaps be linked to responses about the degree to which they feel they have access to clear information on Europe and European integration (discussed earlier). This was limited, as well as being a reaction to the recent European involvement in the conflicts in Kosovo and Serbia. It should be noted that over 95% of the Greek population were actively opposed to the European Union's support of the action taken by NATO in the conflict, notwithstanding Greece's involvement as a member of the Community.

Students in both survey periods felt that Europe was an important factor in their studies, with current students rating it even higher (67% today vs. 52%). When the first survey was conducted the Department of Education of the University of Patras did not have courses on the European dimension in its programme of studies. This situation has changed and, while we still do not have a specific area entitled 'European Studies', courses on the European dimension in education and curricula, as well as comparative educational systems in Europe, are available to students on an elective basis. Ten years ago 22% of students indicated that they had come into contact with European issues through different courses: that figure has now increased to 67%. Interestingly, while more courses are offered, the percentage of students responding to the degree of satisfaction they felt with respect to the current educational situation, that is the number and type of courses offered, is 35% today (an additional 53% state that they aren't completely satisfied) versus 27% ten years ago (with an additional 73% stating that they weren't completely satisfied). Although they continue to want more specialised courses, the percentages have fallen, with the European dimension in education directly tied to their area of specialisation (down to 46% from 84%), the functioning of European schools down to 5% from 61%, civilisation/culture and the lifestyles of Europeans down to 28% from 61% and European languages down to 17% from 49%.

ERASMUS continues to remain the European programme with which most students are familiar (93% vs. 92%), but the possibility of studying or doing supervised teaching abroad continues not to be overly tempting. Seventy-three percent do not rule it out

altogether vs. 42% ten years ago. Sixty-three percent (vs. 56%) would think about pursuing it if the financial arrangements were satisfactory. Most continue to consider the idea of studying abroad not so much as a means of learning more about different civilisations and cultures but rather as a supplement to the education received in Greece. The reasons students give for not considering studying abroad put economic factors as the primary factor for this decision (8% vs. 22%), followed by obligations in Greece (10% vs. 20%), or a lack of fluency in foreign languages. This last reason is tiny, as well over 95% of the students claim fluency in at least one foreign language.

Students in both surveys felt that degrees offered by Greek universities were less prestigious than those from other European universities, although the percentage feeling this not to be true has increased considerably over the last ten years (44% today vs. 29% in 1990). The percentage of students who would like to see all degrees awarded in Europe to be equivalent remains fairly constant (74% today vs. 78% in the earlier survey).

Students' perception of their future employability with the opening of the borders in conjunction with their Greek university degrees is now 50-50 versus 63% earlier. The issue of foreign employability is seen favourably by a little over a quarter of the respondents in the recent survey, up from about 10% in that of 1990.

Another finding that has not changed significantly is the percentage of students who felt that the European Union's structure and development makes other Europeans feel less or not at all foreign (45% today vs. 46%), whereas the percentage feeling that other Europeans continue to be different has increased from 18% then up to 30% today.

There is an interesting change in the order given of how they approach and learn about other cultures. Among the responses given by the students surveyed recently, we see language taking first place (37% up from the earlier 18%), then books (19% down from 21%), followed by the cinema, and discovering the way that others live their lives.

Examining the question of how they perceived themselves in relation to their national and European identity, we saw that 43% identified themselves as Greeks first and then Europeans (down from 59% for the earlier group), while those choosing to consider themselves as citizens of the world increases to 29% from 21% and those who saw themselves only as Greek varied little between the two surveys (14% in the current group vs. 12% in the former).

