

1 **Evolution in European and Israeli school curricula - A comparative analysis**

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5 Evangelia Mavrikaki,

6 *Department of Pedagogy and Primary Education, National and Kapodistrian University of*
7 *Athens, Athens, Greece, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9029-6340>*

8 *Marasli 4, 10676 Athens, Greece*

9 *Tel.+30 6932421918*

10 emavrikaki@primedu.uoa.gr

11

12 Giulia Realdon,

13 *Geology Section, UNICAMearth Group, University of Camerino, Camerino, Italy,*

14 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8269-4269>

15

16 Tuomas Aivelo,

17 *Faculty of Biological and Environmental Sciences, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland,*

18 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4285-7179>

19

20 Ani Bajrami,

21 *Museum of Natural Sciences 'Sabiha Kasimati', University of Tirana, Tirana, Albania,*

22 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5349-2510>

23

24 Çiçek Dilek Bakanay,

25 *Faculty of Education, Department of Elementary education, University of Istanbul Aydın,*

26 *Istanbul, Turkiye. <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9491-2569>*

27

28 Anna Beniermann,

29 *Department of Biology, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany,*

30 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5123-5588>

31

32 Jelena Blagojević,

33 *Department of Genetic Research, Institute for Biological Research "Siniša Stanković" - National*

34 *Institute of the Republic of Serbia, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia,*

35 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7102-5510>

36

37 Egle Butkeviciene,

38 *Faculty of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities, Kaunas University of Technology, Kaunas,*

39 *Lithuania, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5631-360X>*

40

41 Bento Cavadas,

42 *CeiED - Lusófona University, Polytechnic Institute of Santarém, Santarém, Portugal.*

43 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6021-6581>

44

45 Costantina Cossu,

46 *Équipe Formative Territoriale Regione Sardegna, Sardegna, Ministry of Education, Italy,*
47 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0113-1657>
48
49 Dragana Cvetković,
50 *Chair of Genetics and Evolution, Faculty of Biology, University of Belgrade, Serbia,*
51 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1311-7481>
52
53 Szymon M. Drobniak,
54 *Institute of Environmental Sciences, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland;*
55 *School of Biological, Environmental & Earth Sciences, University of New South Wales, Sydney,*
56 *Australia, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8101-6247>*
57
58 Zelal Özgür Durmuş
59 *Graduate School of Science and Engineering, Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey.*
60 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3091-4279>
61
62 Radka Marta Dvořáková,
63 *Faculty of Science, Department of Biology Education, Charles University, Prague, Czech*
64 *Republic, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0118-829>*
65
66 Marcel Eens,
67 *Behavioural Ecology and Ecophysiology group, Department of Biology, University of Antwerp,*
68 *Antwerp, Belgium. <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7538-3542>*
69
70 Esra Eret,
71 *Center for Advancing Teaching and Learning, Middle East Technical University, 06800 Ankara,*
72 *Turkey,*
73
74 Seckin Eroglu,
75 *Department of Biological Sciences, Middle East Technical University, 06800 Ankara, Turkey,*
76
77 Małgorzata Anna Gazda,
78 *CIBIO, Centro de Investigação em Biodiversidade e Recursos Genéticos, InBIO, Universidade*
79 *do Porto, Vairão, Portugal;*
80 *Comparative Functional Genomics group, Institut Pasteur, Université de Paris, Paris, France*
81 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8369-1350>
82
83 Martha Georgiou,
84 *Department of Biology, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Athens, Greece.*
85 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2762-5150>
86
87 Neil J. Gostling,
88 *Faculty of Environmental and Life Sciences, The School of Biological Sciences, Southampton,*
89 *United Kingdom <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5960-7769>*
90
91 Tanja Gregorčič,

92 *Faculty of Education, Department of Biology, Chemistry and Home Economics, University of*
93 *Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia, <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-6679-245X>*
94
95 Vanda Janštová,
96 *Faculty of Science, Department of Biology Education, Charles University, Prague, Czech*
97 *Republic, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5950-5738>*
98
99 Tania Jenkins,
100 *Science II, University of Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland. <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6816-3848>*
101
102 Anttoni Kervinen,
103 *Faculty of Educational Sciences, Faculty of Biological and Environmental Sciences, University*
104 *of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1689-6457>*
105
106 Konstantinos Korfiatis,
107 *Department of Education, University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus, [https://orcid.org/0000-0003-](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0297-6499)*
108 *[0297-6499](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0297-6499)*
109
110 Paul Kuschmierz,
111 *Institute for Biology Education, Justus Liebig University Giessen, Giessen, Germany,*
112 *<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8530-4342>*
113
114 Ádám Z. Lendvai,
115 *Department of Evolutionary Zoology and Human Biology, University of Debrecen, Debrecen,*
116 *Hungary, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8953-920X>*
117
118 Joelyn de Lima,
119 *EvoKE (Evolutionary Knowledge for Everyone), Paris, France, [https://orcid.org/0000-0001-](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9235-9704)*
120 *[9235-9704](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9235-9704)*
121
122 Fundime Miri,
123 *Department of Biology, University of Tirana, Tirana, Albania, [https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3817-](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3817-4615)*
124 *[4615](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3817-4615)*
125
126 Teresa Nogueira,
127 *INIAV - National Institute for Agrarian and Veterinary Research, Vairão, Portugal;*
128 *cE3c Center for Ecology, Evolution and Environmental Change & CHANGE - Global Change*
129 *and Sustainability Institute, Faculdade de Ciências, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal,*
130 *<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0059-5177>*
131
132 Andreas Panayides,
133 *Department of Education, University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus. [https://orcid.org/0000-0003-](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2607-7957)*
134 *[2607-7957](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2607-7957)*
135
136 Sylvia Paolucci,
137 *Laboratorio di Scienze Sperimentali, Foligno, Italy*
138

139 Penelope Papadopoulou,
140 *Department of Early Childhood Education, University of Western Macedonia, Florina, Greece.*
141 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9644-8798>
142
143 Patrícia Pessoa,
144 *University of Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, Vila Real, Portugal,*
145 *Research Centre on Didactics and Technology in the Education of Trainers, Department of*
146 *Education and Psychology, University of Aveiro, Portugal* [https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8114-](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8114-795X)
147 [795X](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8114-795X)
148
149 Rianne Pinxten,
150 *Research Unit Didactica, Antwerp School of Education, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of*
151 *Antwerp, Antwerp, Belgium.* <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5686-3284>
152
153 Joana Rios Rocha,
154 *University of Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, Vila Real, Portugal,*
155 *Research Centre on Didactics and Technology in the Education of Trainers, Department of*
156 *Education and Psychology, University of Aveiro, Aveiro, Portugal.* [https://orcid.org/0000-0003-](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3106-8553)
157 [3106-8553](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3106-8553)
158
159 Andrea Fernández Sánchez,
160 *Department of Pedagogy & Didactics, Faculty of Educational Sciences, University of A Coruña,*
161 *A Coruña, Spain,* <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8625-8955>
162
163 Merav Siani,
164 *Department of Science Teaching, Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot, Israel;*
165 *Herzog College, Alon Shvut, Israel.* <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4321-3068>
166
167 Elvisa Sokoli,
168 *Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tirana, Tirana, Albania.*
169
170 Bruno Sousa,
171 *Alpoente - Albufeira Poente School Group, Albufeira, Portugal.* [https://orcid.org/0000-0003-](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1497-030X)
172 [1497-030X](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1497-030X)
173
174 Panagiotis K. Stasinakis,
175 *Ampelokipoi Laboratory Centre for Natural Sciences (EKFE), Athens, Greece,*
176 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3396-6464>
177
178 Gregor Torkar,
179 *Faculty of Education, Department of Biology, Chemistry and Home Economics, University of*
180 *Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia,* <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4125-8529>
181
182 Asta Valackiene,
183 *Faculty of Public Governance and Business, Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius, Lithuania,*
184 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0079-9508>
185

