Immigrant education and the makings of a never citizen: *The case of Greece*

by

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Abstract

This thesis delineates a qualitative research approach that investigates immigrant students' learning and social experiences in Greek state schools. The purpose of this research was to gain deeper insights into the life and learning experiences of immigrant students and to explore the ways in which school level policies meet, or do *not* meet the schooling needs of immigrant students and improve immigrant education. Moreover, the research seeks to establish if, in fact, such policies are implemented, supported, and enacted. Immigrant students undoubtedly experience marginalization, exclusion, isolation and invisibility in dominant culture-normed schooling environments, while a look at educational practices in public schools reveals that immigrant-receiving societies continue to reflect the values and knowledge of the dominant society or culture (Vedder, Horenczyk, & Liebkind, 2006). The study seeks to find whether or not immigrants, minorities, or marginalized people are given the opportunities required to live a better life in their host country and to receive, at minimum, an education that is equivalent to the education most native students receive. It has increasingly become a social necessity, if not a matter of urgent moral concern in Greek society, to address the educational needs of marginalized immigrant youth who seem to be continuously isolated from public policy, as well as educational policy discourse in Greece. As such, improving the educational experience of immigrant students should be a top policy priority for immigrant receiving countries, especially those experiencing particularly high levels of immigration-related populations. Prioritizing the education of immigrant students may likely yield potential benefits not only to the population of immigrant students who are the focal group under investigation in this study, but to all marginalized and

disenfranchised students and youth in Greek society. Improving immigrant students'
opportunities for self-invention and self-efficacy in schools goes far beyond
benefiting immigrant students, alone; rather, focusing on immigrant students as a
marginalized group might serve as a catalyst to inform and conscientize researchers,
educators, policy makers to all marginalized youth, who continue to struggle in one
of the most exclusionary systems of public education imaginable.

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Preface

This thesis is an original work by Vicki Macris. The research project of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board under the Project Name "EXPLORING THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF IMMIGRANT YOUTH IN GREEK PUBLIC SCHOOLS: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY," No. Pro00029605, and was approved on June 11, 2012. Certain parts of this thesis, but not entire chapters, have been published in journals and as part of a book chapter. Parts of Chapter 2 of this thesis have been published as Macris, V. Towards a Pedagogy of Philoxenia: Negotiating policy priorities for immigrant Students in Greek Public Schools. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* [JCEPS]), (12 pages) *Volume 10, Number 1.* Parts of Chapter 3 have been published as Macris, V. (2012). National identity and the education of immigrants: Greece and the rights of 'non-citizens.' In A. A. Abdi & P. Carr (Eds.), *Educating for democratic consciousness: Counter-hegemonic possibilities,* (Chapter XX). New York: Peter Lang Publishers. Lastly, some of the research conducted for this thesis found in Chapter 5 *Methodology and Design*, forms part of a collaborative project, led by Professor Julia Ellis at the University of Alberta, and was published as Ellis, J., Janjic-Watrich, V., Macris, V. & Marynowski, R. (2011). Using Exploratory Interviews to Re-frame Planned Research on Classroom Issues. *Journal of Educational Practices*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 10-18. All other components of this thesis including the technical apparatus, was designed by myself.

Dedication

This work speaks to all those who have been silenced; to those whose voices were never heard; to all those born in the "wrong place"; in an "inconvenient" skin; to those who have been displaced, misplaced, and ultimately, replaced.
To all of those who wonder why? But will never quite know exactly, *why*.

I dedicate this dissertation to my children Anthony, Elaina and Melina.

You are my three reasons *why*.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation marks the culmination of a long and rather *eventful* (to put it mildly) journey of unforeseen contingencies, as well as triumphs, that were encountered prior to, and throughout the implementation process of this work. In my experience, there never seemed to be a "right" moment to "sit down and write" a dissertation. There was always some sort of interruption; always a dilemma or related drama; an element of surprise that may, or may not have always be a *pleasant* one. Let's just say that these palpable contingencies left the door wide open for me to "check out" at any given time. Indeed, the road less traveled has been a rather bumpy one, to say the least, and this is why, understandably so, it is the road much *less* traveled.

Much has happened since I began this dissertation, and much has changed since I first recall wanting to amplify the voice of those who have been marginalized. Deep down, perhaps, it was also my voice that needed to be heard. But however critical my outlooks remain toward Greece and its people, I keep the fondest memories of my youth and aspects of my *Greekness* closest to my heart. And in this chaos, in retrospect, I can never imagine going through this journey, alone, without the support and love of a few very important people whom I owe the utmost gratitude, for simply being who they are and for giving me what was required to sustain myself and to complete this work.

First off, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the people who have inspired and supported me throughout my dissertation journey. My heartfelt thanks go out to my supervisors Dr. Ali A. Abdi and Dr. Lynette Schultz for their support, motivational guidance, and uniquely positive style of constructive criticism that made my work stronger. They believed in me from the very beginning, and all the way to the very end, *without* hesitation. Of course, I wholeheartedly thank The "Dream Team," who are, of course, my committee members Dr. David G. Smith, Dr. Yasmeen Abu-Laban, and Dr. Kent den Heyer, and external examiner Dr. Peter McLaren who all lent their invaluable insights, comments, and praises to my work. I value each and every scholar's work, as well as their contributions to my work.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the encouragement and support of my family. My parents, who discretely and respectfully kept their

distance (I think they were afraid to speak to me at times), only to allow me the space and time to do it *my* way. Thank you mom and dad for not being upset with me for ignoring you, for what turned out to be *more* than a "few" years! Thank you for the unconditional love. And, thank you for taking me to Greece when I was a young girl and thank you for opening up a world of experiences that made me a stronger person. You are responsible for my love of learning, my knowledge and for my bull-headed perseverance. I also must thank my sister, Natasha (a.k.a "Foufou"), and my niece Michaela for not forgetting me in "that room." Even though I was always in my office, hearing my little niece's voice saying "Hi *theia* Vicki!" brightened my day and often brought me out from my reclusive digs.

To my children, Anthony, Elaina, and Melina, who missed me during my absences, just know that I missed you, too, much more than you will ever know. Thank you kids for being patient with me. Anthony, thank you for your music. Your magnificent piano playing nurtures and soothes my soul each and every day. Elaina: thank you for your all-encompassing beauty, intellectual depth, and incredible sense of humor. You contribute tremendously to my confidence as a mother and I know I am a better person because of you. Melina, my sweet and youngest "Honey-Bee," thank you for the beautiful drawings; your works of creativity surround my office walls and they inspired me to work away. You are my greatest rewards. I love all three of you so much and cannot imagine feeling inspired to do what I did, without your daily presence.

Last, but certainly, not least, I extend a special thanks to an important friend, teacher, nurse, partner – a fire starter, and a fire fighter – a brilliant, inspiring and steadfast intellectual, a patient, noble, and astounding person, my *better* half, Dr. Jerrold Kachur, or "just Jerry." Thank you for being my audience (Michigan J. Frog), my crisis counsellor, my critic, my editor, my confidant, my... *everything.* And thank you for believing in me in the worst of times. For providing me with new thoughts, new angles, and ideas, lots of (too many) books, and for helping make this project personally rewarding and accurate. You have remained present during my absences; strong during my weaknesses; and positive during my negatives. Thank you for taking the big chance with me, against the odds.

A nation is a group of people united by a common error about their ancestry and a common dislike of their neighbours.

- Karl Deutsch, *Nationalism and Its Alternatives*, 1969

Prologue

As I approach the final stage of what I can only describe as an arduous, and oftentimes lonely, though nonetheless profoundly rewarding and certainly fascinating intellectual journey, I rest upon the promise to never lose sight of what it was that brought me here to this university as a doctoral student and, more specifically, to the Department of Educational Policy Studies in the first place. The Department of Educational Policy Studies, along with the guidance, insight, and ongoing support and encouragement of my supervisors, has opened up new avenues of enquiry and scholarship that have enabled me to streamline my research efforts and attain my research goals, by providing a platform for interaction with scholars, educational practitioners, and policy-makers that has transformed my personal, as well as my scholarly orientation in profound and astounding ways. As such, I feel confident that my doctoral work will not only bring new insights into the policy-praxis nexus, but moreover, provide new perspectives in serving the educational needs of immigrant students.

