

Greek conceptions of democracy, citizenship, the state role and immigrants



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1 Theoretical framework and method of analysis

The following analysis is twofold: it explores textbook content (1) as the manifestation of the policy about worthwhile knowledge in civic education, and it focuses on students' concepts and attitudes about democracy, the state role, the meaning of citizenship and immigrants' rights. The approach taken does not favor an *a priori* acceptance of such concepts as they have been formulated in the context of modernity (western societies). Instead it aims to explore textbook content and students' conceptualizations as distinct but nevertheless related fields, and even untangle seemingly contradictory concepts in an effort to allow alternative possibilities for viewing the modes of the creation of meaning. So, the effort here, as in previous work (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 2002), is to look for discontinuities rather than continuities and at the same time treat discontinuities as legitimate ways of creating meaning. It is clear that in such an approach conceptions which deviate from the well formulated western model of democracy and related institutions and practices are not treated as contradictions or limitations, but are integrated in an effort to give the opportunity for alternative possibilities in the creation of meaning.

As it is well documented in the literature, the concepts of democracy, the state role, "ideal" citizenship and rights acquire specific meaning in the context of modernity. The concept of citizenship is strongly connected to the concept of the nation-state, democracy and modernization. The pioneer characteristic of the modern nation-state which makes it different from all pre-industrial traditional states is that the modern state is the only one that managed to penetrate into societies in such a way that

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people were less connected to the local community and more to the national center, the imagined community (Anderson, 1983, 126-128). It is, therefore, through the nation-state that the transition from the loyal subject to the modern citizen is manifested (Mouzelis, 1998). Additionally, the development of technology had an important effect in the construction of the current meaning of the active citizen and the involvement in active democracy; such meaning implies active participation in community movements, decision making processes, and acquiring civic responsibility, formulating thus the constitutive principles of participatory democracy (Chopyak, 2001, 375-383). Within the same context - modern - democracy is threatened when citizens are not well informed, do not participate, do not vote, do not care about the environment, etc. (Bens, 2001, 193-197).

As it will become clear in the following pages the civic education textbook is oriented towards the established - western - content of civic education centering on concepts and relationships such as the citizen-state relationship and the concept of democracy. In this content the citizen is considered a carrier of rights and the state is presented as the facilitator-organiser of social life, often implying a minimum of state related social provisions. Students' state and citizenship related conceptions, nevertheless, are not necessarily constructed in a way reflecting the related content of the textbook. So, the aim in this paper is to explore such content and respective students concept formation. Such exploration reveals interesting points regarding the way in which students concepts relate to school (textbook) content knowledge (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al, 2000).

The conceptualisations in the textbook are derived on the basis of content analysis, which has been one of the research activities of the team working on the IEA civic education research (2) in Greece. Students' conceptualizations have been identified through factor analysis (Appendix 2). Students' concepts on democracy are derived from relevant items-questions in the IEA civic education research questionnaire as presented in appendix 3. Students' citizenship concepts are derived from relevant items-questions presented in appendix 4. The conceptions regarding the responsibilities of the state and immigrants' rights are presented in appendices 5 and 6 respectively. Needless to say that the above concepts have also served as categories in the content analysis of the textbook.

At this point it is important to clarify that in the present work students construction of meaning with respect to democracy, citizenship, the role of the state and immigrants rights is not by any means considered as uniform across social subjects. The stance is taken that cultural capital, related to the students' environments, experiences and practices is important in the shaping of students' conceptualizations. So, to better explore students' conceptions, we have grouped students according to cultural capital (Polydorides and Andritsopoulou, in press). The term refers to the combination of hierarchical categories of (a) the type of community the student lives in, (b) language spoken at home - also considered an indication of the student's ethnic origin -, (c) mother's level of education, and (d) number of books at home (an example of which is presented in appendix 7).

More precisely, the paper focuses on the mode in which, first the textbook content, and second students' conceptualizations appropriate (a) concepts of democracy, (b) citizenship, (c) the responsibilities of the state, and (d) immigrants rights. In the case of students such appropriation is differentiated by cultural capital, for the exploration of which we have

chosen to examine the two extreme groups (highest cultural capital-group 1, and lowest cultural capital-group 5).

As we shall see in the following analysis textbook content presents convergence as well as divergence with the experiences and the way of thinking of most students.

2 Civic Education and textbook

As it has been pointed, in recent years, political education in the country has changed from a traditionalist to a new approach in defining content. It deals with political systems, the democratic state, its role (security, health, education, welfare, employment, etc.), institutions and functions, the benefits and problems of social life, rights and obligations of citizens and human rights, international organizations, and the EU. Nevertheless, it has been found that textbooks, enacting curricula, are normative (Gotovos, 1998).

The formulation of concepts and the provision of knowledge about democracy, citizen's rights and obligations as well as issues concerning the relation between the people and the state, including the functions of the state, constitute some of the main reference points of the official educational policy (textbook 1998-99, 6). These are implemented in the context of Civic Education, taught as a separate subject in (a) primary school, (b) in the 9th grade (grade 3 of the gymnasium) and (c) in the Lyceo. Furthermore, civic content is a part of a good number of school subjects including History, Ancient Greek, Greek Literature and Religion. As most of these subjects are taught in practically all grades of compulsory schooling, it becomes apparent that citizenship education is an important part of the curriculum across subjects.

The interest of governments in civic knowledge is clearly indicated by the changes introduced often in the last few years in civic related subjects (e.g. Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 1995). Civic education textbooks in grade 9 have changed twice in recent years: first in 1998-99 and second in 2000-01. Furthermore, changes aim at a more "scientific" view of Greek history and the "other", including a less nationalistic approach in viewing the events and the facts in the nation's path across time. Of interest in this work is the 1998-99 textbook since it is the working textbook used by the students participating in the IEA civic education field research.

The content of civic education in high-schools is defined by the textbook content which emphasizes issues of democracy, citizenship, functions and structures of institutions, social problems and national organizations. Such issues however are presented in a descriptive way that emphasizes the typical functioning of the institutions at the expense of everyday social and political practices. It is worth noting that "the new (1998-99) textbook clearly incorporates a social studies perspective aiming at critical examining specificities rather than abstract knowledge". However, "since schooling has long followed the inclusion of abstract knowledge at the expense of the specific it is rather impossible that it would lead to the kind of critical analysis that would expand student thinking on civic participation" (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al. 2000, 299; Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides 2002).

The textbook "aims to help students get familiar with important issues, related to their position in society and their role as citizens. Students are asked to comprehend the basic structures, functions and problems of society, the state and international organizations and to enact their own

rights and responsibilities" (*textbook 1998-99, 6*). Furthermore, the textbook "aims to help students develop social and political awareness in the world they will live in and which they will contribute shaping later" (*textbook 1998-99, 7*).

The textbook is structured in three parts. The first is titled "The Individual and Society", includes seven chapters and introduces a sociological-social anthropological analysis of society. The second part titled "The Individual and the State" includes six chapters. This is where the description of the Greek Constitution from a political science perspective is presented. The third titled "The Individual, the State, International Organizations and the European Union" includes two chapters and consists a standard description of functions, levels and names. All chapters include a short introduction, pictures, maps, Tables and questions-suggested activities for each unit.

The textbook indicates clearly that the authors' perspective is more sociological and much less political or legalistic, even in issues of legal and constitutional content. The main theme throughout the textbook appears to be the active citizen. The clear coupling with democracy renders active citizenship as the solution to the difficulties and ambiguities of conceptualizing and practicing democracy. It should be noted, however, that there is a clear attempt to avoid "didacticism". Having said that it is necessary to add that "didacticism", which was very visible in earlier textbooks, is replaced by a discourse of objectivity and scientific neutrality. This is implied, since the reasoning of why things are or should be the way they are presented in the textbook is: this is so because it is scientific, objective and neutral. In certain cases though (as for example in the case of racism), the authors do take a clear position, explicitly present judgements, without in fact revealing their practice as such. In these cases too the presumed scientific discourse legitimizes the authors' choices.