186 Máté Varga,
187 *Department of Genetics, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary,*
188 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4289-1705>
189
190 Lucía Vázquez Ben,
191 *Department of Pedagogy & Didactics, Faculty of Educational Sciences, University of A Coruña,*
192 *A Coruña, Spain, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1685-5671>*
193
194 Anat Yarden,
195 *Department of Science Teaching, Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot, Israel.*
196 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3948-9400>
197
198 Xana Sá-Pinto,
199 *Research Centre in Didactics and Technology in Teacher Training (CIDTFF.UA), Department*
200 *of Education and Psychology, University of Aveiro, Portugal, [https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6049-](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6049-110X)*
201 [110X](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6049-110X)
202
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204 **Word count: 10.746**

205 **Abstract**

206 The contribution of school curricula to public understanding and acceptance of evolution is
207 still mostly unknown, due to the scarcity of studies that compare the learning goals present
208 in different curricula. To overcome this lack of data we analysed 19 school curricula (18
209 European and one from Israel) to study the differences regarding the inclusion of learning
210 goals targeting evolution understanding. We performed a quantitative content analysis
211 using the Framework for the Assessment of school Curricula on the presence of
212 Evolutionary concepts (FACE). For each country/region we analysed what this educational
213 system considered the minimum evolution education a citizen should get. Our results
214 reveal that: *i)* the curricula include less than half of the learning goals considered important
215 for scientific literacy in evolution; *ii)* the most frequent learning goals address basic
216 knowledge of evolution; *iii)* learning goals related with the processes that drive evolution
217 are often not included or rarely mentioned; *iv)* evolution is most often not linked to its
218 applications in everyday life. These results highlight the need to rethink evolution
219 education across Europe.

220

221 **Keywords:** Evolution learning goals, Biology Education, Education Policy

222 **Introduction**

223 Sustainability problems require long term solutions that account for the species' and populations'
224 evolutionary potential and are informed by their past evolutionary history (Jørgensen et al.,
225 2019). However, despite its undoubted importance, evolution is still poorly understood by many
226 (Asghar et al., 2007; Athanasiou & Mavrikaki, 2014; Kuschmierz, Meneganzin, et al., 2020;
227 Nehm, Poole et al., 2009; Pinxten et al., 2020; Prinou et al., 2008; 2011) and rejected by some
228 (Weisberg et al., 2018; Brenan, 2019; but see Kuschmierz et al., 2021 for different results in
229 European countries and Beniermann et al., 2022, for validity issues of measuring evolution
230 acceptance). Understanding of evolutionary theory is both variable, and low across countries,
231 even among biology teachers and university students enrolled in biology-related programs
232 (Glaze & Goldston, 2019; Kuschmierz et al., 2021).

233 Several reasons have been put forward to explain this widespread lack of evolution
234 understanding and acceptance including: *i*) evolution is perceived as being in conflict with
235 religious beliefs (Asghar et al., 2007; Beniermann, 2019; Kuschmierz et al., 2021; Siani &
236 Yarden, 2020); *ii*) cognitive biases that result in evolution misconceptions (Kelemen, 1999;
237 Kelemen, 2012); *iii*) teachers' low pedagogical content knowledge and willingness to teach
238 evolution (Gresch & Martens, 2019; Prinou et al., 2011; Stasinakis & Athanasiou, 2016; Cavadas
239 & Sá-Pinto, 2021; Venetis & Mavrikaki, 2017; Ziadie & Andrews, 2018); *iv*) educational
240 resources, including textbooks, that present evolution in isolated chapters (Bakanay & Durmuş,
241 2013; Cavadas, 2017; Nehm, Kim et al., 2009; Prinou et al., 2011; Sanders & Makotsa, 2016).

242 The way evolution is presented and articulated in school curricula may also affect
243 students' understanding of the topic (Pinxten et al., 2020). A curriculum both identifies the
244 learning goals that are considered relevant by a society (in a given context and time), and obliges

245 school systems to implement instruction that enables students to meet those goals (Roldão &
246 Almeida, 2018). In this paper, we define learning goals as the knowledge or skills a student
247 should be able to demonstrate at the end of the course or topic, (Chasteen et al., 2011) and as
248 such they can be either ‘content or practice learning goals’ (Fortus & Krajcik, 2012). Curricula
249 should provide guidance i) at the administrative level, by setting the political-judicial as well as
250 the institutional-organisational conditions for education, and ii) at the educational level,
251 providing teachers with subject matter that is ordered and assigned to distinct periods, and a
252 framework that is aligned within and between disciplines (Scholl, 2012). According to Reiser et
253 al. (2007) and the National Research Council [NRC] (2012), evolutionary concepts should be
254 integrated into the curricula of all grades, starting from kindergarten as introducing evolution at
255 earlier stages may facilitate its understanding (Brown et al., 2020; Pinxten et al., 2020). The
256 feasibility and benefits of doing so has been demonstrated by various researchers. Kindergarten
257 and primary school students were shown to be able to learn about evolutionary processes such as
258 natural selection and use that knowledge to explain or predict biological phenomena (Campos &
259 Sá-Pinto, 2013; Kelemen et al., 2014; Emmons et al., 2017; Brown et al., 2020; Sá-Pinto, Pinto
260 et al., 2021). Additionally, younger students easily overcome evolution misconceptions,
261 which is more challenging for older students (Brown et al., 2020).

262 However, few studies have analysed how different school curricula integrate evolutionary
263 concepts within the learning goals. Some explored the curricula for the presence/absence of
264 evolution as a topic (Barberá et al., 1999; Tidon & Lewontin, 2004), the presence/absence of
265 specific topics related to evolution (e.g., Quessada & Clement, 2011) or the relationship between
266 religious views and scientific topics in the curricula (Asghar et al., 2010). While other studies
267 analysed whether concepts required for understanding evolution were present in the curricula,

268 these: *i*) only focused on a single curriculum (Asghar et al., 2015; Kuschmierz, Meneganzin et al.
269 , 2020; Sanders & Makotsa, 2016; Skoog & Bilica, 2002); *ii*) used different analytical
270 frameworks precluding comparative analyses across curricula (Asghar et al., 2015; Kuschmierz,
271 Benierman et al., 2020; Sanders & Makotsa, 2016; Vázquez-Ben & Bugallo-Rodríguez,
272 2018); *iii*) focused on a limited set of concepts (Skoog & Bilica, 2002); *iv*) focused on higher
273 grades excluding initial years of education (Skoog & Bilica, 2002). Despite their contribution to
274 understanding how school curricula address evolution in specific countries or grades and to
275 inform policy changes, the reported studies do not however allow us to compare how much
276 emphasis is given to evolution in each country. A comparative analysis of the school curricula is
277 needed to both evaluate the potential effects of curricula design on the understanding and
278 acceptance of evolution, and the identification of lacunae related to key learning goals that are
279 missing in some countries. Here, we present the first large-scale study of school curricula from
280 Europe and Israel focusing on biological evolution, which aims to answer the following research
281 questions:

- 282 1) Which evolutionary key concepts are present in European and Israeli school curricula?
- 283 2) From these, which are the most and least covered in these curricula?

