BROWN UNIVERSITY · DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

Teaching History in Schools around the World

Interim Report and an Application on Greece

Stelios Michalopoulos

Brown University

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When social scientists hear the word "Schooling," what do they think?

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Numeracy | **Literacy** | **History** | **Civic Education**

Environment / Geography | **Art / Theater** | **etc.**

Social scientists study all of these — this talk narrows in on two.

When economists hear the word "Schooling," what do they think?

Numeracy | **Literacy** | **History** | **Civic Education**

Environment / Geography | **Art / Theater** | **etc.**

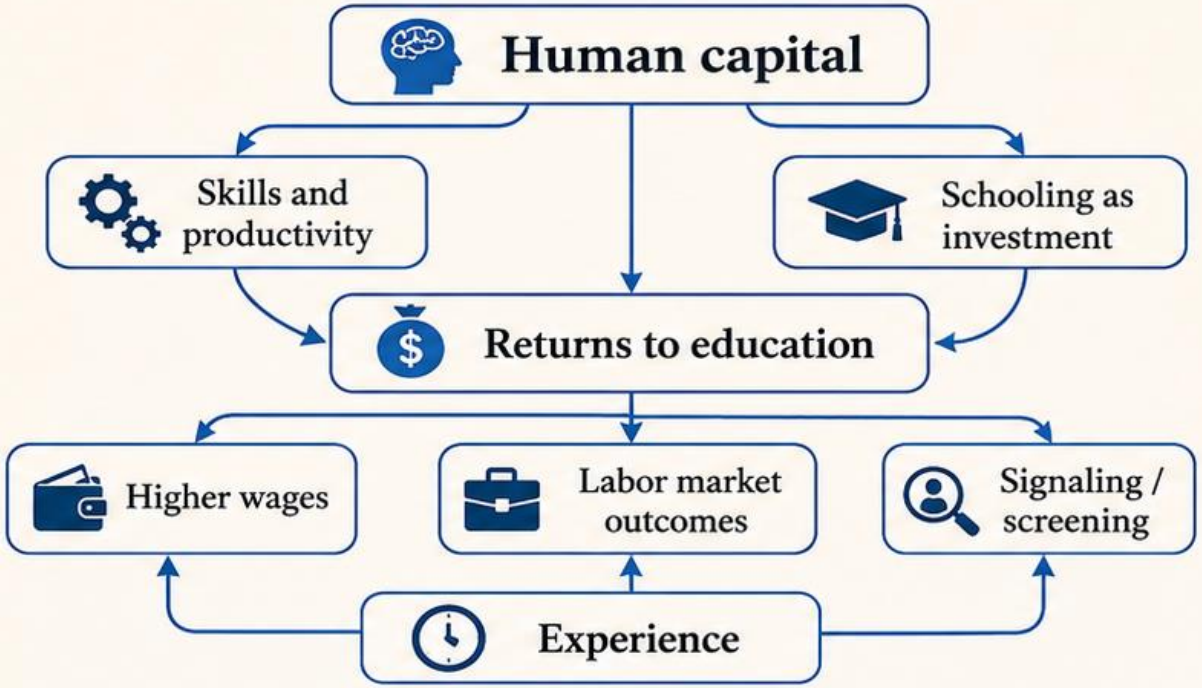
Economists have traditionally focused on these two — measuring returns to numeracy and literacy through wages.

Economists' View of Education

Jacob Mincer, Human Capital, and Wage Regressions

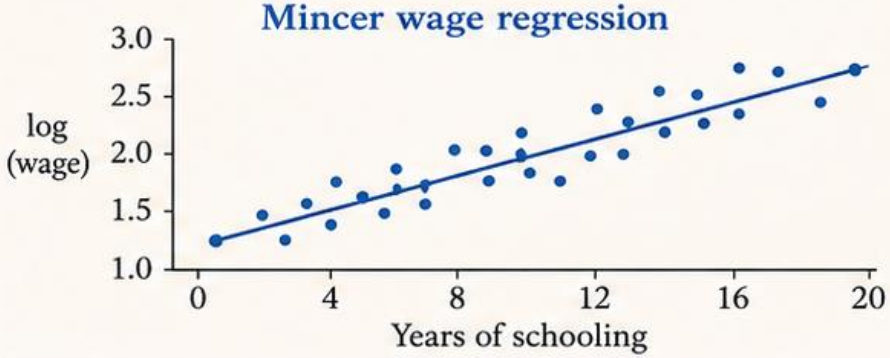
Jacob Mincer
(1922–2014)

- *Education increases productivity*
- *Schooling raises expected earnings*
- *Estimate returns with wage regressions*
- *Focus on incentives, skills, and labor markets*



Wage regression (Mincer equation)

$$\log(\text{wage}) = \alpha + \beta\ \text{schooling} + \gamma\ \text{experience} + \delta\ (\text{experience})^2 + \varepsilon$$



- Earnings increase with more schooling
- Estimate returns to schooling
- Control for experience

When the other social scientists hear the word "Schooling," what do they think?

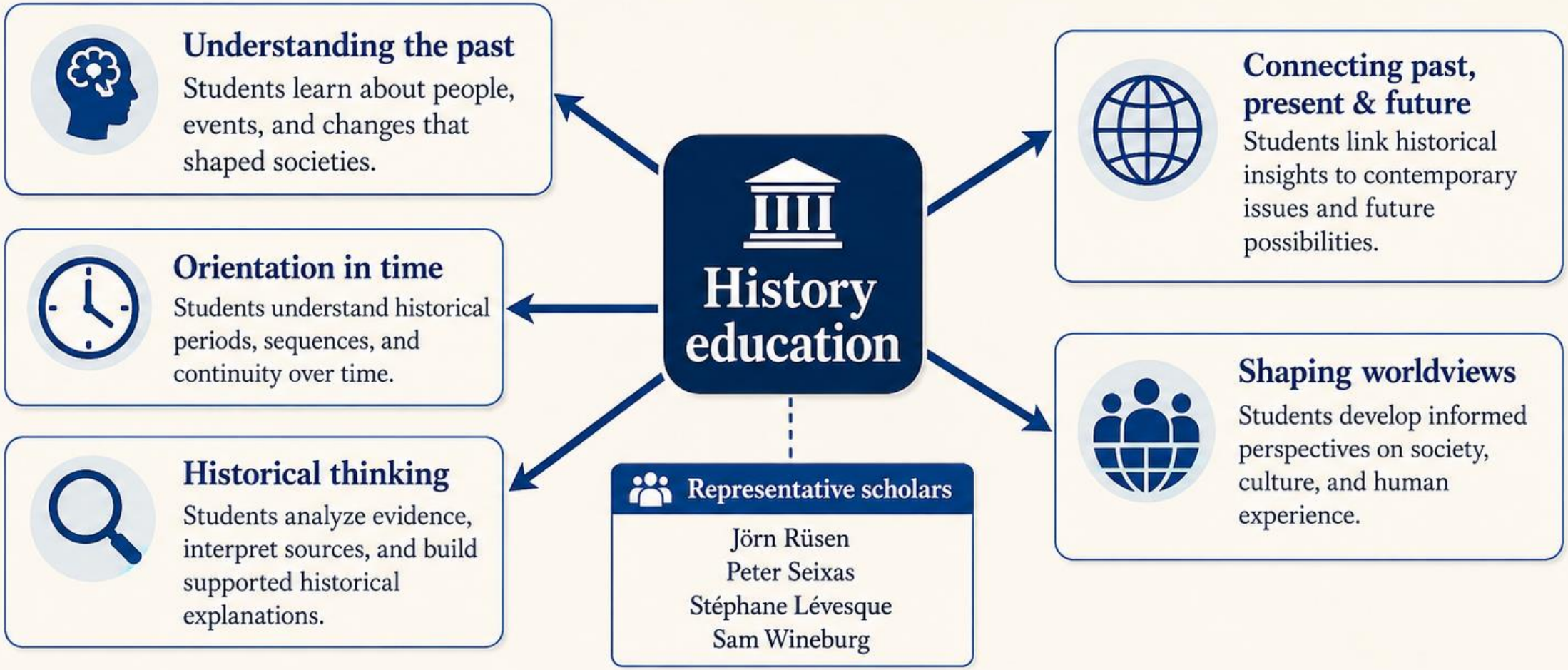
Numeracy | **Literacy** | **History** | **Civic Education**

Environment / Geography | **Art / Theater** | **etc.**

This talk is about the other two — History and Civic Education — and what happens when their content changes.

1. Historical Consciousness & Worldview

How history education helps students orient themselves in time and society.



Function: history teaching helps students make sense of the world through interpretations of the past.

6. Critical Theories of Schooling

How scholars explain the transmission of values, ideology, discipline, and power through education.

History education

Moral socialization

Instills shared values, norms, and civic virtues that shape students' sense of right and wrong and of their roles in society.

Reproduction

Reinforces dominant cultural capital, social hierarchies, and existing power structures across generations.

Discipline and subject formation

Uses routines, assessment, and surveillance to shape behaviors, regulate bodies, and produce compliant and productive subjects.

Ideology

Conveys particular worldviews and interests as "common sense," legitimizing authority and framing some histories as natural or inevitable.

Hidden curriculum

Transmits implicit messages and unspoken norms about who belongs, whose voices matter, and what is valued.

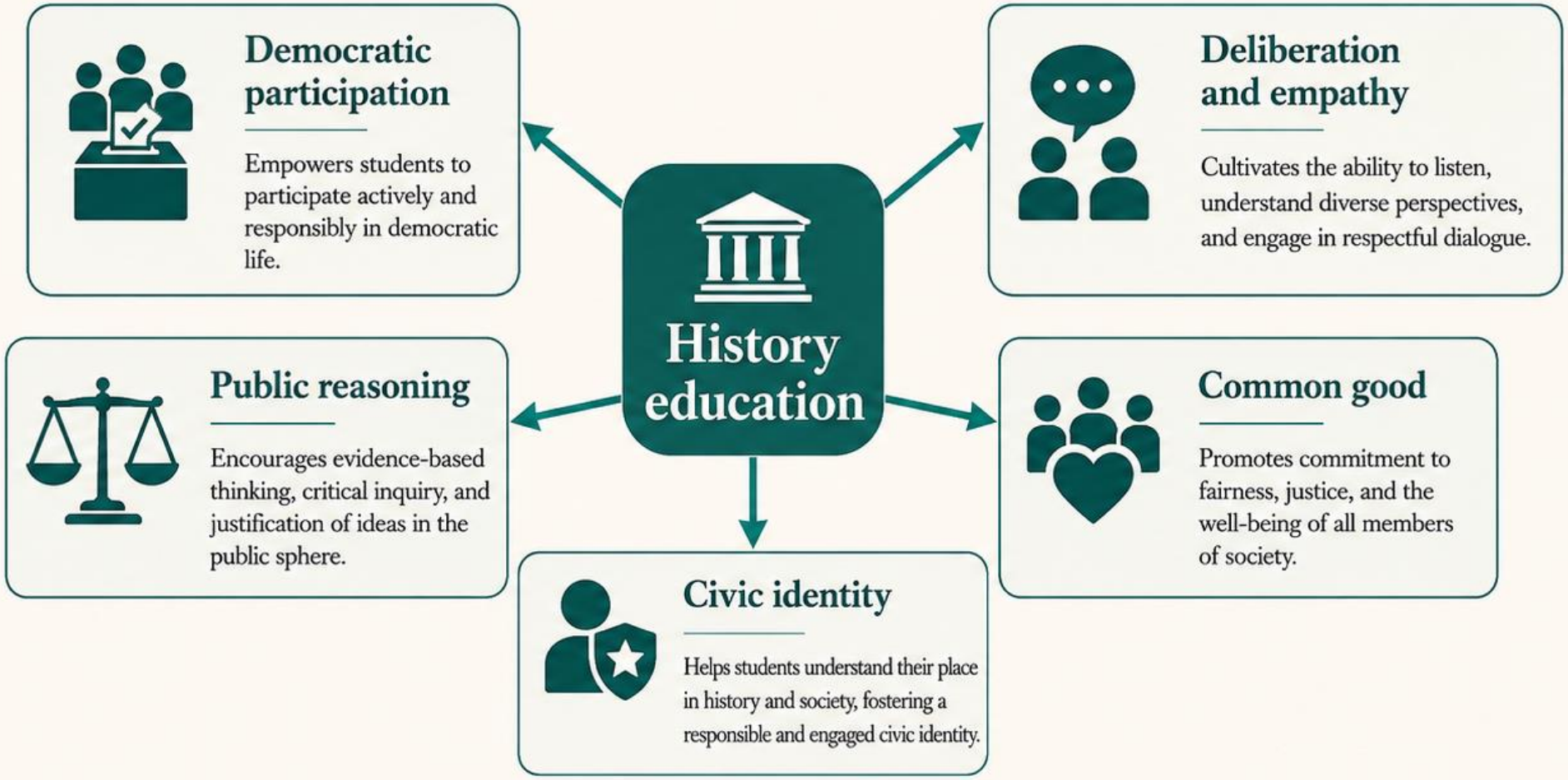
Function: history education can transmit values, shape identities, and reinforce or challenge power.

Representative scholars

- Émile Durkheim
- Pierre Bourdieu
- Michel Foucault
- Michael Apple

2. Citizenship & Civic Values

How history education shapes civic norms, participation, and democratic dispositions.



Representative scholars

- Keith Barton
- Linda Levstik
- Audrey Osler
- Hugh Starkey

Function: history teaching can cultivate civic values and prepare students for citizenship.

3. National Identity & Nationalism

How history education contributes to nation-building and collective identity.

Nation-building

Shapes citizens' sense of connection to the nation and its shared past.

Shared narratives

Promotes common stories, symbols, and memories that unify the nation.

History education

Belonging

Fosters emotional ties, loyalty, and solidarity among citizens.

Textbooks and collective identity

Textbooks transmit selected past events and values that shape collective identity.

Representative scholars

- Mario Carretero
- Falk Pingel
- Sirkka Ahonen

Defining who belongs to the nation

History education can include or exclude groups, reinforcing boundaries of national membership and "us vs. them" distinctions.

Function: history teaching often helps construct national identity and patriotic attachment.

4. Grievance, Memory & Conflict

How history education shapes memories of violence, grievance, and reconciliation.

History education

Victimhood and trauma

History lessons can validate experienced suffering or perpetuate narratives of victimhood.

Enemy images

History education can construct out-group stereotypes and portray others as historic threats.

Collective memory

Schools transmit shared memories and national narratives that shape group identity and belonging.

Contested pasts

History teaching presents conflicting interpretations of events and competing accounts of the past.

Reconciliation

History education can foster empathy, dialogue, and shared humanity to support healing and peaceful coexistence.

Representative scholars

- James V. Wertsch
- Elizabeth A. Cole
- Alan McCully

Function: history teaching can reproduce or soften conflict narratives and grievances.

5. Heroes, Role Models & Moral Exemplars

How history education offers figures and stories that model virtue, sacrifice, and leadership.

History education

Founders and Leaders

Highlight visionary leaders and founders who shaped institutions and nations.

Martyrs and Sacrifice

Teach courage and selflessness through stories of those who sacrificed for ideals.

Moral Lessons

Draw moral insights from the past to guide ethical judgment and action.

Exemplary Citizenship

Model responsible citizenship, service to others, and commitment to the common good.

Gendered and National Exemplars

Include diverse figures whose lives reflect cultural, national, and gendered identities and contributions.

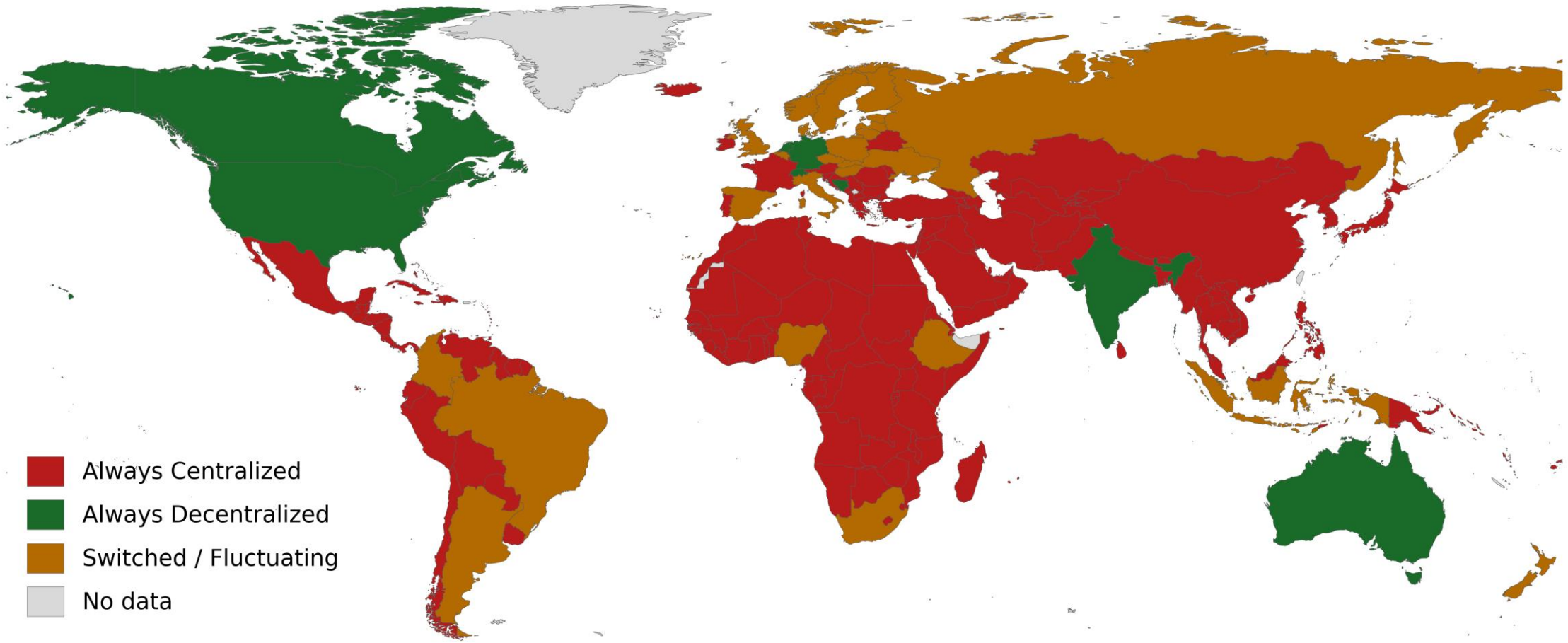
Representative scholars

- Barton & Levstik
- Mario Carretero
- Peter Seixas

Function: history teaching often presents exemplary figures to shape ideals, values, and role models.

Who Controls the Curriculum?

Curriculum centralization classification, 198 countries, post-WWII — source: Master Analysis (Post-WWII).xlsx

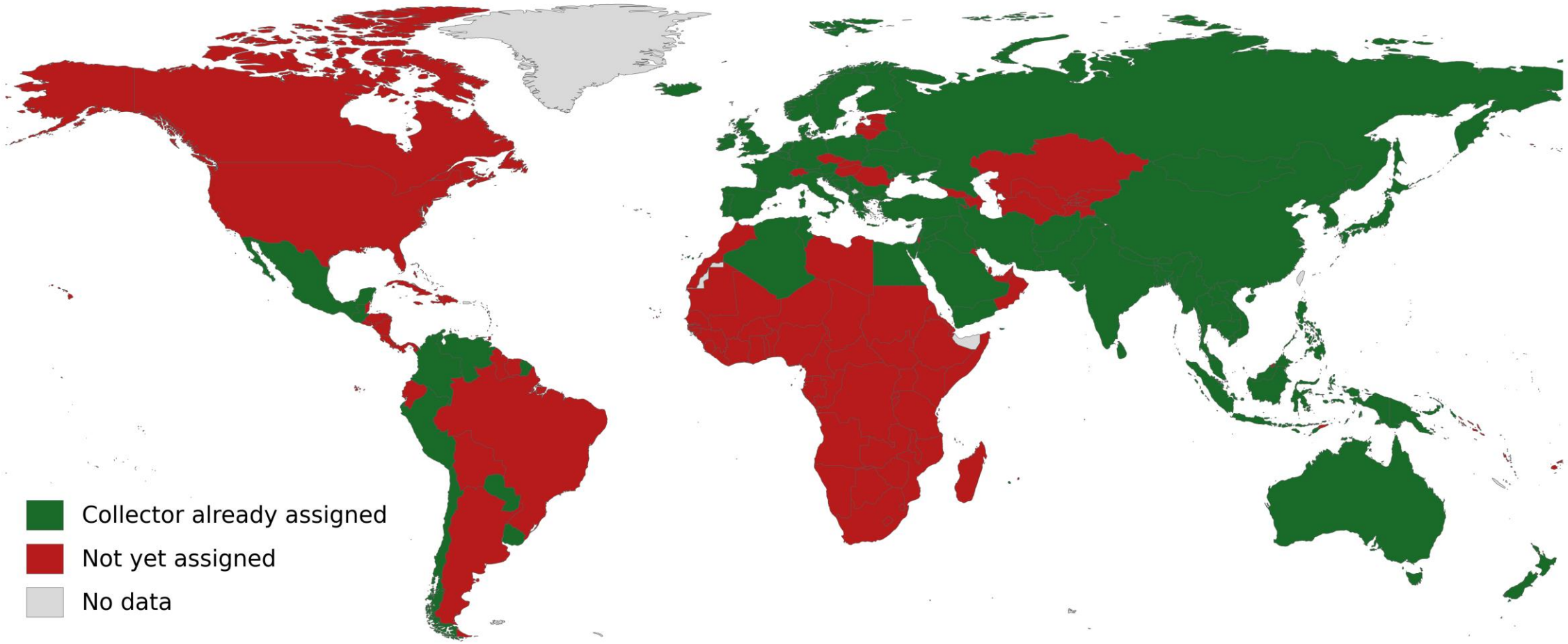


"He who controls the past controls the future. He who controls the present controls the past."

