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33 Εξαμηνιαία Επιστημονική Επιθεώρηση, Άνοιξη 2022, τόμος 17ος, τεύχος 1

**ARTICLES**  
 Άρθρα

**Chara Vavoura, Ioannis Vavouras**, Income inequality and poverty in Greece during the recent economic, fiscal and Covid-19 crises

**Nikos Trantas**, Green growth's false premises and alternative policy proposals

**Vagelis Koumarianos**, Implementing "Automatic Pilots" for Greek pension reform. Managing the pension crisis against social insurance values

**Anna Tsetoura**, The impact of digitalization on employment-productivity and the role of Social Protection: Socio-economic costs and legal options

**DIALOGUE**  
 Διάλογος

**Kalerante Evaggelia, Tsantali Calliope**, Considerations on national identity in the Greek education policy: historic and religious dimensions

**BOOK REVIEW**  
 Βιβλιοκριτική

Απόστολος Παπατόλιος, *Θεωρία και πράξη του επιτελικού κράτους: θεωρητικό θεμέλιο, νομοθετική κατοχύρωση, διοικητική πρακτική (Ν. Τράντας)*

**PRESENTATION**  
 Παρουσίαση

Odyssea: A social NGO supporting the employability of vulnerable young people

ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΔΙΟΝΙΣΟΣ

## Considerations on national identity in the Greek education policy: historic and religious dimensions

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# Considerations on national identity in the Greek education policy: historic and religious dimensions

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## Προβληματισμοί για την εθνική ταυτότητα στην ελληνική εκπαιδευτική πολιτική: Ιστορικές και θρησκευτικές διαστάσεις

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### ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with the instruction of History and Religious Education in the Greek education system. Concentration is placed on the complex national and religious narrative about the school dynamics related to the values and religious-national patterns transfer. The resistant traditional policy is portrayed and, in terms of semantics, it focuses on nation-centralization through political and spiritual symbols. They confine, explicitly or implicitly, the approach towards the intercultural concept which forms the prerequisite of the transformation that makes the concept of "national" meaningful through the promotion of completeness and unification principles as factors towards the formation of citizens capable of being incorporated in the expanded political and cultural environments.

**KEY WORDS:** National identity, Greek education policy, historic dimensions, Religious Education

### ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Στο άρθρο διερευνάται η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική για την Ιστορία και τα Θρησκευτικά στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα με επικέντρωση στη σύνθετη εθνική και θρησκευτική αφήγηση για το ρόλο και τη δυναμική του σχολείου στη μεταβίβαση αξιών και θρησκευτικών-εθνικών προτύπων. Παρουσιάζονται οι αντιστάσεις μιας παραδοσιακής πολιτικής, που σημειολογικά εστιάζεται στον εθνοκεντρισμό, μέσα από πολιτικά και πνευματικά σύμβολα, που ρητά ή υπόρρητα απομειώνουν προσεγγίσεις για μια διαπολιτισμική προσέγγιση, που προϋποθέτει μετασχηματισμό της νοηματοδότησης του «εθνικού» μέσω της προώθησης αρχών ολοκλήρωσης και ενοποίησης ως συντελεστών για τη διαμόρφωση πολιτών, που θα μπορούν να εντάσσονται σε διευρυμένα πολιτικά και πολιτισμικά περιβάλλοντα.

**ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ:** Εθνική ταυτότητα, Ελλάδα, Εκπαιδευτική πολιτική, Ιστορία, Θρησκευτικά

## 1. From the familiar national content to the unfamiliar globalized discourse: transition to the educational environment

In these days, the globalization<sup>1</sup> effects are revisited in the sense that the new perspective is actually the consideration on the structural relation of states, the position of power or dependence and even issues of independent state organization or autonomy in juxtaposition to policies of state integration into international organizations<sup>2</sup> resulting in a common policy and their limited or non-differentiated distinctiveness.

Within the context of revisiting the concept nation-state, the concepts of time and space related to the meaningfulness of nation-state are annulled due to the expanded globalized community. On the other hand, the definition of the citizen is particularly important at a political level, as it provides conceptual codes about it. In traditional terms, the concepts of historical continuity and geographic demarcation could define the concept of citizen which, according to the above, could be comprehensible while differentiating individuals and states.