2.1 Conceptions of democracy in the textbook

Conceptions about democracy are to be found at specific chapters as much as across the textbook, evolving in a variety of topics including principles and practices. The concept of democracy as practice is introduced in two ways, both implying social change: (a) As modes of intervention, meaning sharp social change, and (b) as reforms, meaning lesser social change accomplished through parliamentary processes (e.g. elections, legislation etc.) (*textbook 1998-99, 73*). The establishing of the Greek popular idiom in schools in the 1970's and the Comprehensive School in the 1980's are mentioned as examples (*textbook 1998-99, 73*).

Democracy is presented as a political system and as a system of values, from the ancient times until today (chapter 3). Following that (chapter 4) extensive reference is made to the concept of the rule of law in order to introduce the meaning and importance of the constitution as the regulative force par excellence in modern societies. The constitutive categories of the modern parliamentary systems including the people, solidarity, polyphony-pluralism, segregation of authorities and representation are depicted as the principles of the rule of law (*textbook 1998-99, 164-175*).

Democracy as a form of political system is presented in the second part of the book. Democracy is introduced as involving power from the people and for the people, and people's representation through political parties. It is

important to point, however, that on page 169 "the people" and "civil society" are interconnected-superimposed and form the basis of a pyramid (a triangle?) serving as a schematic representation of the "model of pluralistic democracy". Interestingly enough this model scheme incorporates the government, public opinion and mass media at the top. Such representation is definitely contesting of power "by the people and for the people" present elsewhere in the textbook.

"Political pluralism" - "polyphony"- is introduced as "a basic element of democracy" (textbook 1998-99, 168); students are taught that "through political parties a wide range of political positions and programs is offered to the constituency, to facilitate pluralistic choices" (textbook 1998-99, 169). In this context a point is made on the difference between the liberal and liberal-leftist conceptions regarding the relationship of the state and the market, raising a major concern widespread in Greek society (textbook, 1998-99, 171-172). A special reference is made to the segregation of the legislative and the executive powers as embodied in the parliament and the government, without problematizing about the fact that in the recent Greek experience no such separation has been visible at least in the post-war years.

Modern democracy is viewed as embodied in "a state of social solidarity" and is safeguarded by a democratic state (textbook 1998-99, 174). "The modern state has a social character and aims at establishing solidarity among its members. Because of the dangers, difficulties and problems emerging in social life (unemployment, financial difficulties, accidents, disease) the state provides social services and support to weak social groups and citizens in need" (textbook 1998-99, 174). "The consummation of the concept of freedom in the context of a democratic state requires that social solidarity is set by the state." (textbook 1998-99, 175). The Greek Constitution is presented under the title "Our Constitution" (chapter 5). Interestingly enough, in this case the "scientific" and rather neutral style of the textbook is abandoned, or, rather, the content is derived from a familiar, home source.

The (last) chapter titled "Civil Society" refers to citizens' rights and responsibilities according to the Constitution, emphasizing at the same time the meaning and the role of citizens' associations. Thus, "According to the 4th article of our Constitution (the emphasis is ours), all Greek men and women have equal rights and obligations. The equality of rights of women is a result of long-lasting struggles in our country and the entire world (women's movement, the right to vote, to work, to day-labor, to family, to public administration, science, and politics)" (textbook 1998-99, 220). The rights are extensively presented as "...freedom of information, including the freedom of the press. Freedom of education is a social right and a main obligation of the state (article 16, par. 1) and concerns the right each person has to the education that he/she desires" (textbook 1998-99, 222).

"Collective practices are the cornerstone of democracy and politics. Collective activities are the rights of citizens. Citizens assemble, for any reason they wish, they may demonstrate, co-operate, -form associations, corporations, unions-companies (art. 1-12), join trade unions, and go on strike (art. 23, par. 1-2)" (textbook 1998-99, 224).

The traditionally cherished freedom at the national level and the nation-state's independence is of particular importance. May be the reference is not as extensive as it used to be in the past, but it is there having an important place in the textbook. In the same line the democratic functioning of the state and society is also emphasized rendering past

experiences present although they appear less threatening than in the past: "It is obvious that democracy will be very weak in the national level if the rest of society functions with autocratic values" (*textbook 1998-99, 237*).

2.2 Students' conceptualization of democracy

Students' conceptualizations have been analyzed by Factor analysis of the items constituting the issue at hand (*Appendix 2*). Students' conceptualizations of democracy have been studied on the basis of factor analysis of the items designed to explore concepts of democracy (*Appendix 3*). It is worth pointing that the results for the whole student sample indicate that students give priority to what we might term basic democracy including all the items on fundamental freedoms strengthened by a couple of pluralistic characteristics. Immediately after students express their concerns on what might threaten democracy and expose their fear for what we might term an autocratic regime. Factor analysis performed for the group of students with the most privileged sociocultural origin (cultural group 1, *Appendix 7*) and the least privileged origin (cultural group 5) respectively are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Factor analysis: concepts of democracy, cultural group 1

		F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10
A12	Politicians influence courts	-0,8									
A9	Rules for supporting women	0,7									
A10	Restricted free speech	-0,6						-0,4			
A21	Refusal to obey law against human rights	0,5							0,4		-0,3
A4	Newspapers free of government control	0,5	0,5						-0,3		
A6	Monopoly of newspapers	-0,4		0,4		0,3					
A14	Segregation between church and state		0,7								
A15	Youth obliged to benefit the community		-0,7								
A18	Participate in political parties		0,6					0,3			0,4
A17	Different opinions of political parties	-0,4	0,5								-0,3
A20	Same opinion			0,7							
A8	Immigrants give up their language and customs			0,7							
A3	Politicians give jobs to relatives				0,8			-0,3			
A7	People demand their rights			-0,3	-0,7			-0,3			
A23	Wealthy influence government				0,5	-0,4					0,3

A25	Peaceful protest					0,7					
A13	Many organizations		0,3			0,7		0,3			
A11	Free elections	0,4		-0,3	0,3	0,5					
A1	Express opinions freely						0,9				
A2	Small differences in income		0,4				0,6	0,3			
A24	Leaders trusted							0,8			
A19	Laws unfair to women								0,9		
A22	Newspapers not to publish immigrant-offending stories									0,8	
A5	Restrictions for private businesses			0,4			0,3				-0,6
A16	Assured minimum income										0,9
	% of variance explained	10,3	8,6	7,2	7,0	6,6	5,8	5,8	5,4	5,0	5,0
	Total variance explained	66,6									

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 2: Factor analysis: concepts of democracy, cultural group 5

		F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9
A12	Politicians influence courts	0,7								
A23	Wealthy influence government	0,7								
A6	Monopoly of newspapers	0,7								
A25	Peaceful protest	-0,6					-0,4			
A3	Politicians give jobs to relatives	0,6								-0,4
A10	Restricted free speech	0,6					0,4		-0,4	
A8	Immigrants give up their language and customs	0,5	-0,3			-0,4				
A13	Many organizations		0,6							
A1	Express opinions freely	-0,4	0,6							-0,3
A11	Free elections	-0,3	0,5						0,5	
A14	Segregation between church and state			0,8						
A19	Laws unfair to women			0,7						
A17	Different opinions of political parties			0,5						0,3
A4	Newspapers free of government control	-0,3	0,4	0,5	0,3					-0,3

A15	Youth obliged to benefit the community				0,8					
A9	Rules for supporting women				0,6					
A18	Participate in political parties				0,5	0,3			0,3	0,3
A21	Refusal to obey law against human rights					0,8				
A2	Small differences in income					0,6		-0,3		
A24	Leaders trusted						0,8			
A7	People demand their rights		0,4				-0,5	0,4		
A16	Assured minimum income							0,7		
A5	Restrictions for private businesses	0,4	0,5					-0,5		
A22	Newspapers not to publish immigrant-offending stories							0,3	0,7	
A20	Same opinion									0,8
	% of variance explained	14,5	7,3	6,9	6,8	6,3	6,2	5,8	5,2	5,2
	Total variance explained	64,2								

More specifically, students in cultural group 1 give priority to the *basic characteristics of democracy* (*freedom of speech, freedom to elect political leaders*) and *human rights* (first factor, F1). Students in cultural group 5 express their fear and concerns on issues that might threaten democracy, as a first priority (F1). Right after, they construct the second factor (F2) by integrating characteristics of basic democracy with the pluralistic tradition of the western model (*participation in many organizations*). This shows a selective appropriation of the western model about the concept of democracy.

