HOW “INTERCULTURAL” IS CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN GREECE? A CONTENT ANALYSIS

Theodoros Vavitsas
Teaching Stuff,
University of Athens,
Greece

Abstract:
The present article illustrates an attempt made to investigate interculturalism in the School Textbooks of Social and Political Education course of the Greek Primary School. The subject of Social and Political Education features the quality of citizenship of students attending the Greek educational system. The research methodology used is content analysis and, specifically, quantitative content analysis. According to the results of the research, the Social and Political Education textbooks of the Greek Primary School are inspired by the principles of intercultural education, while the presence of cultural diversity, in general, is strong in both the 5th grade and 6th grade textbooks.

Keywords: citizenship, citizenship education, intercultural education, social and political education

1. Introduction

In recent decades, societies, mainly in the Western world, have been transformed in terms of their composition, and have become multicultural. This is not something new, as societies have always been multicultural. However, it is within this context that the intercultural dimension of education has developed as a response to the problems of managing cultural diversity. The policies of the past (among which are assimilation and multiculturalism), to a certain degree, failed to address these problems. However, although today intercultural education plays an important role in educational issues, it has not managed to fit into a specific epistemological framework, as it has been observed by several researchers (Perotti, 1996; Portera, 2000, 2008; Coulby, 2006; Palaiologou & Faas, 2012).

1Correspondence: email vavitsast@gmail.com
2. Literature Review

In this context, the distinction between the concepts "multiculturalism" and "interculturalism" becomes even more difficult. Starting from the views expressed on the relationship between those two concepts, they can be divided into two categories. On the one hand, there are those views that argue that interculturalism is something quite different from multiculturalism (Council of Europe, 2008; Levey, 2012; Cantle, 2012). On the other hand, those who argue that interculturalism is not significantly different from multiculturalism, but merely place more emphasis on certain points that already exist within the content of multiculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2012; Levey, 2012).

The problem of clarifying multiculturalism and interculturalism is observed in almost all Anglo-Saxon countries. Thus, in countries such as Australia and Great Britain, while interculturalism is a voluntary intervention restricted by state and market agencies, multiculturalism is increasingly recognized by official state cultural policies (Bharucha, 1999, p. 13). This perspective has resulted in Australia, for example, to a preference for the use of the term “multiculturalism”, with interculturalism generally held in low esteem and therefore not used in particular (Levey, 2012, p. 218).

Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that “interculturalism” is a concept that is used differently in continental Europe than in Anglo-Saxon countries. This peculiarity may lead us to realize the importance and the weight of the policy pursued in shaping the concept of “interculturalism”. In fact, it highlights precisely this: “interculturalism” is a primarily political concept, a political choice, which is why it is directly related and dependent on the political choices made.

The problem of the relationship between multiculturalism and interculturalism is an extremely important theoretical issue, with social and political implications, even if this may not be clear from the outset. More specifically, two interconnected and interdependent phenomena are currently emerging: on the one hand, the constant movement of populations, the increase in refugee and migrant flows, as a result of escalating wars and economic hardship respectively. On the other hand, the escalation and intensification of barbarism towards everything are considered different, which takes the form of xenophobia, racism and neo-Nazism. These two conditions urgently raise a number of issues that need to be addressed immediately, such as the management of cultural diversity and, at the same time, the containment of xenophobic and racist sentiments. Given the above, we consider it a crucial issue to explore the place of intercultural education in schools and, in particular, in the subject that is charged with the task of citizenship education, namely Social and Political Education. Moreover, it is worth noting that although the content of the textbooks of Social and Political Education has been the subject of research on several occasions in the past (Nikolaou, Papa, & Papa, 2020; Karakatsani, 2004; Mousena, 2004; Dayakis, 2000; Kontogiannopoulou-Polydoridis, 1995), this does not concern the relationship of this course to its intercultural dimension.
3. Material and Methods