Therefore, the question could be posed differently with regard to the question of modernization posed by political authorities and it could be like "How do we define the citizen within the nation-state and how can we define the concept of citizen beyond the nation-state?". After all, the globalized conditions bring back the question about those elements that define the citizen through ethnoscaples, technoscaples, ideoscaples and expanded "scapes") (Appandurai, 1997)<sup>3</sup> conducive to a fluid globalized condition (global ethnoscaples); a post-modern, incoherent paradigm which brings together different fields and forms a dynamics completely unfamiliar to the traditional nation-state. Throughout this transitional period, the formation of an education policy to renegotiate two general fields of: a) the globalized and b) the nation-state<sup>4</sup> is particularly important.

They are actually choices that direct and regulate the principles of an education policy which can define an educational system and a model of individuals' socialization and politicalization based on a selected and determined teaching content that addresses the specific cognitive units. In these texts there is a repetitive perspective, a process in which the teacher's oral discourse, the written text and the use of technology create an environment in which the national awareness is shaped. Content analysis of the general aims and objectives of education, as described in the Constitution and individual bulletins<sup>5</sup>, could showcase the distinctive features of the Greek education policy which, despite the differentiations derived from different governments and political choices, focuses on the concepts of moral and the Greek citizen.

The concept of moral refers to a religious conceptualization in which the moral is identical to the divine according to the Orthodox Christian tradition. Each state's religious tradition is crucial to identity shaping (Iglehart & Baker, 2000) contrary to different cultures and religious traditions (Huntington, 1996). As regards Greece, in particular, the religious tradition develops an environment in which patriotism is legalized and both religion<sup>6</sup> and country co-build a framework of reference for the Greek culture, while they promote its differentiation from the other countries. At the same time, discriminations are legalized, through the circumscription of a "community – we" contrary to a broader differentiated space including the "others", Turks and Albanians in particular. Therefore, the question is "which is the role of migrant students of the Greek multicultural society within such an educational model?" It is well-understood that the concepts of inclusion or exclusion<sup>7</sup> exist within certain limits.

## 2. Definition and functionality of religion to conceptualize the nation-state contrary to globalized circumscriptions

An interesting religion-related contradiction is that all religious doctrines legalize forms of inequality and anti-democratic behaviors despite their reference to principles of equality. Generally, in religious terms, focus is placed on the future and the after-death bliss, while individuals are marginalized as socially and politically inert entities and adopt a passive political attitude and the practice of asceticism (Haynes, 2006). In the Greek case, the “national narrative” includes the “religious” one, too. This can be seen in the highlighted role of ecclesiastical carriers in Modern Greek History. The version of a Greek nation, in the form a narrative in the Modern Greek History, coincides with a broader frame which also includes Language, Literature and religion. The association of religion with the revolution against the Turks in 1821 is a typical example. The historical narrative depicted the church leaders at the forefront of the revolution. Thus, the highly ranked clergy was incorporated in the narrative of the Greek Revolution fighting at the forefront against the Turks. During the celebration of the 200th Anniversary from the Greek Revolution, a differentiated historical paradigm is interestingly developed. It presents the real facts about the historic role of leaders by eliminating religious “myths”.

Therefore, the moral personality is believed to be shaped through the subject of Religious Education both in Primary and Secondary Education with a particular learning content. Interestingly enough, teaching a doctrine seems to correlate religion, as a values system, with politics, in the way a religious culture can shape spheres of influence and normative frames (Crawford, 2008; Stark & Bainbridge, 1985) that define tradition as an institution, form and content of education.

Based on a semiotic analysis<sup>8</sup>, the importance of Religious Education is evident in its ranking in the first place in the Curriculum and student term report, being referred to as “Orthodox Christian Education”. Emphasizing this subject to serve the general educational aim of building “useful moral” is associated with the broader connection between the Greek state and church<sup>9</sup>. Besides, the Ministry in charge of developing and implementing the education policy is also characteristically called Ministry of Religious Affairs<sup>10</sup>, a choice distinctive of the pivotal role of religious authority on developing the education policy<sup>11</sup>. According to the History of Education, it can be seen that there have been interventions of religious authority in the areas of language, student appearance, textbook content, structure and teacher selection. The practice of draft evaluation and corresponding intervention in shaping the educational legislation is very common.