The liberal-pluralistic model of democracy is better outlined in the second factor (F2) of cultural group 1. It contains all the items on *participation in political parties, segregation between the church and the state, non-obligatory participation, and pluralism of the political parties*. Students in cultural group 5 also construct a pluralistic model of democracy (F3) that contains the *segregation between the church and the state, change laws unfair to women, pluralism of political parties and newspapers free of government control*.

Both student groups indicate fear for a construction of an autocratic regime, which by definition threatens democracy, this being more clear in group 5. These students express fear by bringing to the fore meanings such as *politicians control the courts, the government is influenced by the rich, newspapers are controlled by few, there is no freedom of speech, people are not supposed to protest peacefully and immigrants are alienated with respect to their traditions and culture*.

Regarding the expression of socialistic views of democracy, cultural group 1 that has integrated rights among the conceptions related to new social movements, does not indicate choices expressing socialistic concerns. On the other hand, students in cultural group 5 construct factors that integrate a socialistic perspective (F5, F7) and a factor (F4) that is close to

the outmoded, inflexible and oldish political perspective of the traditional left.

It is important to note that conceptualizations of democracy for all cultural groups indicate hierarchical choices of meaning among students; this is the case for example regarding the concepts of new social movements and political pluralism, clearly important for students in group 1, and conceptualizations of threats to democracy, of socialism and traditional left clearly important for students in group 5. Thus, students appear to construct meaning by emphasizing different issues and combining them in different ways, so that they express their particular concerns (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, Kottoula, Dimopoulou, 2000).

Regarding the concept of democracy the answers of students from both cultural groups are quite similar and express a unified concept of all issues concerning fundamental freedoms, the so-called basic democracy.

Greek students do not visualize democracy as a whole of practices at the national, local and individual level. Their opinions are focusing on two specific meaning constructions: national and individual. In the national level the Greek students value the right of the state to dominate; in the individual level, they strongly support human rights and freedom.

2.3 Conceptions of citizenship in the textbook

Citizenship is presented in the textbook's second part titled "the Individual and the State". It is dealt with in close relation with the characteristics of the state in recent years, the political parties, interest (as pressure) groups and politicization. "The citizen is a constitutive element of the system of government and participates in the functioning of the state (meaning the right to elect and get elected, political participation etc). The citizen is thus an active member of political life not merely a participant in the economic and social life of the town or area he/she lives in" (textbook 1998-99, 131). Furthermore, the meaning of citizenship is discussed and the important role of the citizen in political life (political participation) is stressed (textbook 1998-99, 131-133). The importance of active political participation is depicted in the following statements that are given prominent positioning in the textbook:

- "Political parties are intermediating between the state and the citizens; through them the citizens' social and political demands are presented" (textbook 1998-99, 130).
- "The development of citizens' political awareness is stressed to indicate that indifference for politics and public life is a political action in itself" (textbook 1998-99, 132).
- "...Democracy is in constant danger to be disrupted or turn into a dictatorship, if citizens do not stand alert and determined to fight against every single threatening event which might suppress their freedoms and rights" (textbook 1998-99, 141).

The civic as well as economic and social relations built-in in modern parliamentary democracy are presented extensively (textbook 1998-99, 166-174). This discourse is legitimized by an approach of scientific neutrality. Any reference to the specific Greek state is avoided. A special reference to modern democracy is made as a concern on the tensions between principle and practice, or, in other words, as a dysfunction of reality vis-à-vis conceptions (textbook 1998-99, 168). Thus the implication is that the role of political parties as intermediating agencies between society and government can only be achieved under the condition of

proper functioning (textbook 1998-99, 170) (the emphasis is ours).

The interplay of conceptions of democracy either as "the people" or as the "constituancy" is very apparent and the interplay of Greek (post-war and especially) post-junta discourse (the people) and the western model (the voters-members of civil society-constituancy) (*textbook, 1998-99, 183*). It is worth pointing such discussion addresses the electorate, without any reference to the role of the citizen in a democracy, an important concept elsewhere in the textbook.

Further on, (chapter 6) the discussion on "civil society" centers on citizens' rights, citizens' responsibilities and "civil society" *per se*.

An important aspect here is the argument that "in modern societies the citizen needs to be protected from possible state coersive practices and the exercise of power. It is, nevertheless, necessary that the citizen is also protected from the activities of powerful institutions and economically powerful groups that often allocate private police and have enormous possibilities of intervention in the social life and the media" (*textbook 1998-99, 219*). Furthermore, in the section titled "Civil Society as a factor of the political system" the role of "media, public opinion and civil society in general" (*textbook 1998-99, 234*), is depicted as more instrumental than a role limited to intervene in government policy only indirectly, through elections. Civil society is discussed in its capacity to enable citizens associations to express the citizens' views (*textbook 1998-99, 236*), unaffected and independent of state coersive practice and the exercise of power (*textbook 1998-99, 236*). The role of citizens' associations "can be crucial in eliminating any kind of oppression as a result of cohesion and the exercise of power on the part of the state and other institutions (e.g. the free market, the employers, and the media). Additionally, "such associations supplement the welfare provisions of the state" (*textbook 1998-99, 236-237*). Finally, citizens' associations can be the "canvas of democracy" (*textbook 1998-99, 237*). It is important to note that this "canvas" is expected to function more in the sense of protecting the citizens from arbitrary government rather than by strengthening representation and participation.

Specific references and examples of such associations are neglected in the text itself, a fact that frames the choice of photographs and captions presented right after. These picture activities of associations that support for example people who have been imprisoned, children that work at traffic lights, or people with special needs and are accompanied by short descriptions indicating issues and intentions clearly missing in the text, which remains rather academic. Interestingly enough the photographs and captions about "voluntary associations and social welfare" are a result of choices following the western model rather than depicting the central concerns in the Greek view (*textbook 1998-99, 235*).

2.4 Students' conceptualizations on the characteristics of the ideal citizen

This section presents the findings of the Factor analysis on concepts of citizenship. Factor analysis for all students indicated four different types of "ideal" citizenship. The first factor (F1) constructed presents a conservative-patriotic citizen who *obeys the law, serves in the military, is loyal to his country, votes, respects government representatives, and takes action for the benefit of the community*. The active citizen follows in the second factor (F2) and *talks about politics, participates in a political*

organization, and is informed. Interestingly enough the radical citizen is introduced as factor 3 (F3) and *undertakes action to promote human rights, protests peacefully, and disregards an unfair law.* Finally the fourth type appears to be the traditional-leftist citizen. Tables 3 and 4 present the factors for students that belong to cultural groups 1 and 5 respectively.