284 **Methodology**

285 *Sample*

286 We examined the school curricula of 17 European countries, Kosovo¹ and Israel (n=19, see

¹ Within the COST (European COoperation in Science & Technology) programme, Kosovo is considered a Near Neighbour Country (NNC) by the Committee of Senior Officials of COST. This designation is without prejudice to positions on status and is in line with UNSCR (United Nations Security

287 Table 1) that guided the respective educational systems in the school year 2018-19. The choice
288 of curricula was based on the authors' response to an open call made at *////* (removed for
289 anonymity) (convenience sampling). In countries where there is no national school curriculum
290 we analysed the curriculum of one of its regions: the curriculum from Flanders for Belgium, the
291 curriculum from the state of Hesse for Germany, and the curriculum from England for the UK.
292 The Kosovo curriculum refers to the Albanian population only. Information about the
293 corresponding school systems can be found in Appendix A.

294 We decided to focus on the minimum evolutionary education, as defined by each
295 educational system, received by a citizen within that system. Therefore, we analysed the school
296 curricula from the 1st to 9th/10th grades (depending on the educational system, in some cases
297 learning goals for 9th and 10th grades are combined in a single education cycle). This choice of
298 grades corresponds to the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) surveys
299 which measure 15-year-olds' ability to use their reading, mathematics and science knowledge
300 and skills to meet real-life challenges (Harlen, 2001). In most countries from the Organisation for
301 Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), students complete the compulsory education
302 at age 15, and, in many countries, branch out from a common curriculum and start attending
303 specialised educational programs (some with a strong science-based curriculum and others
304 without). For England, we exceptionally included the 11th grade curriculum since it is combined
305 with the 10th grade in Key Stage 4, and is common for all students (see Appendix B). We
306 analysed the biology curriculum, if it existed, or in its absence, the Science or 'Study the
307 Environment' or whatever discipline included the biology learning goals in each country.

Council Resolutions) 1244/1999 and the ICJ (International Court of Justice) Opinion on the Kosovo declaration of independence.

308 *Data analysis, framework and procedures*

309 Using quantitative content analysis (Patrick & Matteson, 2018) we analysed the 19 school
310 curricula, using the Framework for the Assessment of school Curricula on the presence of
311 Evolutionary concepts (FACE) as our coding scheme (for validity information see Table 1 in Sá-
312 Pinto, Realdon et al., 2021). Inspired by the ‘Understanding Evolution Conceptual Framework’
313 (University of California, Museum of Paleontology, 2020), FACE provides insights into the
314 evolution learning goals included in school curriculum. The instrument has six categories
315 that represent conceptual dimensions that are important to ensure scientific literacy in evolution:
316 History of Life (category 1), Evidence for Evolution (category 2), Mechanisms of Evolution
317 (category 3), Studying Evolution (category 4), Nature of Science (NoS; category 5) and
318 Development of Scientific Practices (category 6) (Sá-Pinto, Realdon et al., 2021).
319 Learning goals can be further sorted into 35 subcategories (7 subcategories in the History of
320 Life, 6 in Evidence for Evolution, 12 in Mechanisms of evolution, 4 in Studying evolution, 5 in
321 the Nature of Science (NoS) and 1 in development of Scientific Practices; see the description
322 of categories and subcategories of FACE at Table 2 and the guidelines of how to use it in Sá-
323 Pinto, Realdon et al., 2021).

324 The unit of analysis was the ‘meaning unit’ – ‘the constellation of words or statements that relate
325 to the same central meaning’ (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 106) - that could be a
326 curriculum’s learning goal - or a part of it - that fitted a FACE subcategory (e.g. ‘...they
327 gradually realise that in nature there is a wide variety of living organisms...’ was characterised
328 as subcategory 2.1). Some learning goals might be repeated in a curriculum, e.g.
329 due to its spiral development. We counted these learning goals as many times as they appeared
330 as their repetition is indicative of the importance attributed to them by the curriculum designers.

331 Each curriculum was analysed by a team of two or more researchers - among the authors.
332 These teams, composed by experts in evolutionary biology and/or in science education, included
333 people who were born or lived where the school curriculum was applied. The exceptions were
334 the UK and Kosovo, for which the analysis was performed by native speakers. The teams were
335 instructed on how to use FACE by the project leaders before starting the analysis, following
336 which each researcher independently analysed each curriculum, identifying meaning units,
337 and assigning to them a FACE subcategory. Researchers then compared their coding within the
338 teams, discussed possible disagreements and reached a consensus. The analyses were done by
339 the national teams with the learning goals in the original language. When needed for discussion
340 with the international team or for exemplifying one idea in the present paper, the native speakers
341 translated specific learning goals to English. The national coordinators sent the final data from
342 each country to the coordinators of the project, who compiled, processed and analyzed it.
343 Although the above described process - given that coders were experts in evolutionary biology
344 and/or evolution education and were trained to apply the FACE framework - establishes the
345 credibility of our findings (Harris et al., 2006; Morgan, 2022), we further estimated the
346 percentage of agreement between coders (Krippendorff, 2004), which, except for Albania and
347 Kosovo (65% and 69% respectively), ranged between 76% to 98%.

348 Chi-square test were used to test for the differences in the distribution of the FACE categories
349 and subcategories among the curricula. Significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$.

350 **Results**

351 *Analysis at the categories' level*

352 Our results show statistically significant differences between the absolute frequencies of each

353 category among the analysed curricula ($\chi^2 = 675.87$, $df=90$, $p<.001$) (Table 1). One major
354 difference is in the absolute number of goals that target evolution, with curricula from Hungary,
355 Israel, Slovenia and Spain having more than 100 goals targeting evolution ($n=109$, 103 , 135 , and
356 227 , respectively), while those from Belgium, Cyprus and Kosovo have 22 or less ($n=15$, 19 , and
357 22 , respectively). Another major difference was in the degree to which the FACE categories
358 were represented in the different curricula, with ‘Evidence for Evolution’, and ‘Studying
359 Evolution’ being, respectively, the categories with the highest and lowest representation of
360 learning goals . The school curricula also varied in the absolute frequencies of FACE
361 subcategories ($\chi^2=1793.10$, $df=630$ $p<.001$).

