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The Educational Governance of German School Social Science: The Example of Globalization

- The article provides an analytic framework for the analysis of the educational governance of school social science.
- It challenges the view that European citizenship education is adopting a genuine cosmopolitan vision of citizenship education.
- It highlights the tendencies towards renationalization of the globalisation curriculum in German school social science.

Purpose: This article challenges the outsiders' views on European school social science adopting genuine cosmopolitan views, when globalisation is treated in social science classrooms.
Method: The article is based on the theoretical framework of educational governance analysis and on qualitative corpus analysis of representative German Laenders' social science curricula from 1994-2014 (n=13).
Findings: The article highlights tendencies of renationalisation of the global learning agenda and the problematisation of democracy in contexts of globalisation studies at German schools.

Keywords:
Citizenship education, educational governance, curriculum, globalization, international comparison, Germany

1 Introduction

This paper addresses a longstanding issue in the study of citizenship education curricula: The problem of knowledge and knowledge governance through curriculum. "Curriculum making" is doing knowledge politics, as curricula provide guidelines for processes of knowledge transformation for educational purposes (Pinar, 2012; Goodson, 1984). In an educational governance perspective, curricula are meso-level policy programs that are based on the basic premise that the pedagogical provision of specific kinds of knowledge conveys specific kinds of micro-level cognitive and behavioural outcomes to individual students (van den Akker et al., 2003; Young, 1971). They serve as a governance interface between the official pedagogical discourse and the pedagogical recontextualisation fields such as schools and other educational institutions (Forquin, 2008, see Tab. 1).

When it comes to citizenship education and to the actualization of political knowledge in schools, state actors are typically quite concerned about what kind of knowledge is selected for being relevant and pedagogically performed in a nation's classrooms. This is especially true for the issue of globalization. As political and economic systems become more globalized, learners shall become competent as future citizens, consumers, businessmen in a nation-state that is embedded in a globalized world economy. Hence, civics' curriculum designers all over the world have established standardized learning layouts of globalization as a social studies topic, and of specific skills and competencies, which young learners are expected to "acquire" in the context

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of global learning. Thus, "globalization" appears to be an ideal test case for comparative curriculum research: As the external globalized context, timeline and process are the same for any of the educational systems in the OECD-world, the analysis of contrasting curricular choices and disciplinary frames can be better analytically differentiated and the endogenous dynamics and policy results comparatively observed.

However, it is still difficult to address the epistemological problems of comparative educational research because curricula are powerful path-dependent programs, following Tröhler: "Curricula are historically formed within systems of ideas that inscribe styles of reasoning, standards, and conceptual distinctions in school practices and its subjects" (Tröhler referring to Popkewitz & Tröhler, 2013, p. 62). He therefore calls for an epistemologically refined curriculum and governance research that does not over and over again provide holistic analyses of national educational systems (which routinely highlight the specific national conditions of curriculum construction), but that is aimed at identifying and comparatively and systematically analysing schemes of reasoning and organizing 'the educational' in a synchronic and diachronic mode (Ibid.).

Accordingly, the basic purpose of this paper is to complement existing curricular research (see 3) and to present a conceptual framework for a longitudinal analysis of the social studies curriculum standards on globalization exemplified for six German Laender (1990-2014). The comparative analysis of German regions allows discriminating for the potential political transformations of curricular knowledge choices (conservative, B, vs. left wing, A, regional governments) while controlling for the socio-cultural context variables (Capano, 2015). The diachronic perspective frames a process analysis of the curricular enactment of a new topic and the ensuing principles of legitimation with respect to

1.   its implicit valuations of globalization, its pedagogical framing and knowledge classifications (see below, Bernstein 2000), that is
2.   (2.a) its regulative goals and learning targets (horizontal integration dimension) and (2.b) its disciplinary sources (vertical integration dimension),

Finally, this paper challenges a dominant outside view of European and German global citizenship education, which is considered being the actual education for global citizens preparing young people for a genuine cosmo-politan citizenship. There are high expectations, which the cosmopolitan vision of the German intellectual heritage going back to Kant and European Enlightment may have raised (see e.g. Beltramo & Duncheon, 2013). This position is tested by my research, which uncovers a slightly different picture and tendencies towards values of seclusion and self-involvedness.

2 The governance of school civic education: A multi-level approach

Social studies' curriculum-knowledge provides not only competence-frameworks to define performance stan-dards in social studies classrooms, but also particular artefacts of schools' socio-economic outsides. For most school subjects these artefacts are neither simplified imitations of the knowledge arrangements of academic disciplines nor do learning processes replicate scientific heuristics and patterns of knowledge production: Curricular matrices and disciplinary matrices are basically incongruent (Martinand, 2001). Even when schools try to simulate real life and day-to-day problems for educa-tional purposes, the pedagogical operationalization and classroom knowledge transformation in school subjects' frameworks have not much to do with the "authentic" political, economic and social everyday settings, in which schools, teachers and students are embedded (Grammes, 1998; Rata, 2012).