The degree of intervention depends on the individual relation between each government and the church. However, the notion that a more conservative government has closer relations with the religious authority rather than a more leftist government should not be generalized. Such interpretations are more disorienting than showcasing the significance of people and situations in politics. Given that one part refers to the subject of Religious Education, it is interesting that the other part refers to the establishment of the educational space – environment. This is reinforced through symbols that typically associate religion, education, and the student, in the classroom micro-world. Such performative symbols can be religious pictures, a cross, paintings or texts with religious content. At the same time, other rituals are performed by the entire school population, namely the morning pray, the sanctification and religious holidays that characteristically identify the educational process with acknowledging religion and its legalization in the school community, students in particular. This is the social function of the ritual in which an

arbitrary fact can be legalized or established and be eventually defined as legal. The major goal of the ritual is to unify groups of people, while discriminating the others, a “secret group” which helps define the “dominant” group<sup>12</sup>.

### **3. History as a cognitive module in the education system. Conceptualization and content**

**A**rguably, one dimension is linked to the relation between school and religion, a specific doctrine, while the other one is associated with History. The Greek citizen is conceptualized as someone who is cognizant of the Greek History in which time and space define the state, a theoretically harmonious co-existence of individuals as a non-differentiated whole. This has contributed to the continuation of the concept of “country” in relation to broader classifications about other states or populations. This comparison emphasizes the distinctive features of the Greek citizen such as race and the timeline between past and present, both characteristic of superiority. The History taught both in Primary and Secondary Education mainly focuses on the special role of the Greek state throughout different historic periods. A general interpretation could highlight an undifferentiated mass that conceals class choices, the feminist dimension and the development of a globalized society and culture.

The symbolic reference, as foretold, is processed in the same way in the subject of History through the flag, portraits of Greek heroes, historic texts and participation in national celebrations. Hero portraits of the Greek Revolution of 1821 also include religious leaders. This enhanced the perception that during important liberating struggles the religious leadership was standing by the side or inspired the politicians. Thus, within the school environment the political military role of the leaders is identified with the word of the ecclesiastical leadership. Freedom, as a gift from God, is emphasized along with the performative work of the religious leaders. In the same vein, the subject of Literature is strongly associated with historic and religious principles, a fact proved with the particular selection of texts. In this respect, the education policy focuses on two pillars: the moral is identified with religion and the national with history.

The selection of the content of History focuses on historic people and events on a national and international level. Thus, the content to be shaped can be the outcome of choices about certain information or situations documented as historic memory. On the contrary, other information should be silenced, deleted, and forgotten. Based on this approach, History illustrates the dominant ideology of each time period. It is a combination of institutions and texts that work as “paradigms”<sup>13</sup>, such as inequality and broader interpretations on the definition of nation, thus, establishing authoritative roles tied to specific social classes (Liakos, 2005). Therefore, changing the content of History leads to different readings and interpretations of historic facts that highlight different ideological patterns. One could refer to the construction of meaning, according to which social relations, roles and identities are constructed (Mayer, 2004b).

## 4. Educational circumscriptions and functional definitions of the Greek education system

**B**ased on a limited number of changes, the education system remains unaltered<sup>14</sup> and stable in terms of general aims although the differentiated globalized systems or the socio-political conditions form different environments. Ever since 1990, Greece has been turned into a multicultural society<sup>15</sup> with large numbers of migrants whose permanent residence signifies their decision to be included in the Greek society, with rights that derived from the concept of the citizen beyond their identification with country and religion.

Theoretically speaking, the Greek education policy should undergo a transitional phase of educational reformation so as to include new categories of citizens, while adopting new educational models stemming from the relation, as a member-state, to the European Union and taking into consideration the open, economic, social, political and globalized environment. In other words, the national education system could confront the globalized needs, definitions or imperatives.