Given the multilingual nature of the European Union, the question of whether or not a common language for communication is necessary is of interest. Thirty percent indicated that they needed both English and Greek, while nearly 70% said that they would like to be fluent in more languages of their choice. These figures were not significantly different from the findings of the earlier survey (34% and 66% respectively). What is of interest here is that they continue to see the need for more foreign language learning. The percentage of students with English as a primary foreign language increased to 87% from 77% with French coming in at 16%, down very slightly from 17% (although 40% indicate that they have it as their secondary foreign language), and German also decreased slightly to 5% from the earlier 6%. English has a clear dominance as a primary second language, something that may be explained by the fact that in Greek public schools it is introduced in the second half of their primary school education, whereas French is introduced later at the beginning of middle school education. German remains the least frequently taught of the three foreign languages in the Greek public school sector, usually being introduced

as a third foreign language sometime in the course of middle school education. What is very interesting here is that in the earlier survey 58% of students indicated that they studied a foreign language in order to have access to the different cultures associated with the languages, while today the percentage drops to 18%. In contrast to this the percentage of students indicating that they study a foreign language as an employment tool increases from 26% in 1990 to 38% today. Once again we see a tendency for students to favour a more practical, work-related reality.

When asked if they thought Europe should have a common government, the responses were 23% yes, 35% no and 42% don't know. These figures vary from those of the earlier survey, which gave these categories the following more even response percentages, 38%, 28% and 34% respectively. This could be interpreted as indicating a stronger sense of Greek identity versus that of European, although the 42% 'don't knows' could mean that they lacked the information that would enable them to answer with greater specificity. They did, however, indicate that they considered European integration to be the most important event with regard to their future aspirations, with WWII, the unification of Germany and the conflict in Yugoslavia more distant issues.

Political decisions were not the only issues affecting how they saw themselves in relation to the European arena. Education is also an important issue. Thirty-five percent wanted courses specific to Europe, while 52% wanted European themes woven into their courses in general. The latter figure is down from 77% given in the earlier survey. This might be because the students in the more recent survey have courses while the earlier group did not. This does not, however, lessen their stated desire for more courses. Over 80% of the recent group indicated that they would like to see European channels that broadcast programming from many countries. Current students may be considered to be products of a more visually oriented generation than their predecessors, since until the late 1980s the only channels available in Greece were those run by the state.

While the issue of a unified Europe is a great hope, at the same time the idea also instills a sense of fear in some students. The percentage of students who fear the watering down of their national identity is increasing. In the 1990 survey, the percentage that greatly feared that they would lose their national identity was 22%. Today that figure rises to 45%. On the other hand, the percentage that consider competition between European countries as something that will make European integration more difficult drops from 56% to 23%. Given the fact that 51% of the students surveyed believe that Greece is up to both meeting the challenges it will face and finding its rightful place in Europe, we can say that they hold a more positive image of Greece, and by extension their national identity. In contrast 92% of the students participating in the earlier survey felt that Greece was badly prepared to meet these challenges.

We also looked at whether or not gender had an influence on students' attitudes and perceptions towards Europe. As with the earlier group surveyed, we did not find this to be the case. We did however note that male students in the second group surveyed tended to be more ethnocentric in their image of self, compared to female students (males seeing themselves as only Greek were 30% as compared to 8% for females). Males also tended to have more friends in foreign countries than girls did. Figure 1 shows that male students perceived Europe as more of a utopia, while female students saw Europe as an abstract plan. There was no difference between the sexes in relation to the perception that the European Union is a reality.

Figure 1: Students' views on a United Europe by gender (2000 sample)

	United Europe Appears as		
	Utopia	Abstract Plan	Something Real
Male	38%	31%	31%
Female	13%	50%	29%
Total	17%	54%	29%

$\chi^2 = 5.74$ Statistically Significant at $\alpha = 0.1$

Figure 2 shows that male students indicated that they felt better prepared for the coming century, compared to the female students. The female students appear to believe that Greece is not well prepared for what is to come.

Figure 2: Views on Greece's preparedness for the future, by gender (2000 sample)

	Greece in the 21st Century is			
	Well Prepared	Adequately Prepared	Rather Unprepared	Unprepared
Male	8%	46%	23%	23%
Female	16%	36%	47%	2%
Total	15%	38%	48%	3%

$\chi^2 = 19.37$ Statistically Significant at $\alpha = 0.01$

Figure 3 shows female students believe, to a greater degree than males, that an integrated Europe would be equal to other great powers in the world. In contrast, male students appear far more reticent in their opinions on the subject. Further analysis of the responses of male students shows that a small percentage see that Europe could surpass other great powers, while a larger percentage see it as being inferior.