The main purpose of the present research is to investigate the place of intercultural education in the Social and Political Education course of the Greek primary school. Regarding our choice to examine textbooks, we align with the view that the textbook is a particularly important aspect in school education (Johnsen, 1993; Olechowski, 1995). In addition to being a teaching and learning tool, the textbook is also considered as a political product, the content of which expresses and disseminates the dominant ideology and aims to reproduce it (Neumenn et al., 1974; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

The main reason that prompted us to choose these textbooks as the subject of our research is the fact that Social and Political Education is a special case of a school subject. Thus, while, as it follows from the respective DEPPS, it is a course charged with the role of citizenship education of students (DEPPS, 2003, p. 230), at the same time, there is a marginalization of it and its treatment as a “secondary” course. This is reflected in its position in the timetable (1 hour per week). In this light, we believe that it would be of great interest to examine: a) whether the principles of intercultural education, such as the cultivation of empathy, education for solidarity, intercultural respect and education against ethnocentric/nationalistic thinking (Essinger, 1988, p. 58-72; 1990, pp. 22-31), derive from the textbooks charged with citizenship education, and b) which of the core values and principles of intercultural education, as mentioned above, appear more frequently in the content of school textbooks.

The above threefold substance of our main concern led us to formulate the research questions, structured as follows, to which we will attempt to respond:

1) What is the place of interculturalism in Social and Political Education textbooks?
2) Which of the basic principles of interculturalism appears with greater frequency in the content of school textbooks of Social and Political Education?

The sample of the research consisted of the textbooks in use for the course of Social and Political Education in primary school. At this point, because of the ambiguity that arises from the conceptualization and delimitation of concepts such as school textbook, textbook, student book, teacher's book, etc. (see Kapsalis & Charalambous, 1995), it is worth clarifying that in the context of this research, by “school textbook” or “textbook” we mean the content of the two volumes of the student’s book of 5th and 6th grades of primary school.

The research tool used to process the content of the textbooks in order to answer the research questions and achieve the research objectives was content analysis, and especially its quantitative form. As for the choice of this research tool, it was chosen in order to provide a counterbalance to the “disadvantages of the traditional, subjective-impressionist interpretive method” (Merten, 1983). Thus, the structure of the contents of the textbooks was examined in the first stage of the research, while, in the second stage, a system of categories was formulated. The system of categories was further formulated as a “bundle” of inductive concepts, which constituted the individual elements of the central concept of “interculturalism”.
The “subject” was defined as the unit of record for our data, as it is the most appropriate and most necessary element for researching dispositions, attitudes, values and beliefs (Hostli, 1969). In total, 263 cards were coded, but some (13) were left out of the categorization due to disagreement among the coders. Finally, 250 cards were classified (95% of the total) into the categories we defined. 100 of the cards relate to the 5th grade textbook and 150 to the 6th grade textbook. Finally, the degree of agreement between the coders was checked according to the following formula (Rust, 1981):

\[ V_2 = \frac{2M}{N_e + N_1 (\eta 2 \eta 3)} \]

Where,
M = the number of classified cards on which the investigator and the coder agree
N = the number of cards classified by the investigator
N1 (or 2 or 3) = the number of cards classified by the codifier 1 or 2 or 3

It was found that the rate of inter-rater agreement (classification of bulletins by subcategory) was quite good (0.95), which ensures the reliability and validity of the categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C1</th>
<th>C2</th>
<th>C3</th>
<th>Total Degree of agreement</th>
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<tr>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.95</td>
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4. Results and Discussion

The coding system of this research included 4 categories of inductive analysis, which were clearly identified in order to frame the main concept, that of interculturalism. The table below presents the main categories.

**Table 2: Main categories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interculturalism</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I1. Empathy and solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I2. Intercultural respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I3. Anti-ethnocentrism /anti-nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I4. Cultural diversity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**II. Empathy and solidarity:** Any reference to incidents or events of mutual aid, mutual understanding, practical support, cooperation.