It seems that we are in front of a situation of studying differentiated educational proposals since the national-religious educational model is not efficient in the sense that it isolates and limits the concept and content of the citizen. The question is how an education policy can combine the globalized demands with the national definitions. To this end, the argumentation against people who tend to promote national and religious characteristics, either in political or religious terms, is very important. As foretold, any resistance is not merely defined in terms of a right or left policy. It is evident that the extreme right policy focuses on the historical and religious tradition, whereas some left policies utilize these two pillars to emphasize peoples' resistance against globalization as another form of capitalism.

It can be said that the Greek education system is attached to the values system, as this is expressed in a national and religious dimension. The new reforms seem to respect the personality of others – especially through other subjects like Citizenship Education<sup>16</sup> – and educational choices aligned with the European education policy with emphasis on the market; yet, without overriding the national and religious character of education.

## 5. The paradigm of the policy of intentions in Religious Education and History

**I**t is useful to explore recent efforts of educational reforms that include imposed principles and standpoints tied to more general European goals to organize societies with emphasized individual and social rights in which the individual is educated and any national or religious symbols are associated with a policy that reinforces inequalities, discriminations and marginalization of people.

On the basis of religious freedom<sup>17</sup> and respect to the rights of minorities, a bulletin has been issued about the exemption of students of different religions from the subject of Religious Education<sup>18</sup>. As regards the instruction of this subject, detailed bulletins have been issued<sup>19</sup> to give students the right to exemption. It is noteworthy that there have been considerations about the content of the subject as well.

This was the first time to put at the forefront issues of a flexible content so that this subject is not a form of indoctrination, but rather highlight the cultural and political elements of Orthodoxy as well as issues about environmental advocacy, creation and universal unity (Konidaris, 2008). This perspective concentrates on the continuation of this subject in the sense of teaching themes in line with the orthodox Christian doctrine. This is actually a skillful inner restructuring of the content towards mitigating demands to completely exclude this subject from the Curriculum.

At the same time, three issues have been presented. The first one is about giving the right to adolescents to choose cognitive subjects. The second one refers to a more general framework of state – church relations. The third one is related to the question of what will happen with human rights in case the History taught is considered nationalistic, as some modules are rather offensive against the rights of migrant communities.

The questions whether students have utilized the above rights or whether they are stigmatized if they do not choose this subject are not part of this study. Yet, it can be argued that there is a low percentage of students who do not attend Religious Education, roughly more than the previous number of students who did not attend it because of their Catholic or Jehovah background<sup>20</sup>. It is noteworthy that a large number of migrants of different religions did not choose to differentiate from the majority of the Greek orthodox students. Thus, the question is which structures the migrants belong to and what their possibilities are. Perhaps their differentiation in this field could generate further social rejection and marginalization.

The issue of choice is more complex since choosing a religious doctrine or not is tied to social and educational possibilities of the existing system. In countries with intense religious awareness the discourse has characteristically focused on a number of provisions<sup>21</sup> about the instruction of this subject without essential reference to school environment, that is symbols perceived rather as cultural tradition instead of a religious one. This way, the legislation could skillfully be annulled. It is noteworthy to refer to the unifying agent, the process of removing the ideological content of national and religious symbols and their turning into elements of tradition. One could expect that the education policy, at least for Religious Education, would be reshaped during the socialist government. However, it proved that the bonds between state and church are so powerful that they hinder the disengagement of education from ecclesiastical imperatives<sup>22</sup>. This way, they break the principles of the Constitution and the citizens' rights in the way they are stated in the globalized culture of rights<sup>23</sup>.

The same applies to History textbooks. This is not something new, as the educational history has undergone a number of reforms or re-adaptations aimed to highlight, throughout different time periods, a form of History intertwining the specific context<sup>24</sup>. According to the degree of significance, the national model affected the writing of History textbooks. Some time periods are particularly interesting because intellectuals, with a wide range of studies, suggest the History textbooks be written in the form of analyzing the global situations. This way the national and the global can be correlated to articulate broader ideological standpoints<sup>25</sup>.