362 [Table 1 around here]

363 Strong variation between curricula can also be observed regarding the relative importance of
364 each category (Figure 1): in eight of the 19 curricula the majority of learning goals are related to
365 ‘Evidence for Evolution’, five curricula emphasise the ‘Development of Scientific Practices’,
366 four emphasise ‘Mechanisms of Evolution’ and one emphasises ‘History of Life’. In the Turkish
367 curriculum, learning goals relative to ‘Mechanisms of Evolution’ and ‘NoS’ appear with equal
368 frequency.

369 [Figure 1 around here]

370 *Analysis by subcategories*

371 With the exception of ‘Evidence for evolution’ all the categories had, on average, less than half
372 of their subcategories covered in the curricula (Figure 2). Of these, ‘Mechanisms of evolution’ is
373 the category with the lowest percentage (38% in average) of subcategories represented in the
374 curricula’s learning goals.

375 [Figure 2 around here]

376 [Table 2 around here]

377 Of the total 35 FACE subcategories, 18 are present, on average, less than once across the
378 analysed curricula (when we divide the total number of times that a given FACE subcategory
379 occurs in all the analyzed curricula by 19 - the number of the different curricula we analysed -
380 we observe that eighteen subcategories are present, on average, less than once per curricula)
381 (Table 2). In contrast, learning goals targeting the ‘Development of Scientific Practices’
382 (category 6), or ‘*Similarities and/or differences among existing organisms provide evidence for*
383 *evolution*’ (subcategory 2.1) and ‘*Organisms’ features, when analysed in relation to their*
384 *environment provide evidence for evolution*’ (subcategory 2.6) appear more than five times on
385 average.

386 The curricula of England, Hungary, Serbia, Slovenia, and Lithuania cover the highest
387 number of FACE subcategories, while the curricula from Belgium, Cyprus, and Italy cover the
388 fewest (Figure 3).

389 [Figure 3 around here]

390 This pattern slightly changes when we analyse each FACE category independently (see Figure
391 4).

392 For the category ‘**History of Life**’, learning goals relating to ‘*Anthropogenic*
393 *environmental changes and biological evolution are linked*’ (subcategory 1.4) are present in 14
394 curricula, while learning goals focusing on ‘*Rates of evolution vary*’ (subcategory 1.6) appear in
395 only two curricula (Figure 4A). While Albania, Belgium, and Cyprus only include learning goals

396 belonging to one subcategory each, the curricula of England, Hungary, and Serbia cover a higher
397 percentage of subcategories from ‘History of Life’ (Figure 4A).

398 For ‘**Evidence for Evolution**’, learning goals related to ‘*Similarities and/or differences*
399 *among existing organisms provide evidence for evolution*’ and ‘*Organisms’ features. when*
400 *analysed in relation to their environment provide evidence for evolution*’ (subcategories 2.1 and
401 2.6) are covered by almost all the curricula (Figure 4B). In contrast, learning goals focusing
402 on ‘*Evolution can be directly observed*’ (subcategory 2.2) is only covered in 21% of the curricula
403 (Figure 4B). The curricula of England and Hungary cover learning goals representing all the six
404 subcategories of this category, while the curricula of Belgium, Cyprus, Finland, Israel, Lithuania
405 and Poland only include learning goals covering two of these subcategories (Figure 4B).

406 [Figure 4 around here]

407 For ‘**Mechanisms of Evolution**’, learning goals relating to ‘*There is variation within a*
408 *population*’ (subcategories 3.2) and ‘*Living things have offspring that inherit many traits from*
409 *their parents but are not exactly identical to their parents*’ (subcategories 3.3) are most
410 commonly found across the different curricula (Figure 4C). By contrast, only two curricula
411 mention learning goals referring ‘*Genetic drift acts on the variation that exists in a*
412 *population*’ (subcategory 3.8). Curricula of England and Hungary cover learning goals from all
413 but one subcategory from this category, while the curricula of Belgium, Cyprus, and Spain only
414 include learning goals from one out of the twelve (Figure 4C).

415 For the category ‘**Studying Evolution**’, learning goals focusing on ‘*Classification is*
416 *based on evolutionary relationships*’ (subcategory 4.3) are covered by most of the curricula,
417 while learning goals relating to ‘*Scientists study multiple lines of evidence about evolution*’
418 (subcategories 4.1) are only mentioned in six curricula. Three national curricula - England,

419 Hungary, and Lithuania - cover learning goals from the three subcategories, while most of the
420 curricula analysed, only have learning goals related to one subcategory. Kosovo's curriculum
421 does not have any learning goals from this category (Figure 4D).

422 In the category '**Nature of Science**' more than half of the analysed curricula have
423 learning goals that focus on '*Science provides explanations for the natural world*' (subcategory
424 5.2) and '*Science is based on empirical evidence*' (subcategory 5.3). However, less than half of
425 the curricula have learning goals related with the other subcategories. The curricula from Spain
426 and England cover learning goals from all subcategories of this category, while the curriculum
427 from Belgium does not have any learning goals that relate to this category (Figure 4E).

428 All the analysed curricula contain learning goals related with the '**Development of**
429 **Scientific Practices**' (Figure 4F), except Cyprus.

430 **Discussion**

431 Our results highlight that across Europe, school curricula do not fully recognise or emphasise the
432 importance of evolution understanding, or promote its teaching across compulsory education as
433 advised by educational research organisations (NRC, 2012, German National Academy of
434 Sciences Leopoldina, 2017). In fact, our data shows that most curricula include less than half of
435 the learning goals considered important to promote scientific literacy in evolution (as described
436 in Sá-Pinto, Realdon et al., 2021). Additionally, the learning goals that are frequently
437 mentioned are mostly relate to basic knowledge (Understanding Evolution, 2020), and given the
438 absence of other important key concepts, this can potentially reinforce some misconceptions.
439 Furthermore, the learning goals related with processes driving evolution are often not included
440 (e.g. genetic drift and sexual selection) or, when included, are not emphasised. Finally, many

441 curricula do not link evolution to its everyday life applications and implications.

442 The impact of these potential gaps in curricula for European public scientific literacy is
443 still difficult to assess given the lack of studies performed using a common evaluation
444 instruments to compare the understanding and acceptance of evolution across multiple countries
445 (Kuschmierz, Meneganzin et al. , 2020 ; Kuschmierz et al., 2021). One study that attempted
446 to fill this lacuna included only first year university students enrolled in both biology-related and
447 non-biology-related courses, with the proportion of both student groups varying across countries
448 (Kuschmierz et al., 2021). As students enrolled in biology related courses have significantly
449 higher knowledge about evolution than other students, it is difficult to directly compare these
450 data to ours.

451 *Learning about the History of Life*

452 The lack of emphasis on learning goals relating to the History of Life, may hinder
453 development of students' understanding of deep time, which is a difficult concept for students
454 (Dodick & Orion, 2003; Jaimes et al., 2020) but is fundamental to understand
455 macroevolutionary processes, and has been shown to be correlated with the acceptance of
456 evolution (Cotner et al., 2010; Kuschmierz, Beniermann et al., 2020). Our results show that
457 learning goals specifically related to deep time (FACE subcategories 1.1 and 1.3) are only
458 present in half of the analysed curricula. This scarcity of learning goals related to the historical
459 temporal scales of changes in natural environments and patterns of extinction may also be
460 limiting students' ability to compare current and past extinction rates (Cervato & Frodeman
461 2012; Wyner & DeSalle, 2020), and consequently, hamper their understanding of how humans
462 are causing the so-called 'sixth mass extinction' (Hannah, 2021).