— George Orwell, 1984

Asset Collection Status

Countries with a researcher already assigned to collect curriculum-centralization data — source: Master Analysis (Post-WWII).xlsx



How Do We Check the Quality of the Asset Collection?

We feed the collected material to AI and ask it to assess completeness for every cohort

Example — PART H: Cohort Readiness Statement (Bhutan)

Confidence	Cohorts / Reform era	Evidence base	Recommendation
ADEQUATE (HIGH)	Born 1981–2015 Reform eras 2–3 (Bhutanization; Education Blueprint / CBE)	Official 10th-grade textbooks; 11th/12th-grade syllabi from the 2005 transition; current 2021–2024 Provisional Edition syllabi for grades 7–10	Include in empirical analysis
WEAK	Born 1954–1980	Secondary only — retrospective dissertations/articles describing the "Indian System," no original curriculum standards	Analyze with caution
INSUFFICIENT	Born 1930–1953	No primary or secondary records; 1974 National Education Policy and official CISCE History Syllabi both missing	Exclude until missing materials are acquired

• This three-tier readiness check (Adequate / Weak / Insufficient) runs on every country before its data enters the pooled dataset — the same discipline applied throughout this project's survey and curriculum-entity extraction.

PART I

Context

The Greek History Curriculum, 1881–2014

How We Built the Dataset for Greece

LLM extraction prompt applied to each 5-page chunk of the thesis PDF

▸ Entity types

individual | event | group | nation | theme

▸ Include a row when

(A) Verbatim path — a sentence in the original textbook / curriculum document names this entity as lesson content; OR

(B) Researcher-stated path — the thesis author explicitly states the entity was curriculum content for a specific named year and grade.

▸ Sentiment (curriculum's own perspective)

pos glorified, heroic, celebrated, depicted as peaceful neighbour

neg enemy, oppressor, invader, traitor, threat to Hellenism

neu factual / neutral listing without evaluative language

▸ Key rules

- One row per distinct portrayal; new row when framing changes
- Named curriculum unit titles are always entities
- Dense catalogue pages: extract EVERY named entity
- curriculum_year ≠ source_year

▸ Source document

Giotis, G. (2012). The Evolution of Greek Primary School History Curricula. PhD Thesis, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

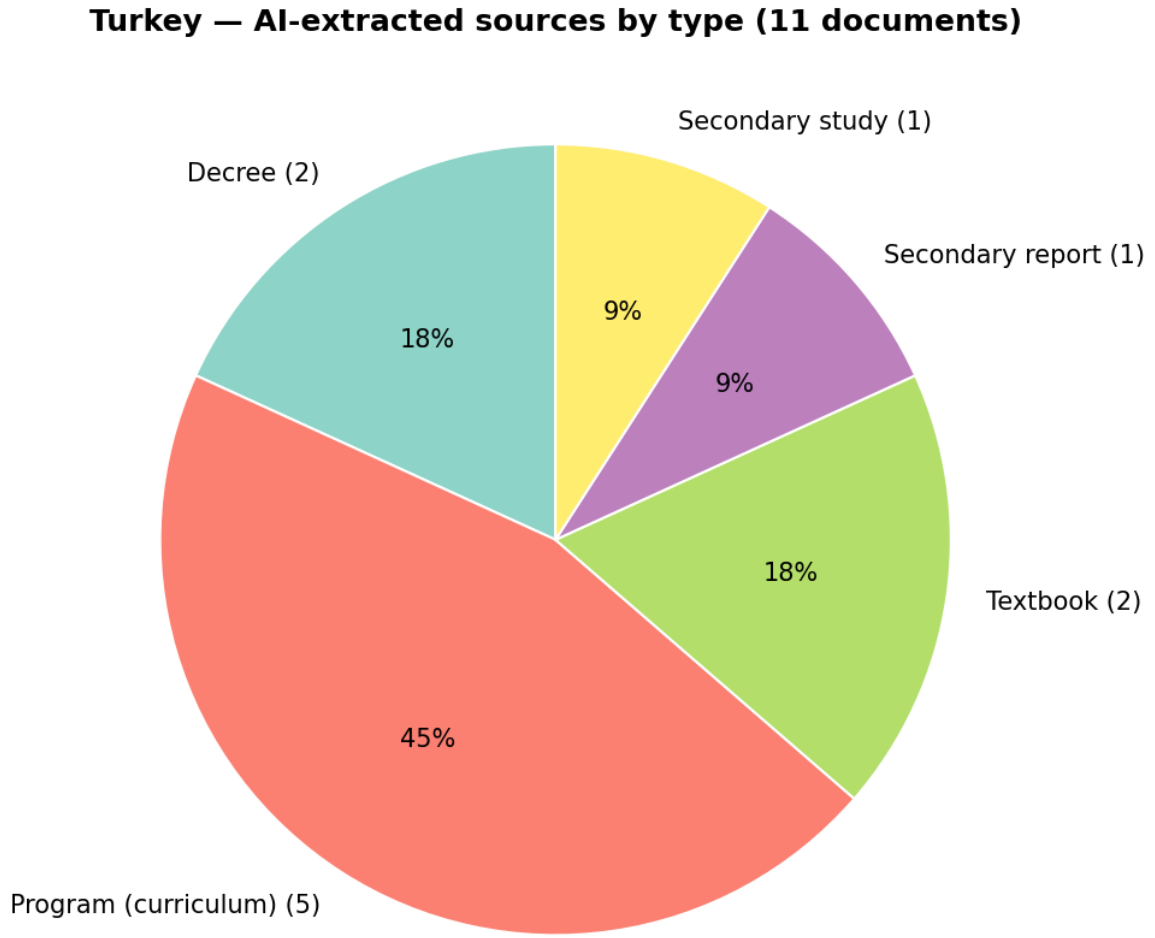
▸ Extraction process

- 5-page chunks fed to Claude claude-sonnet-4-6
- Structured JSON output per chunk
- Manual review + curriculum_year gap audit
- v3 dataset: 2,336 rows, 16 columns

▸ 16 columns include

actors_event_group_name · type · nationality
sentiment · religious_actor · time_period
curriculum_year · evidence_quote_original
evidence_translated · portrayal

Sources of the Turkish Curriculum Dataset



Turkey only; combine with Greece once Greece source list is provided.

The Dataset at a Glance — Greek Curriculum

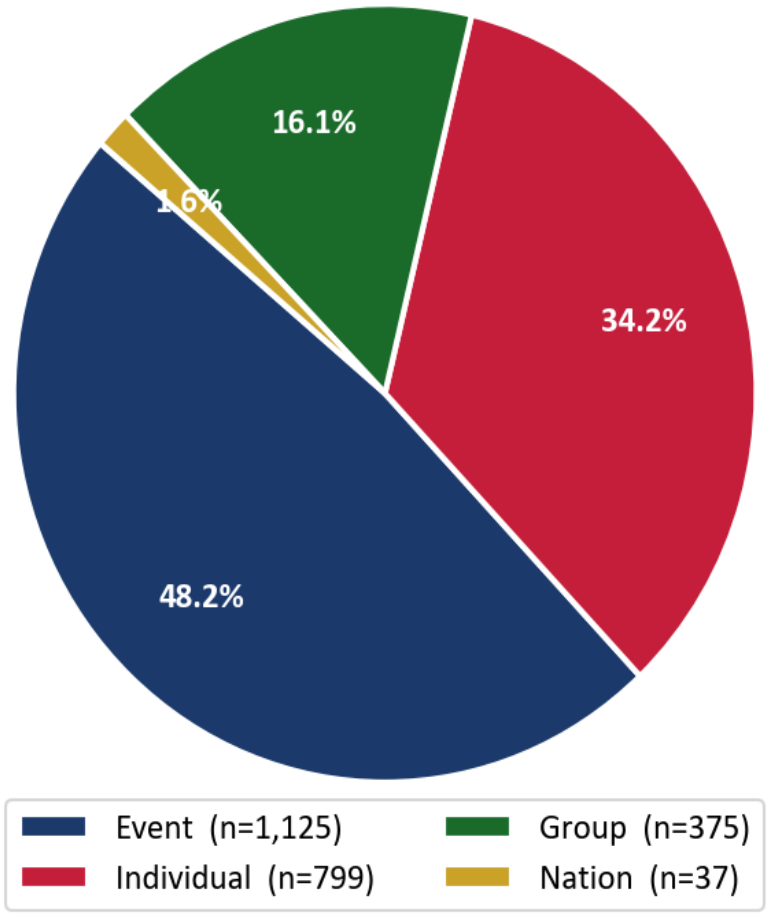
Sample rows from historical_actors_v3.csv (16 columns · 2,336 rows)

Entity Name	Type	Nationality	Sent.	Curr. Year	Time Period	Portrayal (excerpt)
Heracles	individual	Greek	pos	1957	Mythology	In 1957 the first unit was titled 'Heracles as the emblem of the Hellenic Crown'
King Konstantinos I	individual	Greek	pos	1936	Modern Greek history /	Portrayed sympathetically as a legitimate king unjustly forced out by the Allies
Herakles	individual	Greek	pos	1939	Ancient Greek history	Portrayed as an ancient embodiment of Greek heroic greatness; his inclusion in t
Political situation of Europe in	event	European	neu	1913	15th century / Late By	The researcher explicitly states that the Grade 6 curriculum included for the fi
Argonautic Expedition	event	Greek	pos	1957	Mythology	Third unit of the five-unit 1957 mythology curriculum
Byzantine Empire	group	Greek	pos	1881	Byzantine	Before 1850s: treated as dark age or foreign body; Zambelios (1852) began rehabi

What Types of Entities Were Extracted? — Greek Curriculum

Total: 2,336 extracted entity rows · type classification from entity metadata

Distribution by Type



Key Observations

- **Event**

Events dominate: battles, wars, treaties, revolutions.

- **Individual**

Individuals: rulers, military heroes, religious leaders, intellectuals.

- **Group**

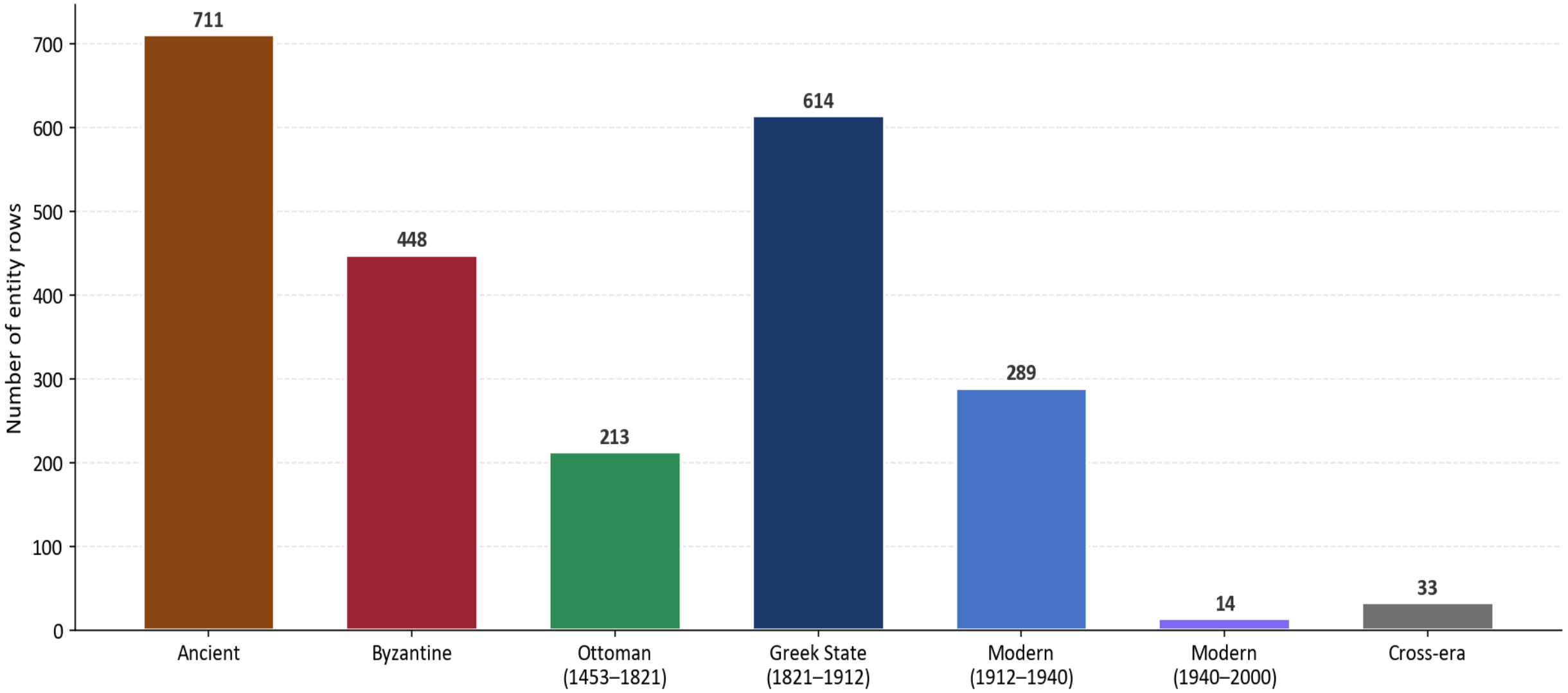
Groups: peoples, armies, dynasties, religious communities.

- **Nation**

Nations: states and empires characterised as collective actors.

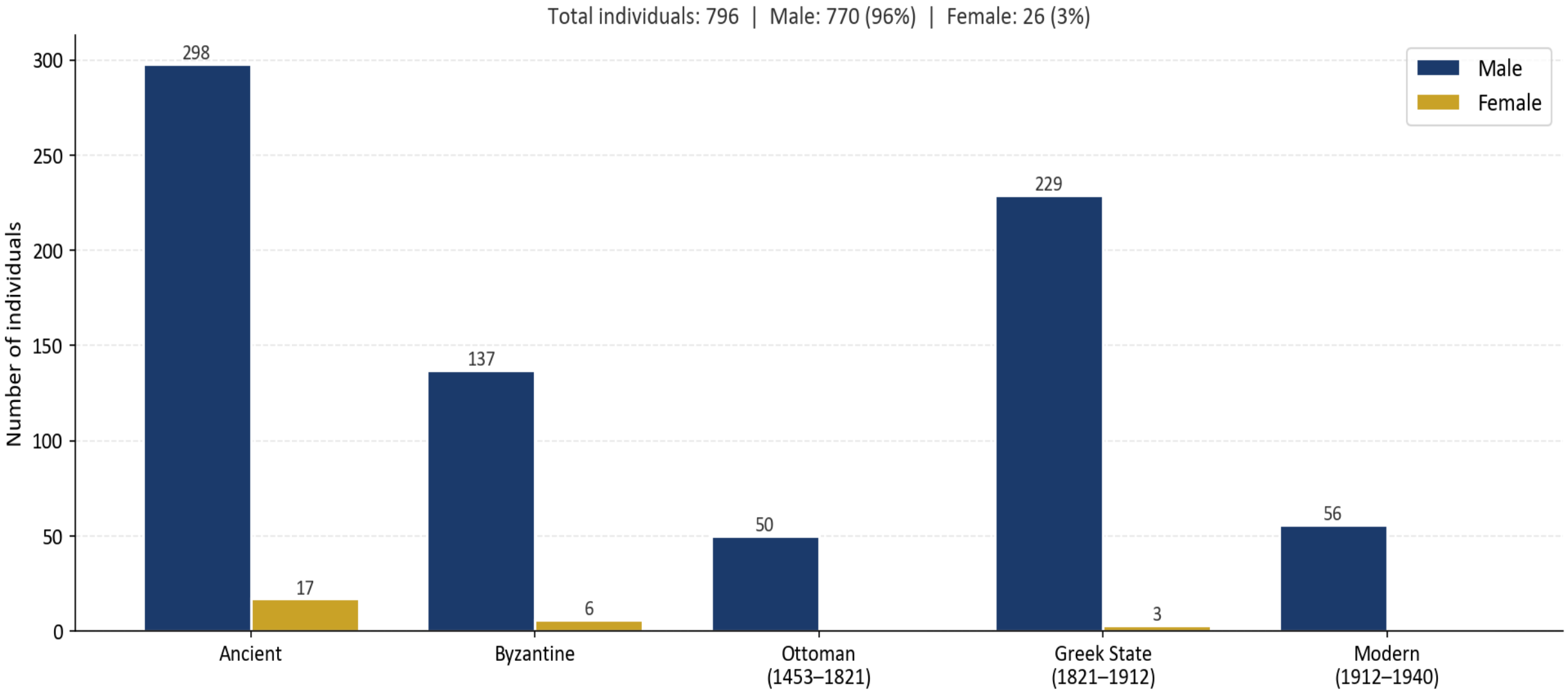
Coverage Across Historical Eras — Greek Curriculum

Number of entity rows per period · period assigned from time_period field

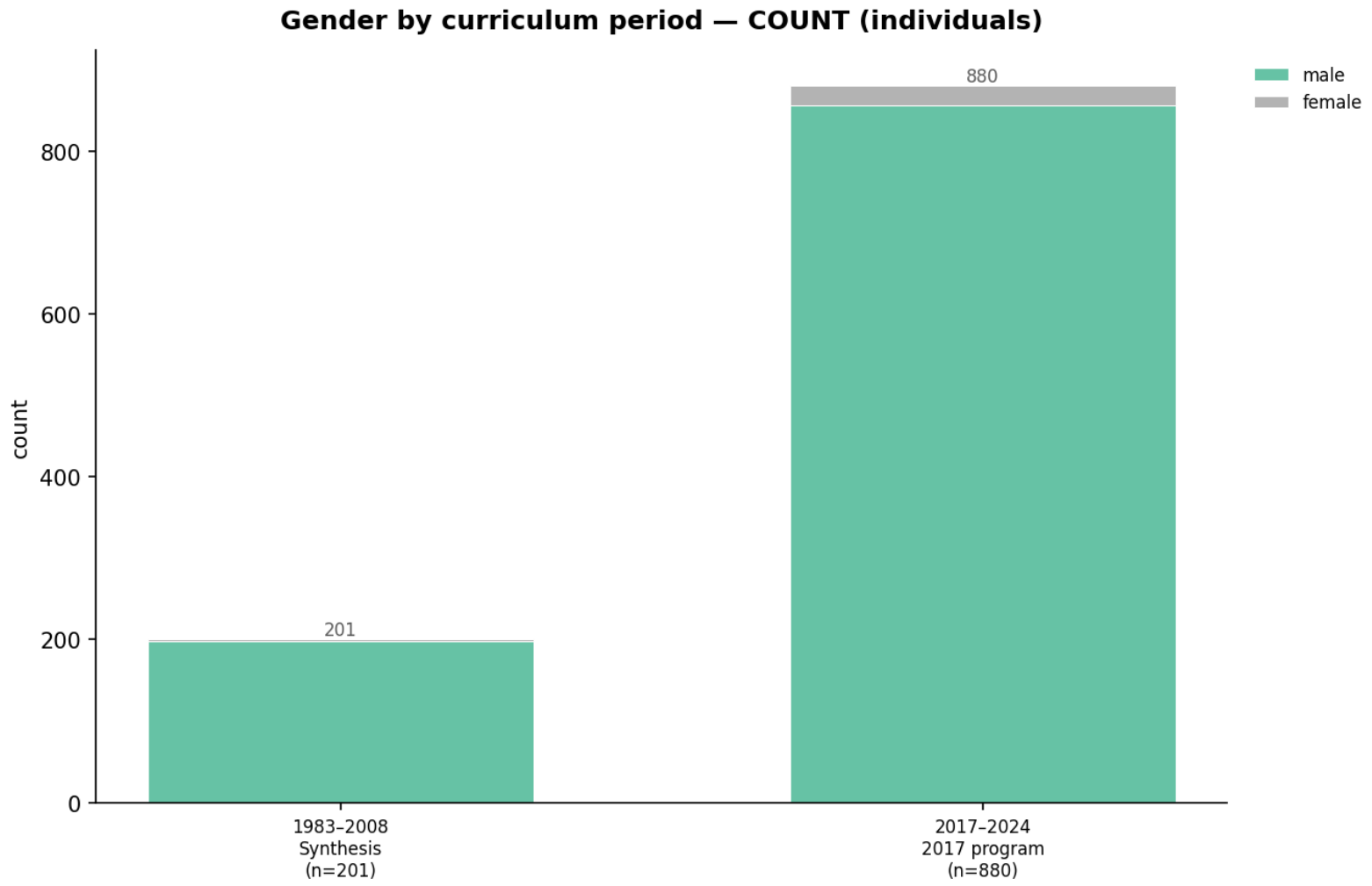


Gender Representation by Period — Greek Curriculum

Based on 799 individual-type rows · gender inferred from name + description



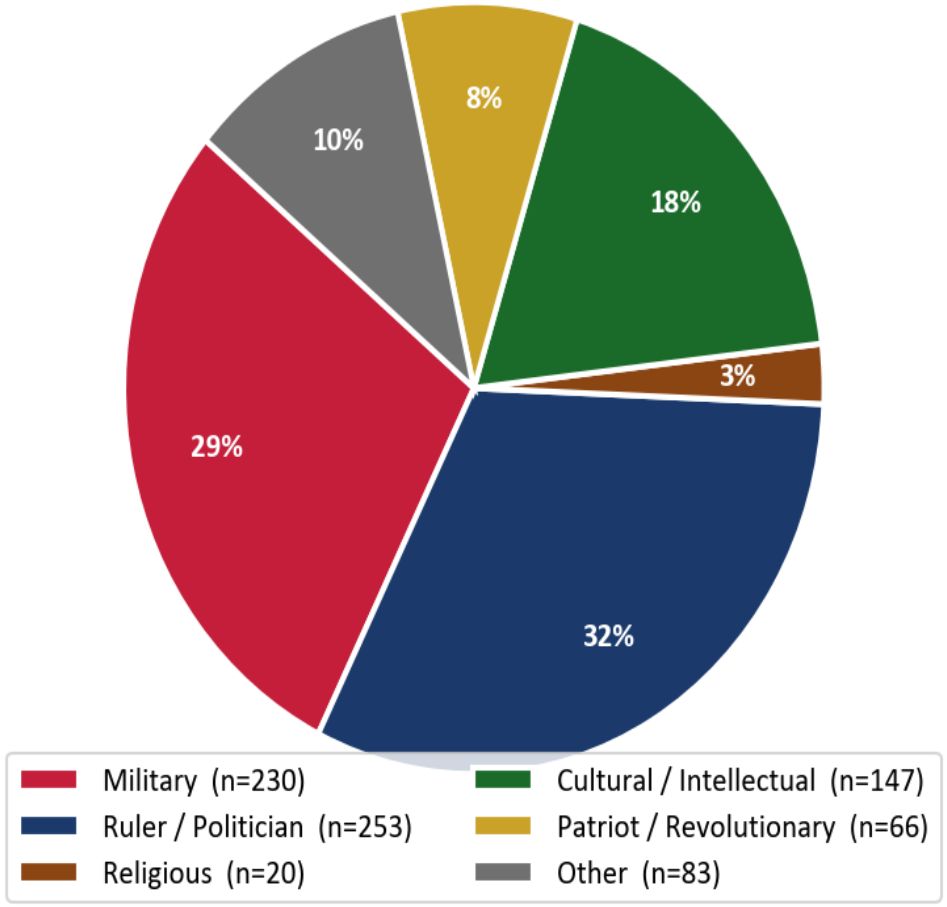
Gender Representation by Period — Turkish Curriculum