Figure 3: Students' views of Europe's place in the World, by gender (2000 sample)

	Europe's Place in the World		
	Will Surpass Other Great Powers	Will be equal to Other Great Powers	Will be inferior to Other Great Powers
Male	23%	38%	38%
Female	12%	72%	15%
Total	14%	67%	19%

$\chi^2 = 5.89$ Statistically Significant at $\alpha = 0.1$

We did however find that the students' own place of permanent residence was statistically significant in several instances. In Figure 4 we can see that the students in the recent survey tended to retain the same perceptions of their future identity, as did the students surveyed in 1990.

Figure 4: Permanent Residence by How I See Myself in the Future

	How I see Myself in the Future				
Size of Home Town	Greek	Greek and European	European and Greek	European	Citizen of the World
Population < 2,000	0%	38%	12%	25%	25%
Population 2,000-10,000	19%	19%	31%	0%	31%
Population 10,000-50,000	7%	57%	0%	7%	29%
Population> 50,000	19%	42%	8%	0%	31%
Total	15%	40%	12%	3%	30%

$\chi^2 = 26.13$ Statistically Significant at $\alpha = 0.05$

In both instances the place of permanent residence was found to be statistically significant. In each case the significance was at $\alpha = .05$. In the first and second surveys the students residing in the larger population areas tended to have more European-friendly attitudes.

Figure 5 shows that students coming from localities with populations smaller than 2,000 inhabitants do not see studying abroad as important. The majority of the remaining students see studying abroad as a probability but not as a necessity.

Figure 5: Permanent Residence by Studies Abroad

| Size of home town | Studies Abroad | | | |
	Not in my plans	Yes, but not necessary	Yes, but not part of my studies	They are necessary
Population < 2,000	62%	25%	0%	13%
Population 2,000-10,000	19%	62%	6%	13%
Population 10,000-50,000	38%	31%	23%	8%
Population > 50,000	21%	69%	6%	4%
Total	27%	58%	8%	7%

$\chi^2 = 15,66$ Statistically Significant at $\alpha = 0,1$

Discussion

This current study examines the attitudes, beliefs and expectations of Greek student teachers in relation to Europe. It found that students tended toward a more practical employment-related orientation, in contrast to the findings of the earlier study, where the student teachers were generally more orientated towards an idealistic, abstract conceptualisation of Europe, and a related sense of identity and citizenship. This difference may be explained in part as a result of recent economic and political developments of the Greek State, in terms of the realisation of European integration goals. These would include such things as the successful submission of Greece's Euro-zone membership application, and favourable economic reports from the European Central Bank and the European Commission, as compared to earlier more distant and less concrete future expectations.

The students in both survey groups continue to see Europe as a plan still unfolding. This belief may explain their reluctance to favour the establishment of a common European government. Building on Morgan's findings (1999), our second survey group favours more European television channels that will broadcast programming from different European countries, and more information in general, which may be construed to mean that they lack adequate clear and unbiased information on issues of governance.

The limited European information available to students tended, as outlined in an earlier French study, to be focused on economic and political benefits and on problems (Chaudron et al., 1991). We find that our current survey respondents have this type of orientation, while the earlier Greek group tended to lean towards a more abstract cultural focus. Both groups hold the belief and the expectation that European Integration will lead to a peaceful future society. The latter group, however, tends to see Europe as becoming a power equal to other great powers, while the earlier group was less willing to see this as a reality and more inclined towards envisioning Europe as a space in which cultural

exchange ranked highest. A fear expressed by both survey groups was that Greeks were in jeopardy of losing their national cultural identity.