Undertaking a doctoral degree has not been a process I have taken lightly, nor has this thesis been carried out in haste. What has, perhaps, strengthened my resolve to pursue a doctoral degree is persistence and commitment, or "fidelity," to what I can best describe as the *truth of an event*[1] that took place in the formative period of my early adolescent years that radically marked and changed the ways in which I understand the world around me, today. It has taken me a long time to prepare for this ultimate "test" of endurance and perseverance, whilst remaining committed to social justice and social responsibility that has enriched and transformed my role as a teacher, educator, pedagogue into a meaningful and heartfelt "labour of love." In front of me unfolds a realm of possibilities that has allowed me to dare to imagine

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[1] I invoke Alain Badiou's *truth of an event*, which is manifest through one subjected to the event (Badiou, 2007). A truth, according to Badiou, always works its way through particular subjects, through their fidelity to one singular event.

that my humble contribution to knowledge might ignite a spark that may serve as a catalyst for long-awaited, necessary changes to take place in the lives of those who experience marginalization, by incorporating *their* perspectives into educational policy and practice aimed not only at improving the quality of education, but most importantly, at creating a *culture of change* that promotes diversity, inclusion, and equality of opportunity. In undertaking research that involves immigrant students and youth, I reaffirm the "fidelity" or commitment I speak of, and seek to ensure that their voices are not only heard, per se, but accurately reflected and subsequently represented in emerging policy.

Because we don't have all the answers to the questions we pose and most likely never will, and because truth requires a situation of knowledge to *be*, just as knowledge requires truth to *become*, it is important that as researchers, educators, "truth-seekers,[2]" or just ordinary, everyday people, we become subject to truth processes by maintaining fidelity to them, so as to *become* subjects to our learning and thus to our living and *being* (den Heyer, 2009). My own experiences allow me to bring a lens of compassion, empathy, and understanding to this very important research undertaking; they have inspired me to search within the recesses of my being in ways that speak to my deepest understandings and truths about social justice, equity and equality, human rights and learning opportunities for all, while holding the dignity, rights and welfare of the other with care. Furthermore, remaining true or committed to this project necessitates adopting meaningful, possibly even, revolutionary research visions that intervene, or break away from the conventional ways we often approach issues of social justice, democracy, citizenship, equity, and moreover, in the ways we "define and operationalize de-economizable and socio-culturally relevant learning possibilities for all" (Abdi & Richardson, 2008, p. 9); research and philosophical visions that open the space for marginalized voices to emerge and to be heard on a par with those of the researcher.

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[2] I am referring, here, to Gadamer's, hermeneutic truth; a truth that emerges through the co-construction of knowledge, that comes from the mutual agreement between partners who are engaged in dialogue in search of a common understanding. The "truth" I speak of therefore, is far more existential, and in this respect an ethical aspect of being-in-the-world (see Wiercinski, 2009 on Gadamer).

Chapter 1

The Encounter

1.1 The Problem

Everyone has a story to tell. Perhaps a recounting of an episode that subsequently ruptures the "normal" order of things; that introduces a radical break into the order of *being*, summoning the start of a process that changes both the world and the people involved in it (Žižek, 2007); that creates and synthesizes new truths, inaugurating possibilities from the seemingly impossible (Sheehan, 2010). These pivotal moments, or profound *events* in our lives become the conscious, latent, and unknown markers that help us find our way throughout our existence, guiding the ways to how we learn, how we teach, how we survive and, ultimately, what or who we *become* as a result. Some of us seek out "fidelity" or commitment to such events in attempting to articulate and elucidate the implications of our journeys towards *being* and, of course, *becoming* that informs our research and scholarly aspirations.

In 1985, when I was twelve years old, my whole world changed. Leaving Canada, my spacious comfortable surroundings, and moving to a place that was familiar to me only as a summer place of fun and sun, turned out to be (literally) a very "rude awakening." I awoke the next morning on March 2, in a cold, moldy, petroleum scented crowded room, with ten, or so, elderly ladies dressed in black, some wearing black headscarves – with a very bad case of halitosis (great grandmothers, great aunts, neighbours, and basically, *strangers* to me) – hovering over the cast iron framed, and most uncomfortable bed I had ever slept in, wanting merely to extend their welcoming spirit by kissing me, twice, on each cheek.

My interest in this research evolved from my own experience as a child of repatriates who had no choice but to become immersed in the Greek state school system. Leaving the comfort and familiarity of my school in Edmonton and ending up in a small school in a rural town in Greece was most certainly *not* a choice I would have made for myself at the age of twelve, nor could I have ever begun to imagine how my life would forever change, in fundamental ways. As a child of repatriated, by *parental* choice, immigrants who returned to their motherland, Greece, I had *no* choice but to follow them to a country that was, mostly, *foreign* to me.

I was not only reluctant to embrace this change, but momentarily paralyzed and overwhelmed by culture shock and the abrupt loss of most things familiar to me. I felt a tremendous sense of displacement, at first; trapped in a state of cultural anomie,[3] as if the cruel hand of fate had suddenly severed the umbilical connection between me and all I held to be true and inviolable. And moving toward the much more dramatic and unstable stage of puberty certainly did not help matters much. The small state school I attended, in the small seasonal tourist town was virtually unforgiving, unwelcoming, and at times, almost hostile, to the "stranger" who had entered their homogenous, tight knit community. Consequently, I was shunned and jeered and made to feel excluded from the school's cultural milieu. I therefore understand "otherness" in the sense of apartness, distinctiveness, strangeness experienced as largely insurmountable (Shannon, 2005). Although my path to assimilation was easier, thereafter, because I am of Greek origin, my return to "Self" was, nonetheless, significantly altered by this tumultuous, yet, highly enlightening "odyssey" of self-understanding and self-actualization through which I became acutely aware of the pivotal modality of my "otherness.[4]"

It is with this background and attached early formations of my own subjectivity that I undertook this study to explore and understand the subjective readings of immigrant students' learning experiences in Greek public (state-run[5]) schools and society, as I explore further the implications for educational policy-making that takes into account the needs of immigrant youth. My personal experience as a child of repatriated immigrants entering a highly homogeneous,

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[3] By cultural anomie I am referring to break down of norms and loss of cultural integration I encountered due to the rapid change in culture, which in turn, temporarily distorted my purposes in life.

[4] I am alluding to a paragraph in Julia Kristeva's Chapter 1: Toccata and Fugue for the Foreigner (excerpts) in "Strangers to Ourselves" (whereby the foreigner becomes the figure of otherness).

[5] I will using the terms "public" and "state" schools interchangeably throughout the document. In Greece, all levels of schooling (primary, secondary, post-secondary) are overseen by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. That is, the ministry prescribes and controls curriculum, staffing and funding control. These schools are "public" in that they are open to every student living in Greece, and do not charge tuition fees, while textbooks are provided free to all students, although, from 2011 onwards, there has been noticed a shortage in new textbooks, forcing students to either buy stock books from bookshops, or participate in parent-teacher association-run book trades (this information was corroborated by participant [IS1], "Dardan").

mono-religious, and exclusionary to "foreigners," "xenoi," and "others" school environment with few, if any, non-Greek students (i.e., students of Greek ancestry) in the mid-1980s, and the lack of support from the school system and community – which continues today to reflect the lives of the more radically otherized in modern day Greece – has prompted me to further investigate and focus on the particular experiences of immigrant students and the implications for immigration, citizenship policies, and school-level policies. As this "old" issue re-emeges within the "new" global order, where flows and hybridity prevail, immigration poses tremendous challenges that call for immediate policy action to ameliorate the crisis impacting immigrant subjectivities in an effort to recognize and legitimize their heterogeneities. I, therefore, argue that immigrants or "immigrant students" are not and cannot be construed as singular, fixed entities and will not be placed in unidimensional, prefigured and uniform categories. Throughout the study, I will interrogate assumptions about the constitution of subjectivities, namely, how immigrant students' subjecthoods actually emerge in specific contexts in intersectional, fluid, and heterogeneous ways (see Bao, 2008).

What I bring to this research project is a perspective that is, thus, informed by my own experience, concerns, and values as it attempts to convey the schooling experiences, feelings, emotions, social, and psychological well-being of immigrant youth who arrive to Greece from non-European Member States. Furthermore, my professional experience and interaction with immigrant students as a public school teacher in Canada has been instrumental in lending valuable insights to this project from a Canadian educator's perspective. English Canada's tradition as an immigrant society and its decades of experiences with one of the most advanced migration regimes in the world offers important lessons in trying to understand public school policy development in EU states and particularly in Greece (see Kymlicka, 2009; Corak, 2004; Abdurrahman et al., 2008).