Therefore, there is a need for a more systematic analysis and for a research about the devices of educa-tional knowledge transformation that revivifies curricular analysis in the tradition of structural educational sociology of Emil Durkheim (Durkheim u.a. 2014) and of the late Basil Bernstein. Structural curriculum analysis focuses on distribution, recontextualisation, evaluation and justification of knowledge in the educational field (Young, 2008; Young & Muller, 2013). It questions the configurations of knowledge transformations in curriculum planning processes and wherever curricular knowledge is produced and performed (Singh et al., 2010). Structural investigation of curriculum enhances an integrated multi-level analysis of pedagogical knowledge recontextualisations (see graph. 1), which elucidates the structures of the pedagogical governance of all facets of knowledge. The degree of transparency of the required forms for recognizing and realizing knowledge rules defines the social differential in acquisition processes.

Graph 1
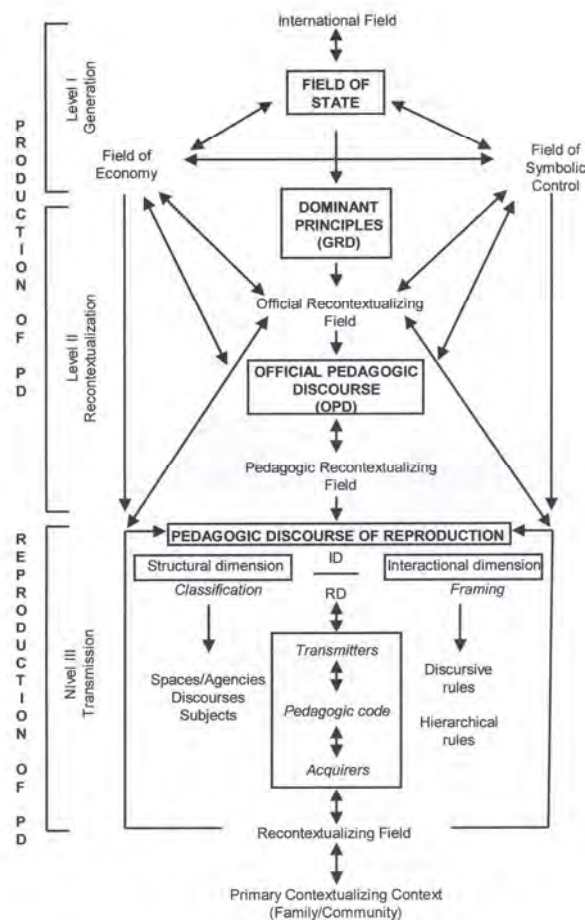
(Morais & Neves, 2001)

In his seminal account of the "pedagogic device" Basil Bernstein distinguishes two basic modalities of pedagogic practices transforming knowledge at different levels of the educational system: the *instructional* and the *regulative* mode (Bernstein, 2000). The regulative mode (RM) is a mode of order, which regulates how knowledge is transmitted; the instructional mode (IM) is a mode of proficiency, which refers to what is transmitted. Curri-cular modes are embedded by specific variations in the strength of classification and framing. In any definite educational configuration, different facets of curriculum and pedagogy are weakly or strongly framed. But, the two modes are incorporated in a way such that regula-tive discourse always controls the instructional discourse. Pedagogic discourses are typically transmitted through a specific code which integrates specialized contexts (e.g. classroom contexts) and the selection and production of appropriate texts to these contexts. Thus, any pedagogic practice at the school level is an activation of a pedagogic code which, in turn, is the institutionalization of the school's elaborated orientation through specific values of classification (C) and framing (F).

Classification and framing translate power and control relations between the subjects, discourses and educa-tional spaces (Morais, 2002). Knowledge transformation into the pure instructional modus is generally attached to

the structure of academic knowledge, that is strongly "*classified*" (disciplines have strongly insulated boundaries) and *vertically* structured. Vertical discourses are "specialized symbolic structures of explicit knowledge" in which the incorporation occurs through the integration of meanings and not through the relevance to specific contexts (Ibid., p. 160). The vertical discourse is transparent, organized, and abstracted from specific connotations rooted in everyday situations. It is produced in the specialized languages of disciplines taught in official education systems. "Weak classifications" refer to the modus of e.g. problem-based curriculum approaches in contexts, where students start with a problem and search for suitable knowledge that helps answering their questions: the pedagogic *framing* is loose, as teachers have limited control about the sequencing, pacing and about the evaluation of the transmitted knowledge. Bernsteinians are skeptical about the social differential of school pedagogy for disadvantaged learners, which uses horizontal discourses to ease access to vertical discourse, because it restricts the power of the vertical discourse to emancipate (see esoteric knowledge as more powerful decontextualized knowledge Bernstein, 2000, p. 169ff.).

The character and the boundaries of social scientific knowledge are fluid and much more difficult to detect because of the so called "gaze" of the social sciences, following MacLean (2013, p. 267):

"Students of sociology-based social science need to recognize and realise a vertical discourse embedded in a 'horizontal knowledge structure' made up of a collection of 'specialised languages': functionalism; critical realism; post modernism and so on. In contrast to disciplines with a 'vertical knowledge structure', like physics, which build general theory rather than collect languages, social sciences address human behaviour, conduct or practice, so they are strongly related to the horizontal discourse of everyday life. This relationship poses a particular pedagogical problem, for when the student attempts to see everyday life through the lens of sociology she/he 'may well be anxious whether he/she is really speaking or writing social science. The sociological 'gaze' is often invisible to the novice student.