In the sample we can discern two tendencies in relation to identity and citizenship within the realms of future European scenarios (Bertrand, 1999). The first category, comprising those that see themselves as more pro-European, tends to be made up of more females or students who see themselves first as Greeks and then as Europeans. It should be noted that a large proportion of the group also tends to see itself as citizens of the world. The second category consists of those who primarily and exclusively see themselves as Greek, and tends to be more male dominated. This grouping fears, and is annoyed by, the fact that decisions concerning themselves are made in centres far removed from their reality. At the same time this group in comparison to the earlier survey group (that of 1990) expresses a two-fold increase in the belief that European integration is likely to lead to a loss of national identity.

To summarise, we see that these two tendencies delineating issues of Greek student teachers' identity are both built on the basis of perceptions of national identity. To the degree to which they are open to the idea of European integration as a factor in their lives we see that they are inclined to add a European identity to this first characterisation. Where the latter is the case, the tertiary characterisation of 'Citizen of the World' is also added. There appears to be a progression from national to European and ultimately to global identity and citizenship.

It would be interesting to consider our data in relation to other elements that have begun to be researched, such as personal, societal, temporal and spatial issues of identity formation (see Davis and Sobish, 1997 and Kubow, Grossman and Ninomiya, 1998). However, these areas are not the focus of this paper and are being currently considered for analysis at a later date.

Conclusion

The ambivalence and/or confusion discerned in the answers of the student teachers concerning issues of identity and citizenship should propel us to rethink how well university studies prepare student teachers for the twenty-first century in a way that is based on principles of democracy, fraternity (Attali, 1999) and openness. We agree with the recommendation of Parker et al (1998) that teacher education should take on four initiatives: cultivation of a global/cross-cultural outlook, an emphasis on the development of a critical perspective, an emphasis on democratic pedagogies and improved community collaborations. The implementation of the above initiatives should be a goal permeating the corpus of student teacher studies and not of specific courses or modules, which in their turn should serve the overarching goal of educating a reflective, critical and open to the world teacher.

Student attitudes and beliefs in relation to European integration
Selected findings - percentages

Question	*1990 (N=170)*	*2000 (N=110)*
Europe is seen as a		
- Geographic area	22	41
- Common civilisation/culture	31	23
- Community of 12/15	24	20
- An opening of borders	21	18
Europe as a plan waiting to be actualised	70	72
The function of European Integration is a means to:		
- avoid war	43	42
- create a new society	18	14
- develop human and intellectual exchange	17	18
- deal with economic competition	14	11
- financial/personal benefit/political dimension of creating a great power	3	5
Dissatisfaction with amount of information available on European Integration	77	67
- Information available is confusing	80	88
Conversations about Europe		
- with family	46	65
- with friends	90	66
- fellow students	67	47
- with professors	33	19
Europe as an idea		
- Interested in the idea	62	43
- Not interested in the idea	4	15
European integration will affect their lives in the future	81	79
European integration will benefit by		
- professional opportunities	20	36
- personal relations/exchanges	28	20
- widening of intellect/new ways of thinking	23	13
- practical market experiences	20	11
Decisions come from		
- centres far removed from self and displeased with this fact	54	76

Study of Europe an important factor

- in their education	52	67
- contact through courses	22	67
-satisfaction with current educational situation	27	35
- European dimension	84	46
- functioning of European schools	61	5
- civilisation/culture and life of Europeans	61	28
- European languages	49	17

Considering study in Europe

	42	73
- Study abroad: lack of prestige of Greek university degrees	71	56

EU structure makes other

- Europeans seem different	18	30
- Europeans less foreign	46	45

Approach to learning about other cultures

- studying another language	18	37
- reading foreign books	21	19
- cinema	5	10

How they see themselves

- Greeks then Europeans	59	43
- citizens of the world	21	29
- only as Greeks	12	14

Languages needed

- Greek and English	34	30
- more than two languages	66	70
-primary 2nd lang. English	77	87
-primary 2nd lang. French	17	16
-primary 2nd lang. German	6	5
- to learn about other cultures	58	18
- for employment purposes	26	38

Common European government
- agree   38   23
- disagree   28   35
- don't know   34   42

 Want courses on Europe
- specific to Europe   47   34
- European themes woven in   77   52

European integration will
- water down one's national identity   22   45
- increase competition   56   23

Greece is up to the European challenge   8   52

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