Immigrant students' schooling experiences are largely ignored despite their ever-growing presence in Greek state schools, while Greek educational and school level policies – that are inextricably tied to the (political) interests of the state and its interconnected para-statal structures – tend to overlook immigrant and other marginalized groups, by and large, rendering them socially invisible and stigmatized

(Danopoulos & Danoloulos, 2004). Most immigrant groups in Greece are typically excluded, by law, denied, or face ever increasing difficulties – in part, attributed to Greece's inefficient government bureaucracy – in securing citizenship and naturalization status, mainly because citizenship in Greece is based on ethnic background, on the principle of jus sanguinis "by blood" and not jus soli, "law of the land," i.e., land of the place of birth (Muir, 2010). Immigrant students are often left to struggle, not only to assert their dignity and otherness, to restore, and possibly even reclaim, their own sense of agency in schools and classrooms, but moreover, they are vulnerable to the uncertainties, conflicts, and tensions engendered by mainstream or dominant culture within their often isolated communities.

Surely, there is an urgent need for public policies, educational policies, school-level policies and programs that promote awareness and greater sensitivity towards the struggles experienced by immigrant youth in schools and that echo the plurality of voices that make up the complex fabric of civil society (Blades & Richardson, 2006). But before governments and schools can meet the needs of their immigrant student populations, they must first understand the etiology of the students' frustrations, insecurities, and marginalization engendered by inequitable access to quality education. More research involving immigrant youth-focused narratives and perspectives, as my own research has sought to explore, has allowed me to gain valuable insights into the etiology and forms of social exclusion and marginalization of immigrant students in Greek public schools. So far, it appears that an ethno-culturally diverse and equal society is most certainly *not* a desired state of affairs for everyone, especially for many European countries at this time. Surveys in a variety of countries have indicated a growing intolerance among nationals towards immigrants' presence and a loss of patience with immigrants' integration (see Vedder, Horenczyk, & Liebkind, 2006). This growing politics of impatience and intolerance is increasingly reflective in government measures that rest within policy frameworks of assimilation and integration. At the same time, immigrant youth experience particularly high levels of discrimination in schools in Germany, England, Norway, Sweden, Netherlands, and France (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). What is most disturbing, however, is the profound resurgence of ultra-right or fascist ideologies and nationalist doctrines that are sweeping Europe in the form of populist

and/or fascist parties. In the Greek context the main protagonist of fascism is the Golden Dawn, whose extreme anti-immigrant nativist and hate-filled rhetoric and anti-immigrant activities are pervading many aspects of Greek society at a ferociously accelerating rate. It is, therefore, a matter of urgent and moral concern that states provide, or at the very least, actively consider more inclusive frameworks and social protection mechanisms for their immigrant and national minority populations; frameworks that transcend national and cultural boundaries.

Surely, such "heavy" proposition carries with it heavy implications and the heavy burden of responsibility, particularly when the research involves working with marginalized, oppressed, or disenfranchised populations and youth, in particular, who are especially vulnerable in being faced with tremendous individual, family, and societal barriers in addition to coming to terms with their own, oftentimes fragmented, identity and being accepted and appreciated by others in the dominant culture. At the same time, it is important to recognize that research itself cannot possibly remain politically or socially neutral. Specifically, as researchers, our personal beliefs and political orientations, as well as our understandings of social, cultural, and political sub-texts are often the forces that guide the development of our arguments. Who we are socially, politically, and culturally as researchers, therefore, will influence not only *what* we choose to research, but also, how we draw conclusions from the research (Mehra, 2002). Hence, I begin by highlighting some of the legal processes and social constructions of ethnic and racial diversity, as well as the political discourses of immigration in Europe, so as to provide a contextual understanding of the fundamentally heterogeneous nature[6] of immigration and the contingencies and processes of social and economic change in Greece.

Creating inclusive frameworks is by no means a simple task, particularly for many EU countries or governments to undertake, since fairly recent and ongoing expressions of racism and xenophobic statements made by leading EU leaders and politicians to the politicization of migrants, the tightening of community and political borders, and the development of a new politics of exclusion and new geographies of

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[6] The large wave of immigration is transforming many, often referred to as "homogeneous" countries (like Greece), into ethnically, racially, and culturally heterogeneous countries (in terms of ethnic, racial, and cultural composition), which is ultimately the result of immigration.

closure, reveal sentiments that more so seek to "manage" or "control" exogenous minorities in, and exclude "foreigners" from Fortress Europe (Mac Laughlin, 1998, p. 1013), rather than attempting to ameliorate the conditions for immigrant subjectivities in the host states. Immigration reform and policy implementation are, consequently, met with formidable resistance – to say the least – which makes it all the more difficult to tackle immigration issues altogether. Aside from the multifaceted political, social, and economic dynamics of immigration, attempting to create policies that seek to maximize competing principles such as equity, openness, economic growth, family integration, social justice and border control are extremely difficult to devise due to divergent and, oftentimes, conflicting interests amongst stakeholders (West, 2010). To make matters worse, in the midst of Greece's financial crisis and the painful austerity measures, illegal[7] or undocumented immigration is being blamed for exacerbating the financial crisis that has seemingly threatened to "infect" other eurozone nations. As such, and under such dire economic conditions it almost seems unthinkable that governments, especially the Greek government, will prioritize investments in education, let alone invest in immigrant education, especially following anticipated budget and public sector spending cuts stipulated and imposed on the Greek government by the European Commission (EC), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the European Central Bank (ECB).

What is most discouraging perhaps to Greek citizens, however, is that even in the best of times, the Greek government has fallen short in addressing long-term economic productivity through investments in the education system that remains anachronistic, at best. Few educational policy initiatives are currently undertaken for the development of programmes without "outside" (mainly EU) funding. The designing, formation and implementation of educational programmes mostly emanate from "above" and are controlled by exogenous parameters; namely, the European Union (Spinthourakis, Karatzia-Stavlioti, Lempesi, & Papadimitriou, 2008b). So, even though Greeks are known for having "strong voices," their policies are weak, on many levels (Zoniou-Sideri, Deropoulou-Derou, Karagianni, &

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[7] Undocumented and illegal immigrants are in most of the literature referred to as "illegals." Liberal politicians and the media, for instance, refer to illegal aliens (mainly in the US), as "undocumented immigrants." I will be using the terms interchangeably depending on the context in which the term is used.

Spandagou, 2006). Policy planning, implementation, and development are Greece's "Achilles heel," which is primarily a result of weak planning and lack of regulatory frameworks in place.

With regards to immigrant students and educational policies, the Greek Ministry of Education has recently (1997- present) adopted new policy initiatives that are aimed at improving the services provided to children of newly arrived families in Greece, characterized by a reconsideration of the role of education as an important instrument for educational and social inclusion of all emigrant and repatriated children (Vidali & Adams, 2006). While these policies ostensibly reveal "a more systematic effort of the state to promote the positive value of cultural diversity through education" (Vidali & Adams 2006, para. 12), it appears, as is evident in the findings of this research, that these initiatives have not met, nor are they meeting the long-term basic needs of immigrant students who continue to struggle in schools both academically (which is reflected in the high drop-out rates [Matsaganis, 2010]) and socially, in school contexts that reflect dominant, mainstream, traditional Greek society. Such deficiencies are, more or less, revealed in my interviews with immigrant students, teachers, and school administrators, who are apparently the last to know, if at all, about any such policies and/or initiatives that have been, or are to be implemented at the school level. Consequently, immigrant students continue to lack equal or fair learning opportunities when compared to the indigenous pupils (Paleologou, 2004). My study is, therefore, intended to influence policy and practice aimed towards improving the education and learning experiences of immigrant students.