Table 3: Factor analysis: Citizenship, cultural group 1

	A good citizen...	F1	F2	F3	F4
B7	Would serve in the military	0,8			
B1	Obeys the law	0,8			
B14	Is patriotic and loyal	0,7	0,4		
B2	Votes in every election	0,7		0,5	
B13	Participates to protect the environment		0,8		
B11	Participates to promote human rights		0,6	0,4	0,3
B4	Works hard		0,5		
B9	Participates to benefit the community	0,4	0,5	0,4	
B6	Knows country's history	0,3	0,4		
B10	Respects government representatives	0,4	0,4		-0,4
B3	Joins a political party			0,8	
B12	Engages in political discussions			0,8	
B8	Follows political issues in the media		0,4	0,5	
B15	Would ignore law against human rights				0,8
B5	Peacefully protests			0,4	0,6
	% of variance explained	17,7	15,9	15,1	8,7
	Total variance explained	57,4			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization

The findings of the data analysis indicate that students in cultural group 1 are better represented by the conservative-patriotic citizen (F1), who is willing to *serve in the military, obey the law, be loyal to his/her country, and vote.* The second factor (F2) is close to the traditional/leftist citizen integrating some conservative characteristics (*benefit the community, respect government representatives*) and traces of radical action (*human rights*). Finally, the active citizen (*participate in political groups, in political discussions, get information from the media*) and the radical citizen (*ignore an unfair law, protest peacefully*) emerge in weaker factors.

Table 4: Factor analysis: Citizenship, cultural group 5

	A good citizen...	F1	F2	F3	F4
B14	Is patriotic and loyal	0,8			
B7	Would serve in the military	0,7	0,3		
B13	Participates to protect the environment	0,6			
B1	Obeys the law	0,6	0,5		
B6	Knows country's history	0,4		0,4	
B2	Votes in every election		0,7	0,3	
B10	Respects government representatives		0,7		0,3
B9	Participates to benefit the community	0,4	0,6		
B12	Engages in political discussions			0,7	
B3	Joins a political party			0,7	

B8	Follows political issues in the media			0,6	
B15	Would ignore law against human rights				0,8
B4	Works hard		-0,3		0,5
B11	Participates to promote human rights	0,4			0,5
B5	Peacefully protests	0,3			0,4
	% of variance explained	17,3	13,4	12,9	11,2
	Total variance explained	54,8			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

For students in cultural group 5 the construction of the citizen seems to be quite similar as for students in cultural group 1: The strongest factors appear to center around conservative meaning, while the active and radical citizen - with conservative traces - follow as parts of weaker factors.

We can easily observe that the conservative characteristics of citizenship are found in the strongest factors. Such characteristics are found in more than one model of citizenship and (re-) appear in certain cultural groups in more than one factors combined with active citizen characteristics (*environment, human rights*). The traditional leftist model seems to represent students from all cultural groups except the last one. In general the characteristics of the leftist citizen are integrated into the conservative direction (*Mouzelis, 2000*). The active citizen model, which constitutes the type of citizenship presented in the textbook, appears in all cultural groups but only for the middle level factors. The radical citizen, who also constitutes the type of citizenship presented in the content of civic education, appears in all cultural groups but only for the weak factors.

It is quite important to stress the fact that in this case the boundaries between cultural groups are vague and hard to identify. At the same time the "radical" citizen is for both cultural groups quite weak. These findings acquire meaning, if we take into consideration that post-war circumstances and social practices resulted in a fluid social hierarchy having integrated a good part of Greek society into petit-bourgeois characteristics (*Tsoukalas 1986, 19-52*). In addition, the importance of the Greek nationalism-patriotism combined with the orthodox tradition (*Kitromilidis 1983, 35-38*), renders citizenship in the-narrow-meaning construction of nationality. It is thus that the reasoned people are identified with the mythical nation (*Tsoukalas, 2001*) and not with the active-radical citizen participating in a society without exclusions, as the textbook preaches. Moreover, the conservatism of the students in group 1 (similar to group 5) and their indifference towards an active-radical citizen can be interpreted in light of the clientelist system of politics (*Dertilis 2000*) reproduced by these groups, rendering the active-radical citizen as not particularly convenient.

The weak presence of the majority of the new social movements (new agenda) issues appears to be related to the above arguments. According to researchers, such issues are related (in western societies) to the strong presence of civil society (*Lipovatz, 1995, 191*). This seems to be interrelated with the development of intermediating agencies and institutions between the people and the state. It appears, however, that in Greece clientalist politics coupled by the ways in which individuals joined and related to political parties, prevented the development of such intermediaries, and that "*the extension (of clientelism) to various sectors of social, economic and cultural life has bred a weak civil society, that has*

submitted itself to it..." (Makridimitris, 1999).

2.5 The role of the state and the government in the textbook

The first part of the textbook depicts the forms and relations of power and authority as well as the regulative role of the state vis-à-vis the citizen (as member of society) in forming such relations. "...in society at large the state is the organization having the power to enforce its rules to the members of society..." (*textbook 1998-99, 125*).

Conceptions about the role of the state center around social rights, economic inequalities, environment, and equal opportunities, introduced through the modes and consequences of social change. In the unit "Fast and Extensive Social Change", the possible causes of social change as well as results are included. The welfare state as a necessity following "changes in the population composition" or "social problems and crisis" (*textbook 1998-99, 75*) is presented. "Human rights, protection of workers, gender equality, elimination of many diseases, increase of free time of the working people etc." are mentioned as positive results of social change introduced at the state level (*textbook 1998-99, 76*).

Conceptions of the state are also to be found in the chapter "Social Problems": The relationship of the individual and the social is depicted and different approaches to problem solving are presented. Further on, some problems are described in detail: drugs, traffic accidents, poverty and environmental pollution, all requiring state intervention.

Pollution is presented as a social problem; different types of causes such as societal consumption patterns and concentration of population are documented. Specific causes stemming from competitive production and including the exploitation of natural resources are not directly connected to capitalism or the modern production system (*textbook 1998-99, 114-115*). Ways to deal with environmental problems are also indicated as an effort to give out the positive aspects of things, in the sense that there is room for improvement. This is directly connected to democracy because "it constitutes its basic element" (*textbook 1998-99, 115*). There is extensive discussion on the ways in which individuals, the state and international organizations can contribute to limiting environmental problems: "On the part of the state, the protection of the environment is related to establishing effective preventive measures" (*textbook 1998-99, 116*).

It is clear that such problems have no relevance as "social" in the Greek context, permeated by a radical political discourse. The western model of civic education, nevertheless, does identify environmental concerns as "social" problems. Thus we are encouraged in this specific case to hypothesize that there is a "transfer" of knowledge content in civic education from western sources to Greek school textbooks.

In the second part of the textbook the state power and authority is analyzed. Furthermore conceptions of the state as an "organization" having the authority to enforce social rules and deal with differences-conflicts are discussed. The sociological approach is emphasized, the state being examined as a social institution. Furthermore, the role of the state to protect the nation from (external) enemies and promote the country's uninterrupted development is emphasized (*textbook 1998-99, 124-126*). The structure and functions of

the state and state institutions including local administration are presented at length.

"Politeia" is a conception more comprehensive than the state: "the constructing of a society based on laws and institutions, "the state" ...indicating the organized social co-existence of people" (textbook 1998-99, 127). The relationship between society and state is extensively described on the basis of political representation the main way of constructing modern societies/states (textbook 1998-99, 129-134). The state's undertaking of basic social institutions such as education is presented: "...important social institutions like educating the young are practiced by the state itself, or under state control..." (textbook 1998-99, 129). The state's role to ensure the structures and infrastructures necessary for the function of the economy is also presented: "important conditions for the function of economy like roads, ports, money, are provided by the state" (textbook 1998-99, 129).