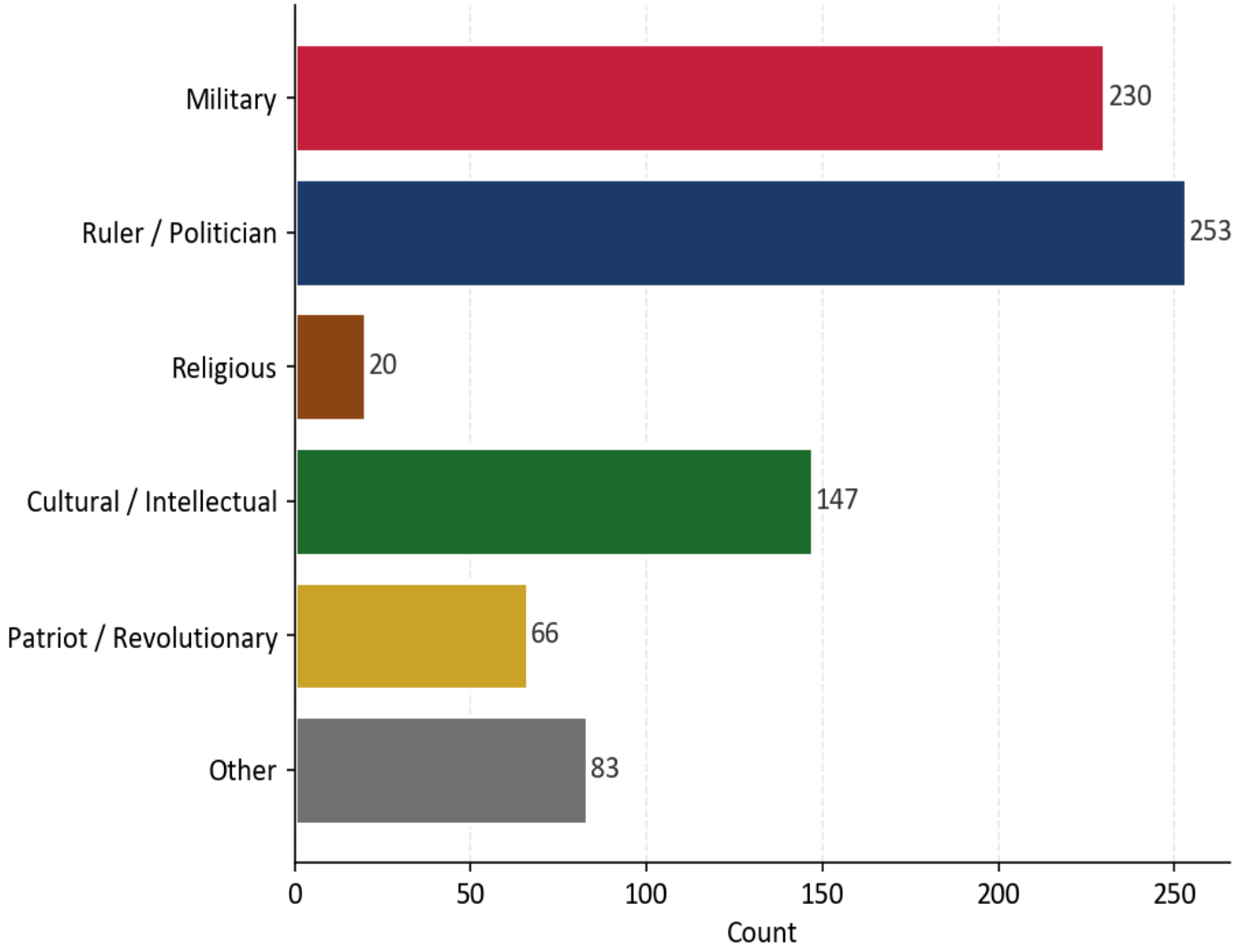


Primary curricula only, by implemented reform era. 1941–83 omitted (too sparse, n=4); 2008–17 has no primary source; 1931–41 & 2024+ not extracted; two secondary sources excluded.

Roles and Occupations of Historical Actors — Greek Curriculum

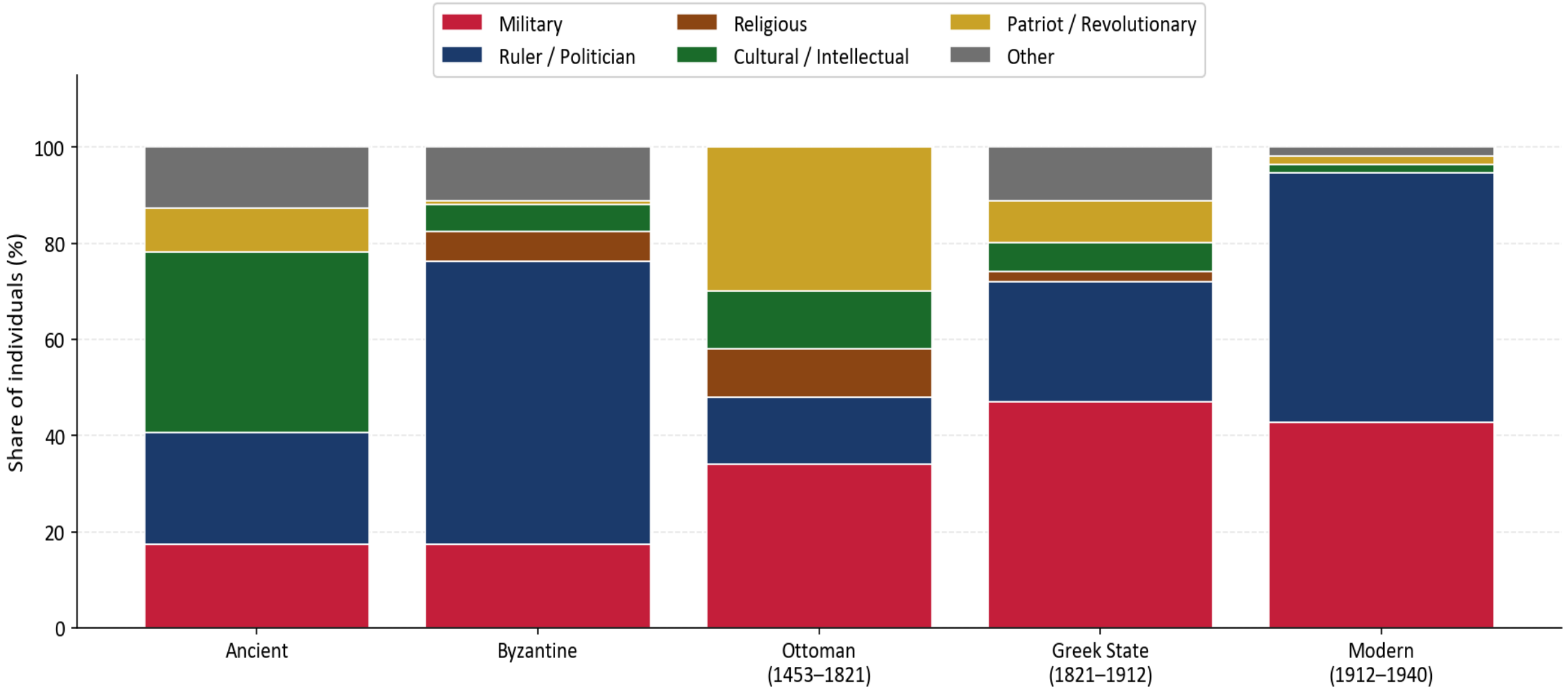
Inferred from name · role_in_curriculum · characteristics · n = 799 individuals





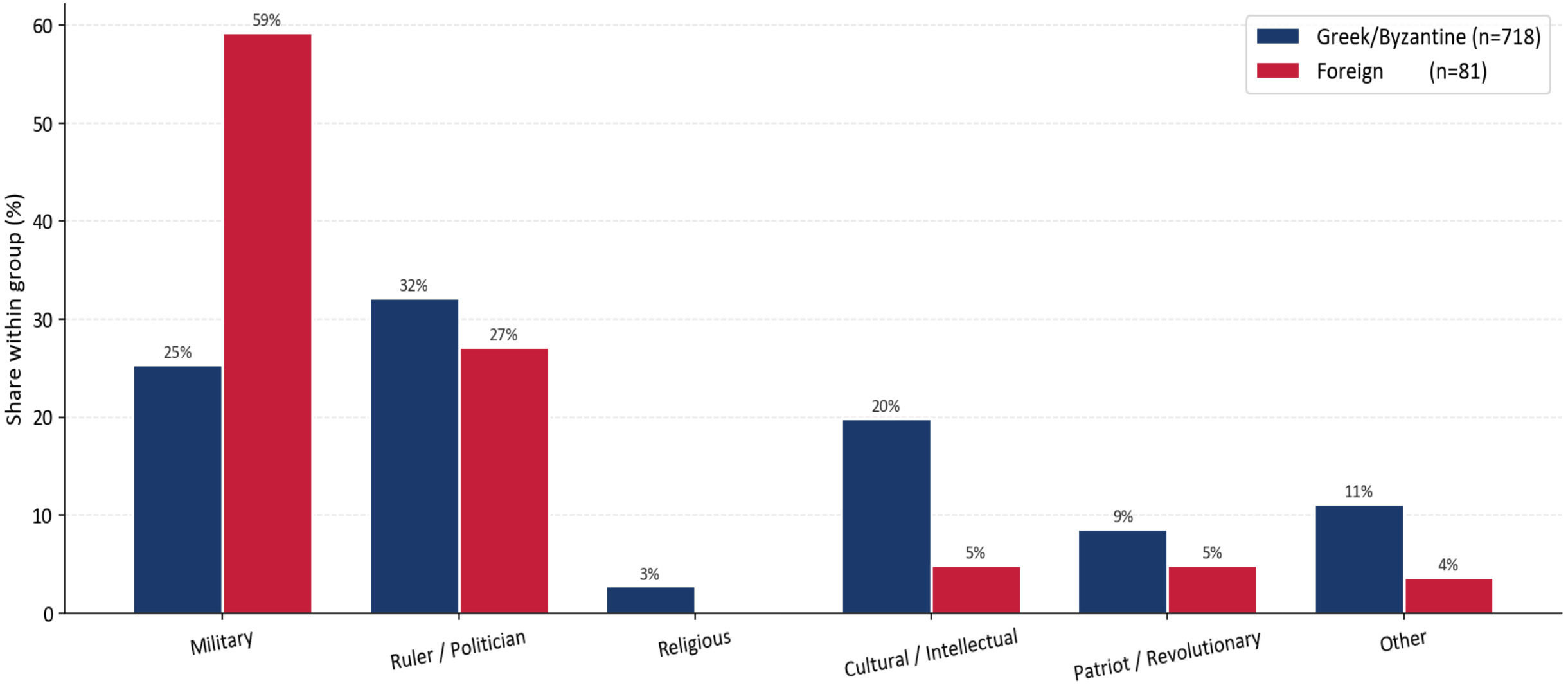
How Occupational Roles Shift Across Eras — Greek Curriculum

Share of individuals per occupation, by historical period

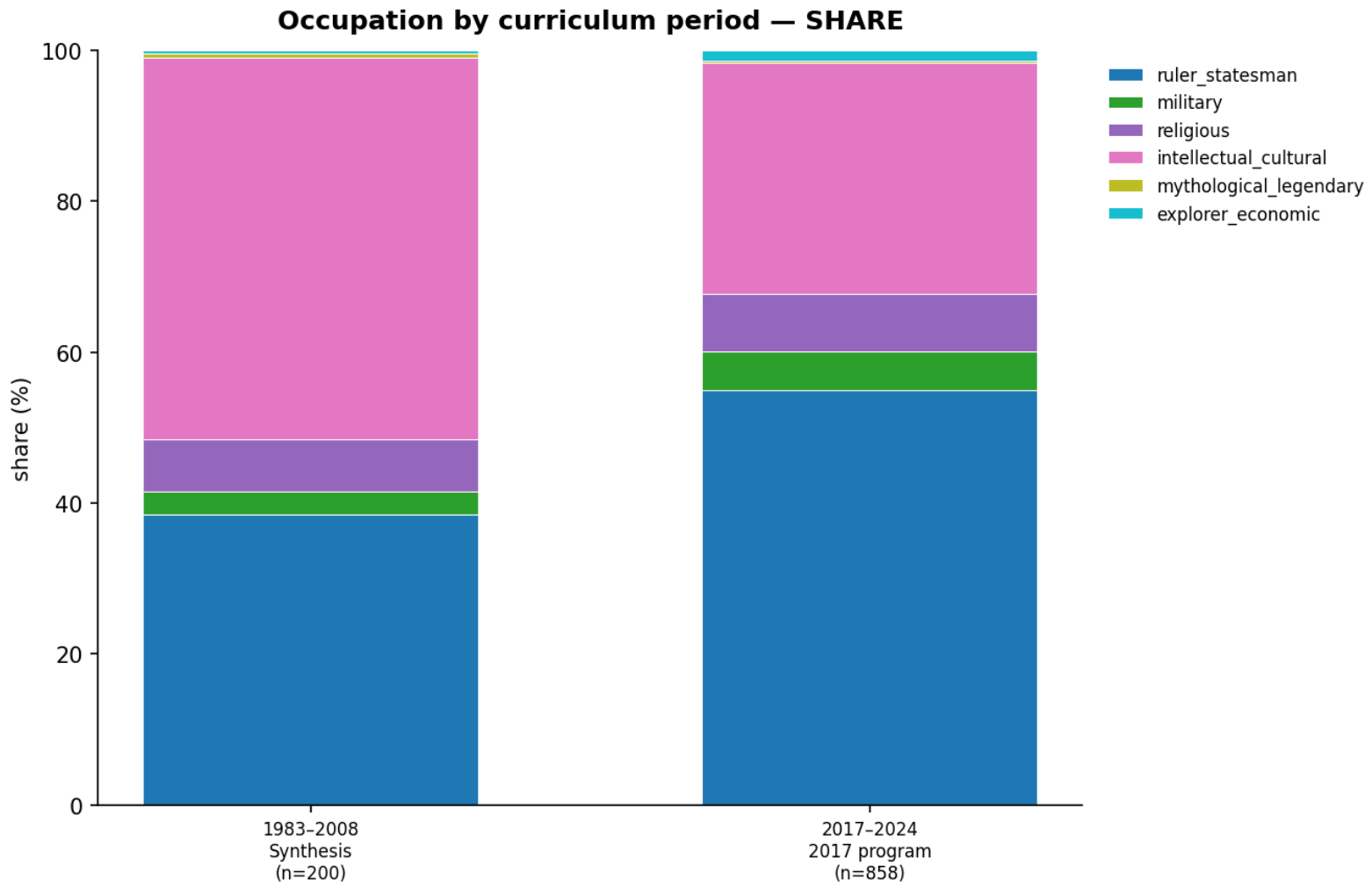


Greek vs. Foreign Actors — Different Roles?

Greek/Byzantine: n=718 | Foreign: n=81



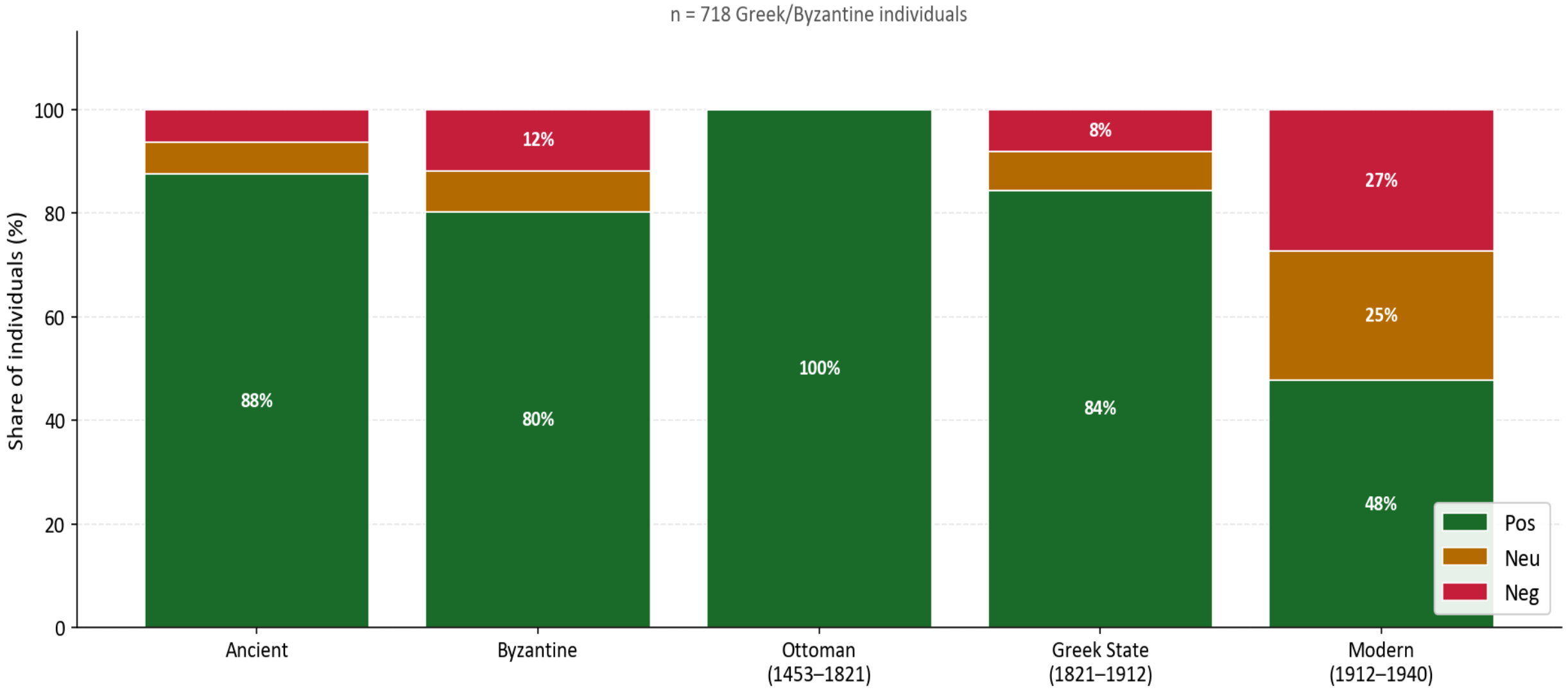
Occupation Share by Period — Turkish Curriculum



Primary curricula only, by implemented reform era. 1941–83 omitted (too sparse, n=4); 2008–17 has no primary source; 1931–41 & 2024+ not extracted; two secondary sources excluded.