1.2 Significance of the Study

This thesis delineates a qualitative research approach that investigated immigrant students' learning and social experiences in Greek state schools. The purpose of this research was to gain deeper insight into the life and learning experiences of immigrant students and to explore the ways in which school level policies meet, or do *not* meet the schooling needs of immigrant students and improve immigrant education – if, in fact, such policies are implemented, supported, and enacted. Giving immigrant students the opportunity to share their experiences is a

starting place that will create a space for their own interpretations of how their lives are lived in their school environments and communities to emerge. Immigrant students undoubtedly experience marginalization, exclusion, isolation and invisibility in dominant culture-normed schooling environments, while a look at educational practices reveals that immigrant-receiving societies continue to reflect the values and knowledge of the dominant society (Vedder, Horenczyk, & Liebkind, 2006). It has increasingly become a social necessity, if not a matter of urgent moral concern in Greek society, to address the educational needs of marginalized immigrant youth who seem to be continuously isolated from public, as well as educational policy discourse in Greece. As such, improving the educational experience of immigrant students should be a top policy priority for immigrant receiving countries, especially those experiencing particularly high levels of immigration-related populations. Prioritizing the education of immigrant students may likely yield potential benefits not only to the population of immigrant students who are the focal group under investigation in this study, but to all marginalized and disenfranchised students and youth in Greek society; a society that seems *not* to be benefiting from the diversity of peoples and their diverse ways of thinking and being, at this time. Thus, improving immigrant students' opportunities for self-invention and self-efficacy in schools goes far beyond benefiting immigrant students, alone; rather, focusing on immigrant students as a marginalized group might serve as a catalyst to inform and *conscientize* researchers, educators, policy makers to all marginalized youth, who continue to struggle in one of the most exclusionary systems of public education imaginable.

Educational policy and reform initiatives in Greece have *not* been meeting both the short and long-term needs of immigrant students who continue to struggle in schools as reflected in the high drop-out rates which may, in part, be related to cultural marginalization in the dominant mainstream Greek school system (see Matsaganis & Gavriliadi, 2005; Paleologou, 2004; OECD, 2010). It appears that malintegration of immigrant students in public schools is a deep-seated problem, primarily because immigrant students have more restricted access to quality education, leave school earlier, and have lower academic achievement than their native peers (OECD, 2010). Explanations for these failures are often attributed to prejudice, xenophobia, xenoracism, or bias because of race, ethnic, or cultural

discrimination as well as immigrant status (whether these immigrants are considered to be "citizens" or "non-citizens," "refugees" or "unauthorized immigrants"). Consequently, immigrant students continue to lack viable learning opportunities when compared to Greek pupils (Paleologou, 2004).

Over the past two decades, there has been a highly visible increase in the number of immigrant children recorded in Greek public schools, which is a result of Greece's "toleration of the undocumented status of their parents (as required by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child)" (Baldwin-Edwards Report, 2005, p. 18). While Greece has more recently started to move into a new phase of immigration – where family settlement is becoming more permanent, rather than transient – the unprecedented number of immigrant students entering state schools found the Greek education system unprepared to deal with their educational needs, thus creating major challenges for teachers, administrators, policymakers and, of course, politicians. While it seems that Greek policymakers and researchers have been trying – since the influx – to implement teaching frameworks that were initially intended to address the multifaceted and complex needs of the new, and ever-growing "multicultural education" reality (Emke-Poulopoulou, 2007; Korilaki, 2005), the outcomes of such initiatives are questionable. In its Ministry documents, the Ministry for National Education and Religious Matters (also formerly referred to as Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs[8]) laid the foundations of a system that was designed to meet the educational needs of social groups with a particular social, cultural or religious identity by adopting "cross-cultural" education and "guarantee equality of opportunity to every student in the country, while the cutting-edge approaches to teaching and learning utilized in these schools have a positive knock-on effect on the Greek educational system as a whole" (see http://www.minedu.gov.gr/; Mitakidou, Tressou, & Daniilidou, 2009, p. 62). Furthermore, the Ministry states that educators in these schools "receive special training, and are selected on the basis of their knowledge on the subject of cross-

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[8] Referred to as the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports (Greek: *Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων, Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού*) and also, formerly, referred to as the Ministry for Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs (*Υπουργείο Παιδείας, Διά Βίου Μάθησης και Θρησκευμάτων*), is one of the oldest ministries (1833). In this thesis, I will be using the titles interchangeably, or will simply be referring to it as "the Ministry."

cultural education and teaching Greek as a second or foreign language"
(http://www.minedu.gov.gr/, para. 4). Contrary, however, to the Ministry's official
announcement(s), there is sufficient research and empirical evidence to support that
cross-cultural schools have *not* adopted or created "special curricula," nor have they
enriched the standard curriculum, nor have they added alternative lessons to cater to
the specific educational, social, cultural or instructional needs of the students that the
law (Law 2413/96) provides (Mitakidou, Tressou, & Daniilidou, 2009). In addition,
educators I spoke to in this study confirmed that they had received no "special
training," nor were they, or other colleagues they knew of, placed in classrooms with
immigrant students because of their "knowledge of the subject of cross-cultural
education." In everyday praxis, state schools basically administer "an education of
charity, according to which the needs of their students are dealt with smaller or
bigger reductions of the educational good" (Mitakidou, Tressou, & Daniilidou, 2009,
p. 65). Since cross-cultural schools have, as I see it, essentially, "failed" to cater to
meet the specific educational, social, cultural or instructional needs of immigrant
students, it is important to question how "regular" or mainstream state schools meet
their needs, if at all.

To date, the actors involved and the levels at which policies are made in
Greece has been a topic that has been largely ignored by the academic community,
while research on the process of policy-making and policy analysis is largely
underdeveloped. In sum, the increase of immigrant students in Greek schools,
coupled by the lack of focus on immigrant students' education needs, underscores
the importance of exploring immigrant students' learning experiences because there
is a lack of current nationally representative research and data in this area. My
research aimed to contribute to current formations and practices of citizenship
education and lend particular insights into the symptoms and causes of exclusion and
the denial of substantive educational and citizenship rights to immigrant students, by
creating a space for their voices to be heard and their contribution to society
recognized and affirmed. The research encounter was a site where some of these
unheard voices emerged, and furthermore, became amplified through the dynamic
interplay between myself (the researcher) and the participants. The students'
narratives through this inquiry have provided me with access to their subjectivity,

through my own interpretation from their narrations and interpretations of their lived experiences. Mauthner and Doucet (2003) assert that subjects are "reflexively constituted between the researcher and the researched, and that while they are therefore always incompletely unknown, it is possible to grasp something of their articulated experience and subjectivity through a research encounter" (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003, p. 423). My research has, thus, created an avenue through which the students' voices can be heard, without the need for justification and within a safe and comfortable setting. In addition, my research embodies an inter-subjective relationship between myself as researcher and the participants that have enabled, through the hermeneutic process, an understanding of the Other as well as a deeper understanding of myself as researcher.

While there has been extensive research on the integration of migrants into schools and labour markets in the EU (Farrell, 2007; Favell, 2003; Joppke, 2007; Martiniello, 2008), little work has been done, internationally, to examine immigrant students' lived experiences and *their* interpretations of these experiences vis-à-vis their educational outcomes and to explore current policies and/or educational policy interventions that may improve their education and success in their learning environments. Immigrant youth experience tremendous pressures on many levels, yet schools have the capacity to lessen conflicts by learning through policy implementation and action to accommodate, and not merely "tolerate" immigrant students to a greater extent. Most often, schools assume the existence of a dominant culture that all students are expected to assimilate into. Schools are, after all, places where nation formation occurs, and Greece's nation formation has been, particularly in 20th century Greece, characterized by distinctive phases of definitions and objectives, combining elements of modernization and reactionism (Kandylis, 2006). Despite a rather wide spectrum of transformations, the implications of nationalism regarding how incoming people have been treated in different historical periods could be summarized in the assimilation as exclusion dualism, with its ethnic and (thus) political criteria (Kandylis, 2006). This "new" transnational immigration to Greece is far from enriching nationalism with transnationalism; rather, it has created a dilemma for the Greek state in how to address the deep divides related to race, religion, and language AND to retain Greek identity. Greek nationalism is still related

to exclusionary identities and practices (Ventoura, 2004, Maloutas, 2007), while transnational realities do not yet meet transnational representations (Kandylis, 2006). New immigrants should not be incorporated in a way that ignores ethnic identity; nevertheless, many immigrants forsake their ethnic identity in the pursuit of an elusive "Greekness." "Otherness" is, more or less, *tolerated* and even though the Greek city has proved to have enough space "left" for new immigrants, this space, writes George Kandylis (2006), tends to be what its name implies: as "left for others" – or merely "leftovers." It is, ultimately, a hierarchical space with a differential structure of rights and opportunities. Although the contemporary situation of nationalism in Greece somewhat allows for the integration of others and recognizes to some extent, their "otherness," it does not allow them a sense of comfort with regard to their rights to the city; to their rights of citizenship. The imagined, almost temporary character of migration at the individual level, as a result, is restricted to mere *presence* rather than active *participation* (Kandylis, 2006).