The content on rights centers on the discussion of social rights. These are clearly the responsibility of the state, only to be limited since "there are limitations related to the available resources that the state disposes" (textbook 1998-99, 227). There is a special reference to the protection of the "vested social provisions (environment, free education, healthcare)" (textbook 1998-99, 227). Freedom for education is described as an individual (freedom) and a state provided social right. Furthermore, "Social progress is not possible without social solidarity. It is this way that the so-called "social character" of the state is formulated, meaning the emphasis on the welfare of people who cannot work because of old age, persons with special needs, mothers and children in need" (textbook 1998-99, 226).

Interestingly enough there is no direct reference to the relation between the state and the economy, let alone the free market. A specific and short reference to issues related to the economy and the state is made in two chapters: First in the chapter on social problems (1st part of the textbook) and second in the one on citizens' obligations (2nd part of the textbook). In the first case, the black economy is discussed in relation to poverty as a result of the state's losing funds, which "could be used to create work opportunities and/or to improve social welfare for those in need (healthcare, pensions, allowances etc.)" (textbook 1998-99, 108). In the second case, tax evasion is discussed as a violation of citizens' obligations influencing social welfare and state provision in a similar way (textbook 1998-99, 231).

2.6 Students' attitudes regarding the role of the state

The factor analysis for all students indicates three different types of state role. More specifically students construct the first factor by including as the basic state responsibilities *education, healthcare, peace, and control of prices*. This choice is converging with what is perceived to be the predominant attitude in the country, as far as the state is concerned (Mouzelis 2001a, 30-41). It is clear that the demands for education, health and peace are stronger than other responsibilities the state is usually vested with, as for example gender equality and other issues included in the new social movements discourse (Vergopoulos, 1985, introduction). The second factor (F2) is weaker and assembles all characteristics of a welfare state, that is close to a socialist state model including *unemployment, reduction of economic differences, promote industries, provide jobs, and provide for the elderly* as presented in Giddens (1998). In these cases the

concern for unemployment is stronger than the rest.

However, the conceptualizations of students regarding the state's responsibilities trace the ways in which students from different cultural capitals view the role of the state; this clearly indicates a relationship of the attitude towards the state with students' positioning in the social hierarchy.

Table 5: Factor analysis: state's responsibilities, cultural group 1

		F1	F2	F3	F4
C3	Basic health care for everyone	0,8			
C11	Guarantee peace and order within the country	0,7			0,3
C2	Keep prices under control	0,5		0,5	
C6	Decent standard of living for the unemployed		0,7		
C1	Guarantee jobs		0,6		
C4	Decent standard of living for old people		0,6		
C7	Reduce income differences		0,5		0,3
C10	Control pollution of the environment			0,8	
C12	Promote honesty and moral behaviour			0,7	0,3
C5	Support industries			0,4	
C9	Equal political opportunities for men and women				0,8
C8	Free basic education for all	0,5			0,5
	% of variance explained	15,0	14,4	13,7	11,4
	Total variance explained	54,4			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

More specifically, students in cultural group 1 conceptualize the basic role of the state meaning the type of minimum state (Giddens, 1998, 24-25, 101-126), as including provision for *healthcare, ensuring the country's peace and stability, control of prices and free basic education* (F1). The second factor (F2) rather stresses the economic-socialist role; issues of the new social movements (environment, ethics, equality) have a lower priority for students in cultural group 1 (F3, F4). There seems to be a pattern of "transition" from basic to socialist to new agenda issues with respect to the responsibilities of the state.

Table 6: Factor analysis: state's responsibilities, cultural group 5

		F1	F2	F3	F4
C4	Decent standard of living for old people	0,7		0,3	
C5	Support industries	0,7			
C6	Decent standard of living for the unemployed	0,6	0,4		
C1	Guarantee jobs	0,4	0,4		0,4
C9	Equal political opportunities for men and women		0,8		
C8	Free basic education for all		0,7		
C7	Reduce income differences	0,3	0,4		

C3	Basic health care for everyone			0,7	
C2	Keep prices under control			0,6	0,3
C10	Control pollution of the environment		0,3	0,5	
C11	Guarantee peace and order within the country				0,8
C12	Promote honesty and moral behaviour				0,7
	% of variance explained	15,1	14,3	13,4	12,6
	Total variance explained	55,5			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

The conceptions of students in cultural group 5 reverse the above pattern of students in cultural group 1. More specifically, the welfare provisions and the socialist characteristics of the state role prevail in factor 1 including a strong position of the variable *promote industries*. Other basic responsibilities (e.g. *healthcare* and *peace*) are integrated in weaker factors (F2, F3). Finally students in cultural group 5 do not seem to include as state responsibilities issues related to new social movements, an observation supporting a concern that this might be a socially "isolated" group.

It is clear that economic interests tend to cross social class boundaries, since they display concerns at all levels of the social hierarchy (Mouzelis, 1999). Interestingly enough there is a strong demand across the whole society for the state to undertake economic responsibilities, these being rather smaller on the part of the students in cultural group 1, with a tendency towards what is recently called "minimal state role".

Assuming that the demand for an extensive, or "socialist" state role might be considered an indicator of "counter-modernization" tendencies and that the minimal state role might be considered an indicator of "modernization" tendencies (Diamantouros, 2000, 23-39) then, there are some interesting observations to be made at this point. Such co-existence of "modernization" and "counter-modernization" conceptions can be better understood as the co-existence of the "modern" and the "traditional" (Mouzelis, 2000). We should add that in our perspective this does not necessarily imply "discrepancies and contradictions" as suggested by Mouzelis (2000). Furthermore the counter-modernization trend in the Greek context, although a minority, it has, nevertheless, "significant strength" either as well organized, or by its capacity to use the media (Mouzelis, 1999).

The Greek state has historically been constructed in a way that emphasizes the maximum state, extended state protectionism for all social activities, and provision for practically all social functions (Tsoukalas 1986, 19-25). Students' conceptualizations are well settled within such context.

For many researchers the principle of the universal state provisions across the board is related traditionally to the left (including socialist, and sometimes social-democratic) in the context of which political forces in the country expressed their political agendas, longing for the "traditional" and "outmoded" principles based on which the state was constructed after the war (Mouzelis 2001b; Dimitrakos 2002). Given this, students conceptions are further legitimized as "progressive" in the sense that this notion goes hand in hand with leftist and socialist views.

2.7 Issues regarding immigrants in the textbook

There is no specific chapter dealing exclusively with issues related to immigration. All references are indirect. Obviously the way the authors are handling the issue of immigrants has to do with how "visible" migration was while the book was being written. It seems that the authors' pedagogical intention is the development of an antiracist attitude. To achieve this, all the necessary information and documentation derived from available scientific knowledge is provided in order to legitimize and validate the arguments presented. Students are expected to build their own argument, but the whole endeavour appears as if students are given the scientific answer to racism, before even setting the question, which is never asked. The interplay of scientific knowledge to judgements, coupled by the (sudden) introduction of "we" in the language used, indicates more a need of the authors to make sure that their politically correct position is clear rather than an approach which would help students formulate their own conceptualizations. Authoritative didacticism, much criticized in recent years comes back in a masked way (*textbook 1998-99, 52, 111*).

Antiracist principles are introduced in the first page of the textbook stating: "all people have certain characteristics common with all the people that leave on earth" (*textbook 1998-99, 9*), like the ability to use words, to communicate, use tools, etc. Those abilities and skills are contradictory to the characteristics that are common and make people members of social groups, as well as with "completely individual characteristics" (*textbook 1998-99, 10-11*). It is worth noting that there is no reference to a particular nation; on the contrary, reference is made to society, like the Greek one, with "its own history, language, social institutions, culture and values" (*textbook 1998-99, 10*). Black and white pictures presenting people accompany the text. The effort to present people who may look different but deep down they are all alike, in an effort to make the message that clear, is pretty obvious. What brings to the fore the uneasiness of the authors is the fact that they had (all of the sudden) to choose black and white pictures to communicate the message.