How the Curriculum Frames Greek/Byzantine Figures

n = 718 Greek/Byzantine individuals · sentiment from the curriculum's own perspective



Greek/Byzantine Portrayals — Selected Examples

2 positive · 2 neutral · 2 negative (drawn from evidence_translated field)

● POSITIVE

[Charilaos Trikoupis]

Nat: Greek | Year: 1969

"Charilaos Trikoupis (1832–1896). He was born in Nafplio and was the son of the great historian and politician Spyr. Trikoupis. He was a pupil of G. Gennadeios. He studied law at the University of Athe…"

Period: Modern Greek state — reign of George I (1863–1913)

[Konstantinos XI Palaiologos]

Nat: Greek | Year: 1881

"'But at that very moment he receives blow after blow from the surrounding enemies and the lion-hearted last emperor falls. Together with him fell the empire. It was 29 May 1453, a Tuesday. ETERNAL MEM…"

Period: Byzantine Empire / Fall of Constantinople

● NEUTRAL

[Charilaos Trikoupis]

Nat: Greek | Year: 1913

"In the 1913 curriculum programme the final chapter in the 6th-grade syllabus was given the general title 'Greece under George I' without specifying which events, persons and conditions of the fifty-ye…"

Period: Modern Greek state — reign of George I (1863–1913)

[Charilaos Trikoupis]

Nat: Greek | Year: 1931

"In the 1913 curriculum programme the final chapter in the 6th-grade syllabus was given the general title 'Greece under George I' without specifying which events, persons and conditions of the fifty-ye…"

Period: Modern Greek state — reign of George I (1863–1913)

● NEGATIVE

[Alexios IV Angelos]

Nat: Greek | Year: 1881

"'[…] the fugitive prince Alexios, a fugitive from the prisons of Constantinople […] Then the people of Constantinople were compelled and immediately expelled both Angeloi: both the aged Isaac II and h…"

Period: Byzantine Empire / Fourth Crusade

[Alexios IV Angelos]

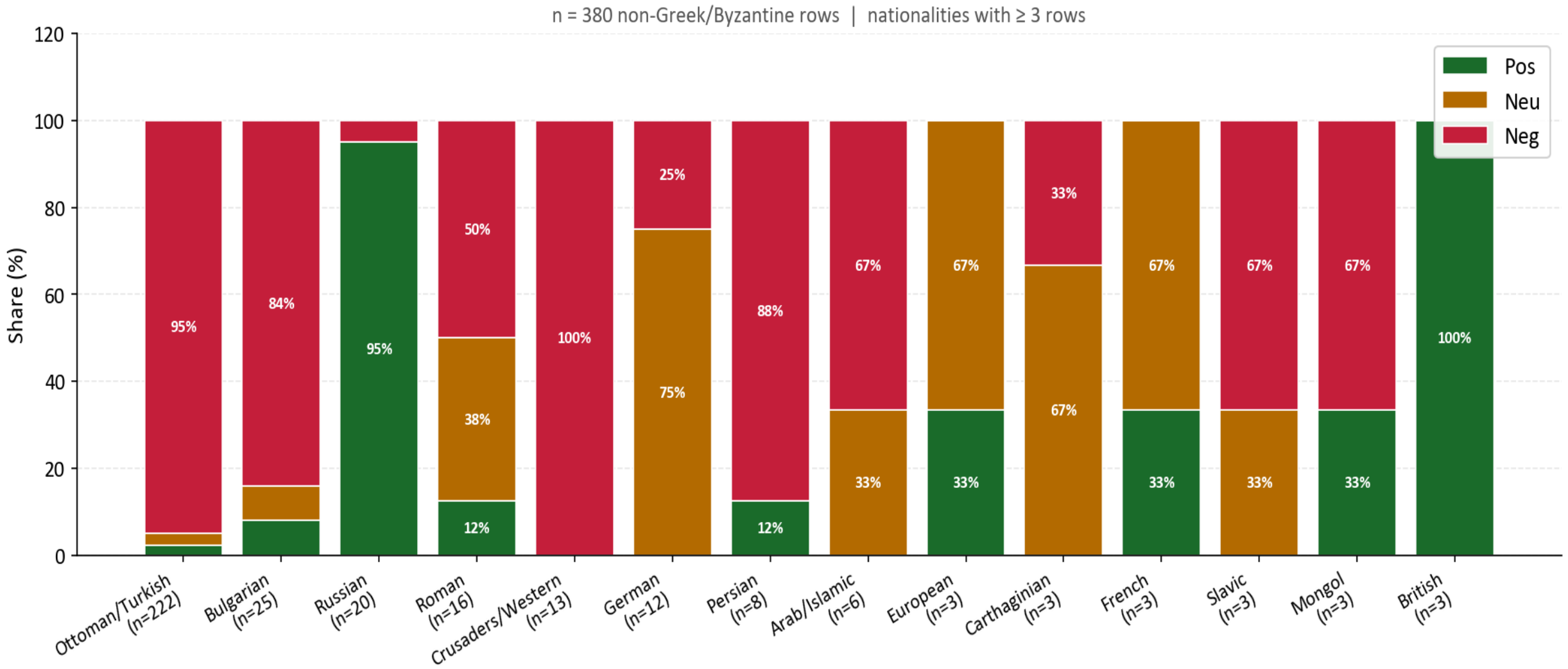
Nat: Greek | Year: 1894

"'[…] the fugitive prince Alexios, a fugitive from the prisons of Constantinople […] Then the people of Constantinople were compelled and immediately expelled both Angeloi: both the aged Isaac II and h…"

Period: Byzantine Empire / Fourth Crusade

How the Curriculum Frames Foreign Nations — Greek Curriculum

n = 380 non-Greek/Byzantine rows · nationalities with ≥ 3 rows shown



Foreign Portrayals — Selected Examples — Greek Curriculum

2 positive · 2 neutral · 2 negative

● POSITIVE

[Evliya Çelebi (passage A — Ottoman offer of surr]

Nat: Turkish/Ottoman | Year: 2003

"«According to the Prophet's command, the Muslims were required before beginning an attack to notify their opponents whether they wished to surrender, because otherwise they would slaughter and kill pe…"

Period: Ottoman / Fall of Constantinople 1453

[Alp Arslan]

Nat: Turkish/Seljuk | Year: 2003

"«The leader of the Seljuk Turks Alp Arslan, after the Battle of Manzikert, treated the captive Emperor Romanos IV with the kindness that only the brave possess»"

Period: Medieval / Seljuk period

● NEUTRAL

[Evliya Çelebi (passage B — battle within Constan]

Nat: Turkish/Ottoman | Year: 2003

"«… Then the Conqueror went to Hagia Sophia. But those who were inside the church and from the surrounding houses began to fire and throw bombs and Greek fire against the soldiers of Islam and to resis…"

Period: Ottoman / Fall of Constantinople 1453

[Ioustinianis (Giustiniani)]

Nat: Italian/Genoese | Year: 2003

"They discuss the stance of Constantine Palaiologos and strategos Ioustinianis during the final phase of the siege"

Period: Late Byzantine period

● NEGATIVE

[Krum (Bulgarian ruler)]

Nat: Bulgarian | Year: 1881

"«Krum then showed the hardness of his soul. He covered the skull of Nikephoros with silver and used it as a drinking cup at banquets. But this crime of Krum was very quickly avenged by the new emperor…"

Period: Byzantine/medieval period

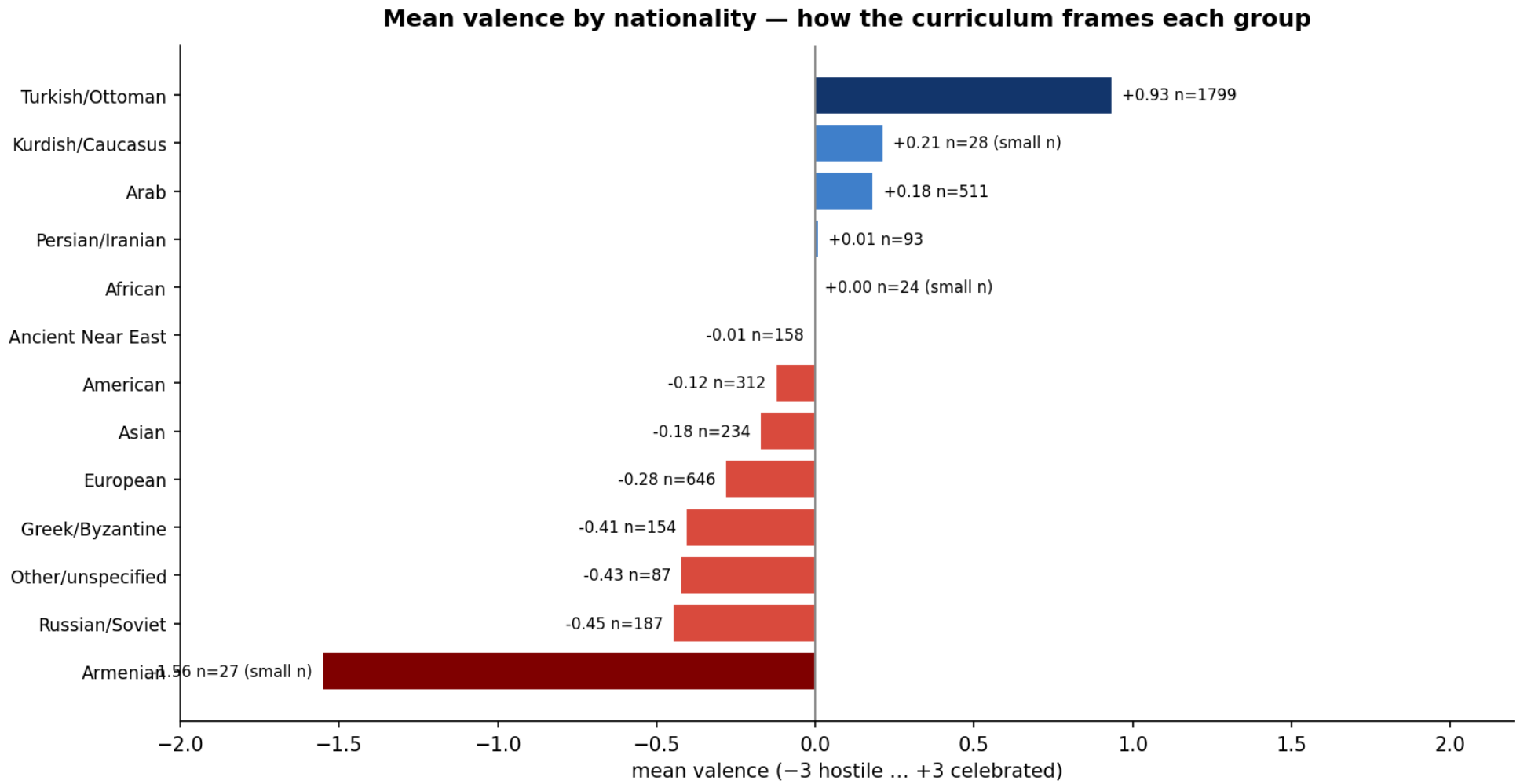
[Sultan Abdulhamid II]

Nat: Turkish/Ottoman | Year: 1969

"In Turkey in 1908 many educated Turks, called the Young Turks, together with many officers revolted. They dethroned Sultan Abdulhamid, put his brother Mehmed V on the throne and took over the governme…"

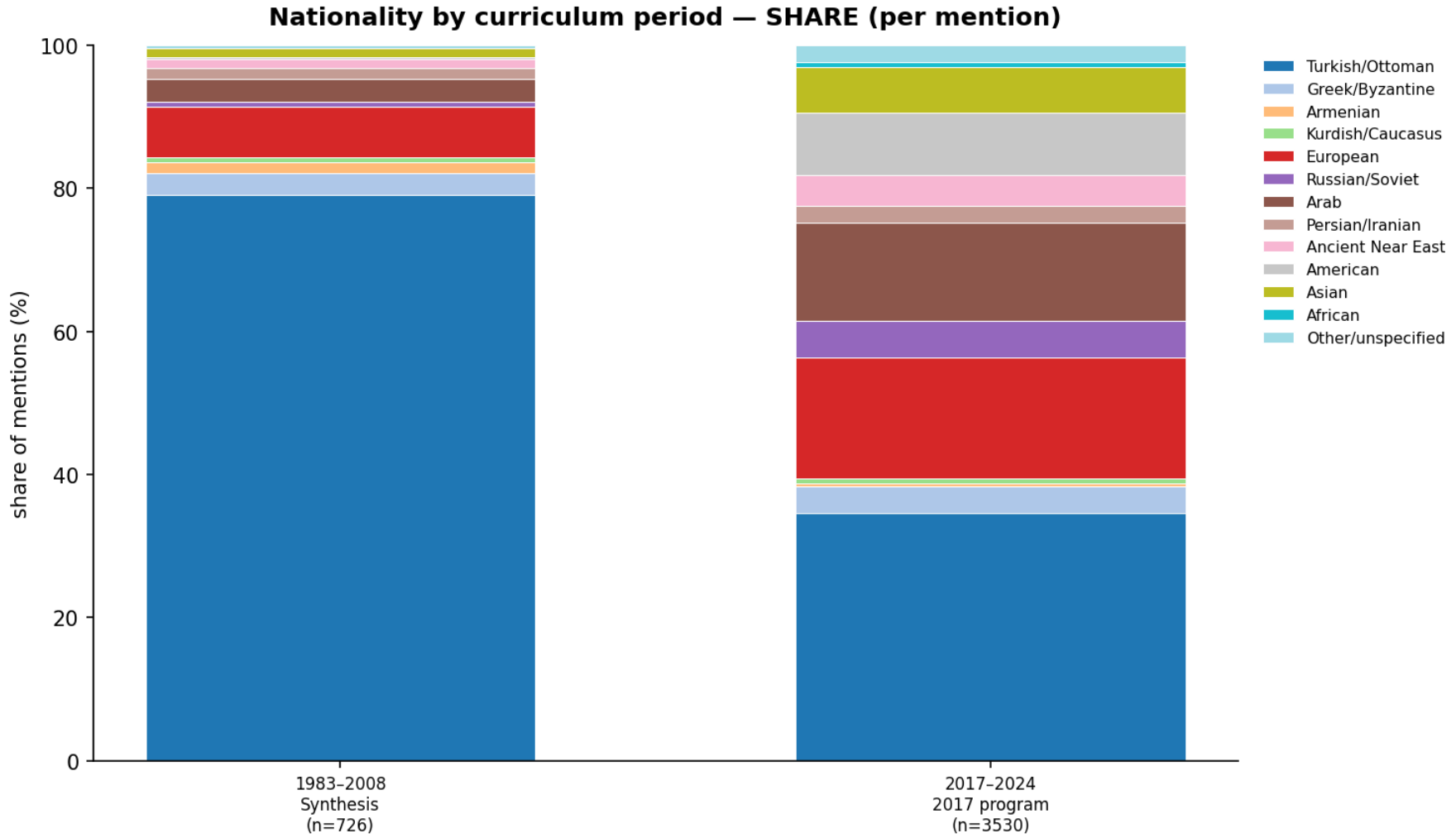
Period: Late Ottoman period — reign of Abdulhamid II (1876–1909

Mean Valence by Nationality — Turkish Curriculum



Primary curriculum sources only (9 documents). Other Turkic merged into Turkish/Ottoman. Per-mention (multi-nationality actors count in each bucket). Blank-nationality rows excluded. Small-n (<50) low-confidence.

Nationality Share by Period — Turkish Curriculum



Primary curricula only, by implemented reform era. Per-mention: multi-nationality actors count in each bucket (shares need not sum to 100%).

THE GREEK APPLICATION

History Textbooks and Prejudice Formation

Quasi-Experimental Evidence from Greece

Why Textbooks?

Education as the primary vehicle for transmitting national identity

- Greece–Turkey relations: the most persistent bilateral tension in modern Greek foreign policy — but attitudes are not immutable
- Question: does changing what students read about Turks at age 12 alter their attitudes 15–20 years later?

This Paper

Four contributions

- Documents the 2006 Repousi textbook as a unique, one-year natural experiment: the only Greek primary school history textbook in 120 years to humanise and contextualise Ottoman/Turkish history

- Provides causal identification of the textbook's effect on attitudes: cohort difference-in-differences using six waves of Greek opinion surveys (2016–2024)

Related Literature

Curriculum and intergroup attitudes

- Cantoni et al. (2017): Chinese textbook reform shifts political views toward the state
- Voigtländer & Voth (2015): Nazi indoctrination persistently reduces anti-semitic norms
- Fouka (2020): German-language bans in WWI US raise ethnic identity among German-Americans
- Bisin & Verdier (2001): cultural transmission model; schools as an intergenerational mechanism

Textbook content and historical memory

- Alesina & Giuliano (2015): culture and institutions
- Acemoglu et al. (2024): institutions and long-run outcomes
- Vanhanen (2003); Linardos Rylmont (2009): Greek textbook controversies

Prejudice formation and education

- Paluck & Green (2009): contact hypothesis — interventions can shift prejudice
- Tajfel & Turner (1979): social identity theory; critical window at adolescence
- Müller & Schwarz (2021): Facebook hate speech → anti-refugee violence
- Lauderdale (2022): electoral roll-out and attitudes toward outgroups

Greece–Turkey relations

- Kalyvas (2006): historical underpinnings of Greek national identity
- Frangoudaki & Dragona (1997): "What is our homeland?" — Greek textbook analysis
- Repousi (2011): the author's own account of the 2007 withdrawal controversy

Preview of Findings

Main result

The cohort exposed to the Repousi 2006 textbook (born 1995, in 6th grade 2006–07) is 8–9 percentage points more likely to express positive attitudes toward Turks and Muslims, relative to both the pre-2006 cohort (hostile old curriculum) and the post-2007 cohort (hostile replacement curriculum).

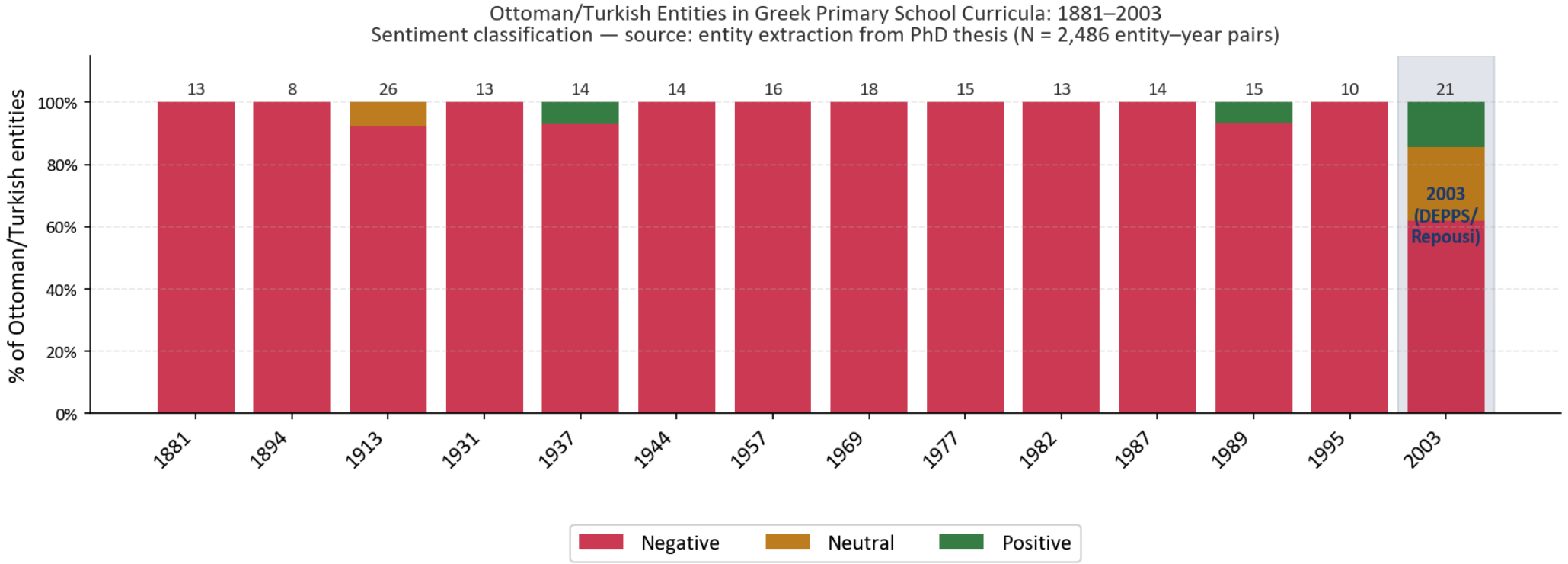
- Treatment is a sharp calendar-year discontinuity: born 1995 → full year with Repousi; born 1996 → textbook withdrawn day one of their 6th grade (Sept 2007) → zero exposure
- Effect is robust to: three complementary DiD specifications, comparison foreigner choice, Aktypis cohort inclusion in control group
- Placebo test (parallel trends): splitting the control cohort at 1973 gives $\beta \approx -0.004$ (n.s.) — consistent with parallel trends
- The effect is Turk/Muslim-specific: within-respondent (individual FE) $\beta = +0.115^{***}$ — treated cohort likes Turks more relative to other foreigners within-person
- Effect size: +9 pp ≈ 27% of the baseline gap; comparable to a decade of Nazi indoctrination (Voigtländer & Voth 2015) achieved in one academic year

120 Years of Greek Primary School History Education, 1882–2014

Curriculum era	In use	Key framing of Turks/Ottomans
1881–1912 era	1882–1912	Oppressor; "uncivilised and contemptible race" (verbatim)
1913 curriculum	1913–1930	Massacres, devshirme; Tourkokratia as cultural darkness
1937 Metaxas / Panagopoulos	1937–1944	Nationalist; Greek struggle as sacred duty
1957 curriculum	1957–1969	Continuity; emphasis on martyrdom
1969 junta curriculum	1969–1977	"Savage and uncivilised" (verbatim); most extreme era
1977 / Diamantopoulos	1977–1989	Continued dehumanisation; Turks "spread destruction"
Aktypis 1989 (first softening)	1989–2003	First coexistence framing: Turks at Christian festivals
DEPPS / Repousi 2006	2006–2007 only	Magnanimous Alp Arslan; Constantinople as cosmopolitan hub; multiple perspectives
Koliopoulos 2014 (current)	2014–present	Devshirme curse folk song; massacres; reverts to hostile framing

The Tourkokratia Narrative: 120 Years of Hostile Framing

% of Ottoman/Turkish curriculum entities by sentiment, 1881–2003



Source: historical_actors_v3.csv (N = 2,486 entity–year pairs). 2003 bar = DEPPS/Repousi era. Verbatim examples on the following slide.