Current literature on the educational progress of immigrant students in Greece suggests that while the Greek Ministry of Education has granted "open access" for immigrant students into public schools (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2007), very few educational policies that specifically address immigrant students' learning and social needs are in place for these students when they enter the Greek public school system. That is, while the institutional frameworks that regulate educational policies (Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs) are quite flexible and seemingly broad (perhaps conveniently so), in practice, many of the expected provisions, such as identifying those factors that contribute to immigrant pupils' school and learning psycho-social adjustment difficulties have not been applied, not even minimally so (Paleologou, 2004). The "immigration situation" in Greece, notes Triandafyllidou (2009) is, by and large, "disappointing and discouraging" (p. 156). After more than twenty years of massive immigration, the country continues to lack long-term migration policy perspective, while policy measures continue to be short term, highly fragmented, and confusing, which is ultimately reflected in the public school system that continually excludes and marginalizes immigrant students (Triantafillydou, 2009; Lazarides, 1996).

In this study, I advance a research framework that sheds light on the deep ideological and political divides that continue to dominate current immigration discourses and practice. Moreover, it proposes specific recommendations that will inform other researchers, policy makers, school officials, teachers, and students of the social injustices immigrant students often face in schools and society, and steer a movement toward educational policies that can adequately respond to the needs of immigrant students, with the possibility of reducing long-standing social inequalities that clearly exist and that are perpetually reproduced in the current structures of the Greek public school system, subsequently reflecting disparities in employment opportunities, eventually, seeping into the social fabric of Greek society and widening the gap between the "haves" and "have-nots" (see Mitrakos, 2003; Matsaganis, 2010).

Specifically, the research answers the following research questions:

1. How do immigrant students make sense of their learning situations in Greek public schools?
2. How do school level policies meet, or not meet, the needs of immigrant students?
3. What policy and program choices are needed for equitable and inclusive education and for immigrant students' social well-being?

To achieve these objectives and to explore further immigrant students' successes or struggles in the Greek public school system, I focused on the student experience by interviewing former immigrant students and policy actors via an open-ended case study that includes, three immigrant students, one native Greek student, two immigrant parents, two teachers, two administrators, and two policy actors (12 in total – see Table 1). In addition, my study aimed to underscore, address, and analyze key challenges and policy barriers that are shaped or hindered by socio-political, cultural, and economic factors that subsequently impede immigrant students' transition and future academic and social success in their new school

environments (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; RIEAS, 2011; Bratsberg, et al., 2010; Baldwin-Edwards, 2005).

1.3 Locating the Researcher

Locating myself as a researcher into the research act has allowed me to become reflexive of the process, assumptions, location, history, and context of knowing and the knower (Kato, 2010) which has, in turn, helped substantiate my own interpretation of the research findings. My encounter with and subsequent realization of my own "otherness" is inseparably woven into the very fabric of my being. The "otherness" I speak of is not a visibly racialized otherness, but rather a cultural, ethnic and gendered "otherness" – since the small town I lived in and grew up in was, in effect, still a predominantly patriarchal society in the mid-80s. Of course, the degree of severity of one's experience with otherness is informed by how far one deviates from the "standard" or "the norm." As I experienced, early on, what I understand as "shades of otherness," vary tremendously within the very concept of "ethnicity." And while ethnicity constitutes a very important way of grouping people who are bound by strong feeling of togetherness, people with common ancestry who share a distinctive culture, it can also become an exclusionary device for people who deviate from the group, even slightly so. Without this juxtaposition of "us" and "them," ethnicity as a concept cannot exist and the categories stretch from people that are "almost like us" to those, who are "very different from us." I discuss the concept of ethnicity in greater depth in the following chapters, as well as its dramatic impact on public and educational policy. Although there were some things familiar to me when my family repatriated to Greece, like my familiarity with the Greek language, certain cultural traditions, and religious rituals for instance, that were a result of my upbringing in Canada and my parents' attempt to preserve, at all cost, our "Greek heritage," it took a very long time to gain acceptance as a "Greek" in the school and in the small rural community in Greece I reluctantly called "my home." This encounter with "otherness," which has constituted an exceptional event,[9]

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[9] I am referring to Alain Badiou's account of the "Event," an occurrence rare and exceptional in nature; something that shifts our perspective on the world, opening up a whole new horizon which drives us into the a process of re-thinking, acting, and relating to the world in terms of this Event (Badiou, 2007).

followed by truth processes, in my life, has impelled me to become tangibly involved in the plight of immigrant people, and mainly students, citizenship education, the concepts of "otherness," "the stranger," ξένος (xenos) and the limits, conflicts, and tensions inherent in the current notions of global hospitality, φιλοξενία (philoxenia), in an attempt to try and comprehend the policy implications and the neoliberal thrust toward a "borderless world." If my world was disrupted and this event in my life changed me – my personhood – in fundamental ways, I can only imagine how immigration disproportionately affects youth whose "otherness" is more apparent than my own. This event in my life has punctured a hole in my existing knowledge; it "disturbed" in unsettling and profound ways how I would begin to see and understand my *self* and the world around me. It inaugurated something new, a shift in my sense of being, which has set off chain reactions – truth procedures – that have reorganized and restructured all things previously known, culminating in the production of new emerging truth(s) (Badiou, 2007). It is my continued commitment to this event and the truths it has engendered, that have allowed me to arrive to the coming-to-be of an event of a life-time.

In the spirit of being a reflexive and critical scholar, whereby reflexivity necessarily guides and informs my doctoral work – that keeps me firmly grounded within the context of my study; that "locates" me within my research – I seek to critically unveil the ideological distortions that obscure interpretation and dig deeply into understanding the meaning of my participants' experiences. I feel compelled to search, as I tentatively solidify my philosophical location and substantiate my orientation within a critical hermeneutic research paradigm. As part of an ongoing reflexivity and meta-reflexivity, I find myself equally compelled to revisit, or return to some of the basic, yet fundamental concepts and guiding principles which, I feel, warrant further reflection and notice. Namely, to the ontological and epistemological stances that necessarily inform our choices of investigation and the ways in which we approach our research. I am thus duly reminded, perhaps even intellectually reawakened, by the question of *the sense of being*, which is itself, the possibility condition of all forms of knowledge.

In my attempt to remain committed to my own event, I have had to navigate many times through the often haunted arenas of my inner, ontological landscapes

and reflect on how to approach my research findings and how to interpret my participants' narratives. These reflections have shaped me in complex ways. I find that while I have a clear understanding of my ontological commitment to, and passion for this research that has deep-seated roots in a significant event in my own past, my questions of ontology indeed remain the most unruly of the challenges. I strongly feel that my "personal touch" and insights in this project – through my ontological commitment – have allowed me to access new truths; truths that have perhaps been marginalized, subjugated, threatened, and thus hidden.

Alain Badiou's "Event" in *Being and Event* (2007) has been very influential in that it has offered another, possibly new, perspective into ontological analysis of becoming subjects through our fidelity to truth processes that have been instigated by the event (den Heyer, 2008). Badiou does not imply that once something is decided it thereby "becomes true"; rather, he argues that the recasting of a truth comes prior to its veracity or verifiability (Discovery Media, 2010). A truth, then, expands out of the eventual sight (*site événementiel*) – insofar as it elicits the militant conviction of certain individuals who develop the revolutionary implications of the event, and by doing so, constitute themselves as the subjects of its truth (Badiou, 2003). I have been inclined to invoke Badiou's conception of truth and his concept of "the event" as I locate myself within my research. On the other hand, however, Kent den Heyer (2009) has a point in summoning educators to consider Badiou's work as "having much to offer education scholarship even though Badiou does not address education in any systemic manner" (p. 442). While Badiou would most likely argue that only the truths produced through the "generic procedures" – love, art, politics and science – can provide access to truths that would subsequently reappropriate our perceptions of existing educational structures, den Heyer maintains that "in relation to critical pedagogy and other critiques of the contemporary 'situation' of schooling, Badiou's 'ethic of truths' challenges the necessity of the 'situation' or, in another translation, a 'status quo,' to keep people '(k)notted up' in a 'perseverance of being' so as to arrest potential trajectories of 'becoming subjects'" (den Heyer, 2007, p. 1).