In a context of classroom topics such as 'globalization' and global environmental and climate change, horizontal transformations which are closely linked to the students' "lifeworlds" are e.g. teachers' attempts to regulate the classroom behaviour of students in ways to be 'orderly persons', who collect and sort waste, instead of problematizing the concept of global responsibilities and its pitfalls (Mikander, 2016).

Another specificity are the hybrid disciplinary boundaries of social scientific knowledge production and the specific interplay between the regulative and the instructional in pedagogised social scientific knowledge configurations (e.g. school programs): The recontextualising rules of social sciences operate through 'pedagogic discourses' (Bernstein, 1990, 2000) made up of instructional discourses for transmitting specific knowledge and skills combined with specific regulative discourses for

transmitting dispositions for learning (Bernsteinians call it the 'moral order' of disciplines). In his seminal analysis of university novices, MacLean found that in sociology-based social sciences the regulative discourse dominated the instructional discourse, because students are strongly classified by their instructors as being shaped by sociological knowledge (instructional) to be moral, informed, critical citizens (regulative) (Ibid., 271).

3 Globalization as a crucial case

Globalization as a curriculum matter can be at first hand considered being a key example for an interdisciplinary - and for that reason weakly classified - knowledge issue in the social science domain. The pervasive process character of globalization affects educational governance not only at the educational system's level (cf. the Post-PISA-rhetoric linking education and economic competetiveness) but also unavoidably involves students and teachers as being contemporary citizens at the classroom level when socio-economic and political matters are at issue.

Yet, the meso-level knowledge-political debate about the role of globalization in social science curricula and school teaching is not new. In situations of international crisis and in post-conflict constellations, the debate about the nation states' global outsides is historically omnipresent. Thus, since the 1920s, high hopes were formulated in the context of the League of Nations in a grim post war world, when education was designed to promote global understanding and peace. After the Second World War, decolonialization and waves of democratization around the world opened up the pedagogical perspectives to the "world system" and called Euro-centric perspectives more and more into question (Pike, 2008).

Finally, ways of teaching and learning a global citizenship curriculum were already discussed and anchored in numerous educational programs of the 1990s (Tye, Arias & Sánchez, 1999), when the Agenda 21/Education for sustainable development (ESD) pro-cesses have been implemented in the Federal Republic and in other countries (Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, KMK. 1996). These efforts have often been supported by international standard-setting instances in the field of education, particularly within the framework of UNESCO and its diverse initiatives such as the recent "Global Education First"-Campaign (2012).

Nevertheless, these initiatives often lingered outside the schools' 'normal' curricular practices. Yet, the debate about the conceptual transformation of 'globalization' into curricula and school programs is still passionate, especially since September 11, 2001 when the "universal" liberal values of the Western capitalist sphere got deeply challenged and destabilized: This especially applies to the fundamental cosmopolitan value conflict between human rights universalism and particularism (Widmaier, 2010; Seitz, 2002).

The problematical horizon of norms and values is, however, a focal point of the philosophical debate on globalism and cosmopolitanism (Brown& Held, 2010; Delanty, 2012), and the question of a global citizenship education played a prominent part in this debate (following Nussbaum, 1996 and Rorty, 1994). A particularly conflictual field emerged in the USA (embedded in the continuous dialogue about how to define the U.S. global role in the early 21st century and how to deal with the effects of cultural heterogeneity within the U.S. society), where actors aimed at translating theoretical positions into pedagogical and curricular approaches, so that the pedagogic arena reverberated to a certain extent quarrels from outside the educational system, e.g. the catch between patriotism/communitarianism and universalism, (Apple, 2002; Myers, 2006; Burack, 2003). Furthermore, as Kennedy and others state, outside the Western hemisphere the process of globalization has quite different effects on citizenship education programs. That is especially true for certain Asian nations, where the globalization of school systems can be associated with an increasingly affirmative-patriotic orientation of national citizenship education curricula (Kennedy & Li, 2008).

The fuzzy conceptual and disciplinary formatting of the educational "global field" (Robertson, 1992) led to a normative overstretch and a quite unique exploitation of specific theoretical positions for purposes of curricular legitimation, which triggered an own research, which systematically addresses the controversial issue of the "Social Studies" curriculum relating to globalization. This research raises the question if and to what extent certain perspectives and canonizations are favoured in curricular scheduling and why others are discarded. By doing so, it interrupts didactic practices and creates a high level of visibility in terms of theoretical-disciplinary premises of certain curricular formatting processes. This applies not least to those approaches which pretend to be universalist, without illuminating their epistemological stance and their effects on the transformations of curriculum knowledge (Au 2009). Until recently, this kind of research is not at all done in the German context (see Seitz, 2002; see recently for the Agenda21-Case: Bormann & Hamborg, 2015).