The authors have chosen to present the important issues related to immigrants, foreigners and the "other" in the chapter dealing with intergroup relations, in which the argument is that all groups "are part of one society". Within this context, the meaning of "dominant social groups" is introduced (*textbook 1998-99, 35*). There is no discussion on minorities; minorities related conceptualization appears as an example of a group that "does not have access to power", and so its members face the danger of becoming "victims of **prejudice** (the emphasis in the textbook) and unequal treatment" (*textbook 1998-99, 35*). Following that, the meaning of prejudice is extensively analyzed in relationship to stereotypes (almost three pages in a total of three and a half). Prejudice is presented in various categories such as sexism, ethnicism and racism (*textbook 1998-99, 36*) and is viewed as connected to negative feelings in the unit "the results of prejudice" (*textbook 1998-99, 36-37*). There is an effort of theorizing on the results of prejudice by classifying them into three categories - social knowledge, the scapegoat theory, and preservation of privileges - and to present ways to deal with it. The first two ways relating to the individuals and society at large are education and self-awareness; furthermore "the state obligations regarding economic development and the provision of employment for every one, regardless of their origin" is stressed (*textbook 1998-99, 37-38*).

Such content is accompanied by pictures that stress the politically correct

model regarding the three categories of prejudice to be overcome, but not stated clearly in the text, for example a middle-aged man washes the dishes, a woman is a taxi-driver, a museum for the Jews appears in downtown Athens, etc. The captions ask students to comment on the content. There is also a Table from a 1996 research that shows the percentages of young people that could have friends from a "problematic" social group. The presented list includes gypsies, blacks, Philipinos, Albanians, Polish, as well as the "inhabitants of a developed country" that constitute the majority, with the "blacks" following (textbook 1998-99, 37).

Social Anthropology, as a scientific discipline, takes over to convince students that all societies "regardless of whether they have systems of writing or technology etc. are considered to have *culture*" (textbook 1998-99, 49). Following that, the differentiation of culture by content and cultural variety are introduced. The main idea is that all societies formulate culture, but the content is different (textbook 1998-99, 52). Those differences seem "strange", lead to "consider difference" among others as "primitive". This happens in the cases we fail to "judge a foreign culture by its own criteria" - introducing thus the meaning of "cultural relativity" (textbook 1998-99, 52). Students are urged to not accept these issues in a thoughtless way, since in some cases the existence of old social institutions, habits and customs, violate "**basic universal values**" (the emphasis in the textbook), so that "citizens of other countries can proceed to the relevant international organizations (presented in chapter 1, part 3) and take action in order to change the situation for their fellow human beings (textbook 1998-99, 53).

Cultural variation is also presented as a characteristic within the same society. Smaller groups in society, a result of cultural differences constitute "**sub-cultures**" (the emphasis in the textbook) (textbook 1998-99, 53). In this case the communities of foreigners, immigrants included, are presented as examples. In general, sub-cultures are considered to be factors of enrichment in a society unless they are differentiated regarding the society's fundamental rules. In this case they are "usually illegal - they actually constitute "**anti-cultures**" (the emphasis in the textbook) (textbook 1998-99, 53-54).

In the second part of the textbook in the unit about rights which is one of the book's most extensive ones (textbook 1998-99, 216-229), it is noted: "foreigners in Greece also have rights but do not enjoy increased constitutional protection like the Greeks". This is followed by the information that foreigners' rights are provided for by international treaties (UN, International Treaty for Human Rights) (textbook 1998-99, 225); it appears, nevertheless that such rights are primarily centered around the provision of political asylum: "foreigners can ask for political asylum, if they are deprived of their civil rights or are oppressed in their country of origin" (textbook 1998-99, 217).

2.8 Students' attitudes towards immigrants' rights

In this section the findings regarding the issues of immigrants and related conceptualization by the students are presented. Interestingly enough the factors constructed for all students present a first factor indicating a quite positive attitude towards immigrants, followed by a factor of lesser strength which indicates a negative attitude including that *immigrants endanger the unity of a country* and that *immigrants should not be allowed to engage in political activities*. Tables 7 and 8 present the constructed factors for students in cultural groups 1 and 5 respectively.

Table 7: Factor analysis: immigrants, cultural group 1

		F2	F1
H5	Immigrants should have all the same rights as everyone else	0,8	
H3	Immigrants should have the opportunity to vote	0,7	
H6	Immigrants should be forbidden to engage in political activity	-0,7	
H2	Immigrants' children should have the same educational opportunities	0,7	0,3
H1	Immigrants should continue speaking their own language	0,7	
H4	Immigrants should keep their customs and lifestyle	0,6	
H7	Many immigrants make it difficult for a country to be united and patriotic		-0,8
H8	All countries should accept refugees		0,8
	% of variance explained	38,3	17,6
	Total variance explained	55,9	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 8: Factor analysis: immigrants, cultural group 5

		F1	F2
H2	Immigrants' children should have the same educational opportunities	0,8	
H1	Immigrants should continue speaking their own language	0,7	
H5	Immigrants should have all the same rights as everyone else	0,7	
H3	Immigrants should have the opportunity to vote	0,6	
H8	All countries should accept refugees	0,5	
H6	Immigrants should be forbidden to engage in political activity	-0,4	
H7	Many immigrants make it difficult for a country to be united and patriotic		0,9
H4	Immigrants should keep their customs and lifestyle	0,6	-0,6
	% of variance explained	34,5	14,7
	Total variance explained	49,2	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization

Students in cultural group 1 express a positive attitude towards immigrants rights showing a clearly anti-racist attitude (F1) as they believe that *they should have the opportunity to vote, engage in political activity, educate, keep their language and customs*, and that (F2) *the existence of many immigrants in a country does not endanger the unity of this country and all countries should accept refugees*. It seems that the attitude of the students in cultural group 5 is rather different: They seem supportive of granting certain rights to immigrants (F1) such as *the opportunity to vote, engage in political activity, educate, keep their language* and that all *countries should accept refugees*. Furthermore, a weaker factor is constructed (F2) indicating a completely different attitude as it consists

of the items *immigrants should not keep their own customs* and that *their presence endangers the unity of this country*. This group of students seems to accept attitudes that are dominant in Greek society. According to a research made by the "Eurobarometer", while 64% of EU citizens declare that they think that it is positive for a society to blend cultures and religions, only 36% of the Greeks who were asked the same question responded the same way (Ploritis, 2001).

Students in different cultural groups appear to create a different synthesis, one of their own, a particular appropriation of the western model blended with the culturally cherished concepts supporting Chatterjee's (1993) argument vis à vis Anderson's uniform generalization (1983), as analysed in our own work as cultural appropriation (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 2002).

3 Concluding remarks

To begin with, it is clear that civic education textbooks have changed considerably in the recent two decades. Conceptions like homogenization, social control, democratic society, the responsible citizen, rights and responsibilities have replaced earlier content longing to national history, the geographic borders, religion and the traditional culture, which were more popular in the past. So, the basis is set for a new type of ideological orientation and the imposition of a perception regarding the state, national awareness and national identity in a new concrete way.

Furthermore, the suggested official knowledge on social life turns to be objective and scientific knowledge that is supported by experience; the problem which one might raise though is that this relationship with experience has not been verified in the daily Greek practice, as it has happened in its western version. It is presented in the textbook as result of political consent and, at the same time, expression of a consensus way of life via institutions. The final content for the national self, meaning the perceptions about citizenship, the organization of social life, the cultural models and the relations among them, are presented as resulting from social "facts", by the mere co-existence of the textual content with "real-life" pictures and related captions. These "facts" are definitely an expression of the western model of social organization and constitution of social life, coupled with Greek specific content such as "our Constitution".