As I understand it and as Peter Hallward (2003) further elucidates, truths are materially produced in specific situations and each begins from an event or a

discovery that eludes prevailing logic. More specifically, something must happen in order to be something new. Our personal lives and the events that take place are an example of this (i.e., what causes people to exclude others? What causes wars, political corruption, broken heartedness, etc.); there must be an *encounter*, something that cannot be calculated, predicted or managed; something that does not "fit" – a moment of pure surprise, a crisis of some kind – for a truth to emerge. In being confronted with such event in my life I had the choice to deny it (suppress it) or confront it, and possibly make of this an opportunity for the intervention of something new. My ontological fidelity to the event has therefore granted me the opportunity to intervene, to become part of my study through pre-understanding, a priori knowledge, and interpretation that have invariably intruded upon my observation. There was no possible way to avert this, nor should there have been, as I attempted to communicate, analyse, and interpret the findings of my study. Hence, I feel it is important to understand why "the event" is so very significant to our understanding of the world around us, not only in how it relates to subject, truth, and being, but perhaps, in recognizing its potential to usher a revolutionary shift, a new universality that can be achieved through a shift in consciousness, perhaps a transformation, made possible, only, and though our fidelity to seeking out the truths that surround our events.

What follows, is a brief overview of the chapters that comprise this dissertation. Chapter 2 provides a description of the contemporary context in which the "problem of immigration," as a growing threat to the cohesion of the Modern Greek state, exists. The chapter delineates the basic components of the study by offering insights into the conceptualization and formulation of public political policy and educational policy through a close examination of the political and ideological influences in Greece, historically, as well as at the present time. Chapter 3 situates the study in the context of existing research seeking to describe, synthesize, and report the body of current literature. Furthermore, the chapter explores the themes that emerge from the research questions, and subsequently goes on to illustrate how the study addresses the gaps in the literature. Chapter 4 presents the theoretical framework underlying my research, which not only serves to provide insights into the theoretical presuppositions that structure and support this thesis, but that

moreover, help lay the theoretical foundations upon which this research is built. Chapter 5 situates the study within a methodological framework that informs the study and presents the case study outline and data collection methods employed at the study site. Chapter 6 contains the presentation of the findings of the research that reflect the participants' voices and perspectives. Chapter 7 focuses on the analysis, interpretation, and conclusions of the findings. Overall, this chapter offers the opportunity to reflect thoroughly on the findings, and the practical and theoretical implications thereof. Chapter 8 revisits the theoretical framework and engages in a meta-theoretical analysis that addresses identity, ethno-cultural diversity, and conflict, and seeks to critically evaluate the theoretical underpinnings of the study in light of the research questions, literature review, and conceptual framework. In the final chapter, Chapter 9, I revisit the research and draw the research conclusions of this thesis as I reflect and discuss the implications, conclusions, and make possible suggestions for future research. The next chapter begins with an exploration of the historical trajectories of immigration into Greece with particular emphasis on issues of citizenship and non-citizenship, political controversies over immigration policies within the EU, and the global economic context in which immigration occurs.

Chapter 2

The Context

2.1 Immigration and its Discontents

The challenges brought forth by economic globalization have had a profound impact on international migration patterns, citizenship laws, and immigration policies. Indeed, the "politics of immigration" have taken centre stage around the world, particularly in many EU countries – and especially in such times of economic adversity – where immigration has become a highly controversial and politically sensitive subject that not only (in)forms an essential part of home affairs and internal security matters concerning host countries, but has become a matter of urgent and moral concern, topping current political agendas as a key issue that has dominated debates and policy initiatives in European election campaigns – not excluding, of course, the snap election campaigns that took place in Greece, in October of 2009, and the "revisions," thereafter, in immigration policy.[10] The politics of immigration is a highly complex, multi-dimensional topic of concern and cannot and will not be generalized. My research excavates the political dynamics of specific aspects of immigration policy and school level policies for immigrant students in Greek public schools. Furthermore, I distinguish between "migrant" (who is temporarily on the move) and "immigrant" who comes to a country with the intention to stay. While my thesis focuses mainly on immigrants, I refer to "migrants" as well. Immigration invariably poses a threat to what constitutes national identity and subsequently weakens the (purported) self-contained territorial autonomy of the traditional nation

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[10] Former Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou (immediately following his election in 2009) maintained that his government was committed to granting citizenship to all immigrant children who have been born in Greece – given that an estimated 125,000–175,000 of children born to immigrant parents do not have permanent residence rights and many end up (for various reasons) without any citizenship at all. Responding to statements made by two of the opposition parties – that Greece is sending the "wrong signals" to potential immigrants – the Deputy Minister of the Interior responsible for migration, Theodora Tzakri, issued a statement clarifying that the government's intent is to grant citizenship to children of legal immigrants. But the "clarifying statement" has required more "clarification" along the lines of, how is a legal immigrant to be defined in a regime where people become legal following ad hoc and post hoc procedures which are complicated, expensive, and long winded that, more often than not, immigrants lapse into illegality before their residence permits are handed to them (Global Forum on Migration and Development, p. 8. See http://library.panteion.gr:8080/dspace/bitstream/123456789/1481/1/GREEK%2520MIGRATIO N%2520NEWS%25201.pdf).

state – which has, in part, served as a rudimentary compass to orient people economically, politically, culturally, ethnically, and socially in a "homogeneous" society. This romanticized sense of "ethnic homogeneity," however, has come to an abrupt halt for the Greeks, and other countries, that proclaim themselves as being ethnically homogeneous nations, but have been *disrupted* by trans-cultural and sub-cultural formations and mass-migration movements that have, in essence, exposed the fantasy of this imagined harmonious and homogenous community (Secomb, 2003).

Greece's historical stake of an allegedly "undisturbed" national homogeneity has imposed certain representations, as well as diversity management policies of the kind "we all are (or should be) Greeks" (Kandylis, 2006). The assimilating patterns that have emerged following the initial wave of immigration in the early 1990s, often referred to as "a new form of transnational migration," however, are being challenged, leading to other forms of symbiosis that do not take (undisturbed) assimilation for granted. And while "otherness" appears to be somewhat "tolerated," Greek nationalism is still very much related to exclusionary identities and practices (Ventoura, 2004; Maloutas, 2007, as cited in Kandylis, 2006), which suggests a state of mind that supports the assertion that "bearing with," or "tolerating" otherness "does not exonerate your error, it only proves my generosity" (Bauman, 1992, p. xxi). Furthermore, "replacement of the historical assimilative approach takes the form of an unprecedented ethnic hierarchy in respect to positions in the labour and housing markets, political participation, and the rights to the city" (Kandylis, 2006, p. 161). Finally, there are inherent contradictions and tensions in European immigration policies that result from "the clash of principles that primarily arise from the counterposing of universal principles, on the one hand, and national interests and the preservation of national identities, on the other" (Kofman, 2005, p. 457). And this is, perhaps, one of the greatest challenges facing many EU states today, and more so, Greece – a country with a rather intriguing cultural profile, and a *peculiarity* of sorts, that Cornelius Castoriadis[11] (1982-1983), amongst other scholars, attributes to

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[11] Castoriadis is a *Platonic* philosopher – although has been critiqued for inaccuracies in his reading of Plato's *Statesmen*, for instance – and actually names Plato the first "philosopher of suspicion." Castoriadis's "nothingness" of meaning is not a negativity opposing Being; rather, his ontology is a critical one, that rests upon the understanding that beings are deterministic, and must strive for

Greece's unique societal constitution; from the creation of philosophy, politics, and democracy, to the imaginary meanings of freedom, equality, justice, and autonomy. In Castoriadis's own words, and through my own renditions and understandings: *Η Ελληνική ιδιαιτερότητα δεν είναι το μέτρο και η αρμονία, ούτε η εμφάνιση της αλήθειας ως 'αποκάλυψης.' Η Ελληνική ιδιαιτερότητα είναι το ζήτημα μη-νοήματος και του μη όντος.* The translation is as follows: "The Greek peculiarity lies not in measure(ment) and harmony, nor in the appearance of truth as 'revelation.' The Greek peculiarity is a matter of non-meaning and of non-being.[12]" And perhaps, this ancient Greek "inheritance" is what modern Greeks wish to safeguard, which raises the question of *how* to protect and preserve this legacy, this "essential Greekness," if you will – that to modern day Greeks creates the basis for everything Greeks value about their civilization, i.e., the things that make Greek civilization distinctive and peculiar, compared to other civilizations – from the impact of immigration. Any potential threat to this *imagined* social cohesion with the emergence of marginal subgroups and immigrant subjectivities is often met with formidable resistance. As a result, EU countries are more inclined to adopt conservative, and ultimately, exclusionary policies to protect their national identity from becoming diluted, or *compromised*, or even worse, completely annihilated by immigration.