In the past few years, the main comparative curriculum analyses have been published in the U.S. by Rapoport, Beltramo and Myers (Rapoport, 2009; Beltramo & Duncheon, 2013; Myers, 2006). Agbaria presents a content analysis of the discourse of the Social Studies Community on globalization (Agbaria, 2011). All researchers essentially highlight three central challenges of curricular reforms in the context of globalization:

1) the global economic and educational competition;
2) the intra-societal diversity;
3) the challenging issues of citizenship on a global scale.

This is also reflected in the discourse on educational goals (Agbaria, 2011) and on new requirements for teacher training (Herrera, 2012; Zhao, 2010). The three legitimation-dimensions are each connected to specific aspects of globalization as an economic, social and political process and thus linked to the corresponding disciplinary frames of a pluridisciplinary social science consisting of a basic disciplinary set (sociology, economics and political science).

A recent comparative analysis of social studies curricula of U.S. states and several other western countries (Canada, Sweden, Australia, Finland, New Zealand, UK, Ireland) examines the curricular formatting in relation to these different horizons of legitimation (Beltramo & Duncheon, 2013). This multi-level exploration elaborates – on the basis of well-defined standard issues and disciplinary contextualisations – the "globalization" artefact. Two basic models of global learning-enactments emerge from this analysis: Global learning in the sense of global human rights education and the so-called education for a cosmopolitan citizenship in the "world system", and a different approach that is rooted in the human capital theory and in intercultural competence building for successfully acting in an economically integrated world (ibid., p. 105ff.). Beltramo, as other comparative researchers (Myers, 2006; Rapoport, 2009), comes to the conclusion that, despite the statements of program designers and policy actors (Agbaria, 2011), there is no cosmopolitan-global political learning in the US (exceptions: Kentucky and Mississippi, Beltramo, 2013, p. 106-107). He contrasts these findings with the situation of non-US systems, namely Scandinavian and West European systems, which confronted learners with multidimensional globalization learning standards, contributing to a more complex global political competence. He concludes that this deficit results from an American exceptionalism and reminds of the outcries of the educational elite in the 1960s and 1970s with their criticism of the isolationism of the American educational system. Even today, the American students were not prepared to be "citizens of the world" and to act globally (Rapoport, 2009, p. 92), because their educational horizon seems to be exclusively oriented towards the international competition between knowledge economies. At the same time, these findings are associated with a critic of the one-sidedness of the disciplinary perspective: The positions of cosmopolitanism and an understanding of globalization as a complex multidimensional trend in a "world system"-context, social inequality theories, cultural theories of globalization and environmental sciences are not brought up in the educational space (Beltramo, 2013, p. 107ff.). From this perspective, the "European" social science education seem to stick to the concept of world citizenship. European curricular world views are contrasted with U.S. approaches, as they seem to be committed to global thinking and to the globally responsible political learner: That includes pluridisciplinary perspectivations that are not uniquely oriented towards economic education and the acquisition of intercultural key competencies for doing global business.

4 The globalization of the German Social Studies

4. 1 The official pedagogical discourse in the didactics community

In the following section, the recontextualization of globalization in the official educational discourse is investigated considering the statements of major discussants in the social studies community as well as official statements of actors at the federal level.

In Germany, international comparative social science curriculum research is scarce. There are only two analyses of curricular knowledge about the international relations (IR) and globalization topics, which have been done in the context of the discussion about the future of IR-research and teaching in Germany. A prominent IR-researcher summarizes: "At the curricular core there is obviously a multidimensional treatment of globalization [...]" (Albert & Dickel, 2006). What is considered being a multidimensional treatment, reveals being the curricular enactment of the highly classified academic fields of academic IR-research and its sub-disciplines, such as foreign policy analysis and security studies. Unlike neighbouring didactics in fields like history and geography, the German social science research community has not yet developed any international comparative perspective on teaching and curriculum practices with regard to global learning (see the German history didactics: Popp 2008). The didactical research in the field supports an orientation towards the curriculum development and towards teaching approaches for formatting rather than for analysing socio-scientific learning processes and curricula (Keating et al., 2009). This is especially true for civic learning and engagement outside school: In contrast to school social studies, global learning as a topic is very prominent in adult education and in NGO-contexts of civic learning. The content standards of those programs reflect quite compartmentalized perspectives on globalization, e.g. global sustainability politics, climate change as well as fair trade and development politics. The implementation of the *Agenda21* and its related initiatives prompted a plethora of initiatives and publications in adult education research. The focus of education for sustainable development lays on policies with benefits for "quality of life"-issues in a very broad sense, all sharing a very significant propensity to regulate learner behaviors: content fields such as nutrition, climate change, bio-diversity, mobility/tourism and consumer rights stand for a strictly problem-based knowledge transformation that is very lowly classified, highly regulative (in the Bernsteinian sense) and characterized by high levels of interdisciplinarity. "Global" learning is in a double sense understood as a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach (Adick, 2002). However, global citizenship approaches such as world-polity and cosmopolitanism play a minor role for the *Agenda21*-Learning. The quasi-total lack of more general and abstract political conceptualization – and the resulting lack of connectivity to school curricula – is severely critised by Humpert and others (Humpert, 2009).