463 ***Learning about Evidence for Evolution***

464 Learning about the “Evidence for evolution” can increase acceptance of evolution (Yasri
465 & Mancy, 2016). However, only four of the curricula we analysed had learning goals that
466 focused on more than three of the six FACE subcategories. These results highlight the need to
467 include additional, diversified and age-appropriate, evidence supporting evolution in the adopted
468 curricula. Learning goals focusing on ‘*Similarities and/or differences among existing organisms*
469 *provide evidence for evolution*’ (subcategory 2.1) were the most frequent, and this was the only
470 subcategory from FACE that is present in all the analysed curricula. This subcategory includes
471 ideas related with the existence of biodiversity, a very basic learning goal that is expected to be
472 present from the first years of schooling. The second most frequently found learning goal relates
473 to ‘*Organisms’ features, when analysed in relation to their environment, provide evidence for*
474 *evolution*’ (subcategory 2.6), which appears in all but one curriculum. This learning goal
475 includes (but is not limited to) understanding that form is related to function. While this goal is
476 very important for the understanding of evolution, if students are not taught that functions result
477 from natural processes and that selection neither has intentions nor fulfils needs, it may result
478 in or reinforce teleological misconceptions (Kampourakis, 2020). To avoid this undesirable
479 outcome, the nuances of the relationship between form and function should be explored,
480 informed by the process of natural selection and individuals’ fitness, thereby ensuring that
481 students understand that ‘*Evolution does not consist of progress in any particular direction*’
482 (subcategory 3.12). However, from the 18 curricula that include subcategory 2.6, six do not
483 include learning goals targeting the understanding of fitness or natural selection. Furthermore,
484 in each curriculum, learning goals related with subcategory 2.6 are much more frequent than
485 learning goals related with the processes of evolution. Together these results may at least

486 partially explain the high level of teleological misconceptions identified in European students
487 (Kuschmierz et al., 2021).

488 ***Learning about the Mechanisms of Evolution***

489 The learning goals relative to the ‘Mechanisms of evolution’, that are present in most of
490 the curricula we analysed (subcategories 3.2 and 3.3) are key ideas fundamental to understanding
491 evolutionary processes (Tibell & Harms, 2017). But that, *per se*, is not enough to lead to
492 evolutionary thinking, as these learning goals do not explore the mechanisms underlying the
493 frequency change across generations. Only 10 of the national curricula we analysed had learning
494 goals related to natural selection and much fewer covered sexual selection (four curricula) and
495 genetic drift (two curricula). This illustrates the previously described discrepancy in importance,
496 given by educational policies, educators and educational researchers, to natural selection, as
497 compared to genetic drift and sexual selection (reviewed by Andrews et al. (2012) & Sá-Pinto et
498 al. (2017)). This is concerning because, despite the importance of genetic drift to understand
499 evolution and address social problems (Andrews et al., 2012), studies show that students both
500 struggle to understand genetic drift, and also have multiple misconceptions about genetic drift
501 (Andrews et al., 2012; Beggrow & Nehm, 2012). This problem is further exacerbated as teachers
502 often have difficulties understanding drift themselves, or they fail to recognise the significance of
503 drift and random processes in the context of evolution (Cavadas & Sá-Pinto, 2021; Hartelt et al.,
504 2022; Venetis & Mavrikaki, 2017).

505 Even among the curricula that do have learning goals that relate to natural selection, most
506 only mention it once. Additionally, as the concept of fitness is only addressed in four out of the
507 19 curricula, this may result in the strengthening of misconceptions about natural selection.
508 Studies have shown that people, including high school and university students, fail to understand

509 fitness (Kuschmierz et al., 2021), tend to believe that fitness is determined by the individuals'
510 ability to survive, and fail to understand that these traits will be evolutionarily irrelevant if they
511 do not result in a higher number of offspring (Gregory, 2009). As our results indicate, the low
512 number of curricula exploring sexual selection is worrying, as learning about this process
513 emphasizes the most important trait determining the fitness of an individual: its reproductive
514 output (Sá-Pinto et al., 2017; Sá-Pinto et al., 2023). A recent study highlighting the importance
515 of learning goals related to evolutionary fitness showed that after exploring educational activities
516 that model sexual selection processes, elementary schools use the concept of differential
517 reproduction significantly more often to reason about evolutionary processes (Sá-Pinto et al.,
518 2023).

519 The paucity of learning goals relating to mechanisms of frequency change across
520 generations in the curricula under analysis, does not account for the recent studies, which show
521 that students can learn about these processes from an early age (Campos & Sá-Pinto, 2013;
522 Kelemen et al., 2014; Emmons et al., 2017; Brown et al., 2020; Sá-Pinto, Pinto et al., 2021 ,
523 Sá-Pinto et al., 2023). These studies also show that introducing young students to natural
524 selection may prevent the development and strengthening of evolution misconceptions (Brown et
525 al., 2020) that are difficult to overcome at older ages (Bishop & Anderson, 1986; Nehm &
526 Reilly, 2007).

527 ***Learning about Studying Evolution***

528 Although many of today's problems affecting our species at the individual, local or
529 global scales are due to evolutionary processes and require evolution knowledge-based solutions
530 (Jørgensen et al., 2019), only seven out of the 19 curricula include learning goals related to daily
531 life applications of evolutionary biology. Research suggests that many students do not use

532 evolutionary principles to argue about complex social problems (Sadler et al., 2005) even though
533 evolution is fundamental to predicting the outcomes of different solutions in future biological
534 systems and to evaluating their potential strengths and limitations. Evolutionary understanding is
535 essential for students' anticipatory competency and systems thinking that UNESCO (2018) and
536 the European sustainability framework (Bianchi et al., 2022) identify as a key competency in
537 education for sustainability. Therefore, exploring evolution within the scope of daily life
538 examples and problems is advised by many science education organisations and movements
539 (Fowler & Zeidler, 2016), and educators have developed resources to facilitate this exploration
540 (see examples at Sá-Pinto et al., 2022) .

541 *Learning about the Nature of Science*

542 Understanding the NoS is fundamental for a person to be scientifically literate
543 (Lederman, 2019; OECD, 2019). The understanding of the NoS has been shown to be positively
544 correlated with people's acceptance of evolution (Cofré et al., 2018; Irez & Bakanay, 2011;
545 Sieckel & Friedrichsen, 2013; but see Coleman et al., 2015 for conflicting results), and evolution
546 has been proposed as a topic with great potential to teach about NoS (National Academy of
547 Sciences, 1998). NoS is one of the categories with the highest frequency and diversity of
548 learning goals across the analysed curricula, although, in the majority of the curricula, less than
549 half of the subcategories related to NoS are covered. However, NoS learning goals may also be
550 present in the curricula of other science disciplines that we did not analyse (such as physics or
551 chemistry for example) as this is a transversal topic in science education.