**II2. Intercultural respect:** any direct reference to respect for different cultures, or indirect reference to the value of interculturalism, reference to the value of other cultures.

**II3. Anti-ethnocentrism/anti-nationalism:** any reference that does not adhere to the Greek context, but includes incidents, events, references or comparative approaches with/for other countries apart from Greece.

**II4. Cultural diversity:** Any reference to national, religious, ethnic, linguistic or racial diversity. Also, reference to cultures other than Greek, to different nations, states, races.
4.1 5th Grade School Textbook

4.1.1 Empathy and Solidarity

Regarding the first category (I1), which refers to the values of empathy and solidarity, this is represented at 20% (in 20 out of 100 cards). This percentage leads us to conclude that elements of empathy and solidarity appear to a limited extent in the primary school textbook for the 5th grade. For example, through the highlighting of the social role of the Greek Orthodox Church, it is stated that:

“The Church financially supports and spiritually sustains people who at some periods of their lives are in need. It offers food and shelter to our needy fellow citizens. It operates boarding schools, orphanages, nursing homes, hospitals, children’s camps. It also carries out aid missions to states in a state of war, regardless of their religions. It helps in many ways in various cases of major disasters (earthquakes, floods, etc.) by sending humanitarian aid and volunteer staff” (Florou, Stephanopoulos & Christopoulou, 2008, p. 10).

The values of mutual aid and concern for the “Other” clearly flow, regardless of cultural characteristics (nation, religion, etc.). Furthermore, at another point, children are asked, through an activity, to observe three different pictures of children who come from different countries, and to develop their views on what differences the children have, what needs they have, and whether they believe that the needs are similar or different (Ibid, p. 47). At this point, using the diversity of three children from different countries as a starting point, and highlighting the universality of human needs, a first step is taken towards an empathetic understanding of the “Other”, regardless of particular cultural characteristics, since all people have common needs.

4.1.2 Intercultural Respect

Like the values of empathy and solidarity, the value of intercultural respect (I2) has a limited presence in the school textbooks of the 5th grade, as it appears in 18% (18 out of 100 cards). In particular, an important passage that highlights the fact that intercultural respect derives from the very core of the Greek Constitution is the following:

“In Greece, as in other countries, the rights of the individual are protected by the Constitution and the laws. These rights are divided into individual, social and political rights and concern Greek citizens. The rights of foreigners are protected by international conventions, but also by articles of the Constitution, such as, for example, Article 5, which prohibits discrimination based on racial, linguistic or religious criteria” (Ibid., p. 53).

As is, therefore, clear, intercultural respect is highlighted as fully integrated and legislated in the Greek state. Thus, culturally different is not only treated as existing, but is fully respected. Furthermore, at another point in the textbook, in activity 7 on page 26 (Ibid., p. 26), reference is made to doctors who rush to help and treat people in countries other than their own, i.e., where they are in need, thus highlighting the importance of intercultural cooperation, mutual help and solidarity between people.
4.1.3 Anti-ethnocentrism/Anti-nationalism
As regards the category of anti-ethnocentrism/anti-nationalism (I3), this appears in 25 out of 100 cards (25%). In particular, an important point for highlighting anti-ethnocentrism is activity 6, on page 26 (Ibid, p. 26), where students are invited, on the basis of a poem written by a French student about their homeland, to write a poem about the nation to which they belong (Ibid). In this way, each pupil in the multicultural classroom can write a poem about their own country, and the teacher can develop a class discussion in which the culturally diverse pupils can express themselves about their place of origin, mention what they know about their native culture, etc. In addition, on page 14 of the textbook (Ibid, p. 14), reference is made to the way in which one can acquire American citizenship, carrying out a comparative analysis of how citizenship is acquired in two different countries, in Greece, on the one hand, and in America, on the other. Finally, an important point of anti-ethnocentrism is presented in activity 5 on page 25, where students are asked to create a museum of nations, as they are encouraged to bring in pictures, handmade objects, cooking recipes, etc., to find similarities and differences and present them (Ibid, p. 25). Through this activity, students have the opportunity to come out of their cultural “shell”, to come into contact with elements of other cultures, while knowing that their own nation is not necessarily at the “center” (ethnocentrism), but can coexist and does so- with a range of other nations and cultures.