Historically, this notion of "a European identity," mainly understood as a collective identity that originally did *not* include the Balkans – the Balkans were, more

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autonomy, which necessarily paves the way for social change to occur. Although Castoriadis's social theory can easily be critiqued as being Greco-centric (Greco, in an ancient Greek sense), even Eurocentric, he is an astounding philosopher with a deep devotion to creating an autonomous society.

[12] *Η Ελληνική Ιδιαιτερότητα* ΤΟΜΟΣ Α' *Από τον Ομήρο στον Ηράκλειτο Σεμινάρια* 1982-1983 (Original title), or in translation: *The Greek Peculiarity* VOLUME A From Homer to Heraclitus, is a collection of seminars by Cornelius Castoriadis *not* found in English translation. As such the translation of this quotation, in addition to the analysis is through my own understandings and knowledge. Specifically, "The Greek peculiarity lies not in measure(ment) and harmony, nor in the appearance of truth as 'revelation...'" suggests that the source of truth is not to be attributed to esoteric knowledge or revelation – as revealed in the Judeo-Christian tradition, for example, through sin and redemption; rather, Castoriadis praises the accomplishments of the ancient Greeks, through their "project of autonomy." The Greek peculiarity is a matter of non-meaning and of non-being." Here Castoriadis critiques Enlightenment principles of numeracy and literacy, or quantifiable measures of human capital, and this is clear for those who are familiar with his work in his critique of scientism and determinism (religious, historical, scientific). Castoriadis's devotion, however, lies in the project of *autonomy*, which means to make one's own laws, knowing that one is doing so and in full awareness of one's desires and true wants. Autonomy, in the way Castoriadis deploys the concept, signifies the unlimited self-questioning about the law and its foundations.

or less, subsumed under the umbrella of "Eastern Europe," at least in a cultural sense, because the "incompleteness" of the Balkans' "national self," vis-à-vis (Continental) Europe, did not originate from their encounter with the West; rather, the identity of most Balkan states was *re-configured* by the West in the course of their modern national re-creation – has been considered the glue used to hold together people and states, who share an imagined common past and tradition, in unity, in what Benedict Anderson (1983) calls an "imagined community." This imagined community, thus, presupposes an *imagined* identity, that has been, perhaps, fashioned on a selective reconstruction of the past in an attempt to solidify what I understand as being an elusive "European identity." This identity "card" so to speak (EU passports, Euro currency, and EU institutions like the European Commission, for instance), has been used by the EU, time and time again, to reinforce a logic of exclusion toward "non-Europeans." The dimension of European identity speaks deeply to issues of immigration and integration, not to mention human rights issues. Indeed, questions of identity, both collective and national, are important ones. Joan Scott (2001), as cited in den Heyer and Abbott (2011), suggests that "basic narrative" is the vehicle that enables people to imagine themselves as partaking in the plot of a grand narrative as they become endowed with a particular political identity and sense of agency (Scott, 2001, as cited in den Heyer & Abbott, 2011). The problem, however with such "fantastic identifications" or "imaginary intentions," notes Scott, is that they are *cracked* (p. 11) and consequently *leak*. As such, the narratives become "echoes," rather than exact replications that create gaps in meaning and intelligibility (Scott, 2001), which essentially undermines the notion of "enduring sameness" that is often attached to the sense of a collective identity. Public schools in Greece reinforce a perpetual continuation of such (grand) narratives that only allow for the Greek "historical" grand narrative that is most favorable to emerge, which subsequently encourages cultural members to mistake historical understandings of how Greek identity has come to be (see den Heyer & Abbott, 2011). Perhaps elucidating further, and counter-posing such concepts, might allow for a deeper understanding of immigration and its discontents; notions of hybridity, assimilation, and multi-ethnicity; elements that are shaking and stirring up this imagined unity.

While there has been a seemingly strong commitment throughout most of Europe to create a "tolerant" and "pluralist" political identity, European identity remains something that "comes from the head rather than the heart" (Dawisha, Reynolds, Lin, Soudriette & Ellis, 2006, p. 13). Namely, there are two forms of nationalism: civic (West) nationalism (head) and ethno-cultural (East) nationalism (heart), although all civic states, West or East, have elements and dimensions that include both types of nationalism(s) (Kuzio, 2002). Yet, as Dawisha et al. (2006) reveal, "Europe's old national identities continue to hang around like unwanted ghosts. In each member state, people still have a strong sense of what it means to be French or Dutch or Italian, even if it is not politically correct to affirm these identities too strongly or to engage in public discussions of what they mean" (p. 14), and this is because national identities in Europe remain far more blood-and-soil based, and *ideally* "accessible only to those ethnic groups who initially populated the country" (p. 14). Blood-and-soil nationalisms are perilously resurrecting themselves (in an effort to safeguard the integral link between land and clan/tribe) as a result of immigration. In defending the *ethnos*, irredentist movements are employed, to redeem or exonerate ethnic kin, or to (re)claim historic lands by "bringing them back to the bosom of the nation" (Smith, 2010, p. 29). Not too long ago, Archbishop Christodoulos's[13] unwavering attempts to rekindle Greek irredentist dreams, with talk of (Greeks) "returning" to the "unredeemed homelands" (*alitrotes patrides*), meaning northeastern Turkey where many Greeks once resided, and "reclaiming" these lands, complemented by foreign policy statements of the kind that call for the "recapturing" of Constantinople (currently Istanbul) and its Hagia Sofia (Michas, 2002), were adding fuel to what today appears to be a nationalist blaze that is spreading rapidly across Greece, and other parts of the EU. Such and many other "defense doctrines" have been employed by nationalist parties in several EU

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[13] Archbishop Christodoulos was a very influential leader of the Greek Orthodox Church who wanted to restore century old grievances between the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church. He was a controversial figure in his constant intervention with the Greek state. Archbishop Christodoulos was very popular amongst younger generation Greeks because he tapped into their generational needs through his sermons and humor and seemed to move away from "hang-ups" many other Orthodox leaders were not accepting, like tattoos and piercings, wearing mini-skirts etc. This "liberal" image he espoused gained him a great deal of popularity, rating nearly 75 percent of the popularity rating, which is higher than any Greek politician (January 29, 2008 The New York Times).

countries as a means of safeguarding the integral link (see integral nationalism[14]) between the tribe and the land, which is to be defended by blood. This, too, is the case with the Greek fascist party, Golden Dawn, who appears to have taken the blood-and-soil doctrine quite *literally* – giving out food to the poor, but *only* if they can *prove* their "Greekness," and setting up blood banks that offer service to those with "Greek blood," *only*. I discuss more closely the ramifications of proto-fascist movements like the Golden Dawn, and the relations of blood and soil more extensively in the last part of this chapter, as well as in Chapter 8 *Meta-Theoretical Analysis*.

George A. Kourvetaris and Andreas Moschonas (1996) succinctly outline some key differences in their book *The impact of European integration: Political, sociological and economic changes*, between Europe and North America, namely, the United States. Kouvertaris and Moschonas argue that unlike the United States and Canada, Europe does not have one central governing body, but is rather a polycentric system of nation states divided into rival metropoles, each with its own specific cultural physiognomy and uniqueness. In addition, and contrary to countries like the United States and Canada, each European country is, or was, or has emerged, more or less, as an ethnically homogeneous entity. Another fundamental difference between the United States and Europe is the fact that, by law, attributes such as ethnicity, race, and religion, or national origin in the United States, are *not* criteria for American citizenship. This is most often *not* the case for many European countries. In Greece, for example, one cannot *become* a citizen unless one has Greek ancestry, which is mainly determined – aside from the "right of blood" – by speaking the Greek language in conjunction to being affiliated with the Greek Orthodox Church.[15] Many Greeks, in fact, understand the insurgence of immigrants as "an assault" on Greece's homogeneity that poses a major threat to what constitutes Greek cultural identity. These are some uniquely defining cultural characteristics that ought to be considered, and have been critically scrutinized throughout this thesis in the chapters that follow.

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[14] Integral nationalism is perhaps a *deviant* form of demotic nationalism that comes into play when a nation is in a crisis situation from the "outside" or is on the receiving end of external pressures that challenge its national legitimacy. Ethnic elements are incorporation into this type of nationalism to construct a myth of the existence of a primordial and perennial nation (Song, 2004).