552 *Learning about the Scientific Practices*

553 Our results show that, except for Cyprus, all the curricula included learning goals related
554 with scientific practices, which are important to foster the public's ability to evaluate scientific
555 evidence and claims and distinguish these from non-science-based claims (NRC, 2012; OECD,
556 2019).

557 One important limitation of our study is related to the fact that analysed curricula vary
558 greatly in extent and flexibility. While some curricula are very extensive, describing in detail the
559 concepts to be taught and the goals that the students should achieve, others allow teachers and/or
560 schools a much more flexibility (Thijs & Van Den Akker, 2009; Scholl et al., 2012). In some
561 countries and regions, the national/regional learning goals are considered as minimum learning
562 goals to which teachers and schools are expected to add more. In Flanders, for example, there are
563 various educational networks, each developing their own specific, and much more detailed,
564 learning plan, based on the minimum learning goals set by the Flemish curriculum. Trying to
565 compare two curricula that vary in the degree of flexibility provided to teachers/school systems
566 may be misleading, if the differences are narrowly interpreted. However, the existence or lack of
567 concepts and goals in a curriculum not only reflects the importance given in the educational
568 system to these concepts and goals (Roldão & Almeida, 2018), but also provides the reference
569 framework for school textbook authors. A good example is the case of Turkey, where the most
570 recent curriculum came into effect in 2018 and involved significant changes. The unit that could
571 potentially cover mechanisms of evolution and fundamental concepts formerly named 'The
572 Beginning of Life and Evolution', was renamed to 'Living Beings and the Environment'. It
573 covers essential evolutionary concepts like variation, adaptation, mutation, natural and artificial
574 selection, and biodiversity. However, the term 'evolution' was removed from the curriculum and

575 was not reintroduced, neither was the concept of evolutionary theory or Darwin. In the new
576 curriculum, topics like the origin of life, the evolution of species, and the extinction of species
577 have been entirely removed. The absence of the term ‘evolution’ poses a significant problem, as
578 it is unclear how the mechanisms of the evolutionary process can be connected without the use of
579 the term ‘evolution’. Whether teachers will use the term ‘evolution’, or not, will depend on their
580 worldview and their understanding of biology. Along with other changes, the absence of the term
581 ‘evolution’ anywhere in the curriculum indicates an intention, which is that evolution is not
582 addressed.

583 Furthermore, as the curricula often clarify the schools’ and teachers’ legal obligations in
584 terms of what they need to teach, teachers use the curricula to identify what they are allowed or
585 not allowed to teach (Scholl et al., 2012). In this sense, adding particular learning goals to the
586 curricula is expected to increase the chance of these being included in the content taught by
587 teachers, and provide teachers a legal protection that may be particularly important in societies
588 where the teaching of evolution is socially controversial.

589 Differences in the way school systems and/or teachers interpret and operationalise the
590 learning goals in the curricula may either create opportunities for new learning goals to be set
591 (Roldão & Almeida, 2018), or diminish the importance of some of the learning goals found in
592 the curricula. This problem is further exacerbated by learning goals that are vaguely phrased,
593 allowing multiple interpretations by teachers and authors of educational resources. Considering
594 these caveats, curricula analyses provide a simplistic view of the content knowledge, skills and
595 attitudes that students actually develop in the classrooms. Studies of classroom practices or
596 educational resources used by teachers (such as textbooks and other educational materials) could
597 potentially shed a brighter light on the ground reality. In this context, textbook analysis can be

598 quite informative, as textbooks are the most often used educational resource, serving as primary
599 organisers of the subject matter that students are expected to master, and, when it comes to
600 evolution teaching, as the main authority to legitimise the topic (Chiappetta & Fillman, 2007;
601 Yager, 1983; Goldston & Kyzer, 2009). It would also be important to explore teachers' trainings
602 and practices. The latter are deeply influenced by the teachers' pedagogical content knowledge
603 and several studies have shown that many teachers do not understand and are not prepared to
604 teach evolution (Gresch & Martens, 2019; Muğaloğlu, 2018; Prinou et al., 2011; Sickel &
605 Friedrichsen, 2013; Stasinakis & Athanasiou, 2016; Venetis & Mavrikaki 2017; Ziadie &
606 Andrews, 2018). It is also important to stress that our results refer to the minimum knowledge
607 about evolution that a student can gain in a country. In many countries, students may choose to
608 pursue further optional studies in biology-related disciplines, and thus might achieve additional
609 evolution-related learning goals. These optional pathways are not included in this analysis as we
610 focused on what the general population of a country is expected to learn about evolution in
611 school.

612 Our results provide the first description of how evolution is expected to be addressed in
613 the early grades of education across multiple European countries and regions. This study creates
614 the possibility of new research lines focusing on the impacts of curricula on students' scientific
615 literacy, teachers' practices and educational resources contents. Furthermore, our results have
616 implications for education policy and should foster discussions about curricular changes needed
617 for long-term enhancement of public evolutionary literacy across Europe.

618

619 **Competing interests**

620 The authors report there are no competing interests to declare.

621

622 **Ethics statement**

623 No research based on human subjects was necessary for the development of this paper, therefore
624 no ethics statement is needed.

625

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909

910 **APPENDIX A**

911 Short description of the educational systems that the analysed school curricula were derived
912 from.

913 *Albania*

914 In Albania, according to the amended Law no. 69/2021 compulsory education comprises primary
915 and middle school. It starts at the age of 6 (1st grade) and extends until the age of 15 (9th grade).
916 Biology is taught within the ‘natural sciences’ curriculum from preschool and along primary and
917 middle school (grades 1-9), under five major topics. Evolution is included in the Diversity topic.
918 In middle school (grades 6-9), biology is taught separately, 2 hours per week. In primary school
919 (grades 1-5), a teacher can teach all subject areas. In middle school, biology is taught by a
920 science or natural science teacher, who has a bachelor’s in Biology or Biochemistry.

921 *Cyprus*

922 Cyprus has a centralised, public education system but also some private schools. The latter have
923 their own curriculum, syllabus and tuition fees. In this study we focus on the public education
924 system of the country, since it concerns the vast majority of school-aged children. Secondary
925 Education is provided for students aged 12 to 18. For the public schools, it is offered through two
926 three-year cycles - Gymnasium and Lyceum. The attendance is free of charge for all classes and
927 compulsory until the age of 15 or the completion of the first cycle, whichever comes first. Biology
928 in the public schools is taught as part of the ‘science’ subject during elementary school, while it is
929 an independent subject during the high school years.

930 ***Czech Republic***

931 Compulsory education starts at the age of 5 (one year in kindergarten) and lasts for 10
932 years . At school, first 5 years are primary education, after which
933 there are two distinct educational pathways of secondary education: 1) the second grade of
934 primary school (no entrance exam), 2) ‘gymnasium’ (entrance exam). Each school in the
935 Czech Republic creates its own curriculum based on the National Curriculum issued by the
936 Ministry of Education. In primary education, an integrated science program conveying general
937 topics from biology and other sciences is taught, during lower secondary education,
938 biology is a compulsory subject taught in every grade, usually twice a week.