The effort to write the History textbook of the 6th grade<sup>26</sup> of Primary Education is a typical case study. A model of reading History without elements that ignite the contrast between enemies – allies<sup>27</sup>, through the limited narrative of facts conducive to emotional responses. Although this effort did not result in a school textbook<sup>28</sup>, it paved the way to revisit the writing of History. The conservative government along with the reactions from the broader political space<sup>29</sup> and ecclesiastical authorities support our argumentation about the complexity of this issue, apparently interpreted through typical political identifications and circumscriptions.

The contemporary condition can be characterized by the desire to maintain the connection to the national past, while showcasing the concept of the Greek nation-state. At the same time, an attempt is made to write History textbooks based on the cosmopolitan memory. This could result in modules for a globalized culture in which progress stems from a changing process of reshaping individuals and societies (Todorov, 2003). Two different versions of writing History textbooks are suggested. The first one is characterized by the passion for national memory with emphasis on facts that defined the destiny of the Greek state through the dichotomy between enemies – allies. This paradigm does not merely include the textual version of History, in terms of reproducing past facts, but rather focuses on the future, while memory maintains political and social situations. In terms of content, on the one hand there is a promotion of the nation-state and, on the other hand, the conservative concealing of actions of the “others” – lower social strata, women and social movements. At the same time, the exploration of situations and the multi-dimensional approach<sup>30</sup> are absent.

In this context, the cross-curricular and inter-disciplinary are annulled since the historical content is particularly limited. Considering this version of History as “dogmatic”, the other version is about open modules across a global level of correlated cultures, ideologies, political systems and policies and puts forward a multi-level exploration in which the concept of nation-state is withdrawn before an expanded level of historic memory. The content to be chosen should be regarded as important and noteworthy among a plethora of information within a broader terrain of memory<sup>31</sup>. The second version engages individuals with historic facts. As a result, they form their own terms depending on the system of choices in documenting this historic memory.

## 6. The concept of cosmopolitanism as proposal to design the education policy

The time period under exploration is particularly interesting due to the economic crisis<sup>32</sup>, values crisis, lack of trust in political, social, economic and administrative institutions along with the issue of religion and national symbols<sup>33</sup>. They are all conducive to suppressing the removal of religious and national definitions with the excuse of human rights, flexible forms of education for the labor market, while showcasing the religious and national pillars as a value model to contribute to social cohesion<sup>34</sup>. Thus, there is a shift to a conflict between fetishizing religious and national symbols and fetishizing human rights.

A different reading of the recent legislation on obtaining the Greek citizenship implies the disconnection from traditions of the homeland with emphasis on the rules of the Greek state and the indirect demand to obey the rules of the Greek state. The issue of migrant rights is limited to the description of the migrants’ structural relations to the institutions<sup>35</sup>.

Considering that the Greek education system does not foresee the instruction of migrants’ mother tongue, it is well-understood that the concept of citizen includes a historical continuation defined by the instruction of History, a moral conceptualization which identifies the moral with religious values of the particular doctrine. All these are incorporated in the relevant linguistic frame<sup>36</sup> which shapes unifying categories and exclusions at the same time, based on each single culture accepted by the dominant national body. In this pre-defined scenario the migrant students watch the protagonists, the national whole.

The readiness of the Greek education system to correspond to the European principles at least for a unifying education without discriminations and with less inequality presupposes a shift of interest from material goods to securing the democratic function of systems so that individuals can safely and creatively express themselves. In this sense, the focal point is an educational model to reinforce the function of democratic institutions, promote co-operation and create an environment of accepting otherness (Iglehart, 2006; Iglehart & Welzel, 2003). Therefore, any educational reform is tied to the economic modernization and social prosperity. During this period in Greece, a less financially developed country is less tolerant to others. Shifting to an education system with rationalized structures of the content of History and rethinking about the mandatory nature or not of Religious Education with the corresponding symbols point to the exploration of systems beyond the education system.

The issue of democracy and human rights is, implicitly or explicitly, re-examined through the content of History. Based on this perspective, the issue of cosmopolitanism (Cheah & Robbins, 1996) should be discussed. If the education system is aligned with the cosmopolitan principles, certain concepts such as universal justice (Tan, 2004), equality, elimination of ideologies that generate conflicts (Hutchinson, 2005), hostility, establishment of lesser stated with cultural criteria (He, 2005) are studied so as to form different criteria to read History and decide on the content to be taught.