4.1.4 Cultural Diversity
Category I4, concerning cultural diversity, is represented in 37% of the cards, appearing in 37 out of 100. More specifically, at the beginning of the textbook, we find the concept of nationality and its relation to the concept of citizenship. The authors of the textbook, through activity 2, confront students with the issue of the acquisition of Greek citizenship by non-Greeks by descent (Ibid, p. 13). In particular, the story of Khalil is given as an example:

“Khalil was born in Egypt and had Egyptian citizenship. When he was 18 years old, he came to Greece to study. During his years of study, he learned the Greek language and got to know the Greek culture. Because he decided to live here permanently, and he was already an adult, he wanted to become a Greek citizen. According to the law, after 7 years of permanent residence in Greece, he had the right to apply to the municipality of his residence to be granted Greek citizenship. The competent service of the Ministry of Interior examined his application and invited him for an interview. After a short time, by decision of the Minister of Interior, he acquired Greek citizenship, having taken an oath that he would abide by the Constitution and the laws of the Greek State and would fulfil his duties as a Greek citizen” (Ibid, p. 13).

What the above narrative illustrates is the framework for the acquisition of Greek citizenship by a foreigner. Thus, the fact that ethnic groups are not inaccessible collectivities is derived and promoted, but the possibility is given, under certain conditions, for citizens of the country to acquire citizenship.
Also mentioned elsewhere are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which “lays down the fundamental rights which all human beings must enjoy, such as the right to life, liberty, freedom of thought, religion, food and housing” (Ibid, p. 49), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Ibid, p. 54): “The 54 articles contained in the Convention apply to all children regardless of their national origin, gender, language, religion, special needs or appearance. They can be grouped into four broad categories” (Ibid, p. 51).

Finally, in the context of highlighting democracy as a concept and its aspects in everyday life, an example from everyday school life is presented, which can illustrate the contribution of democratic behavior to intercultural understanding and an indicative attitude towards difference. In particular, the following example is given as a situation of reflection for pupils:

“Recently, students from other countries came to Paul’s school. They speak a different language, have different religion and habits. Paul would very much like to get to know these students well, to learn about their country, and if it is possible, some words in their language. But some of his friends try to persuade him to join in the teasing these students, interrupting them when they are talking and telling them to return to their homeland. Paul’s goal is to get his friends to stop this behavior. He does not wish to spoil his friendship with them, but he believes that such teasing against their young classmates is unfair. He believes that it is very interesting to have classmates from other countries and that in a democratic society everyone can live in harmony” (Ibid, p. 72).

We consider this example, which we present separately, to be particularly important, since it shows how exclusion and intercultural understanding are intertwined, highlights the difficulties and dilemmas that a student may face when getting to know his or her “different” classmates, and emphasizes the fact that in a democratic society, everyone can live in harmony.