This also applies to the critical citizenship education agenda, which focuses on globalization as a neoliberal enterprise with winners and losers anywhere in the world (Butterwegge & Hentges, 2002). Globalization approaches which are based on canonical Marxist world systems theory (Wallerstein, 1996) and the pedagogy of the oppressed (Freire, 2000) and other non-European discussants are completely absent from the didactics' research canon as well. Only in very recent times, there is a beginning discussion about cosmopolitanism and world society in social science classroom didactics, which seeks to connect with the discussion of a truly global citizenship education in a cosmopolitan sense, but whose disciplinary frames are rooted in sociology rather than in the political science (Widmaier, 2010; Sander, 2011). This didactical debate is therefore somewhat "in advance" of curricular treatment and does not yet impact the micro- and meso-levels of the educational system. At this point, the hypothesis of the US-American colleagues could be confirmed, that multidimensional globalist approaches have – at least in didactic theory – some resonance in Germany.

In contrast, a "German mission" in global politics plays no part in any of the didactics' approaches; German international identity mirrors more the self-concept of a civilian middle power at the heart of Europe not willing to "project" itself at the global level. The political frames and the ensuing pedagogical legitimation frames, which are so severely criticized in the American context, are thus curiously lacking in the German didactics' debate.

In contexts of knowledge transformation for "standard" civic education on political systems, governance and democratic learning, globality is frequently problematized: The multilevel governance problem can be hardly didactically transformed in a decidedly student- and learner-oriented learning arrangement for a participatory citizenship education (see for the general didactics Scheunpflug & Hirsch, 2000). Traditional civic education researchers thus often see globalization as a "source of new risks" for democracy, in addition to other forms of denationalization of political decision-making processes as in contexts of EU-politics (Massing, 2002). Most publications are in fact still based on the idea of a "world of states". The "world of states"-concept is of course enriched by the concept of global governance, global non-state actors and international activism. But, 'traditional' didactics researchers do however not subscribe to a multidimensional concept of globalization as they continue to assume a global structure of governments cooperating in international organizations (and with selected NGOs) instead of an intrinsically globalized vision of world politics and a potential world polity (Weisseno, 2010).

4.2 The official pedagogical discourse at the federal level

Germany is a federal state and the 16 German Laender exercise "cultural sovereignty"; therefore, the educational politics are part of their core policy making-

competencies. At the federal level, the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Laender in the Federal Republic of Germany (Kultusministerkonferenz/KMK) fulfills coordinating functions e.g. for a-level standardization, for the general formatting of school subjects and for teacher education and exchange. In spite of explicit constitutional clauses, which place education under the exclusive jurisdiction of Laender, an all-German educational policy has emerged. A process that started with harmonization and standardization has eventually led to a process of "centralization" of German educational governance (Erk, 2003). However, educational programming and standard setting in the field of citizenship education is still not a KMK competence, as the subject is a minor subject in Germany's secondary educational systems. But, the KMK has quite regularly published general guidelines and joint declarations about educational politics at the global age. Those guidelines embrace topics like global sustainability, European Union politics, the education at the digital age and multiculturalism (KMK 1997; 2000, 2002, 2008).

Even if most of the aims formulated in those federal texts have only limited coercive effects on Laender curriculum making, it is interesting to analyse the legitimating formula and concepts of the globalization process with regard to the pedagogy–globalization connex and to observe how the general pedagogical and legitimating stances have changed over time. Finally, the KMK-declarations allow identifying and documenting sematic transformations with regard to central normative stances aimed at formatting the educational mission towards Germany's political "outside". The conceptual change with regard to that mission can be exemplified for the case of the EU.

Without any doubt, the object "European integration" as an object of education and of political regulation is subject to change: While in the 1970s there is a clear cut orientation towards European friendship, peoples' understanding and the peaceful exchange between the German post-war generation and its European neighbors, the 1990 KMK-declaration voices a completely different politico-pedagogical program. It is conveyed that after German reunification the European Community is arriving at a decisive stage including the "creation of a *Europe with federal structures*" (KMK, 1990, p. 2) and therefore preparing young Germans for being European citizens. The once more revised statement reads as follows in 2008: "the group of member states of the European Union has been expanded steadily since its origins. As a consequence, new structures and diverse ties and connections have emerged between peoples and states in Europe as well as between individuals and social groups. They have led to the situation that European citizens experience the *EU […] as a common area* […]." (KMK, 2008). As a result, the KMK still calls for an educationalization of European citizenship, but the claims for an education for a "European identity" are circumscribed by the emerging new characteristics of the European space of individual wellbeing and "good life", which is constrained by the preservation of borders and significant national political (and socio-economic) spaces.

Table 1: Programming the transnationalisation of citizenship as an educational mission?

1978	_ "Europe as a pedagogical mission" (KMK 1978, p. 6) _ "The task of schools is to call into mind the restructuring of the relationship between the European peoples and states through community building" (Ibid.) _ "Therefore school helps the new generation to generate a European community sentiment" (Ibid.)
1990	_ "European conviction as pedagogical mission of schools" (KMK, 1990, p. 2) _ "The aim of education is to strengthen young people's European identity." (KMK 1990, 3) _ "This includes the preparation of young people to their duties as citizens of the European Community." (Ibid.)
2008	_ "European conviction as pedagogical mission of schools" (KMK, 2008, p. 2) _ "Develop competencies for a good life in Europe" (Ibid.)