The selective utilization of cosmopolitan principles in a system, distinctive of a nationalistic education policy that should include broader cultural values<sup>37</sup>, is of special interest. It seems that a discussion about human rights is merely a technical process of enriching the educational content since the national divisive values that form the foundation of this content are not overlooked. This condition seems to have gained ground over the past decade in the Greek education system as a unique policy of combining the national with the global. It prioritizes the students' need to learn more about other people, as citizens of a global community, and be ready to share this community with citizens of other countries. At the same time, the policy of attaching to national traditions seems to refute the choice for an open education system. Accordingly, Nussbaum (1996) argues that the students in the USA, besides their attention to History and the current conditions of the state, should learn more about the problems of other states. In this respect, illiteracy, hunger, inequalities, ecology, global economy and politics<sup>38</sup> should be showcased because Americans, alike Greek students, seem to be entrapped in an infertile ethnocentrism.

Through our considerations about History and Religious Education, an attempt has been made to outline the educational conditions. A different education policy could focus on the transition from Religious Education to Religious Studies<sup>39</sup>, in the form of information about doctrines up to its removal from the Curriculum. Moreover, History with a national content and its traditional national-religious approach should not be placed in globalized conditions; yet, without refuting national identity. This means that the modules can be broadened so that national memory can be functionally correlated to the global history of cultures. This way, students, as global citizens, could contribute to a different paradigm of political and social co-existence. The debate about the structure and the content of the education system is relevant to more general political views on "school investment", a characteristic of education policies.

In particular, one could refer to the association between school and human capital which includes the knowledge, skills and necessary discipline to integrate into the labor market. Based on this perspective, the employment crisis<sup>40</sup>, new forms of labor and the general economic environment dictate the necessity to re-define education by taking into consideration the economic dimensions, meaning that participation in the labor market is identified with a social position.

Therefore, people's education is perceived as an economic prerequisite for development and investment both in the individual and the state. Thus, modules irrelevant from the economic environment and the corresponding multi-dimensional cultural setting can be regarded as unnecessary because they hinder the association between school and labor market as well as the integration into complex globalized cultural spaces that presuppose a re-defined moral beyond metaphysical terms and a re-defined policy beyond the strict frame of the nation-state. By using the term "morality", school investment itself becomes a point of comparison from more "moralities" with parallel individual, collective, economic and social dimensions. Reference can be made to: a) family moral and individual recognition, b) productive moral (innovation, market awareness) and c) democratic meritocratic moral that reinforces school competition (Askenazy & Cohen, 2009).

These facts put forward a more general consideration about the form of the education system, the possibilities formed or refuted towards the individual's development as personality and citizen. This can be related to the concepts of democracy, positive or negative attitudes to international inequality problems, quality of life, terrorism, discriminations, etc. (Inglehart & Welzel, 2003).

## Notes

1. Institutional or non-institutional processes on new forms of politics (Alasuutari, 2000; Appandurai, 1997), the economic (Fiss & Hirsch, 2005), social and cultural life of new societies are emphasized along the role of ICT on internet societies (Castells, 2000; Mills & Blossfeld, 2005). The role of individuals is also studied in relation to the international and local notions as well as issues of political autonomy (Held, 1991; McGrew, 1992).
2. With regard to their influence on the political decisions of nation-states (Verdier & Breen, 1999).
3. Appandurai's standpoints on e-capitalism in comparison to print capitalism (Liakos, 2005:110-111).
4. According to Hobsbawm (2004:24) modern nations perceive their historical continuity within a unified past.
5. (Indicatively), the Constitution, par. 2 refers to the development of national and religious awareness of the Greek children. This is supported by L. 1566/85 (PASOK government, Ap. Kaklamanis, Minister of Education).
6. (Indicatively) Haynes, 2006 about religion as an element of national identity.
7. "Liminality" is under exploration so as to determine the processes and model that define the nation and the inclusion or exclusion of individuals accordingly (Bhabha, 1990; Byrne, 2005).
8. (Indicatively) Chafe, (1970) & Crow, (2010) talk about the symbolic nature of the verbal part of the picture shapes specific expressions of interpretation.
9. (Indicatively) article 13 of the Constitution refers to religious freedom. However, the interpretation of the word "religion" points to the Eastern Orthodox Religion.
10. Even if the title of the Ministry of Education changes, its character remains the same.