<table>
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<th>Table 3: Categories - 5th Grade School Textbook</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I1 - Empathy/Solidarity</td>
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<tr>
<td>I2 - Intercultural respect</td>
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<tr>
<td>I3 - Anti-ethnocentrism/anti-nationalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>I4 - Cultural diversity</td>
</tr>
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As regards the first category (I1), which refers to the values of empathy and solidarity, this is represented in 26% of the cards (39 out of 150 cards). More specifically, introducing the issue of inclusion of all children in school, what is stated is: “Schools are also attended by pupils with special needs, such as deaf or hard of hearing children, blind and mobility-impaired children or children of economic migrants and gypsies. All children have the right to education and progress” (Nikolaou, Vatsitsi, Daniilidou, & Paschaliori, 2008, p. 21). At this point, the concept of diversity is highlighted, as well as the importance of inclusion, since it emphasizes the fact that all students have the right to education, regardless of particular characteristics (special educational needs, cultural differences, etc.). The notion of inclusion, as it is evident here, can foster in pupils a sense of solidarity with those who are different, help for those in need, etc. Helping those in need also emerges in the following, where the reference to the Church of Greece is made as follows:
“The Church of Greece is an important factor in modern Greek society. (...) Also, with the cooperation of the all faithful, clergy and laity, the Church puts into practice Christ’s commandment ‘love one another’ and takes care of the elderly, young children and families, offering medicines, medical care, soup kitchens, etc. without discrimination of gender, religion or nationality” (Ibid, p. 24).

In addition, with reference to the European Union, it is pointed out that: “The Member States of the European Union cooperate in order to promote peace, stability, security, democracy, justice, solidarity, social and economic development, as well as the defence of the common values of Europeans (respect for the rights of all people and culture, a healthy environment, etc.)” (Ibid, p. 66). A reference is also made to the International Organizations, where: “The main task of these organizations is to safeguard international peace and security, to assist the economic and social development of poor countries and to protect the rights of human beings” (Ibid, p. 83). Finally, references to Médecins Sans Frontières, an organization which “provides medical assistance wherever there is a need without any racial, religious, political or other discrimination” (Ibid, p. 86).

4.2.2 Intercultural Respect
In contrast to the category of empathy/solidarity, that of intercultural respect (I2) does not appear with great frequency in the 6th Grade Textbook, as it was recorded in 14%, i.e., in 21 out of 150 cards. In a point worth mentioning, reference is made to the value of tolerance, where it is noted that:

“Some people in our country believe in other Christian denominations, such as Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Some others, Greeks or foreign immigrants, follow other religions, such as Muslimism, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism. Each religion has its own believers, its own principles and traditions, its own places and ways of worship” (Ibid, p. 26).

Here students are asked to recognize everyone’s right to religious freedom and to show respect in similar situations. In addition, however, to respect for one’s particular religion, the same demand for respect is expressed towards different languages. In particular, in the chapter on the peoples and cultures of the European Union (Ibid, p. 74-75), reference is made to the fact that peoples differ from one another on the basis of certain elements such as “their language, traditions, customs and traditions” (Ibid, p. 74), but that “the European Commission particularly supports the teaching of languages to children, so that they are more aware of belonging to the European family and can take advantage of the opportunities offered by a multilingual Europe” (Ibid, p. 75). Thus, in this context of multilingualism and respect, the school textbook presents the word “Good morning” in the different languages of the countries of the European Union, and the activity that pupils are asked to carry out involves a synthesis of different cultural elements, as they have to write a fairy tale featuring different characters from different countries, such as Bolek and Lolek (Poland), Heidi (Austria), Asterix and Obelix (France), etc. (Ibid).
4.2.3 Anti-ethnocentrism/Anti-nationalism