The Tourkokratia Narrative: Verbatim Examples

Negative framing across 120 years, and the five verified positive exceptions

Verbatim negative examples

Fall of Constantinople — 1453 (1881 curriculum, repeated through 1987):

«Σκηνές τρόμου και φρίκης συνόδευσαν την άλωση: σφαγές, λεηλασίες, βανδαλισμοί και άλλες βαρβαρότητες... Πλήθη χριστιανών που είχαν ζητήσει καταφύγιο στην Αγία Σοφία, έπεσαν θύματα της μανίας των γενιτσάρων»

"Scenes of terror and horror accompanied the conquest: massacres, looting, vandalism and other barbarities… Christians sheltering in Hagia Sophia fell as victims of the frenzy of the janissaries."

Young Turks (1975 curriculum):

«Οι Νεότουρκοι ήταν χειρότεροι από τους Παλαιότουρκους. Πίεζαν τους σκλαβωμένους χριστιανούς ακόμα περισσότερο»

"The Young Turks were worse than the Old Turks. They oppressed the enslaved Christians even more."

Forced Islamisation (1989/Aktypis curriculum):

«Μια φοβερή δοκιμασία για τους χριστιανούς ήταν ο εξισλαμισμός. Οι Τούρκοι ανάγκαζαν συχνά τους χριστιανούς να ασπαστούν τη μουσουλμανική θρησκεία»

"A fearsome ordeal for Christians was Islamisation. The Turks frequently compelled Christians to adopt the Muslim religion."

Positive Ottoman/Turkish entities (5 verified across 3 eras)

1937/Panagopoulos (1): Turks as friends and allies — Balkan Entente

«Αφού πλέον ούτε Έλληνες υπάρχουν εις την Τουρκίαν, πλην ολίγων εις την Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ούτε Τούρκοι εις την Ελλάδα, πλην ολίγων εις την Δυτικήν Θράκην, εγίναμε με τους Τούρκους φίλοι και σύμμαχοι.»

"Since there are no longer Greeks in Turkey except a few in Constantinople, and no Turks in Greece except a few in Western Thrace, we have become friends and allies with the Turks." (Panagopoulos 6th grade, 1937 ed.)

1989/Aktypis (1): Turks and Christians celebrating at festivals

«…καλούσαν συχνά και τους Τούρκους και πολλές φορές διασκέδαζαν και αυτοί μαζί με τους χριστιανούς»

2003/Repousi (3): Alp Arslan, Evliya Çelebi, + 1 other

Alp Arslan: «…φέρθηκε στον αιχμάλωτο αυτοκράτορα με την καλοσύνη που μόνο οι γενναίοι διαθέτουν»
"…treated the captured emperor with the kindness only the brave possess."

Evliya Çelebi: Sultan Mehmed bound by the Prophet's command to offer surrender before attacking.

The Old Curriculum (1881–1982): An Unchanging Narrative

Exodus of Messolonghi — verbatim textbook passage, identical across 11 curriculum revisions (1881, 1894, 1913, 1931, 1937, 1944, 1957, 1969, 1977, 1982, 1987)

«Τι έγινε τότε δεν περιγράφεται. Οι Τούρκοι επωφελήθησαν από τη σύγχυση εκείνη κατεδίωξαν τα πλήθη έως την πόλι. Εκεί ήρχισαν τη σφαγή. Κανείς δεν εσώθη.»

"What happened then cannot be described. The Turks took advantage of that confusion and pursued the crowds to the city. There the massacre began. No one was saved."

Source: PhD thesis entity extraction (historical_actors_v3.csv); same passage attested in curricula 1881–1987

The Old Curriculum: Racial Dehumanisation

Description of the Ottoman Turks — primary school textbook, 1881 curriculum (identical through 1982)

«Στη μέση της Ασίας κατοικούσε από παλιά η απολίτιστη και άξεστη φυλή των Τούρκων»

"In the middle of Asia there had long lived the uncivilised and contemptible race of the Turks."

Source: PhD thesis (historical_actors_v3.csv), ROW 693, curriculum_year=1881; characterisation repeated across curricula to the 1980s

The 1977 Curriculum (Diamantopoulos): Dehumanisation Persists

Primary school 6th-grade textbook; "savage and uncivilised" — the phrase used in the survey data's pre-control cohort (born 1970–1975)

«Είναι αδύνατο να φανταστεί κανείς συμφορά μεγαλύτερη από αυτή που έπαθε το έθνος μας, όταν υποδουλώθηκε στους Τούρκους. Οι Τούρκοι άγριοι και απολίτιστοι καθώς ήταν, διέσπερναν την καταστροφή στο πέρασμά τους χωρίς να αναγνωρίζουν κανένα δικαίωμα στο σκλαβωμένο γένος.»

"It is impossible to imagine a greater calamity than what befell our nation when it was enslaved to the Turks. The Turks, savage and uncivilised as they were, spread destruction in their path without recognising any right of the enslaved nation."

Source: PhD thesis (historical_actors_v3.csv), ROW 723, curriculum_year=1977

PART II

The Repousi Experiment

A unique one-year natural experiment — September 2006 to September 2007

The 2003 DEPPS Reform: A Paradigm Shift

EU-driven curriculum overhaul — the context for the Repousi experiment

- The 2003 DEPPS (Διαθεματικό Ενιαίο Πλαίσιο Σπουδών) was a wholesale restructuring of the Greek primary school curriculum aligned with EU standards
- For history: replaced the "national narrative" model with "multiperspectivity" — students should learn to understand events from multiple sides
- Maria Repousi (Aristotle University) authored the new 6th-grade history textbook; first published for the 2006–07 academic year
- Explicit goal: break the cycle of historical grievance; contextualise Ottoman rule rather than reduce it to oppression
- New inclusions: Alp Arslan (Seljuk), Evliya Çelebi (Ottoman traveller), the millet system as a form of self-governance, Constantinople as a cosmopolitan city
- Immediate reaction: the Church of Greece issued a formal condemnation; nationalist parties (LAOS) demanded withdrawal; media campaign followed

The Repousi 2006 Textbook: Key Features

Ιστορία ΣΤ΄ Δημοτικού — History, 6th Grade

WHAT CHANGED

- Ottoman Empire treated as a genuine historical actor — not just an oppressor
- First positive portrayal of a Turkish ruler: Alp Arslan as magnanimous conqueror
- Evliya Çelebi (Ottoman traveller) cited as a source for the fall of Constantinople — Ottoman perspective included alongside Greek/Byzantine sources
- Millet system framed as limited but real self-governance (not just subjugation)
- Constantinople under Ottoman rule: cosmopolitan trading centre, not ruined captive city
- Mustafa Kemal: presented neutrally as a national leader, not a barbaric enemy

THE WITHDRAWAL TIMELINE

- Sept 2006: Textbook first distributed to Greek 6th-graders
- Nov 2006: Church of Greece issues formal condemnation; calls it "revisionist"
- Jan–May 2007: Successive rounds of public controversy; LAOS demands removal
- July 2007: Parliamentary debate; Minister of Education Giannakou defends the book
- Sept 2007: New government (Karamanlis) orders immediate withdrawal — just one academic year
- 2008–2013: Interim "bridge" textbooks reinstate hostile framing
- 2014: Koliopoulos et al. textbook published — devshirme folk song, massacre language

The Repousi 2006 Textbook: A Different Framing

Alp Arslan, Seljuk conqueror — first positive portrayal of a Turkish/Muslim ruler in 120 years of Greek curricula

«Ο αρχηγός των Σελτζούκων Τούρκων Αλπ Αρσλάν, μετά τη μάχη του Ματζικέρτ φέρθηκε στον αιχμάλωτο αυτοκράτορα Ρωμανό Δ΄ με την καλοσύνη που μόνο οι γενναίοι διαθέτουν»

"The leader of the Seljuk Turks Alp Arslan, after the Battle of Manzikert, treated the captive Emperor Romanos IV with the kindness that only the brave possess."

Source: history_book_repousi_2006_entities.csv (ROW 35); historical_actors_v3.csv (ROW 696, curriculum_year=2003, sentiment=pos)

The Repousi 2006 Textbook: Multiple Perspectives

Constantinople under Ottoman rule — the curriculum asks students to understand the city as a centre of commerce and cultural exchange

«Η Κωνσταντινούπολη γίνεται σημαντικό εμπορικό κέντρο και συγκεντρώνει το ενδιαφέρον του πολιτικού και οικονομικού κόσμου της Ευρώπης. Οι εμπορικές συμφωνίες (Διομολογήσεις) που συνάπτονται μεταξύ ευρωπαϊκών κρατών και της Υψηλής Πύλης ρυθμίζουν τις οικονομικές σχέσεις και δραστηριότητες των δύο πλευρών.»

"Constantinople becomes an important commercial centre and concentrates the interest of the political and economic world of Europe. Commercial agreements (Capitulations) concluded between European states and the Sublime Porte regulate the economic relations and activities of both sides."

Source: history_book_repousi_2006_entities.csv (ROW 56, sentiment=neu)

The First Softening: Aktypis 1989 Curriculum

First coexistence framing in 107 years of Greek primary school history — but Turks remain peripheral; Repousi 2006 goes further by making them protagonists of their own history

«Στις γιορτές καλούσαν συχνά και τους Τούρκους και πολλές φορές διασκέδαζαν και αυτοί μαζί με τους χριστιανούς»

"At festivals they often invited the Turks as well and many times they too had fun together with the Christians."

Source: historical_actors_v3.csv (ROW 722); Aktypis textbook, 1989 curriculum, sentiment=pos — first positive Ottoman/Turkish row in any Greek curriculum

The Koliopoulos 2014 Replacement Textbook: Reversion

Devshirme (child levy) — a folk song presented to 6th-grade students; this is the textbook that replaced Repousi from 2007 onwards

«Ανάθεμα σε, βασιλιά, και τρις ανάθεμά σε, με το κακό οπόκαμες...
Στέλνεις, δένεις τους γέρους, τους πρώτους τους παπάδες
Να μάσης παιδομάζωμα, να κάμης γενιτσάρους.
Κλαίν' οι γονιοί τα παιδιά, κ' οι αδελφές τ' αδέλφια...»

"Curse on you, king, and curse you thrice, for the evil you have done...
You send and bind the elders, the leading priests,
to gather the child-levy, to make janissaries.
Parents weep for their children, sisters for their brothers..."

Source: history_book_st_2014_entities.csv, ROW 48 (Koliopoulos et al., 6th grade)

PART III

Content Analysis

Quantifying the treatment — what exactly did the textbook change?

Quantitative Content Analysis: Measuring the Change

Entity extraction from 8 textbooks spanning 1881–2014

DATA SOURCES

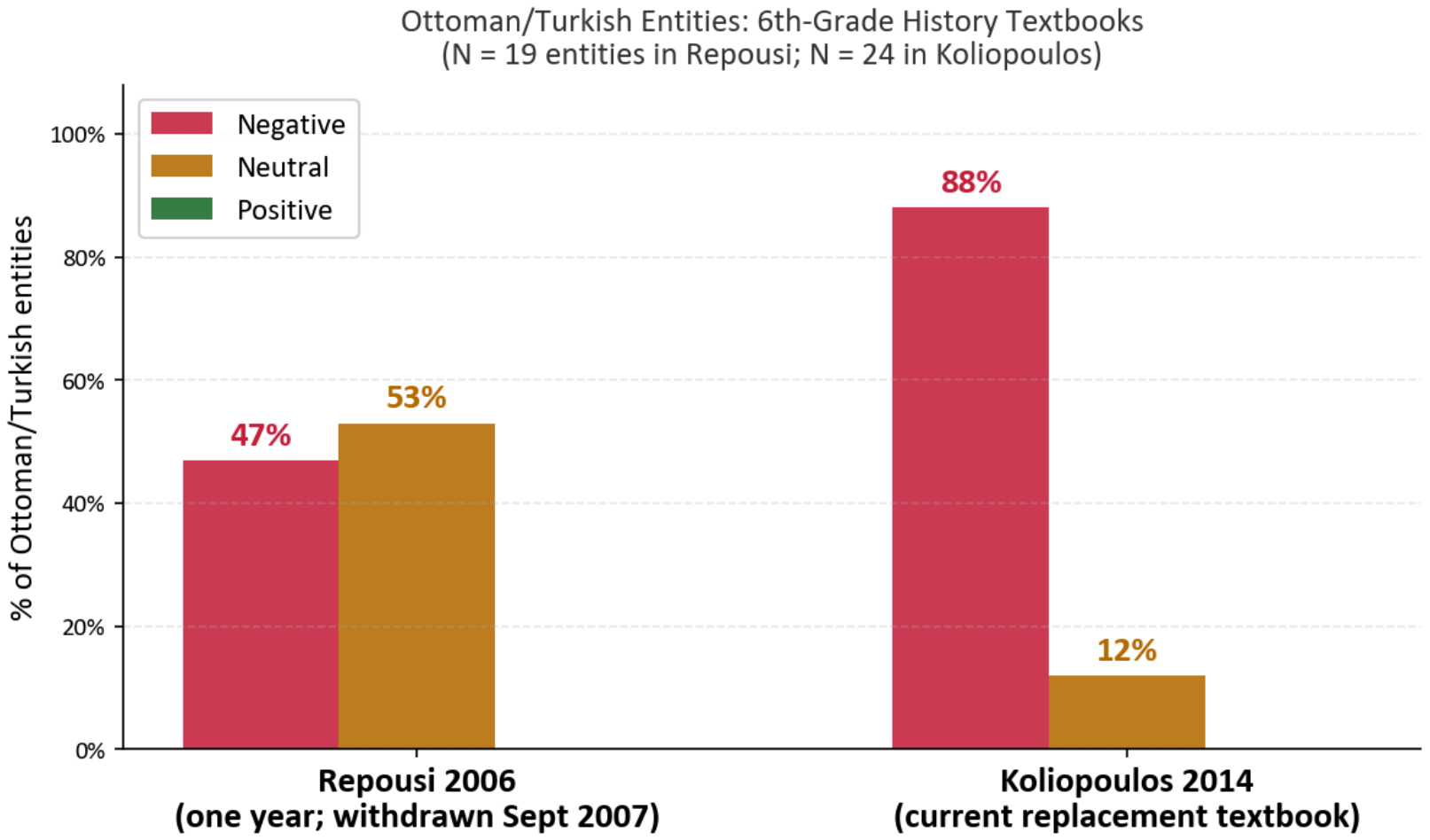
- PhD thesis on curriculum evolution (Thesis, 2013): covers all eras 1881–2003
- 1956 primary textbook (primary source)
- Repousi 2006 teacher's manual (primary source)
- Koliopoulos et al. 2014 student textbook (primary source)
- Total: N = 2,925 entity–curriculum year pairs across 4 datasets

EXTRACTION PROTOCOL

- Every named entity (individual, event, group, nation) extracted from each textbook
- Sentiment classified per entity per curriculum year: pos / neu / neg
- pos = curriculum presents approvingly (heroic, celebrated, humanised)
- neg = curriculum presents negatively (enemy, oppressor, barbarian)
- neu = factual / neutral / no evaluative framing
- Key rule: classify from the curriculum's own perspective — not historical reality
- Mandatory filter: nationality column only (never entity names) to avoid false positives

Ottoman/Turkish Entities: Repousi 2006 vs Koliopoulos 2014

Side-by-side comparison of sentiment distribution in the treatment textbook vs its replacement



Source: history_book_repousi_2006_entities.csv (N=19 Ottoman/Turkish entities) and history_book_st_2014_entities.csv (N=24 Ottoman/Turkish entities). Nationality filter applied (nationality column only; never entity names).

What Changed — and What Reverted

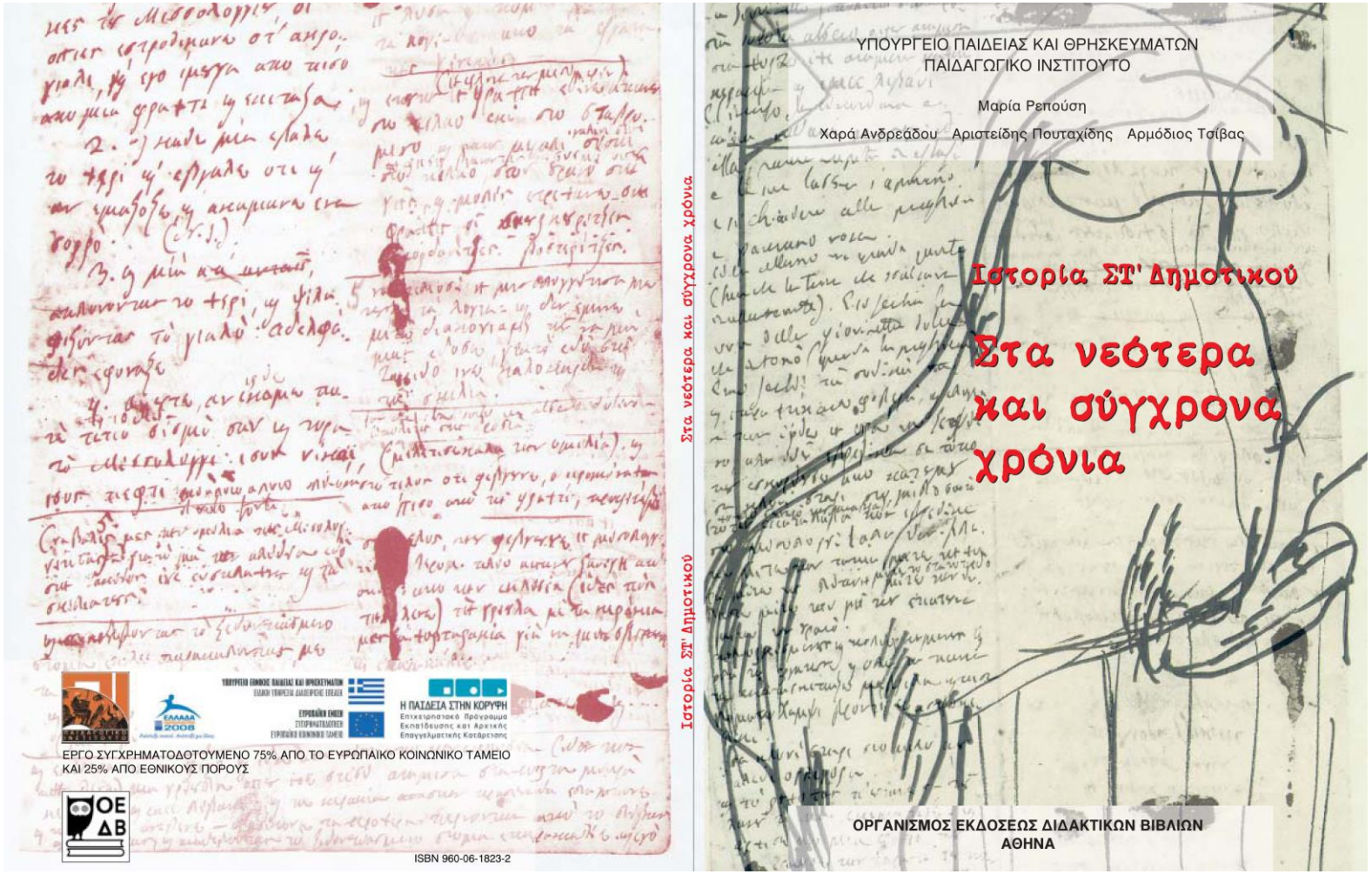
Comparison of framing across three textbook regimes