The content and the mode of writing of the textbooks are not, of course, neutral activities.

The models and the rules of behavior that include the mode of social and political organization prevailing in western textbooks and political theory, are presented in a way implying that they constitute the rules and practices of the Greek national group. In some cases divergence comes to the fore through the pictures and captions chosen to accompany the text.

The organization of social life, which is presented as Greek, is homogeneous, consensus driven, superior, modern, rational, easy, effective, harmonious, acceptable. The democratic society projects certain categories towards which social structure and organization are aiming at, such as order, safety, and consent. It is supported by institutions of social and administrative organization, such as the nuclear family, social groups, community, work, and, by and large, the state. The textbook's reference to the institutions mentioned above blend their previous or current Greek version and the transport of the model that is presented in the western world.

The presentation of political democracy is completed with globalization and the internationalization of democracy. At first the divergence and the differences of populations are pointed out, then institutions that are internationally called to decrease competition and to protect human rights, the coexistence, equality before the law and consent are presented. The world system is not questioned in the context of the construction and production of the dominating cultural model; economic and military power and the establishing of political power with international imposition is not referred to.

The state of course is presented as providing social services for the satisfaction of its citizens' needs. The civil society is presented via consent for the role of civil organizations and their practices. Reference to government power and arbitrariness although sufficient within the text, clearly is presented in the abstract, without the examples that would bring the relevant conceptualizations at home for students to relate to, to consider, and actively criticize. The absolute lack of efficiency across state organization, services and functioning as well as corruption, both very familiar in the Greek political and social scene, are surprisingly absent. This fact alone is enough to make the reader consider that the above mentioned reference to state/government power and arbitrariness is the usual north-American negative perception of *too* much government and state intervention in the private sector driven social life that prevails in that part of the world. This means that such conceptualization are very likely transferred from corresponding textbooks and/or theory, and by no means are the same conceptualizations which would reveal Greek resentment towards government and the state which would center on the lack of extensive intervention, effectiveness, responsiveness and the like.

The textbook is reconstructed in the western historical, social and political context, with a blending of content from the familiar context that constitutes the mode for putting together the Greek textbooks. The blending of divergent and/or parallel "contents" appears to be inevitable. However, this issue does not appear to be 'unknown' to the writers, because their effort to standardize and bring home such content is obvious. However the adjusting and standardization of texts are not without problems. For the implied continuity, completion and integrity that is presumed regarding society and the political institutions are intersected by discontinuity, ambiguity, voids, and the contradictions in parts that potentially deny the legitimizing context, meaning the ostensible modern clarity, the supposed rational integration and consistency and the ostensible objectivity of official educational reason.

The standardization or else "adjustment to the Greek reality/context" takes place with the addition, alteration and replacement of texts, and this is inevitably done based on the writers' subjective criteria.

More specifically, the textbook deals with issues related to democracy as issues of institutionalized order rather than practices involving practically all aspects of social life. The integration of the concepts of democracy strongly related to the institutions and the constitution is compatible with the conceptualizations advanced in the answers of the students' representing the liberal-pluralistic model of democracy including issues regarding participation in political parties, segregation between the church and the state, the voluntary social engagement of youth, and pluralism in the structure and functioning of the political parties.

As it is clear in the textbook content, democracy as a constitutionally supported system of government and institutionalized practices based on laws appears as unquestionable, and not as a topic to be discussed and

debated. Furthermore, students are not given the incentive and the opportunity to find out for themselves the negative concerns related to democracy, and/or the threats to democracy, as anticipated in everyday life. Students, nevertheless do conceptualise varying issues mostly related to what might be considered basic democracy; these issues, are differentiated across students' groups with different cultural capital. Such differentiation across groups of students is stronger in the case of concepts of democracy as compared to any other concern investigated in the IEA research. Furthermore, the ordering of issues as well as the content of issues changes and is often reversed. So, interestingly enough, concepts of democracy taught extensively in the class, stressed in extensive textbook content and normatively clarified for students, seem to invite the wider range of students' differing conceptualizations, rendering such processes closely related to experience rather than textbook derived content knowledge.

The active citizen is a theme which runs throughout the textbook in a clear coupling with democracy. The formulation in the textbook seems to render active citizenship as the solution to the difficulties and ambiguities of conceptualizing and practicing Democracy.

In this case students do not seem to respond to the-western-content of the meaning of citizenship towards which formal schooling clearly directs them. Overall, students alternate the western model of the role of a citizen in a parliamentary democracy with the Greek historical context and experience strengthening the citizen devoted to the nation and the patriot supporting his/her country by all means and in any case. Students seem to appropriate the modern meaning of citizenship in a way not rejecting either the western model or the indigenous traditional conceptions. Such appropriation indicates the power of every-day social experience in conjunction with the western model, although sometimes at the expense of the latter.

The state role, not limited to the minimal social provisions and the support of new social movements presented rather as a socialistic state role, seems to have a powerful presence for the total group of students. In the same context, of a state that is obliged to undertake economic functions as well, the citizens simply enjoy all the state offers; meaning the state is the source of social rights related provisions - in many levels - and the individual is their carrier. In the conceptualizations of Greek students, the state exists to serve them (related to the rights agenda and the clientelist pattern); their right is to enjoy state provisions without including their own participation or initiative as an input. In this context, the current call for the modern active citizen, referred to above, is a different conception altogether from the one prevailing in the western model.

It becomes rather clear that the socialistic state role is the type of state responsibilities that is expressed by certain students independently of the cultural group they are in. The state responsibilities included in the students conceptions are, of course, differentiated and express each group's attitudes. It is important to note, however, that there is consistency in all conceptualizations. It is worth reminding at this point that state responsibilities put forward by the weakest cultural group tend to be dominated by a rather conservative socialistic state role.

As far as immigrants are concerned, students seem in principle to definitely support the immigrants' right to be treated as everyone else in the country, as it is advocated in the civic textbook. Interestingly enough, students in the less privileged cultural group also agree with the statement *having many immigrants prevents countries from being united*

and patriotic. This means that a number of those who declare that immigrants should have the same occupational, educational, political rights also admit that their presence constitutes possible threat. Such students' appropriation of concepts and intentions to act might indicate that they have integrated some *prima facie* opposing views as legitimate.

It is true that students' historical experience acquired in and out of school is rooted in traditionally accepted and searched for national unity. This need for unity is historically stressed as well as cherished today and indicates that the country and the country's leaders must be unified in order to achieve the goals that everybody supports including safety, progress and the like. Such imperative need for national "unity" prevails in students views regarding, for example, simple and straightforward pluralism, as indicated/necessitated in liberal politics and implied/related to the existence of many political parties supporting different political positions. In both of the above cases students are overwhelmed by the prevailing need for national "unity" in a way which renders all notions of divergence as undesirable and illegitimate, including the cherished notions of political pluralism-very strong in Greece - and cultural pluralism - accepted in many features of public life. It is for these historically very well rooted notions that the way in which the textbook treats immigrants and the "other" as various social groups and enriching (sub) cultural opportunities, appears as naively and unnecessarily transferred and imported from other curricula and textbook content.