11. International Conference on the «Holy Bible in the modern European culture”. November 2007. Deltio Vivlikon Meleton, 26, 36. Artos Zois Publications.
12. A general reference to rituals as means of establishment or legalization (Bourdieu, 1999).
13. (Indicatively) about the construction of History (Fero, 1999).
14. According to the Ministerial Decision F.3/967/103528 and the P.D. 201/98 a morning pray takes place every morning in the schoolyard. Students of other religions attend this practice with respect to their teachers and classmates. Moreover, it is mandatory for the teachers to participate in this practice. This is contrary to the principle of freedom of religion. The rising of the Greek flag is also mentioned in these texts.
15. (Indicatively) Zachou & Kalerante (2007) underline the multi-cultural educational system along with issues of attitudes of both native and foreign students.
16. (Indicatively) about the concept of citizen in post-modern societies (Canivez, 2000).
17. The Constitution of Greece, article 13, par. 1, the European Convention on Human Rights (article 9) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (article 18).
18. European Court of Human Rights: decision to remove religious symbols from classrooms (Kathimerini 9-10-2010).
19. Bulletin A.P. 61723/G2/13-06-02, A.P.91109/G2/10-07-08 and A.P.10407/G2/26-08-08.
20. These data derived from a study in Secondary Schools in Attica.
21. Decision of the 2nd department of the European Court for Human Rights, 3rd November 2009.
22. Bulletin 73735/G2/23-06-2010 of the Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs.
23. The total of rules based on globalized values and create a formal or informal right (Meyer et al., 1997).
24. Research on Lyceum students' viewpoints on the History textbook. Nea Pedia, June 2010.
25. Baille, Braudel & Philippe (1963). *The Modern World, History and Cultures*.
26. The three-member committee of the Pedagogical Institute approved the new History textbook for the 6th grade of the Primary School. Act 16/31/5/2005.
27. The Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in South-East Europe published an "Alternative Educational Material for the Instruction of Modern History of South-East Europe.
28. In 2007, the Ministry of Education suggested some interventions as the textbook had been considered incapable of reinforcing national memory and self-awareness. Archive of the Ministry of Education, Correspondence File, 2007.
29. The content of the textbook was associated with L. 2929/2001, article 1. The textbook was finally removed from schools.
30. Zin's (2007) *The History of the USA* refers to the defeated, natives' slaughter, social movements and the struggle of the Black.
31. There are some interesting studies about the relation between History and collective memory (Halbawchs, 1992; Olick, 2008: 47-58; Young, 1997: 24-29; Myszta, 2003 & Myszta, 2005).

32. About the economic crisis and its effects on Greece (Dove, 2011; Mitsopoulos & Pelagidis, 2012).
33. The definitions about national symbols are differentiated depending on the political and cultural coincidences.
34. About the formation of national identity (Uslaner, 2012).
35. About the institutional framework for migrants and the limitation of rights (Zachou & Kalerante, 2007; Zachou & Kalerante, 2010; Pavlou, 2004, *Collective Work*, 2007 & Christopoulos, 1997).
36. About the linguistic code and the production of national identity (Fishman, 1982 & Omoniyi, 2011).
37. About the concept of cosmopolitanism in education (Calhoun, 2007).
38. Nussbaum's argumentation includes: 1) Cosmopolitan education helps us learn more about ourselves. 2) Progress is based on international co-operation. 3) We are aware of our moral obligations to the world. 4) We are willing to elimination discriminations.
39. Religious Studies include: a) the History of Religions, b) Comparative Religious Studies, c) Phenomenology of Religion, d) Psychology of Religion, e) Sociology of Religion and f) Philosophy of Religion.
40. Eurostat (7/10/2013) survey about the European areas with decreased GDP. Four of these areas are in Greece.

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