Feature	Old curricula (1881–1995)	Repousi 2006	Koliopoulos 2014
Ottoman conquest (1453)	Catastrophe; end of Hellenism	Historical expansion of a major power	Conquest; subjugation of Greeks
Ottoman rule (Tourkokratia)	Oppression; dark centuries; slavery	Complex governance; millet self-rule	Oppression; massacres; forced conversions
Signature portrayal	"Uncivilised and contemptible race"	Alp Arslan: "kindness of the brave"	Devshirme curse folk song
Mustafa Kemal	Enemy; threat to Greek homeland	Neutral antagonist (neu)	Effective enemy organising resistance (neg)
Constantinople under Ottomans	Captive city; Greek tragedy	Cosmopolitan commercial hub	Not addressed positively
% Turkish entities: neg	90–100%	47%	88%
% Turkish entities: neu/pos	0–10%	53%	12%

The Two Textbooks

Front covers — Koliopoulos et al. 2014 (current) vs. Repousi 2006 (withdrawn after one year)

Koliopoulos et al. 2014



Repousi 2006 (front / spine / back cover)

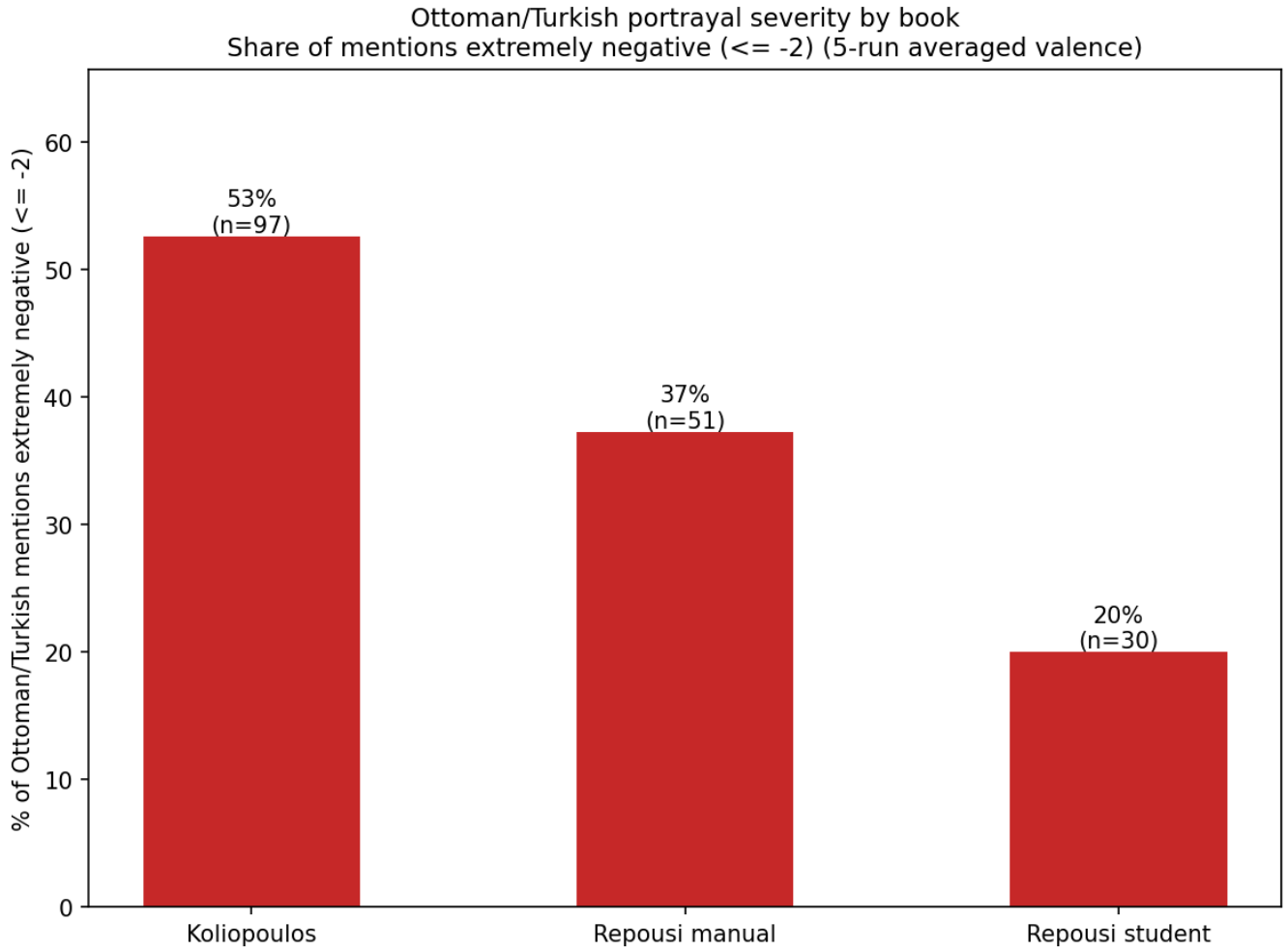
The Asia Minor Catastrophe: Two Textbooks Compared

Verbatim quotes — Koliopoulos et al. 2014 vs. Repousi 2006

	Koliopoulos et al. 2014	Repousi 2006
The Catastrophe at Smyrna	NEG *«Σφαγές χριστιανών και λεηλασίες ολοκλήρωσαν την καταστροφή. Ήταν το δραματικό τέλος της μακραίωνης ελληνικής παρουσίας.»* "Massacres of Christians and looting completed the catastrophe. The dramatic end of the centuries-long Greek presence."	NEG [Teacher's manual] *«Οι Έλληνες συρρέουν στο λιμάνι αναζητώντας απεγνωσμένα τρόπους φυγής.»* [Student textbook — the key passage] ***«Χιλιάδες Έλληνες συνωστίζονται στο λιμάνι.»*** ▲ *συνωστίζονται = "crowd / jostle" — strips out fire, massacre, panic* "Thousands of Greeks crowd/jostle at the harbour."
Mustafa Kemal	NEG *«Ο Κεμάλ οργάνωσε αντίσταση εναντίον του ελληνικού στρατού, προμηθευόμενος όπλα από Ιταλούς και Γάλλους.»* "Kemal organised resistance against the Greek army." [neg framing]	NEU [Student textbook — glossary] *«Κεμάλ Ατατούρκ: ο ηγέτης του απελευθερωτικού αγώνα των Τούρκων — πρόεδρος Τουρκικής Δημοκρατίας»* "Leader of the liberation struggle of the Turks." [neutral framing]
Genocide Label	NEG *«...οι διωγμοί Ελλήνων Πόντου και Μικράς Ασίας που προσέλαβαν τις διαστάσεις γενοκτονίας.»* "...persecutions that took on the dimensions of genocide." → EXPLICIT GENOCIDE LABEL	NEG *«...τις διώξεις Ελλήνων της Μικράς Ασίας, του Πόντου και της ανατολικής Θράκης.»* "...persecutions of Greeks of Asia Minor, Pontus and E. Thrace." → NO GENOCIDE LABEL USED

Ottoman/Turkish Portrayal Severity by Book

Share of Ottoman/Turkish mentions rated extremely negative (5-run averaged valence)



Source: entity-level sentiment extraction, Koliopoulos 2014 vs. Repousi 2006 (teacher's manual and student textbook).

Holy Synod of the Church of Greece Memorandum

Ecclesiastical objection to the 2006 Repousi textbook

The Greek church objected to a 6th-grade history textbook by using critical terminology such as «Αποδόμηση της Ιστορίας» (Deconstruction of History) and «Ιδεολογική σκοπιμότητα» (Ideological expediency). The Church highlighted the omission of «Κρυφό Σχολειό» (Secret School) and criticized the usage of «Συνωστισμός» (Crowding) to describe the 1922 Smyrna Catastrophe as an «Εξωραϊσμός της Τουρκοκρατίας» (Beautification of the Ottoman Rule).

PART IV

Identification Strategy

Cohort DiD exploiting the one-year treatment window

Research Design: Cohort Difference-in-Differences

Exploiting the one-year window of the Repousi textbook

The identifying variation

The Repousi textbook was used during one academic year only: September 2006 – June 2007, then withdrawn. Only children who were in 6th grade in that year were exposed. 6th grade in 2006–07 means: born September 1995 – August 1996. All other cohorts received a consistently hostile curriculum.

- Treatment (post=1): born 1995 — in 6th grade during 2006–07 (only full-exposure cohort)
- Control group A (post=0): born 1970–1975 — exposed to 1969/1977 hostile curricula at age 12
- Control group B (post=0): born 1996+ — no Repousi exposure; born 1996 had textbook withdrawn day one of 6th grade
- Outcome: binary indicator; 1 = positive attitude toward Turks/Muslims; 0 = negative
- Comparison foreigners (for DiD): Jews, Americans, Germans, Russians — no major curriculum change for either cohort; controls for general tolerance trends
- Fixed effects: birth-year (cohort) FE + survey-wave FE + prefecture FE

Treatment Assignment: One Academic Year, One Cohort

Birth year → 6th grade year → textbook received → treatment status

Birth year	6th grade academic year	Textbook in use	Treatment status
1970–1975	1981–1987	1969 / 1977 hostile curriculum	Control (post=0)
…	…	…	…
1993	2004–05	Aktypis 1989 (pre-Repousi)	Control (post=0)
1994	2005–06	Aktypis 1989 (pre-Repousi)	Control (post=0)
1995 ← TREATED	2006–07	Repousi 2006 (new; multiperspective)	TREATED (post=1)
1996	2007–08	Repousi withdrawn Sept 2007 — zero exposure	Control (post=0)
1997+	2008 onwards	Koliopoulos et al. (hostile; devshirme folk song)	Control (post=0)

Born 1996 entered 6th grade in September 2007 — the exact month Repousi was withdrawn. They received zero exposure and are classified as control (post-reform control group).

Estimating Equation

Cohort DiD in a stacked long dataset — one row per respondent × foreigner group

$$Y_{ig} = \alpha + \beta \cdot (1995_c \times TurkMuslim_g) + \gamma_c + \delta_t + \lambda_j + \varepsilon_{ig}$$

Symbol	Meaning
Y_{ig}	1 if respondent i feels positive toward foreigner group g; 0 if negative; NaN if DK
1995_c	1 if born 1995 (treated cohort); 0 if born 1970–1975 or 1996+ (control)
$TurkMuslim_g$	1 if g ∈ {Turks, Muslims}; 0 if g ∈ {Jews, Americans, Germans, Russians}
β	DiD estimate: change in Turk/Muslim attitude gap for the treated cohort relative to comparison foreigners and control cohorts
γ_c	Birth-year fixed effects — absorb all time-invariant cohort characteristics
δ_t	Survey-wave fixed effects — absorb any secular trend in tolerance over time
λ_j	Prefecture fixed effects — absorb geographic variation in baseline attitudes
SE clustering	Primary: byear (19 clusters in baseline sample). Preferred: two-way byear × prefecture (CGM)

Specification A: Individual Fixed Effects

Identifies β from within-respondent variation only

$$Y_{ig} = \alpha_i + \beta \cdot (1995_c \times TurkMuslim_g) + \varepsilon_{ig}$$

α_i = respondent fixed effect — absorbs wave, geography, and cohort baseline entirely

- Same stacked long dataset as Specification B (one row per respondent × foreigner group), but replaces cohort/wave/prefecture dummies with a respondent fixed effect α_i
- β is identified purely from within-respondent variation: how much more a person likes Turks/Muslims relative to their own average liking of comparator foreigners, before vs. after treatment
- Mechanically requires each respondent to answer differently across foreigner groups — respondents who give identical answers to every group (always-like or always-dislike) drop out entirely; roughly 40% of the sample is discriminating and contributes to β
- Result: β = +0.115 ($p < 0.001$) — the largest of the three estimates
- Caveat: this is the effect among the "discriminating" sub-sample, not the full population. A textbook that converts universally-hostile respondents into universally-tolerant ones would move no one within this specification, by construction — Specification A cannot detect it.

Specification B: Cohort Fixed Effects

The preferred, population-representative main specification

$$Y_{ig} = \alpha + \beta \cdot (1995_c \times TurkMuslim_g) + \gamma_c + \delta_t + \lambda_j + \varepsilon_{ig}$$

γ_c = birth-year FE | δ_t = survey-wave FE | λ_j = prefecture FE

- Birth-year dummies γ_c absorb all time-invariant cohort characteristics; wave FE δ_t absorb secular trends in tolerance; prefecture FE λ_j absorb geographic variation in baseline attitudes
- Population-representative: every respondent contributes to β regardless of whether they differentiate between foreigner groups — nobody is dropped, unlike Specification A
- This is the main specification reported throughout the analysis (the equation shown on the previous slide is this one)
- Result: β = +0.093 ($p < 0.001$)
- Robust to adding individual-level demographic controls on top (shrinks to β = 0.070 with gender + education + income). Cannot be combined with individual FE, which already subsumes cohort, wave, and prefecture FE.

Specification C: Person-Level Gap Regression

The most transparent specification — one row per respondent

$$Gap_i = like_{Turk,i} - mean(like_{comparator,i})$$

$$Gap_i = \alpha + \beta \cdot 1995_i + \delta_t + \lambda_j + \varepsilon_i$$

- One row per respondent (not stacked): compute each person's own Turk/Muslim-minus-comparator gap directly, then regress that gap on treatment
- No cohort FE required — differencing within-respondent across foreigner groups already removes each respondent's baseline propensity to like or dislike foreigners in general
- The most transparent of the three specifications: easiest to explain, and doesn't require understanding how fixed effects absorb variation
- Result: $\beta = +0.081$ ($p < 0.001$)
- Population-representative like Specification B — every respondent contributes, nobody is dropped

PART V

Data

Six waves of Greek public opinion surveys, 2016–2024

Outcome Variable: Attitudes toward Turks and Muslims

Binary like/dislike measure from six Greek opinion surveys (2016, 2018, 2020, 2022 Feb+Mar, 2024)

Survey question (Dianeosis 2022, Q17 battery)

"I will read some words and would like you to tell me whether you feel good or bad about them"
→ Turks (Q17_7); Muslims (Q17_1); Jews (Q17_6); Americans (Q17_5); Germans (Q17_4); Russians (Q17_8)
Values: 1 = καλό / good; 2 = κακό / bad; 3 = ΔΞ/ΔΑ (don't know → treated as missing)

Cohort	n (pooled, 6 waves)	Turks	Muslims	Jews	Americans	Germans	Russians
Pre-control (born 1970–75)	944	31%	33%	54%	56%	44%	76%
TREATED (born 1995)	105	47%	52%	62%	64%	57%	75%
Post-control (born 1996+)	674	42%	55%	68%	66%	59%	78%

Note: These are pooled, unconditional means across all 6 survey waves (N=8,426) — no fixed effects. The raw treated-vs-pre-control Turk/Muslim gap (+16/+19 pp) overstates the causal effect because it also picks up the general generational tolerance trend, visible in the similar-sized rise for comparator foreigners (e.g., Jews +8 pp). The DiD design's actual result nets this out via comparison foreigners and fixed effects: β ≈ +0.081 to +0.093 (see Main Results).

Control Groups: Two Ways to Isolate the Treatment

PRE-CONTROL: born 1970–1975

- Were in 6th grade between 1981 and 1987
- Exposed to the 1969 or 1977 curriculum — "savage and uncivilised"
- Advantage: the clearest "hostile curriculum" baseline
- Concern: age gap (~25 years) with treated cohort; lifecycle effects possible
- Response: add individual-level controls (gender, education, income); effect shrinks (0.093→0.070, mostly via income) but stays highly significant

POST-CONTROL: born 1996+

- Were in 6th grade from 2008 onwards
- Exposed to Koliopoulos et al. — explicitly hostile; devshirme folk song
- Advantage: age-matched with treated cohort; confirms reversion of the treatment
- Concern: smaller sample; only 2–3 years post-withdrawal
- Response: run separately ($\beta=0.070^{***}$, $p<0.001$, 13 birth-year clusters) and combined; both give positive, significant estimates
- The fact that post-control ≈ pre-control confirms the 1996+ cohort "reset" to hostility

Comparison Foreigners: Controlling for General Tolerance Trends

DiD requires comparing like_Turk to a group unaffected by curriculum change

Foreigner group	Greek curriculum presence (old era)	Greek curriculum presence (DEPPS/Repousi)	Role in DiD	Verdict
Jews (Q17_6)	Minimal — referenced in WWII context	Minimal — no change	Best comparator (no curriculum change in either era)	✓ Preferred
Americans (Q17_5)	WWI/WWII context; minor	No change	Good comparator	✓ Preferred
Germans (Q17_4)	Axis occupier in WWII	No change in framing	Acceptable; some risk post-2008 (financial crisis)	△ Acceptable
Russians (Q17_8)	Greek-Russian alliance narrative (Crimean War etc.)	Some change in framing toward neutrality	Weaker comparator — framing also changed	✗ Avoid as sole control
All four pooled	Average of above	Average of above	Preferred specification — diversifies risk	✓ Main spec

Identification: Parallel Trends Assumption

Assumption: absent the Repousi textbook, attitudes toward Turks/Muslims would have evolved identically in the treated and control cohorts

- Why it is plausible:
- All cohorts received either the same old hostile curriculum (1969/1977/1982) or its direct hostile replacement (Koliopoulos) — no other curriculum change specifically altered Turkish/Muslim framing in the gap years
- The comparison foreigners (Jews, Americans) had no curriculum change in either era — they absorb any secular tolerance trend common to all cohorts
- Treatment assignment is purely administrative: the textbook assigned to 6th grade in 2006–07, determined years before by a ministry decision, not by any characteristic of the 1995 birth cohort
- Formal test — placebo (next slide): we split the control cohort (1970–75) at 1973 and treat the younger half (1973–75) as "pseudo-treated" → $\beta = -0.004$ (n.s.) → consistent with parallel trends within the hostile-curriculum era

Threats to Validity — and Responses

Threat	Specific concern	Response / Robustness check
Cohort demographics	Born 1995 differs from controls in education, gender, income	Add individual controls (gender, edu, income) → β = 0.061 vs 0.081 (gap regression); shrinks ~25% but remains highly significant (see Robustness: Individual-Level Controls)
Comparison foreigner choice	DiD result driven by one comparison group (e.g., Russians after 2014)	Run separately: Jews-only → β=0.085***; Americans-only → β=0.069***; all four → β=0.081***
Controversy salience	The Repousi withdrawal was highly publicised — could raise salience	Would produce backlash (negative β); we find the opposite. Effect is learning, not awareness
Measurement: recall bias	Treated cohort may not recall what they read in 6th grade	Effect is attitudinal behaviour, not recall. We do not ask about the textbook.
Wave-specific shocks	2016/2020 refugee crisis; 2022 war in Ukraine — may affect Muslims/Russians	Wave FE absorb level effects. DiD compares across groups within wave, not across waves.
Secular tolerance trend	Younger cohorts generally more tolerant across all groups	The DiD differences out this via comparison foreigners. Jews/Americans show near-zero cohort change (≈ +0–1 pp).