Contradictions result only through contradictory explanatory models

The above analysis is useful in that it can help explain the *prima facie* contradicting presence of the traditional and modern characteristics in the conceptions of students and the ambivalences in the textbook. Furthermore, it is worth noting that this co-existence of traditional and modern characteristics constitutes the main reference point for the orientation towards an explanatory model like the of cultural appropriation, referred to above. Students conceptions and textbook content might reflect the way in which constitutive ideas and practices are conceptualized, handled and made visible in peripheral societies. Indeed, what appears to be a rather unique co-existence of contradicting concepts, reflects the imported modern institutions and conceptions - in a constitutive and ideological level - in the instance of their integration in a society different from the ones they originally came from. This represents the transaction between the modern western model of conceptualization and the traditional, the historically developed-national context of conceptualization-of democracy, citizenship, the state and immigrants. In this context "modern" demands and/or concepts co-exist with indigenous concepts, differing from the western model. The most interesting characteristic of today's student attitudes regarding democracy, citizenship, the state and immigrants that does not constitute neither denial nor resistance to "modern" western concepts; it is rather a positive and creative adaptation and the harmonious co-existence of the new conceptions with the pre-existing context, conditions and needs. It is a unique cultural appropriation.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1. Population, Sample and Sampling Method

The desired population includes all students enrolled on a full-time basis in 9th grade in which most students aged 14:00 to 14:11 [years; months]

are found in 1999. Testing took place in the first week of the 8th month of the school year, that is April. Disproportional sample was drawn by the different community types in which the schools are located. Sampling weights were applied.

The basic characteristics of the sample are the following:

Number of students: 3,460

Mean age: 14,7

Standard deviation of the age of students tested: 0.5

Percentage of 14-year-olds: 83

Percentage of females: 52

Percentage of students who answered that they had not been born in the country: 6

A two-stage stratified cluster design for sampling was employed in consultation with IEA sampling experts. At the first stage, schools were sampled using a probability proportional to size. At the second stage the sample consisted of one intact classroom per school from the target grade. The chosen class was not tracked by ability and was a civic education class.

The participation rates in the study are as follows:

School participation before replacement (weighted percentage): 88

School participation after replacement (weighted percentage): 93

Replacement refers to schools which for varying reasons could not participate in the study (late delivery of material or refusal to participate).

APPENDIX 2. Factor Analysis

The factors were estimated for all the students in the sample as well as students in each cultural capital group. The analysis focuses on the differences as well as the similarities of the factors.

Factor analysis was performed using principal components extraction with varimax rotation. All statistics in the Factor analysis are based on cases with no missing values for any of the variables used while the number of factors extracted in each case is defined by the number of the eigenvalues that are greater than 1. Students' answers were originally coded: 1: Strongly disagree, 2: Disagree, 3: Agree 4: Strongly agree 0: I don't know. The 0 value was treated as missing. The minimum loading used to identify items to factors was 0.30.

APPENDIX 3. Variables on concepts of democracy

A1 When everyone has the right to express their opinions freely (basic)

A2 When differences in income and wealth between the rich and the poor are small (socialism)

A3 When political leaders in power give public sector jobs to family members (autocratic)

A4 When newspapers are free of all government [state, political] control

(liberal pluralism)

A5 When private businesses have no restrictions from government

A6 When one company owns all the newspapers (autocratic)

A7 When people demand their political and social rights (basic, leftist)

A8 When immigrants are to give up language and customs of former countries (autocratic)

A9 When political parties have rules that support women as political leaders (new soc. Mov.)

A10 When people critical of the government are not allowed at public meetings (autocratic)

A11 When citizens have the right to elect political leaders freely (basic)

A12 When courts and judges are influenced by politicians (autocratic)

A13 When many different organisations are available for people who wish to join (lib pl)

A14 When there is a segregation between the church and the state (lib.pl.)

A15 When young people are obliged to participate in activities to benefit the community (aut.)

A16 When a minimum income is assured for everyone (soc. -left.)

A17 When political parties have different opinions on important issues (lib. pl.)

A18 When people participate in political parties in order to influence government (lib. pl.)

A19 When laws that women claim are unfair to them are changed (new soc. mov.)

A20 When all the television stations present the same opinion about politics (aut.)

A21 When people refuse to obey a law which violates human rights (new soc. mov., soc.-left.)

A22 When newspapers are forbidden to publish stories offending immigrant groups (lib. pl.)

A23 When wealthy business people have more influence on government than others (aut.)

A24 When government leaders are trusted without question (aut.)

A25 When people peacefully protest against a law they believe is unjust (soc. mov., soc.- left.)

APPENDIX 4. Variables on citizenship

B1 A good citizen-obey the law

B2 A good citizen-votes in every election

B3 A good citizen-joins a political party

B4 A good citizen-works hard

B5 A good citizen-would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust

B6 A good citizen-knows about the country's history

B7 A good citizen-would be willing to serve in the military to defend the country

B8 A good citizen-follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio or on TV

B9 A good citizen-participates in activities to benefit people in the community [society]

B10 A good citizen-shows respect for government representatives [leaders, officials]

B11 A good citizen-takes part in activities promoting human rights

B12 A good citizen-engages in political discussions

B13 A good citizen-takes part in activities to protect the environment

B14 A good citizen-is patriotic and loyal [devoted] to the country

B15 A good citizen-would be willing to ignore [disregard] a law that violated human rights

APPENDIX 5. Variables on state responsibilities

C1 State responsibility-To guarantee a job for everyone who wants one

C2 State responsibility-To keep prices under control

C3 State responsibility-To provide basic health care for everyone

C4 State responsibility-To provide an adequate [decent] standard of living for old people

C5 State responsibility-To provide industries with the support they need to grow

C6 State responsibility-To provide an adequate [decent] standard of living for the unemployed

C7 State responsibility-To reduce differences in income and wealth among people

C8 State responsibility-To provide free basic education for all

C9 State responsibility-To ensure equal political opportunities for men and women

C10 State responsibility-To control pollution of the environment

C11 State responsibility-To guarantee peace and order [stability] within the country

C12 State responsibility-To promote honesty and moral behaviour among people in the country

APPENDIX 6. Variables on immigrants

H1 Immigrants should have the option to keep [continue speaking] their own language

H2 Immigrants' children should have the same opportunities for education as other children have

H3 Immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the option to vote in elections

H4 Immigrants should have the opportunity [option] to keep their own customs and lifestyle

H5 Immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in a country has

H6 Immigrants should be forbidden to engage in political activity

H7 Having many immigrants makes it difficult for a country to be united and patriotic

H8 All countries should accept refugees trying to escape from wars or political persecution

APPENDIX 7. Example: Cultural capital 1

Type of community the pupil lives in	Athens center-Saloniki
	Athens suburbs (high SES)
Language spoken at home	Always-Almost always
Mother's level of education	University graduate
Number of books at home	51-100 100 and more

Notes

(1) The textbooks in Greece are the embodiment of policies with respect to subject content in the sense that there is only one textbook per subject and it consists the only legitimate source of knowledge content.

Curriculum content in Social and Political Education in lower secondary schools in Greece is defined as the content of the textbook (the same for all schools), emphasizing issues of democracy, citizenship, functions and structures of institutions, social problems, human rights, and international organizations (*Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, Dimopoulou, Kottoula, 2000*).

(2) The international civic education project has been carried out in the framework of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement in roughly 25 countries (covering about 100.000 students) across Europe, plus the U.S.A., Colombia, Hong Kong and Australia. It has been structured in two phases. Phase one (1994-1996) consisted of case studies which included literature reviews, interviews, and focus-group work responding to a set of framing research questions concerning the discourse on democracy, citizenship, and disenfranchised groups in the participating countries. Phase two (1997-2000) has consisted of field research in which about 4000 youngsters (students 14 years of age) in each participating country have related their concepts, attitudes, practices, skills and knowledge on the issues that emerged in the case studies. The field research has also included the views of 800 of the teachers of these students and about 160 headmasters in each participating country, relating their practices, attitudes and skills on some of these issues. (*Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, Dimopoulou, Kottoula, 2000*)

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