939 ***England, United Kingdom***

940 The 4 nations of the United Kingdom have different governmental education departments. In
941 England, compulsory education begins in the academic year in which children become 5 years old
942 (Reception/Year R), followed by 13 years, leading to GCSE in year 11 and culminating in A-
943 Levels in Year 13. Science education is a compulsory part of the National Curriculum and includes
944 education about evolution in years 5 and/or 6 (the last 2 years of primary school) and throughout
945 secondary school years 7-9, with the greatest depth of concepts delivered in years 10 and 11 during
946 GCSE teaching. After Year 11, Science is no longer compulsory, and A-Levels may include no
947 science at all.

948 ***Finland***

949 During the time of the study, there was a compulsory education up until 16 years (currently, 18
950 years). There is a single national core curriculum for grades 1 to 9 in Finland and it is to be used
951 as a basis for the local curricula done by the organisers of the education, which can be, for example,

952 municipality, private organisation or central government. Finnish students start school during
953 the year that they reach 7 years. In primary education (grades 1-6), biology is part of the
954 ‘environmental studies’ and in lower secondary school (grades 7-9), it is a separate subject. During
955 lower secondary school, there are 7 courses of biology and geography in total, of which usually
956 half is biology. Thus, biology is approximately 1,2 lessons per week. Some students might be
957 enrolled in specific study lines, where there are more, for example, science classes, but these are
958 usually only a course or two. Those who continue to upper secondary school have 2 mandatory
959 and 3 optional courses of biology.

960 *Flanders, Belgium*

961 Education is compulsory in Belgium from 5 till 18 years . Belgium is a federal state that is
962 divided into three autonomous regions: the Flemish Region (or Flanders), the Brussels-Capital
963 Region, and the Walloon Region. Flanders has a separate education curriculum and separate
964 central education goals for primary and secondary education. . In Flanders, there are also various
965 educational networks, such as the Catholic Schools, which each develop their own specific
966 learning plans, based on the central education goals, but which are much more detailed. . We
967 therefore only analysed the central education goals for K1-K10, set by the Flemish Ministry of
968 Education.

969 During primary education (K1-K6), biology is taught as part of ‘World Orientation’.
970 Since 2019-2020, the Flemish curriculum for secondary education is being modernized, implying
971 that there are no specific courses defined but only education goals. The first cycle of two years
972 (K7-8) is common for all students. For upper secondary education (K9–12), students have to
973 choose between three types of secondary education, either preparing for the labour market,
974 for higher education or for both, which each have their own specific education goals. We

975 analysed the ‘Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Technology and STEM’ education goals . for
976 the type of secondary education aiming for higher education for the second cycle (K9-10). It
977 should be noted that evolution is specifically addressed in the education goals of the third cycle
978 (K11-K12), which were not analysed in the present study.

979 *Germany*

980 In Germany, compulsory education starts at the age of 6 and goes up, depending on the degree,
981 until the age of 14, 15 or 19, comprising 9, 10 or 13 years of education. It includes 9 or 10 years
982 of basic education split into two parts (4 years of primary education, 5 or 6 years of lower
983 secondary education). Those who are eligible after the 10 years of education have the option of
984 receiving 3 years of higher secondary education.

985 During lower secondary education , Biology is a compulsory subject , in most
986 German federal states as part of the subject ‘Science’ in Grades 5–6 . Also, Biology is not
987 taught in every grade. During upper secondary education , Biology is an elective subject. If
988 students choose Biology, they can attend either a basic course (typically 2–4 hours per week) or
989 an advanced course (usually 5 hours per week).

990 *Greece*

991 In Greece, compulsory education starts at the age of 4 and goes up to 15 years old and it includes
992 a total of 11 years of education. More specifically, 2 years of kindergarten, 6 years of primary
993 school and 3 years of lower secondary education. During primary education biology is taught
994 through concepts integrated in the unified curriculum of science, but in lower secondary education
995 (7th to 9th grade) biology is taught as a separate subject, 1 hour per week.

996 ***Hungary***

997 Compulsory education starts at the age of 3 in Hungary, with kindergarten. Children start
998 elementary school at the age of 6-7 years and must stay within the system at least until 16 years of
999 age. Secondary education is diverse, and children can choose from multiple secondary education
1000 types. The most common combination is 8 years of elementary school followed by 4 years of high-
1001 school (gymnasium) or 3-4 years of vocational education (8+4). It is also possible to enter a high
1002 school at 5th grade (4+8) or after 6th grade (6+6). Some high schools also offer a mandatory extra
1003 'language year' in their educational program (8+5 and 6+7). During early elementary education
1004 biology is integrated into a unified science curriculum and becomes a separate subject only in the
1005 latter years of elementary school. In secondary education, biology is taught as a separate subject
1006 in 9-10th grades and then students can choose either to continue biology as an elective course or
1007 to enroll in a general science course. In the latter case, the contribution of biology to the general
1008 science curriculum may vary among schools.

1009 ***Israel***

1010 In Israel education is compulsory from the age of 3 till 18 years. In primary school (1st to 6th
1011 grade) and in middle school (7th to 9th grade), science and technology are taught as one subject,
1012 including biology, chemistry, physics and technology. Science is studied 2-4 hours per week in
1013 primary school and 5 hours per week in middle school. In high school (10th to 12th grade),
1014 biology is an elective topic studied 5 hours per week.

1015 ***Italy***

1016 In Italy, compulsory education starts at the age of 6 and extends for 10 years. The school system
1017 comprises primary school (grades 1-5), middle school (grades 6-8) and high school (grades 9-13).
1018 Until 8th grade the curriculum is unique for all students, then diverges for different school

1019 specialisations. Biology is taught within the ‘science’ curriculum from 3rd grade up to 8th grade
1020 and, for higher grades, within ‘natural sciences’. Curricula are issued by the Ministry of Education
1021 and are the same across the country, but teachers are free to choose textbooks and teaching
1022 methods.

1023 ***Kosovo***²

1024 In Kosovo, basic or compulsory education comprises primary and middle school. Compulsory
1025 education is 9 years, from age 6 to 14 years old. It starts at the age of 6 (1st grade) and extends
1026 until the age of 14 (9th grade). The Kosovo school system in Albanian consists of preschool system
1027 (non-mandatory), primary school (grades 1-5; age 6-10), middle school (grades 6-9; age 11-14)
1028 and high school (grade 10-12; age 15-18).

1029 ***Lithuania***

1030 In Lithuania, compulsory education starts from the age of 6 or 7 and extends until 16 years. It
1031 covers primary level and basic level of education. The school system in Lithuania consists of pre-
1032 primary education (not compulsory, lasts for 1 year, for children aged 5 to 7), primary education
1033 (compulsory, lasts for 4 years, for children aged 6 to 11), lower secondary education or basic
1034 education (compulsory, lasts for 6 years, for children aged 10 to 17), upper secondary education
1035 (non-compulsory, lasts for 2 years, for children aged 16 to 19).

1036

1037 ***Poland***

² Within the COST programme, Kosovo is considered a Near Neighbor Country (NNC) by the Committee of Senior Officials of COST. This designation is without prejudice to positions on status and is in line with UNSCR 1244/1999 and the ICJ Opinion on the Kosovo declaration of independence.