As regards category I2, that of anti-ethnocentrism/anti-nationalism, it appears in 31 out of 150 forms and in 20.66%. More specifically, in the introduction to the educational system and the school, the examples of four children from four different countries are given, based on the different structures of the educational systems in their countries (Ibid, p. 18-19). Thus, students are asked to identify similarities and differences between the educational systems and to understand, through an anti-ethnocentric lens, that what applies to them in their country is not universal and does not apply to every child in every part of the world. In addition, in the lesson on citizenship and its forms, students learn about the different constitutions of England and Fiji from the Greek one (Ibid, p. 43). Another point worth mentioning is the one in which students learn about the institutions and functions of the European Union, the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers of the European Union, the European Council, the European Commission (Commission) and the European Court of Justice (Ibid, p. 66-67), i.e., institutions and structures which go beyond the narrow limits of the nation-state and can be the occasion for the further development of an anti-nationalist perspective. Finally, an important point is a reference to European educational programs, where students are informed about the ‘COMENIUS’ program that “aims at communication between teachers and students from different Member States, exchange of views, language learning, etc.”, as well as that: “In the framework of the European project “SOCRATES - COMENIUS 1”, the 2nd Primary School of Vrontados (Erithiani) hosted, from 21 to 25 May 2003, teachers from the European partnership schools C.P. "CAMPOAMENO" of Spain, Volksschule Ebersdorf of Germany and Harriers Ground Community Primary School of England, which is also the coordinating school. The four schools communicate with each other and exchange information on customs and events” (Ibid, p. 71). In this way, pupils are informed about the possibilities of cooperation with other peoples of Europe, with their classmates attending schools in the European Union, thus providing an anti-ethnocentric perspective.

4.2.4 Cultural Diversity

Regarding category I4, this appears with the highest frequency (59 out of 150 cards) in the school textbook of the 6th grade, reaching 39.33%. First of all, in addition to introducing the concept of family “the family acquires particular characteristics depending on its social environment, economic resources, tradition, culture and way of life” (Ibid, p. 10), an introduction is made to a very sensitive issue, which is none other than the difficulties that a family may face. Starting from there, the following points are made: “Most difficulties can be overcome by the family when all its members are united, show a willingness to cooperate, talk to each other, and try to understand and help each other” (Ibid, p. 14). Here cooperation (solidarity) and trying to understand each other (empathy) are seen as of major importance in overcoming the difficulties of the family. We can therefore note that, on the one hand, there is some reference to culture, tradition, etc., noting that these factors influence the characteristics and structure of the family. On the other hand, the values - skills which, in any case, are promoted, and promoted here as qualities that future citizens must possess in various aspects of their lives - are also values of interculturalism.
Moreover, in other places, based on the Constitution, which "defines the form of the constitution and the primary obligations of the state, such as respect for and protection of the dignity of man, the pursuit of peace, justice and the development of friendly relations with other states and peoples" (Ibid, p. 52), an attempt is made to highlight the values that ought to govern a democratic society, in various areas, since: “A democratic constitution enshrines in law values such as equality and freedom for all citizens. People are considered equal to each other, having equal rights and obligations” (Ibid, p. 47). This, of course, applies both to matters of religious belief, since this is “respected by the State” and “everyone may freely and without hindrance worship the God in whom he believes, in accordance with the principle of tolerance, which is clearly described in the Greek Constitution” (Ibid, p. 27), and to the general “respect for the community as a whole” (Ibid, p. 55), which is one of the most important obligations of the citizen, as they arise from the Constitution. In conclusion, it is worth noting that it is precisely this position that respect for the “Other” occupies in the Constitution that makes the concept of citizenship, and the obligations that flow from it, approach cultural otherness and develop within a common framework.

Table 5: Categories - 6th Grade School Textbook

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I1 - Empathy/Solidarity</td>
<td>39.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I2 - Intercultural respect</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I3 - Anti-ethnocentrism/anti-nationalism</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I4 - Cultural diversity</td>
<td>20.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6: Number of cards - 6th Grade School Textbook