Data: Six Waves of Greek Public Opinion Surveys, 2016–2024

All six surveys contain the foreigner like/dislike battery + birth year + geography

Survey	Year	N (total)	Treated (born 1995)	Pre-control (1970–75)	Post-control (1996+)
The Press & Opinion (TPE) 2016	2016	2,557	20	303	92
The Press & Opinion (TPE) 2018	2018	1,250	12	149	66
The Press & Opinion (TPE) 2020	2020	1,250	14	139	93
Dianeosis 2022 (February)	2022	1,255	21	100	181
Dianeosis 2022 (March, supplementary)	2022	1,010	19	91	149
TPE 2024	2024	1,104	19	162	93
Pooled (combined)	2016–2024	8,426	105	944	674

- All six surveys: foreigner battery (Turks, Muslims, Jews, Americans, Germans, Russians) with identical coding (1=good, 2=bad, 3=DK)
- Birth year available in all waves; prefecture of residence in all waves
- Geographic harmonisation: 50-prefecture (geo50) code mapped consistently across waves; NUTS1 (4 macroregions) as robustness
- Stacked long dataset: one row per respondent × foreigner group (4 comparators) — this is the universe used throughout the analysis, including all robustness checks

PART VI

Results

Main Results

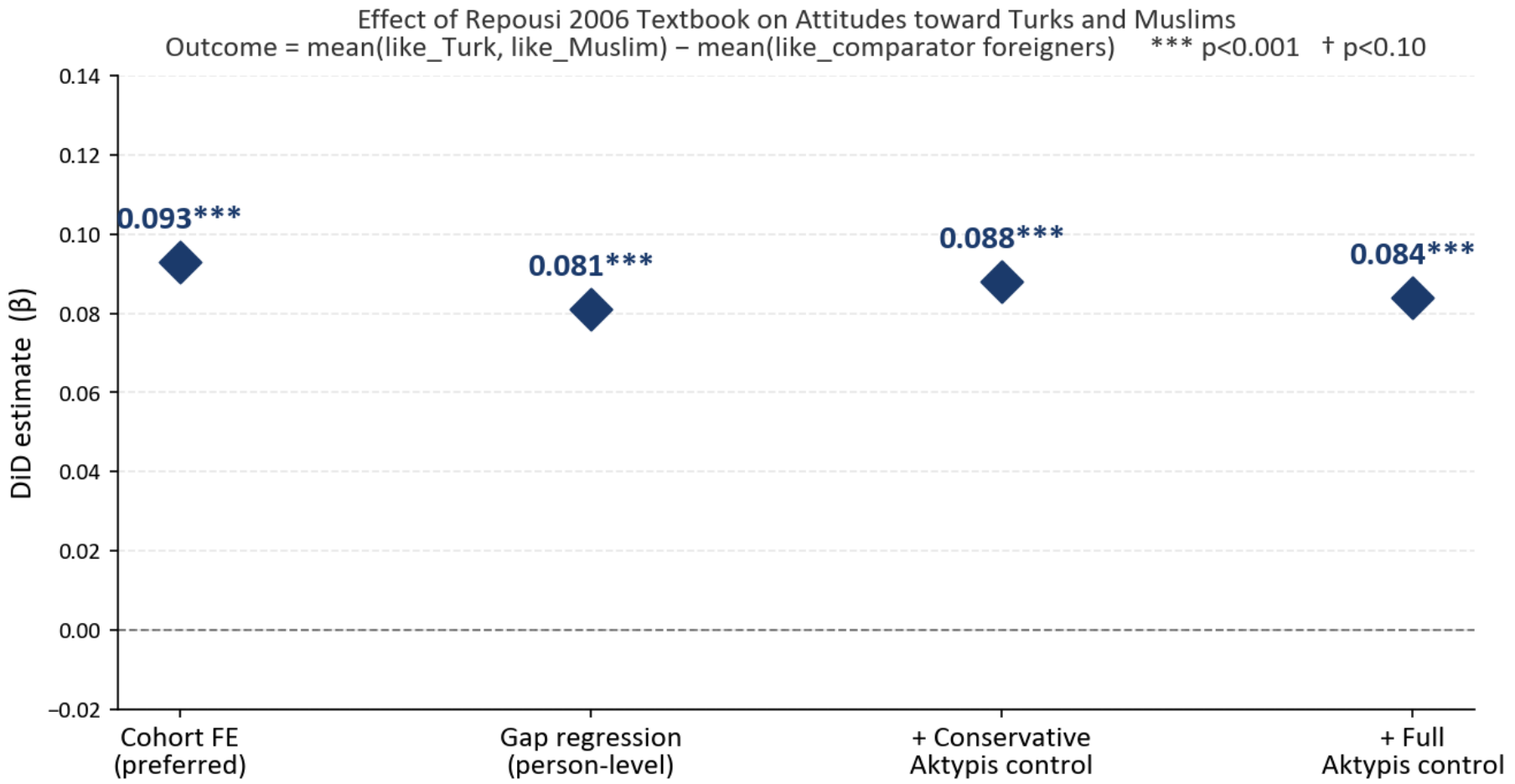
Effect of Repousi 2006 textbook on like_Turk / like_Muslim (baseline: like_comparator foreigners); outcome coded 0/1

	(1) Cohort FE	(2) Gap regression	(3) Cohort FE + Aktypis control
Post × Turk/Muslim (β)	0.093***	0.081***	0.088***
SE clustering	Byear (single-way)	Byear (single-way)	Byear (single-way)
Control cohort	1970-75 + 1996+	1970-75 + 1996+	1970-75 + 1977-91 + 1996+
Comparison foreigners	All four	All four	All four
Individual controls	No	No	No (Aktypis cohorts added to control)
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Prefecture FE (geo50)	Yes	Yes	Yes (NUTS1)
Observations (resp.-group)	6,412	1,334	13,631
Interpretation	Cohort FE absorb all time-invariant cohort characteristics	Per-respondent Turk gap = like_Turk − mean(like_comparators)	Widens control to include Aktypis (1977-91) cohorts

*** p<0.001 (two-tailed). Pooled sample: six survey waves (TPE 2016, 2018, 2020, Dianeosis 2022 Feb+Mar, TPE 2024). Treated cohort (born 1995) n ≈ 105. SE clustered by birth year.

Robustness Across Specifications

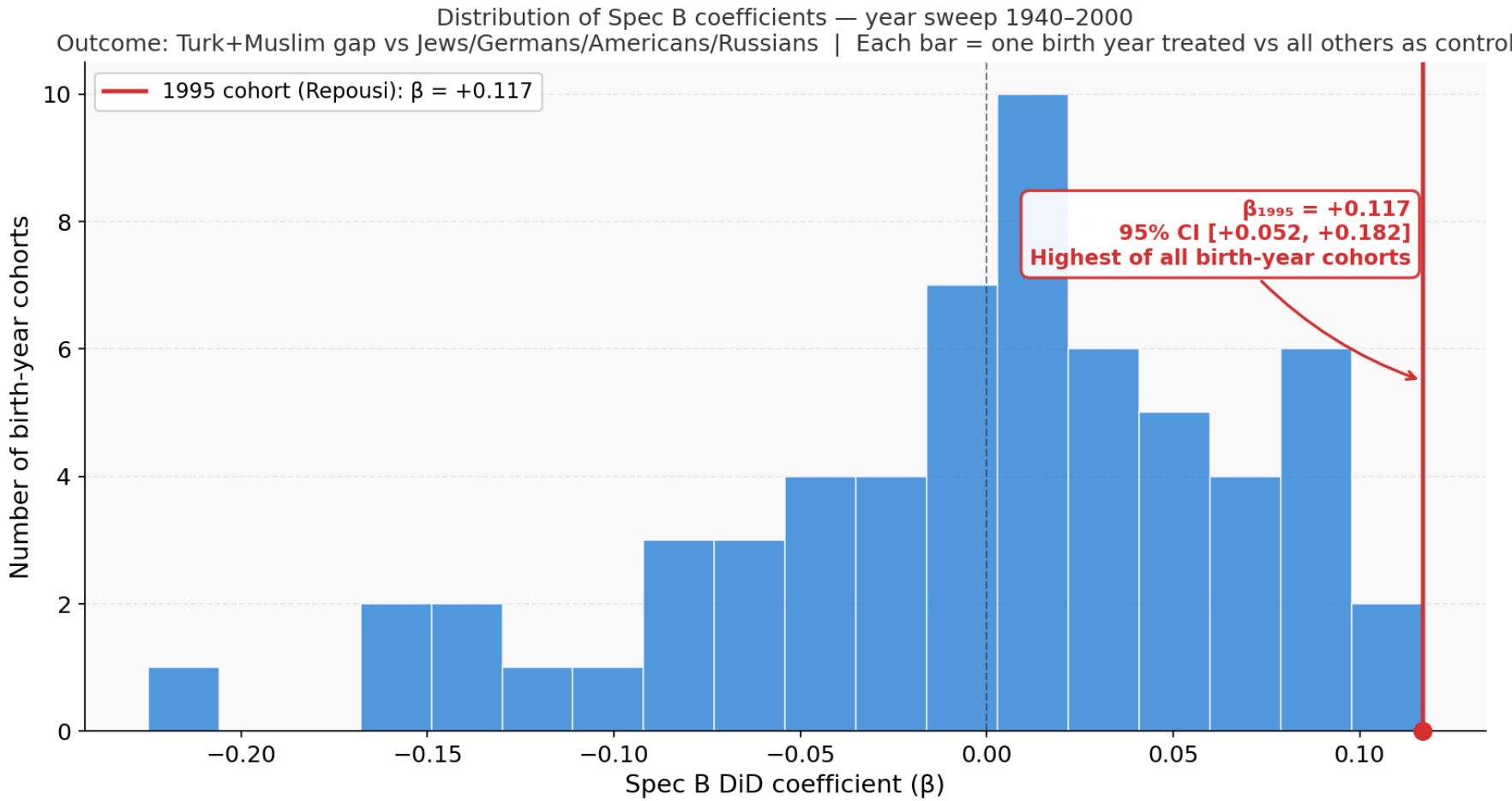
DiD estimate of the Repousi effect across four complementary specifications; outcome = like_Turk/Muslim minus like_comparator



*** p<0.001. Treated: born 1995 (n≈105). Specs (1)–(2): control = born 1970-75 + 1996+. Specs (3)–(4): Aktypis cohorts (1977-91 or 1977-94) added to control.

Year Sweep: Where Does 1995 Rank Among All Birth-Year Cohorts?

Distribution of Spec B DiD coefficients across the full year sweep, 1940–2000

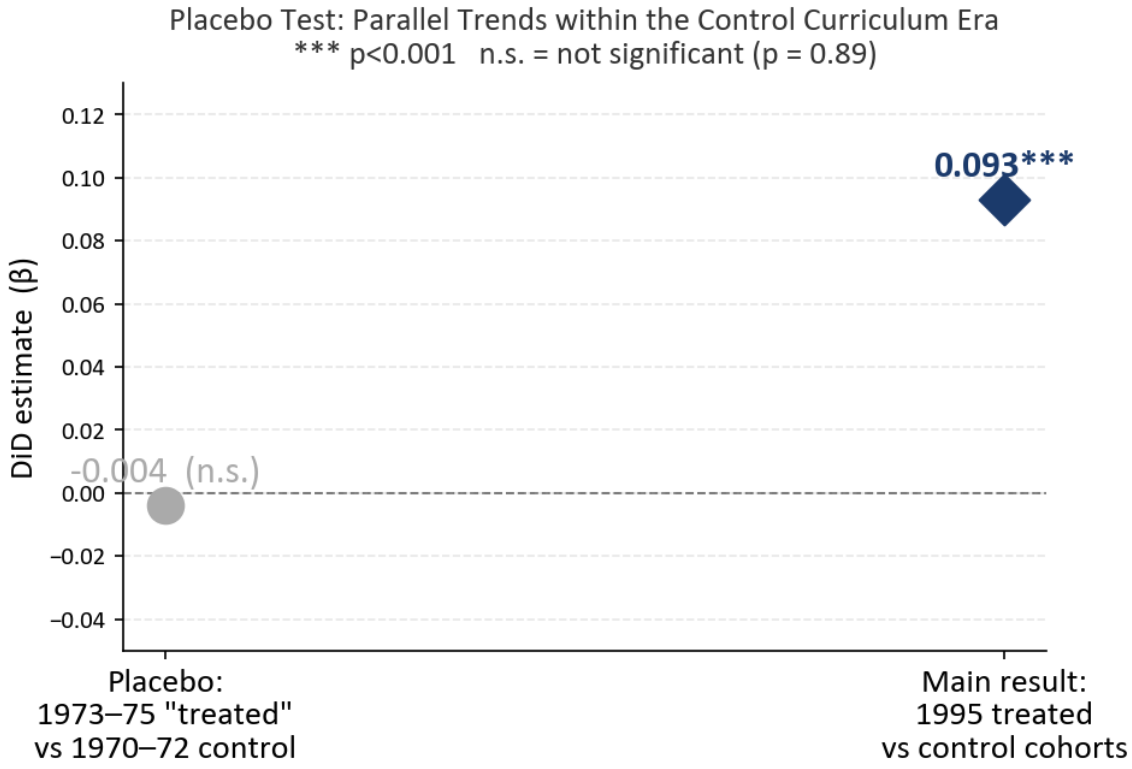


Note: cluster SE by nomos (prefecture). Birth years 1940–2000 shown.

Placebo Test: Parallel Trends within the Hostile-Curriculum Era

Split the pre-treatment control cohort (born 1970–75) into two sub-cohorts and run the same DiD

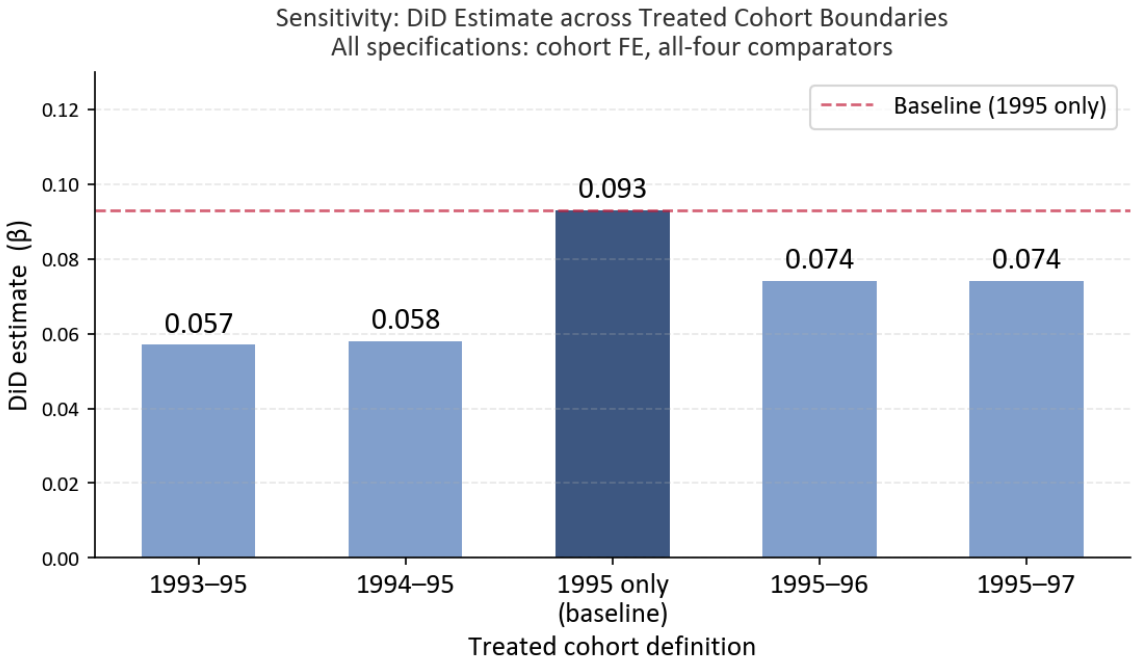
- We keep only the control cohort (born 1970–75) and assign
- "Pseudo-treated": born 1973–1975
- "Pseudo-control": born 1970–1972
- Both sub-cohorts received the same hostile curriculum — no difference in textbook content
- If parallel trends hold within the hostile era, this pseudo-DiD should give β ≈ 0
- Result: β = −0.004 (p = 0.89) — precisely zero; confirms our identifying assumption
- Interpretation: the 1995 treated cohort is special, not just a lifecycle/age effect



Robustness: Sensitivity to Treated Cohort Boundary

The Repousi textbook was used Sept 2006 – June 2007; but the exact birth-year cut is a choice

- Baseline: treated = born 1995 only (in 6th grade Sept 2006 – June 2007, full year)
- Wider windows: include 1994 (in 6th grade 2005–06, last year before Repousi; no exposure) or 1996 (withdrawn day one of their year; zero exposure) — adding either dilutes the estimate as expected
- Narrower: treat only a subset (not meaningful here — treated is already one birth year)
- Finding: β ranges from 0.057 to 0.093 across all boundary definitions
- The estimate is NOT sensitive to the exact treated cohort boundary chosen — it stays positive and significant even when the window is widened in either direction



Robustness: Choice of Comparison Foreigners

Main result should not depend on which comparison group absorbs the secular tolerance trend

Comparison group	β	p-value	N	Note
Jews only	0.098	< 0.001	1,387	Cleanest comparator; negligible curriculum presence
Americans only	0.081	< 0.001	1,396	Clean; no curriculum change in either era
Germans only	0.056	< 0.001	1,393	WWII framing stable; some post-2008 risk
Russians only	0.128	< 0.001	1,385	Highest; may reflect Ukraine-war attitude shift
All four pooled (preferred)	0.093	< 0.001	1,421	Diversifies risk; averages over group-specific shocks
Placebo: Jews-only, within-control	0.023	0.291	702	Not significant — confirms cleanness of Jews

- All estimates positive and significant ($p<0.001$) regardless of comparison group. Spec: cohort FE + wave FE + geo50 FE, SE clustered by birth year (Spec B)
- Russians estimate (0.128) is elevated — likely reflects Russia-specific attitude shifts from the Ukraine war in the 2022 March wave; all-four pooled (0.093) dilutes this

Robustness: Individual-Level Demographic Controls

Is the treatment effect proxying for cohort-level differences in gender, education, or income?

Specification	β	p-value	N	Controls included
No controls (baseline)	0.093	< 0.001	1,421	Wave FE, cohort FE, geo50 FE
+ Female indicator	0.093	< 0.001	1,421	+ dummy for female respondent
+ Education (3-bracket)	0.092	< 0.001	1,417	+ primary / secondary / tertiary
+ Income (3-bracket)	0.071	< 0.001	1,165	+ low / medium / high income self-report
+ All three controls	0.070	< 0.001	1,165	+ female + edu + income

- Spec: cohort FE + wave FE + geo50 FE, all-four comparators, SE clustered by birth year (Spec B)
- Adding all controls shrinks β from 0.093 to 0.070 — a 25% reduction, driven almost entirely by the income control (gender and education barely move the estimate)
- Income also has the most missing data of the three controls: N drops from 1,421 to 1,165 respondents (18%) once income is required — some of the shrinkage may reflect this smaller, non-random subsample rather than income itself explaining the effect
- The residual treatment effect (β = 0.070) remains highly significant
- Conclusion: demographic differences across cohorts do not fully account for the result, though income composition explains a meaningful share of it

Robustness: Placebo Outcomes

If the effect is textbook-driven, it should be specific to Turks/Muslims — not a general attitude shift

Foreigner-attitude placebos: each non-Turk foreigner as the "outcome" (gap regression, wave FE + geo50 FE, SE clustered by birth year)

Placebo outcome	β (Spec C)	p-value	N	Interpretation
Germans (gap vs others)	+0.009	0.577	1,271	n.s. — zero placebo ✓
Jews (gap vs others)	−0.010	0.450	1,211	n.s. — zero placebo ✓
Americans (gap vs others)	+0.027	0.103	1,262	n.s. — zero placebo ✓
Russians (gap vs others)	−0.001	0.959	1,242	n.s. — zero placebo ✓
Turks + Muslims [MAIN]	+0.081	< 0.001	1,334	*** specific to treated group

- Key: β ≈ 0 for all four comparison foreigners confirms a textbook-specific, not a general-tolerance, shift.

Robustness: The Main Effect Is Flat Across All Comparison Window Sizes

Born 1995 vs. adjacent cohorts at five window widths (±2 to ±10 birth years); SE clustered by nomos (prefecture, ≈51 clusters)

• Two specifications (both plotted):

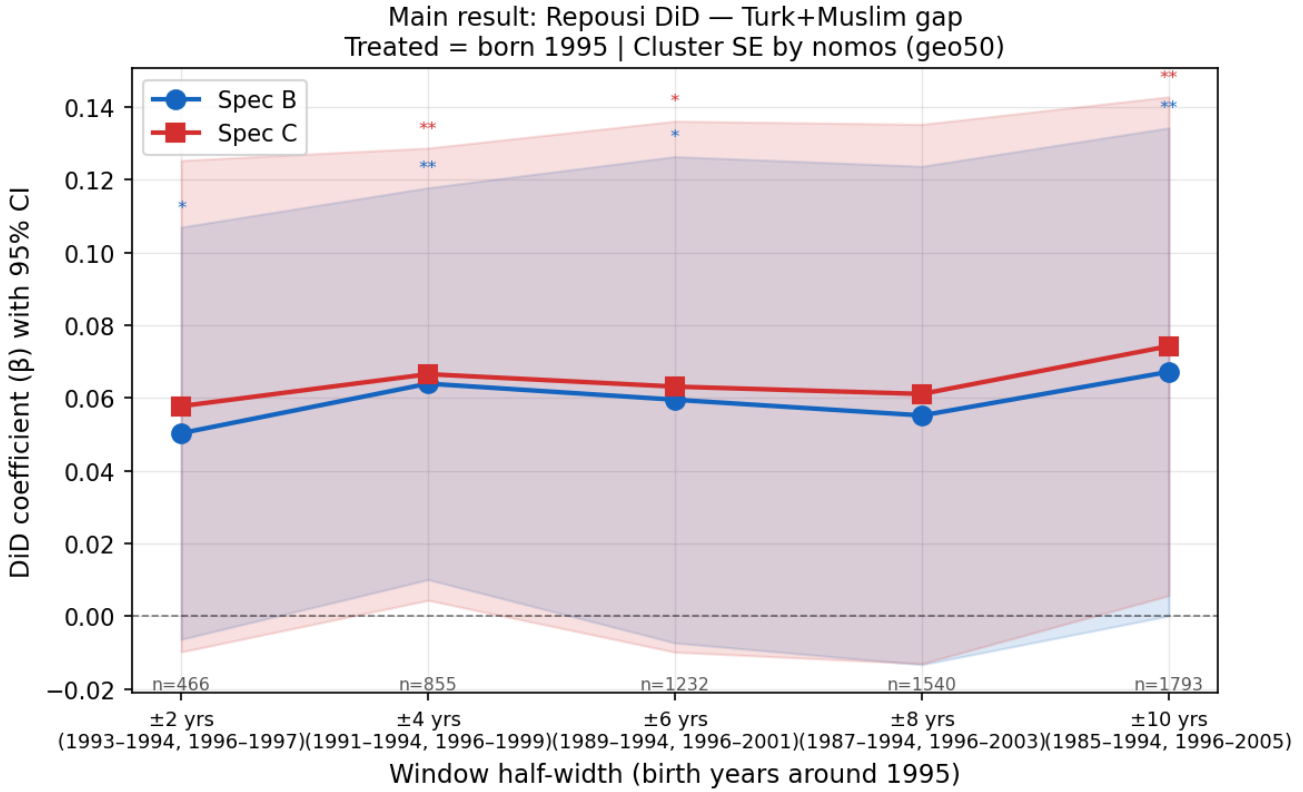
• Stacked DiD — normalized against comparison foreigners [navy line]: stack one row per respondent × foreigner group; outcome = like_Turk/Muslim; comparators = Jews, Americans, Germans, Russians. Include cohort (birth-year) fixed effects + survey-wave FE + prefecture FE. Coefficient of interest: post × is_TurkMuslim. SE clustered by nomos.