1038 The Polish educational system consists of 8-year compulsory primary school and non-compulsory
1039 upper secondary education (4 or 5 years) or post-primary vocational schools (3-5 years). In primary
1040 education, lower grades of primary school (grades 1-3) are taught an integrated science program
1041 conveying general topics from biology and other sciences. In the 4th grade, biology is taught as
1042 part of an integrated ‘Natural Sciences’ subject – and it lacks any reference to evolution or its
1043 importance in biology. From the 5th grade, biology becomes a compulsory subject and its
1044 curriculum contains a clear reference to biological evolution. In the majority of cases, biological
1045 evolution is taught close to the end of primary school. In secondary school students select one of
1046 two options of further science education – either science subjects in an extended scope or an
1047 interdisciplinary supplementary subject (basic level).

1048 *Portugal*

1049 In Portugal, compulsory education starts at the age of 6 and goes up until the age of 18, comprising
1050 12 years of education. It includes 9 years of basic education split into 3 cycles (4 years of first
1051 cycle, 2 years of second cycle and 3 years of third cycle) and 3 years of secondary education. In
1052 the first cycle of basic education, biology content is included in a multidisciplinary subject named
1053 ‘Study of the Environment. In the second and third cycles of basic education biology is taught with
1054 geology in a subject called ‘Natural Sciences’. In secondary education students can opt, in the first
1055 two years, for the subject ‘Biology and Geology’ and in the last year for the subject Biology.

1056 *Republic of Serbia*

1057 Compulsory education in the Republic of Serbia commences at the age of 6, during the final year
1058 of kindergarten, providing essential preparation for the first grade of primary school. This six-
1059 month preparatory period ensures a smooth transition into formal education. Subsequently,

1060 primary school education begins with the 1st grade and continues for eight years, or until age 15.
1061 The primary school system is structured into two stages: lower grades (1st-4th) and higher grades
1062 (5th-8th). In the lower grades, biological topics are thoughtfully integrated into two subjects—The
1063 World Around Us (grades 1st-2nd) and Nature and Society (grades 3th-4th). Upon reaching the
1064 higher grades (5th-8th), students explore biology more deeply as a standalone subject, and Biology
1065 classes are conducted for 2 hours per week. Compulsory education ends with primary school.

1066 *Slovenia*

1067 Compulsory school is divided into three three-year cycles (for students from 6 to 14 years
1068 old). The first six years can be recognised as the primary level. Grades 7–9 are
1069 internationally recognised as the lower secondary school (Eurydice, 2019). Upon completion
1070 of compulsory basic education, students – typically aged 15 – may choose to continue their
1071 education at the upper secondary level at a school and a programme of their own choice .
1072 Upper secondary education programmes are either general or vocational. The upper secondary
1073 educational qualification is awarded only after passing the final examination (mature, leaving
1074 examination) that grants also the right to enroll in higher levels (Eurydice, 2019).Biology
1075 learning objectives are included in four compulsory school subjects in nine-year compulsory
1076 school: Learning about the environment (1st, 2nd and 3rd grade), Science and Technology (4th
1077 and 5th grade), Science (6th and 7th grade), and Biology (8th and 9th grade). Biology education
1078 is also a part of upper secondary education in subjects of Biology, Science or Science and
1079 Society, depending on the study program in upper secondary school.

1080 *Spain*

1081 In Spain, compulsory education starts at the age of 6 and goes up until the age of 16, comprising
1082 10 years of education. It is divided into primary education (6-12 years old) and secondary
1083 education (12-16 years old). For each stage, the Ministry of Education produces a general
1084 curriculum, with basic guidelines, that must be observed throughout the whole country. The
1085 different ‘Autonomous Communities’ may later adapt this document to make it more appropriate
1086 to their needs and context. In this paper, we present the analysis of the curricula produced by the
1087 Ministry of Education in 2014 (for primary education) & 2015 (for secondary education), still
1088 applicable at the moment of developing our project and writing down this paper.

1089 During primary education , the science curriculum is common for all students and it is
1090 essentially covered in a subject called ‘Natural Sciences’, although some topics, e.g. the Solar
1091 System, or climate, might be addressed also/only in another subject called ‘Social Sciences’ .

1092 In secondary education , all students attend Biology and Geology in 7th and 9th
1093 grade (in 8th grade, instead of Biology and Geology, students learn only about Physics and
1094 Chemistry; in 9th grade they have both). In 10th grade though, when evolution and genetics are
1095 specifically addressed, Biology and Geology becomes an optional subject.

1096 ***Turkey***

1097 In Turkey, compulsory education comprises 12 years, and begins at 66 months in a 4+4+4 model
1098 (4-year elementary, 4-year middle school and 4-year high school). Children aged 60-66 months
1099 attend school voluntarily (with the permission of their parents). Science education continues under
1100 the name of the ‘General Science lesson’ from the 3rd to the 9th grade. While science lessons are
1101 conducted by the classroom teacher in the 3rd and 4th grades of primary school, science teachers
1102 guide students in science lessons from the 5th grade. In the 3rd grade, students who are introduced
1103 to science with the subject called ‘the Layers of the Earth’, enter biology with the subject of ‘the

1104 World of Living things' which focuses on the concepts of living and non-living things. In the 9th
1105 grade, the general science lesson is divided into physics, chemistry and biology branches. After
1106 this grade, biology lessons are taught by biology teachers. Physics, chemistry and biology courses
1107 are common in 9th and 10th grades and are available as elective courses in 11th and 12th grades.
1108 The intensity of the subject knowledge of physics, chemistry and biology courses in the program
1109 and the course hours vary according to the type of high school (in descending order: Science High
1110 school, General High School, Fine Arts High School, Social Science High School and Sports High
1111 School). In all school types, science lessons in 9th and 10th grades are two hours. At the beginning
1112 of the 11th grade, students in general high schools determine which class type (science or social)
1113 they want to choose and proceed in this direction. Students studying in other high schools (Science
1114 high school or Fine arts ext.) continue their education in this direction, since they have already
1115 chosen their field when starting the 9th grade.

1116

1117 **APPENDIX B**

1118 Number of coders per analysed school curricula and the school grades they covered along with the
1119 educational system they are part of. In countries where only a regional curriculum was analysed,
1120 this region is described in Table 3.

1121

1122 [Table 3 around here]

Appendix C

Absolute frequencies of the learning goals attributed to a FACE subcategory (see the definition of FACE subcategories in Table 2) per school curriculum and average frequency of learning goals assigned to a subcategory (Ave) (Table 4). Curricula of the distinct countries/regions are identified as following: Albania (AL), Belgium (BE), Cyprus (CY), Czechia (CZ), Germany (DE), England (EN), Finland (FI), Greece (GR), Hungary (HU), Israel (IL), Italy (IT), Kosovo (KO), Lithuania (LT), Poland (PL), Portugal (PT), Republic of Serbia (RS), Slovenia (SI), Spain (ES), Turkey (TR) (the abbreviations listed are for this table exclusively).

[Table 4 here]