In terms of Bernsteinian analysis, one would suggest that the political structure and status quo regarding the European integration significantly affects the delineation of the legitimation as well as of the pedagogical aims of the education for a European citizenship. The reconstruction of the historical dimension of the federal enactment of education for a non-national citizenship in the EU thus underlines the high levels of explicit instrumentality of education for an actual political order and the underdeveloped disciplinary classification of citizenship educational standards.

4.3 The curriculum framing and classification of "globalization" as a central topic for social studies at the secondary level (1990-2014)

The following raises the question, if the disciplinary and theoretical orientation of the curricula in six major German Laender actually states the young "citizen of the world" as an educational objective (testing the cosmopolitanism-hypothesis), and how the capacity building in relation to global learning is constructed in terms of pluridisciplinary classification (explaining the disciplinary references and comparing the disciplinary classification) and pedagogical framing (explaining the setting of competence standards and learning goals and comparing the regulative mode/the framing) and if and how both dimensions are connected with each other. The more general comparative question is, whether the curricular development of the last 24 years transpires a typical common curricular transformation pattern of the tested school systems. The six Laender in the sample are typically included into comparable educational studies: Bayern (BA), Baden-Württemberg (BW), Lower Saxony (LS), Rhineland Palatinate (RP), Hessen (HS) and North

Rhine-Westphalia (NW). The selected Laender all once reformed their curricula in the period between 1990 and 2014. Further, they were respectively run by social democrat or conservative Laender governments (Tab. 2). The analysis focuses on the curricular globalization frames throughout the period from 1990-2014, when the globalization issue appears in any of the upper secondary curricula in the field. A first clustering of the curricula results in the identification of three basic periods of globalization: The period of global transformation after the end of the Cold War (1990-2000), the period of the globalization of security in an enlarged understanding after 11/09/2001 (-2007), the period of the crisis of the international financial capitalism and the following international debt crisis (2008-2014). Furthermore, the analysis refers to the "social sciences" as a school subject at the end of the secondary education at the senior high school level [level 11-12/13, Gymnasium] in the field of the Social Science/Civic educational domain [Sozial-wissenschaften/Politik/Gesellschaftskunde], which are basically equivalent school subjects (see for a detailed analysis of the syllabi Hedtke and Uppenbrock 2011).

Table 2: Advanced secondary Social Studies Curriculum- Analysis of Six German Laender (Gymnasium, senior highschool/Oberstufe, 11-12/13), timeline, [A-Laender/socdem_white/B-Laender/conserv_christdem_grey]

Land	1990	1994	1998	1999	2003	2004	2007	2010	2011	2014
	Post-unification, Post-Maastricht period, start global expansion				Post 9/11 period, consolidation of global expansion			Post financial crisis period		
BA	BA_B_1					BA_B_2				
BW		BW_B_1				BW_B_2	→		Curriculum-Reform 2016	
HS		HS_A_1	—		HS_B_2	→		HS_B_3		
LS		LS_A_1	—		→	LS_B_2				
NW				NW_A_1						NW_A_2
RP			RP_A_1						RP_A_2	

The exploration attempts to illustrate the conceptual spectrum in its development from internationalization to globalization and to focus on whether and how certain specific disciplinary conceptualizations are noticeable and at which point which disciplinary or interdisciplinary approaches are favored [politics, economics and sociology] and how the pedagogical device legitimates and regulates the disciplinary classification. The areas of ethics/religion, history, geography and biology, which are parts of the qualification framework of global learning (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation, 2007), are excluded.

For facilitating the corpus-management and the coding QDA-tools (AntCon3/MAXQDA 11) were used. First, curricula were defined as primary documents and classified following various external characteristics (land / year / left_right gvmt etc.). Then a coding scheme was gradually developed. Firstly, the transformations of the spatial dimensions elaborated in the curricula were coded. The general coding scheme develops the semantic instances of the space: "one world", globality/ globalization, internationalization, nation state, region, and town. Afterwards, the topical structure was coded following the canonical topics of school social sciences [cf. foreign policy, trade, migration, communication]. In turn, the disciplinary (and interdisciplinary) frames connected to the topics were coded. In addition, latent value assessments and qualitative valuations with respect to the certain behavioural concepts and peda-gogical dimensions of globalization are tagged ["oppor-tunities and risks of (...)"], which highlight the contro-versial citizenship perspectives and a legitimation of the instructional representations (see e.g. explicating global competences, such as the development of critical atti-tudes towards technological and environmental globa-lization). The analysis thus combines the topical/ disciplinary dimension with the ratings of regulative stances, e.g. critical thinking about opportunities and risks of globalization. Finally, the legitimation stances regarding the educational actualization of globalization in the field of citizenship education were recorded and tracked for a concurrence with specific disciplinary classifications (Tab. 3).