Table 7: Frequency of occurrence per Grade
5. Conclusion

Concluding this research, it is worth summarizing some key points. First of all, regarding the first research question, concerning the place of interculturalism in the textbooks of Social and Political Education, the content analysis revealed that interculturalism occupies an important place in both textbooks. More specifically, as regards the categories of empathy/solidarity ($I_1$) they appear more adequately in the textbook of 6th grade (26%) compared to that of 5th (20%). Regarding intercultural respect ($I_2$), our research showed its poor presence in both textbooks. In particular, in the textbook of the 5th grade it appears in 18%, while in the 6th grade it appears in 14%. It is characteristic that, in both textbooks, intercultural respect appears with the lowest frequency of any other value of intercultural education. Thus, while “cultural development, by strengthening students’ national and cultural identity, awareness of the nature and role of the different groups to which they belong”, and “acceptance of diversity and pluralism” (DEPPS, p. 230) are stated objectives, they do not seem to be disseminated through the textbooks. As for anti-ethnocentrism/anti-nationalism ($I_3$), it appears in 25% in the textbook of the 5th grade and in 21% in the textbook of the 6th grade. Finally, with regard to cultural diversity ($I_4$), our research illustrated that it appears in 37% of the textbook of 5th grade and 39% of the textbook of 6th grade.

Therefore, it is clear from the first research question that interculturalism has an important place in the textbooks of Social and Political Education. It is worth noticing that in the textbook of 6th grade there were significantly more references to interculturalism (150 cards) compared to the textbook of 5th grade (100 cards).
particular, the significant negative aspects of the 5th grade textbook include its peculiar “division” into two parts. Thus, while in the first two sections the element of interculturalism is evident, the last two sections lack almost any reference to values with “intercultural” content. This fact, if we approach it also from the point of view of the distribution of the material within the school year, leads us to the conclusion that in the second half of the school year of the 5th grade, pupils will not come into contact with tangible elements of interculturalism. Furthermore, the problematic elements of the 5th grade textbook include the fact that in the section dealing with democracy, there is only one reference to interculturalism, and that is in the margins of the course, through one and only example (Florou, Stephanopoulos & Christopoulou, 2008, p. 72). The issue of democracy is universal and cannot be linked only to the local characteristics of a particular constitution. It is, therefore, considered a major drawback that the link between democracy and the equal treatment of people, irrespective of their racial, linguistic, cultural, etc. origins, is not attempted or emphasized. On the other hand, the 6th grade textbook seems to have a sufficiently satisfactory presence of intercultural elements, which are evenly distributed throughout the content of the textbook. There are two main points in the 6th grade textbook that could be subject to individual, constructive criticism: firstly, in the chapter on the need for education and literacy for all (Nikolaou, Vatsitsi, Daniilidou, & Paschaliori, 2008, p. 21), the social causes that exclude some children from special groups (e.g., disabled pupils, gypsies, etc.) from education are not mentioned. Secondly, the whole of Unit 3 (Ibid, p. 63-78), which deals with issues related to the European Union, could be said to be governed by a peculiar Eurocentrism. This is contrary to the basic principles of intercultural education, since extensive reference is made to the relations between the peoples of the European states, their relations with each other, their common cultural origins, etc., but no corresponding interest is shown in the relations between the Member States of the European Union and the other states that do not belong to the Union.

The second research question aimed to investigate which of the basic principles of interculturalism appears with greater frequency in the content of school textbooks of Social and Political Education. As the analysis of the research data revealed, cultural diversity appears most frequently in the textbook of the 5th grade (37%), followed by anti-ethnocentrism/anti-nationalism (25%), empathy/solidarity (20%) and finally intercultural respect (18%). In the textbook of the 6th grade, cultural diversity also appears with greater frequency in the textbook with 39%, followed by empathy/solidarity with 26%, anti-ethnocentrism/anti-nationalism with 21% and, finally, intercultural respect with 14%.

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The author declares no conflicts of interest.

About the Author
Dr. Theodoros Vavitsas is a graduate of the Department of Primary Education of the University of Ioannina, Greece. He graduated with honors (9.73) from the Postgraduate Program "Educational Sciences" of the same department. He holds a PhD from the Department of Education and Social Work of the University of Patras, Greece. He has completed postdoctoral research at the Department of Primary School Education of University of Ioannina, Greece. He has participated in international scientific conferences, workshops, and his articles have been published in prestigious scientific journals. He had taught at the University of Ioannina and the University of Thessaly, Greece. He is currently a teaching staff at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece.

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