• Personal tolerance gap [red line]: compute per-respondent gap = like_Turk/Muslim − mean(like_comparators). Regress gap on post + survey-wave FE + prefecture FE. One row per respondent; no cohort FE required. SE clustered by nomos.

• Window widths: ±2 yrs = born 1993–94 vs 1996–97; ±4 = 1991–94 vs 1996–99; ±6 = 1989–94 vs 1996–2001; ±8 = 1987–94 vs 1996–2003; ±10 = 1985–94 vs 1996–2005.

• Diagnostic logic: a smooth lifecycle or cohort trend would produce a shrinking estimate as the window narrows — comparing 1995 respondents to cohorts born 15+ years earlier is a much larger age gap than comparing to adjacent cohorts, so any lifecycle confound should inflate the wide-window estimate. Instead, β stays in the +0.05–0.07 range across all five windows. This rules out the lifecycle/cohort-trend interpretation and is consistent with a genuine 1995 discontinuity.

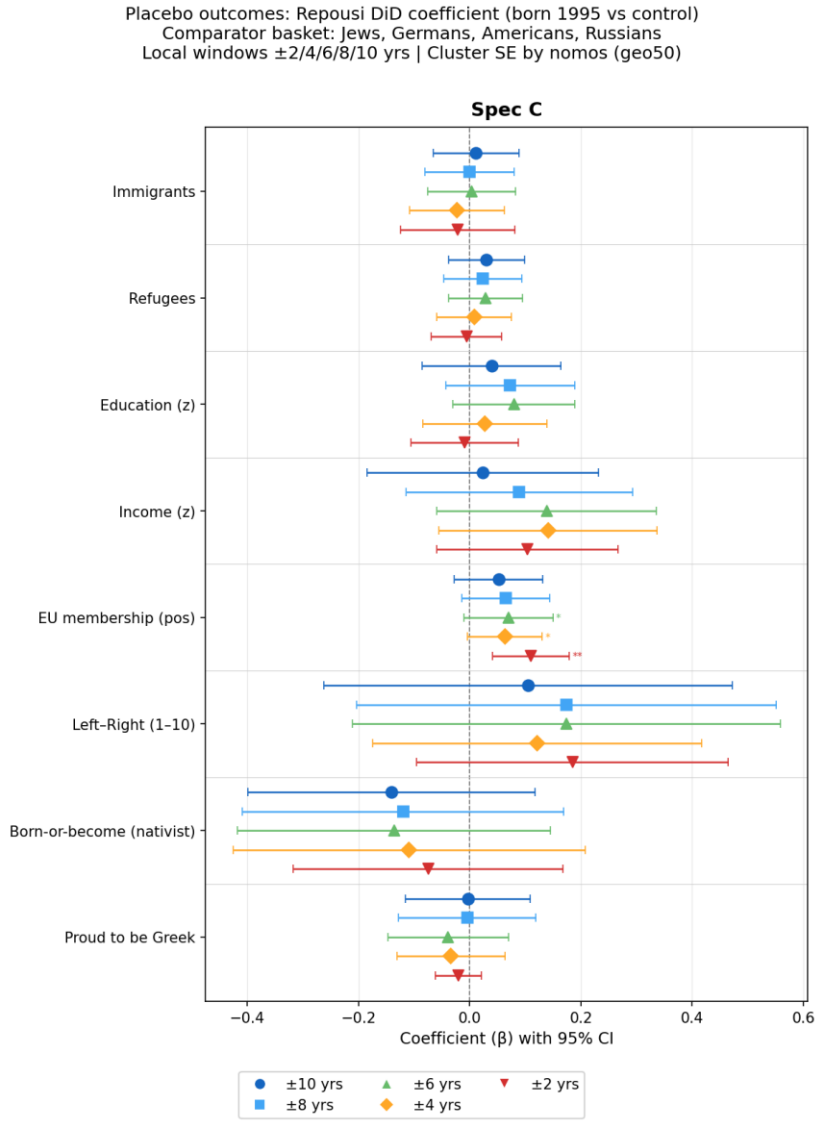
• Shaded bands = 95% confidence intervals.



Extended Placebo Tests: Eight Non-Turk Outcomes

Spec C — personal tolerance gap; Each row = one placebo outcome; each colored point = one window width

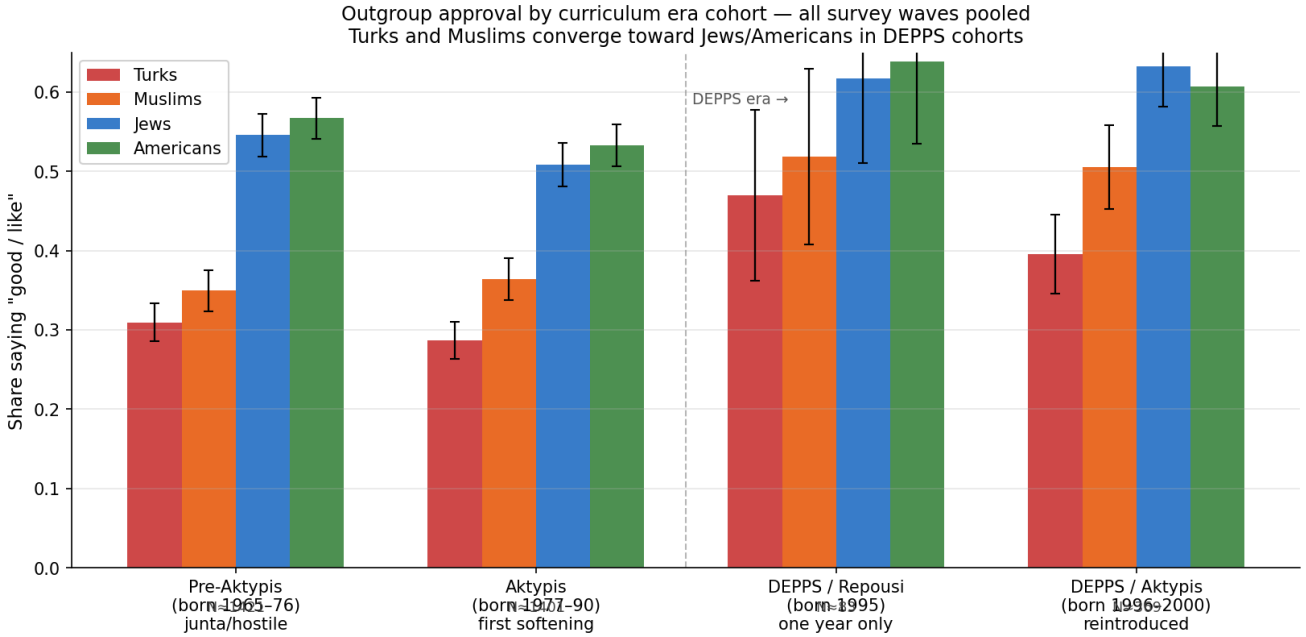
- Outcomes tested:
- Immigrants — like/dislike battery, same coding as Turks; tests whether effect is general outgroup tolerance
- Refugees — same battery; same logic
- Education (z) — respondent education z-scored within wave; tests whether 1995 cohort is selectively more educated
- Income (z) — z-scored within wave; tests age-at-survey income gradient (1995 cohort is ~29 years old at survey)
- EU membership approval — 4-point approval → binary; tests pro-EU political orientation
- Left–Right (1–10) — 7-category ideology mapped to 1–10; tests political alignment shift
- Ethnic vs. civic identity — "born-or-become nativist" question: 1 = only those born Greek are truly Greek (ethnic/nativist); 0 = one can become Greek (civic); tests national-identity framing
- Proud to be Greek — binary pride indicator; tests Greek national sentiment
- Expected result: null (all near zero). A positive estimate on Immigrants/Refugees would suggest general outgroup tolerance rather than Turk-specific learning.
- Actual result: all null in the personal gap specification (Spec C). Immigrants and Refugees cleanly null throughout.



The DEPPS Paradigm Shift: Cohort-Level Evidence

Turk and Muslim approval rises sharply in DEPPS cohorts; the gap relative to Jews/Americans narrows

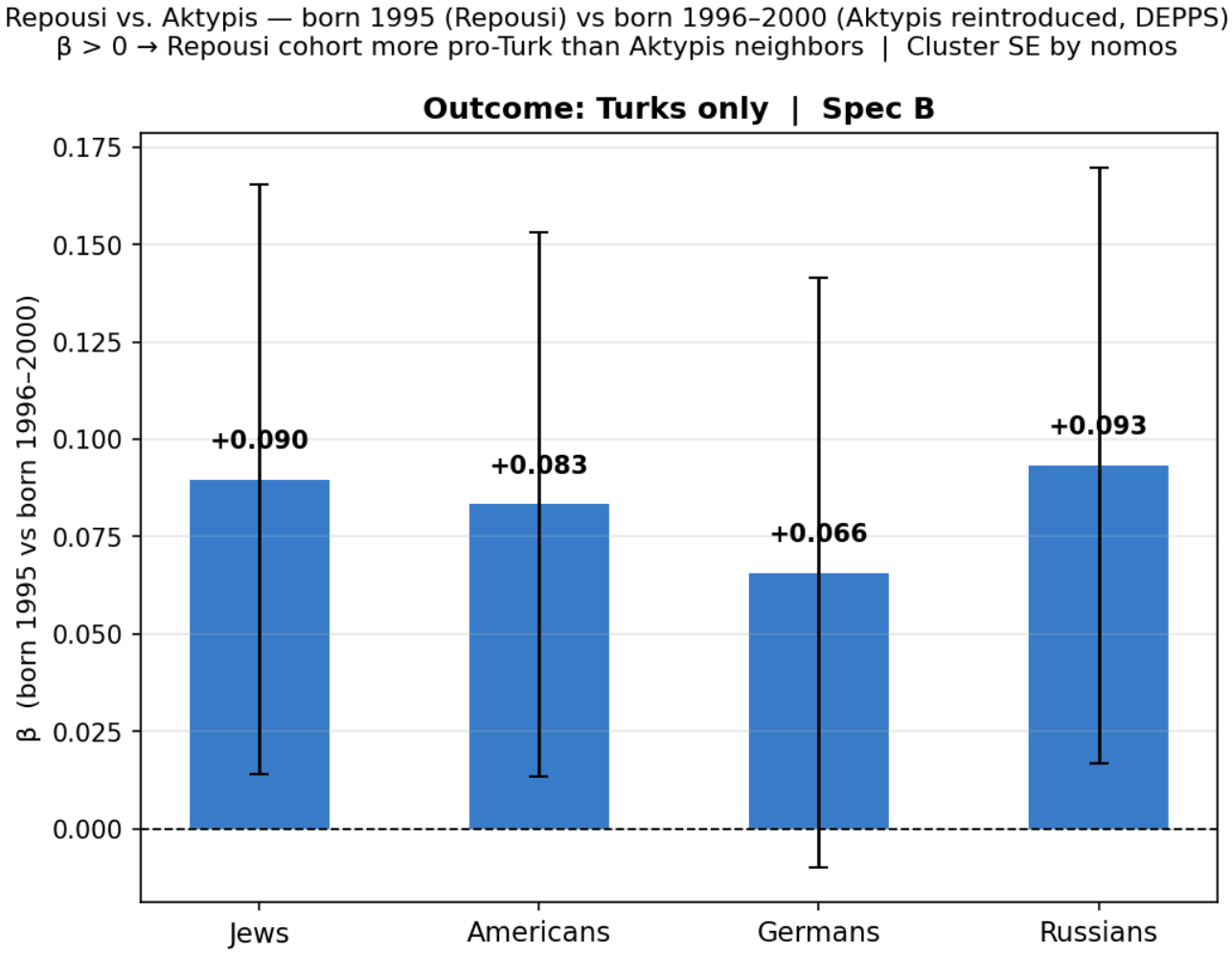
- Chart shows mean outgroup approval by curriculum-era cohort, pooling all six survey waves (N = 8,426).
- Pre-Aktypis (born 1965–76): exposed to junta-era and post-junta hostile curricula. Turk approval ≈ 31%.
- Aktypis (born 1977–90): "first softening" — Turk approval ≈ 29%. The modest change reflects Aktypis' limited revision of the Ottoman narrative; coexistence framing was still minimal.
- DEPPS era (born 1995–2000): Turk approval jumps to 40–47%. Jews and Americans also rise slightly — a generational trend — but the Turk and Muslim gains are substantially larger, consistent with curriculum-specific learning.
- DiD logic: a general tolerance trend would lift all outgroups equally. The disproportionate rise for Turks/Muslims in the DEPPS cohorts is the identifying variation.
- Caveat: this is descriptive. Survey-wave and age confounds are not yet controlled. The regression results on subsequent slides absorb these with wave FE, geo FE, and cohort FE.



Robustness: Is It Repousi or the Broader DEPPS Framework?

Comparing born-1995 (Repousi) directly to born 1996–2000 (Aktypis reintroduced under DEPPS) — a within-DEPPS test

- Design: after Repousi was withdrawn (Sept 2007), the Ministry re-adopted the 1989 Aktypis textbook for 6th grade — until Koliopoulos replaced it in 2012. Both Repousi (born 1995) and Aktypis-reintroduced (born 1996–2000) cohorts studied under the DEPPS curriculum framework. The only difference is the specific textbook.
- Why this matters: the year sweep showed a 1995 spike AND a general upward trend in subsequent cohorts. A pure DEPPS-framework story predicts born-1995 ≈ born-1996/2000. A Repousi-specific story predicts born-1995 > born-1996/2000.
- Result — Turks only (Spec B): born-1995 is significantly more pro-Turk than born-1996/2000 (β ≈ +0.09, $p < 0.05$ vs Jews, Americans, Russians; N = 562). The Repousi increment exists above the Aktypis baseline.
- Result — Muslims only: coefficients near zero, $p > 0.60$ in all specs. The Repousi effect does not generalise to Muslims as an outgroup — it is Turk-specific.
- Interpretation: named Turkish individuals in Repousi (Alp Arslan, Evliya Çelebi, millet coexistence) shifted attitudes toward Turks specifically. General Islamic framing was not distinctive enough relative to Aktypis to move Muslim attitudes.



Effect Size: How Large Is a 9 Percentage Point Shift?

Benchmarking against the literature and against within-sample variation

- Absolute scale: the pre-control cohort (1970–75) has ~32% like_Turk/Muslim approval (pooled, unconditional mean). The DiD-adjusted estimate (β=0.081–0.093) implies a +8–9 pp increase for the treated cohort — a ~27% relative increase over that baseline, once wave and cohort-composition trends are removed via the regression's fixed effects. (The treated cohort's raw, un-adjusted pooled mean is ~50% — not directly comparable to the pre-control mean, since it is not FE-adjusted.)
- Comparison to the literature:
- Voigtländer & Voth (2015): 10 years of Nazi schooling in the 1930s reduced Jewish-support norms by ~12 pp — our one-year effect (9 pp) is 75% as large from a single textbook
- Cantoni et al. (2017): Chinese textbook reform shifts attitudes toward the state by ~5–12 pp depending on the outcome — comparable in magnitude
- Fouka (2020): WWI German-language bans raise ethnic identity by ~10% relative to baseline — similar scale to our estimate
- Within-sample variation: the standard deviation of like_Turk across all respondents is approximately 0.48. A β of 0.09 is ~0.19 SDs — a meaningful but not extraordinary shift.
- Policy relevance: Greek-Turkish tensions ebb and flow with geopolitical events; a ~27% improvement in approval, sustained into adulthood, has direct implications for electoral tolerance of normalisation policies

PART VII

Mechanism & Conclusion

Why One Year at Age 12 Can Matter

Developmental psychology and the critical window for attitude formation

- Developmental theory (Erikson; Tajfel & Turner): late childhood / early adolescence (ages 10–14) is when children first form stable intergroup attitudes; exposure at this stage has disproportionate lasting effects
- Instructional intensity: 6th-grade history in Greece is a mandatory, assessed subject; students engage with the textbook for ~5 months (September to January for the Ottoman section), with teacher reinforcement and written assignments
- Distinctiveness of the Repousi content: Alp Arslan's magnanimity and Evliya Çelebi's perspective are cognitively distinctive (counter-stereotypical) — such content is more memorable and more likely to generate "schema-modification" (Petty & Cacioppo 1986; Bodenhausen & Macrae 1998)
- Mechanism channel — not value transmission per se, but cognitive: the textbook planted a counter-example that disrupts the automatic "Turk = oppressor/enemy" association formed by earlier family socialisation
- The Church and LAOS politicians who demanded withdrawal intuitively understood this: their fear was not that children would read one book, but that a single counter-example at the right developmental stage is enough to undermine decades of identity politics

The Reversion: Post-2007 Cohorts Show No Improvement

Koliopoulos et al. 2014 textbook re-establishes hostile framing — and it shows in the data

- The post-control cohort (born 1996+) shows like_Turk ≈ 44% (Dianeosis 2022) — nearly identical to the pre-control cohort (33%) once wave FE and comparison foreigners are applied; the DiD gap for born-1996+ vs pre-control is ≈ 0
- Koliopoulos 2014 reverted explicitly:
- Re-introduced the devshirme curse folk song ("Curse on you, king, and thrice curse you...")
- Framed the Chios massacre as "Turkish soldiers completely destroyed Chios and most inhabitants were massacred" — maximally vivid language
- Mustafa Kemal: "Massacres of Christians and looting completed the catastrophe"
- Ottoman Empire decline: "encouraged the subjugated Balkan peoples to rise up, claiming their freedom" — the empire's end framed as natural/just
- The DiD design treats the 1996+ cohort's outcome as a second control: their Turk approval confirms that the hostile curriculum "resets" the treated cohort's advantage
- Policy implication: the improvement can be reversed; sustained reform requires sustained exposure

Summary

• The Repousi 2006 textbook was a unique outlier in 120 years of Greek primary school history: the only curriculum to humanise and contextualise Ottoman/Turkish history rather than reduce it to oppression and massacre

• The cohort exposed to it (born 1995, in 6th grade 2006–07) is ~9 percentage points more likely to express positive attitudes toward Turks and Muslims, 15–20 years later

• The effect:

- Is robust to specification (cohort FE β=0.093, gap regression β=0.081)
- Survives demographic controls, though income composition explains part of it (β = 0.070 with gender+edu+income controls, down from 0.093)
- Passes the parallel trends placebo (β = −0.004 within the hostile-curriculum control era)
- Is stable to widening/narrowing the treated cohort boundary (β = 0.057–0.093)
- Is Turk/Muslim-specific (within-respondent β = +0.115***)

• The withdrawal of the textbook in 2007 appears to have ended the effect: the 1996+ cohort shows no improvement relative to the pre-control baseline

• Contribution: first quasi-experimental evidence that a single textbook change at a critical developmental stage can shift intergroup attitudes measurably and persistently into adulthood

Policy Implications

What the Repousi experiment tells us about education, prejudice, and foreign policy

- Curriculum design matters — causally, not just correlationally. A single academic year of a differently-framed history textbook shifts attitudes measurably 15–20 years later.
- The withdrawal of the Repousi textbook may have been a costly political mistake from the perspective of Greece–Turkey normalisation: the experiment produced a cohort meaningfully more tolerant of Turks and Muslims, and that cohort is now at peak electoral and economic participation age (late 20s–early 30s in 2026).
- Implication for sustained reform: one year is enough to shift attitudes, but it is not enough to sustain the change — the post-2007 cohort reset to the hostile baseline. Multi-year reform is needed for permanent change.
- Generalisation: the mechanism (counter-stereotypical, cognitively distinctive content at a critical developmental stage) should work beyond Greece–Turkey — applicable to any curriculum reform targeting intergroup prejudice.
- Caveats: the effect is measured 15–20 years after exposure; it may attenuate further. The sample is small (n≈135 treated). Effects may differ by implementation quality (how teachers used the book, whether they endorsed the new framing).
- Open question: would a sustained multi-year version of the Repousi curriculum produce larger and permanent shifts? This is a natural target for a future randomised curriculum evaluation.

I. Historical events produce material to be taught at school.

II. History persists because we teach it.

III. Changing the narrative does not change history — but it can change what people think about others and themselves.