Table 3: Educational legitimation and curricular values connected with globalization / anchors (1990-2014)

Period	Pedagogical legitimation codes	Dominant value judgements
Post-Maastricht/ unification Germany: In search of a new post cold war-order	Global expansion (HS_A_1) "At the dawn of the 21st century, the territories, peoples, societies, cultures and nations of the world are connected in various ways with each other, depend on each other, are involved in special competitive relationships and exposed to the influence of global developments"	"janusface of globalization" NW_A_1
Post-0911 Germany: New international uncertainties and a new German role as a sovereign power at the heart of Europe	Retrenchment/New role (HS_B_2) "As the most populated state in the middle of Europe, Germany is in a new position after the end of the East-West conflict, its foreign policy has to secure the old west bonds and the close economic relations with its old partners and must simultaneously secure the openness to the newly democratized or partially politically unstable Eastern European countries." "learning about globalization students learn being a responsible German citizen" BA_B_2	"opportunities and risks" LS_B_2
Post-Crisis: Negative effects of globalization, lack of governability	Risk Discourse dominant (RP_A_2,NW_A_2) "students have to comprehend risks of global structures, processes, problems and conflicts with regard to climate change and sustainable development"	"winner and looser" NW_A_2

First findings of the analysis suggest a strong orientation towards economic curricular classifications, when it comes to globalization at the German upper secondary level education on globalization. The diachronic analysis shows a move from the canonical instruction of trade theory towards a controversial, but less disciplinarily framed classroom actualization of the role of free trade and of free movement of capital in a globalized world economy. Further, the topics evoked in the context of global learning are disproportionately often associated with general life risks such as food safety/product safety etc., environmental risks and other global resource crisis symptoms. However, the interconnectedness of fewer disciplinary knowledge frames with more behavioural regulation, which is stipulated by Bernstein, cannot be fully confirmed, as the regulative instances are generally very scarce in the corpus. It is though important to note that nowhere in the corpus of the thirteen curricula positive evaluative perspectives of Non-German globalized citizens of the world are highlighted and seriously taken into account for being presented in educational actualizations of the globalized world economy. Countries and economies outside the Western hemisphere tend to have special curricular parts to play as objects and targets of western development policies and not as actors in a globalized economy. Emerging countries and very poor countries are systematically mentioned in the same breath, globalization as an opportunity for the empowerment of former colonial countries is excluded. The perspectivization of their development reflects a European benevolent paternalism towards the non-OECD countries, see for example:

BW_B_1:_"Students learn about different theories explaining the backwardness and the underdevelopment of countries in the so called third world [...] and different strategies of development, which can be employed to reduce problems and risks of unequal development and backwardness"

LS_A_1: „Solutions have to be found for the poor countries to make sure that the central challenges of economic growth and the overexploitation of environmental resources will not further aggravate the global ecological crisis."

Nevertheless, the "worldwide competition"-frame, that is the liberal vision of a globalized world economy, is clearly topical while the discussion about global regulation of workforce etc. is curricularly more or less completely lacking (exceptions RP_A_2; HS_A_1). That would parallel the skill-oriented citizenship education/ social studies in the US that is oriented towards the competence-building of a German globalized workforce (Beltramo, 2013).

However, the politics-oriented curricula frames of globalization gain reputation, however slightly different from what could be expected being a genuine education to global citizenship: The fact of globalization is more and more visualized as a problem for national democracy and for meaningful citizen participation at the regional and at the national level. Forms of global governance are presented as being problematic types of government with a dominance of non-state actors who tend to alienate "normal" democratic decision-making processes. Moreover, there is an increasingly negative assessment of governance in the EU (eg. when comparing NW_A_1, NW_A_2) and its regulations, which are problematized in didactical classroom formats such as case studies on EU-policy-making (NW_A_2).

As for the political orientations of the curriculum-writers at the Laender ministries, it is at this point of the evaluation difficult to draw clear-cut conclusions. In the context of global learning at the "Gymnasium" there is no measurable and significant political Laender bias. It may seem as if the social-democratic curriculum planner tended to emphasize the democratic challenges that the globalization process states for citizens and politicians at the national level. But the small number of Laender and of legitimating code-units (n=13) do not allow to draw such far reaching conclusions.

5 Conclusions and future research: Global learning or learning for the globalized nation state?

In conclusion, the US hypotheses about a Germano-European citizenship education that is oriented towards global citizenship and cosmopolitanism in a world polity can clearly not be confirmed. On the contrary, the legitimation stances with regard to the educational settings and content frames for global learning tend to undermine the global citizenship vision. The 1990s discourse about the educational attainment of "multi-level-citizenship" and the educational training for building multiple identities have almost completely disappeared from the German school social science curricula. But, there is a general and systematic relation between the legitimation values conferred to the political exterior and its modes of governance with the disciplinary formatting. The political dimensions of globalization are absent in the expansion era at the beginning of the millennium, getting politicized at the national level during the crisis era. Thus, globalization is evoked as process that states more challenges than opportunities. But, the dominance of economic frames and of curricular classifications of topics in terms of economic education triggers the self-concept of Germany as one of the world's leading economies. Especially economically potent Laender as BW and BA reserve large parts of the *mise en scence* of globalization in their classrooms for the dissemination of facts and figures about the economic challenges and successes of Germany in a globalized world economy. If there is are further conclusion to draw on the general curricular transformation frames with regard to the degree of political influences one may retain a more moralizing stance and more frequent references to global responsibilities in the A-Laender, that is Laender under social-democratic government. But even social democratic Laender governments are far from being oriented toward global citizenship and cosmopolitan education as they still fear globalization for being a major threat to local democracy.

The analytic differential with regard to a regulative mise en scene of global learning, which coincides with particular disciplinary frameworks and behavioural aspects of the pedagogic device are analytically difficult to discriminate at a diachronic level. Still, the regulative bias lays still more in the changing political visions of globalization as a 'difficult outside' of the national state (see the impressive EU-example), but not in the differential targeting of different types of knowers. A further analysis of how knowledge about globalization is currically transformed for different types of school clienteles should be more revealing about epistemological segregation in a Bernsteinian sense.

Table 4: Globalization, disciplinary references and curricular spatial artefacts from 1994-2014

	Disciplinary Format / Political	Disciplinary Format / Economy
Global Level code families global IO, world society, word polity/UN risks_opportunities	POL/GLOB *2000s* _Agenda 21 _global responsibility *2010s* _ global risk community _ priv.actors/terr _global governance	EC/GLOB **2000s** _global economic integration **2010s** _Germany and global trade _economic gvnance
International Level code families non-global IO, NGO, EU, German foreign policy risks_ opportunities	POL/INT *1990s* _conflicts _war peace _ polarity _development **2010s**	EC/INT *1990s* _competition __trade (theory)
National Level code families nation/Region/town government risks_ opportunities	POL/NAT **2010s** _democracy /dem deficit	EC/NAT **2010s** _inequality

List of curricula incorporated into the Corpus

(Sources: Curriculum database of KMK http://www.kmk.org/dokumentation/lehrplaene.html; curriculum database of the University of Bielefeld, http://www.lehrplaene.org; Original documents of Ministries of Education of German Laender)

Baden-Württemberg (BW):

• Bildungsstandards für Gemeinschaftskunde im Rahmen des Fächerverbundes Geographie – Wirtschaft – Gemeinschaftskunde Gymnasium Klassen 8, 10, Kursstufe
http://www.bildung-staerkt-menschen.de/service/downloads/Bildungsstandards/Gym/Gym_Gk_bs.pdf;
Ministeriums für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg Ministeriums für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg (2004)

• Bildungsplan für das Gymnasium, Stuttgart, 21. Februar 1994, Amtsblatt des Ministeriums für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg

Lower-Saxony (LS):

• Rahmenrichtlinien für das Gymnasium - gymnasiale Oberstufe, die Gesamtschule - gymnasiale Oberstufe, das Fachgymnasium, das Abendgymnasium, das Kolleg, Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium (1994)

• Kerncurriculum für das Gymnasium – gymnasiale Oberstufe, die Gesamtschule – gymnasiale Oberstufe, das Fachgymnasium, das Abendgymnasium, das Kolleg; Politik-Wirtschaft; Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium (2007)

Bavaria (BA):

• Lehrplan für das Bayrische Gymnasium; Juli 1999 Bayrisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus München

• Das Gymnasium in Bayern; Lehrplan Jahrgangsstufen 11-12; 2004
www.isb-gym8-lehrplan.de

North-Rhine Westfalia (NW):

• Richtlinien und Lehrpläne für die Sekundarstufe II – Gymnasium/Gesamtschule in Nordrhein-Westfalen; Sozialwissenschaften; Auszug aus dem Amtsblatt des Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen; 1. Auflage 1999

• Kernlehrplan für die Sekundarstufe II Gymnasium/Gesamtschule in Nordrhein-Westfalen; Sozialwissenschaften, Sozialwissenschaften/Wirtschaft; Entwurf Verbändebeteiligung: 17.03.2013

Rhineland-Palatinate (RP):

• Lehrplan Gemeinschaftskunde, Grundfach und Leistungsfach mit dem Schwerpunkt Geschichte, Schwerpunkt Erdkunde, Schwerpunkt Sozialkunde, in den Jahrgangsstufen 11 bis 13 der gymnasialen Oberstufe (Mainzer Studienstufe); Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Weiterbildung Rheinland-Pfalz, Mainz 1998

• Lehrplananpassung: Gesellschaftswissenschaftliches Aufgabenfeld; Grundfächer: Erdkunde/Sozialkunde, Geschichte; Leistungsfächer Erkunde, Sozialkunde, Geschichte in den Jahrgangsstufen 11 bis 13 der gymnasialen Oberstufe (Mainzer Studienstufe); Erarbeitet im Auftrag des Ministeriums für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Weiterbildung und Kultur, Rheinland-Pfalz; 30. Juli 2011

Hesse (HS):

• Rahmenplan gymnasiale Oberstufe. Aufgabenfeld II. Gemeinschaftskunde, Hessen / Kultusministerium (Ed.), Frankfurt, Main: Diesterweg, 1995. 46 S.

• Politik /Wirtschaft - Gymnasium - 7-13 /2003
http://www.lehrplaene.org/hessen/he_p-wi_gy_7-13

• Lehrplan Politik und Wirtschaft, Gymnasialer Bildungsgang, Jahrgangsstufen 7G bis 9G und gymnasiale Oberstufe; Hessisches Kulturministerium 2010

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