[15] Defining the attributes of what actually constitutes "Greek Citizenship," *ithageneia* and *ypikootita* is a very complex undertaking, and will be discussed in the *Meta-Theoretical Analysis* chapter.

2.2 Hospitality and Its Limits: ***What to do with the stranger***

Greece carries, amongst other things, a heavy legacy: the legacy of *hospitality* or *philoxenia.* However, cementing such legacy necessitates a "duty" in welcoming the stranger, foreigner, "xeno," not only to integrate, assimilate or "tolerate" them, per se, but to recognize and accept their alterity. But is it possible to even speak of, or to bring an "ethics" of absolute, or unconditioned hospitality into a politics of "law of hospitality" for Greece (even other nations for that matter)? Greek cultural values are historically rooted in this profound sense of hospitality (philo-xenia/*φιλοξενία* – kindness to strangers[16]). In exploring some of the historical conceptions of hospitality from Classical Greece to Christianity[17] and, from Levinas to Derrida, I quickly became acutely aware of the limits, conditionalities, and *impossibilities* of hospitality.

Hospitality extends beyond the simple manner of entertaining friends and relatives for a short period of time, by opening your heart, home, and country, because at the end of the day or at the end of a few days or weeks, most of us might admit that we would want those friends who have occupied our personal space, to go home. The overarching notion of hospitality is one that extends the welcome to persons unknown, or different than *us* – even potential enemies. Inspired by Abrahamic Tradition, Emmanuel Levinas (1969) essentially understands hospitality as an unconditional welcoming, or openness toward the other, friend or foe, that inevitably, comes from *God.* Levinas, as interpreted by Derrida in *Adieu à Emmanuel Lévinas* (1997), describes the intimacy of the home (*chez soi*) as a place of recollection in which the hospitable welcome is accomplished; the female, or "the woman of the house," according to Levinas, is the condition for recollection. The feminine, as I understand it, is deployed as an *ideal* figure of alterity, and not in opposition to the masculine, but will reserve such analysis for a future paper, perhaps, since this chapter specifically responds to national identity and the limits of hospitality. For Levinas, hospitality necessitates always being open and welcoming toward the other,

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[16] I will be using the notions of "philoxenia" and "hospitality" interchangeably throughout the document.

[17] I have narrowed the scope to examining hospitality within the Christian tradition because Greece is nominally a Christian country. Richard Kearny's book *Hosting the Stranger* features a vast analysis on themes of interreligious hospitality and encompasses five different wisdom traditions: Jewish, Christian (Western), Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic.

unconditionally, which raises big questions on whether or not Levinas's philosophy "would be able to found a law and politics, beyond the familial dwelling, within a society, nation, State, or Nation-State" (Derrida, 1999, p. 23)? How might it be possible to regulate politics, policies, or laws *without* conditionality, when policy and law essentially function on conditionality? How then, if at all, might we be able to extend Levinas's unconditional welcome in a world full of conditionalities? Greece is a country that understands the full scope of such "conditionalities" that have been imposed on the country by "the Troika[18]" (International Monetary Fund [IMF], European Commission [EC], and European Central Bank [ECB]) to help reduce national debt. But the question of how *much* or how *far* to extend hospitality to the (undesired or unlike "us") *stranger*, has concerned philosophers long before Levinas's time, and while Levinas has undoubtedly bestowed upon us a noteworthy treatise of hospitality that might allow us to *flirt* with the possibility of unconditional hospitality, the boundaries and limits of hospitality, today, are tighter; more restrictive, and notably, more *in*hospitable.

The notion of "philoxenia" (hospitality) – that dates far back to the Archaic Age, followed by the Classical Age of Pericles[19] – "expresses a concern about how to provide the stranger with full access to the Greek polis" (Verma, Kalekin-Fishman & Pitkänen, 2002), and continues to be one of many fundamental elements that characterize modern Greek society, today, manifest in the all-encompassing openness and, in extension, friendliness to strangers. Furthermore, philoxenia is central to the Christian[20] faith and bears biblical significance, while the virtues of extending hospitality are extolled. Philoxenia is, perhaps, one of the most widely mentioned and frequently encountered qualities in many different places in the New Testament,[21]

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[18] "The Troika" is a slang term for the three organizations which have the most power over Greece's financial future – or at least that future as it is defined within the European Union. The three groups are the European Commission (EC), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the European Central Bank (ECB). Another variation on the troika "The Troika" is what Alex Tsipras (SYRIZA leader) has derisively referred to the coalition government formed after the June 2012 elections by Antonis Samaras of New Democracy, Evangelos Venizelos of PASOK and Fotis Kouvelis of Democratic Left as the "Domestic Troika."

[19] Pericles was proclaimed "the first citizen of Athens" and turned Athens into an empire.

[20] The notion of hospitality is a vital element of many traditions, cultures and religions. I am particularly focusing on the Greek Orthodox Christian tradition, which is closely intertwined with Greek culture and moreover, linked to the state.

[21] Though the word "hospitality" is not necessarily encountered in the Old Testament, the concept runs throughout it. For example in the passages Exodus 2:20.

whereas the act of showing kindness to strangers revealed through benevolent deeds on behalf of those in need, is a non-optional command of Biblical Scripture. To this end, the "religious" significance has almost transformed the notion of philoxenia into a quasi-sacred ritual for the Greeks, whose national identity is found upon a strong identification with the distinctive elements of the Greek Orthodox faith and tradition. "This mentality vis-à-vis foreigners, has been perpetuated for centuries through the oral tradition and popular culture of rural Greek populations" (Verma et al. 2002, p. 134). For example, Pindar (522 BC - 443 BC), one of the most praised and prolific lyric poets, known for his choric lyrics and triumphal odes, praises the "xenoi,[22]" as well as the victorious citizens. In Greek mythology – whereby mythology reflects, reaffirms and legitimizes the core societal values and beliefs of a period – Zeus, for instance, is often referred to as "Zeus Xenios," the patron of hospitality/philoxenia. The principle of philoxenia, therefore, was so important, that Zeus was ready, at any given moment, to avenge any wrong done to a stranger. Lastly, we cannot ignore the overpowering themes of hospitality in the Homeric epics, "The Odyssey" (n.d.) and "The Iliad" (n.d.), as the poems contain numerous elaborate scenes of both positive, as well as negative connotations of philoxenia/hospitality. But "unconditionality," it seems, is reserved for the gods and mythical figures, and *not* for humans.

And while philoxenia – or so it seems, at least in the tourism industry and for select tourists – continues to be a prominent element of Greek society, it is certainly a far cry from Levinas, even Derrida's "pure," "unconditional," "transcendental" or "radical" deconstruction of hospitality, whose impossibility is acknowledged (by Derrida himself) (Derrida, 2000). For Derrida, "hospitality is at the core of relationality"; in fact, the great law of hospitality requires unconditional welcome and demands that the borders be open to each and every one, to every other, to all who might come, without question or without their having to identify who they are or whence they came (Derrida, 2000). In the European West, however, hospitality

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[22] Xenoi (ξένος), *xénos*, plural *xenoi* in Greek means stranger or foreigner. Xenos can be translated to both a foreigner (in the sense of a person from another Greek state) as well as a foreigner or traveler brought into a relationship of long distance friendship. It is also important to mention that from Homer onwards, the word has a wide gradient of meaning, signifying such divergent concepts as "enemy stranger" as well as "ritual friend."

lingers, undoubtedly, closer to Kant's "conditional" model, whereby "one cannot flatter oneself into believing one can approach this peace except under the conditions outlined…" (Kant, 2007, p. 12). In "Perpetual Peace" (1795), Kant extends the rights of hospitality by establishing conditions (of perpetual peace) that limit the (cosmopolitan) right of universal hospitality, to the right for foreigners to visit, but *not* to reside in the foreign soil, while the residential right remains to be determined by the law of the sovereign state. In this respect, argues Derrida (2005), an unconditional hospitality is, to be sure, practically *impossible* to live; one cannot in any case, and by definition, organize it (Borradori, 2003). Simply put, the "other" is fine, but only insofar as the "other's" presence is not intrusive (Žižek, 2008). In actuality, the chasm between ideal notions of hospitality and hospitality as conceived by the Greeks, and reflected in many EU state policies today, cannot be bridged; for neither sovereignty nor globalization can provide hospitality *unconditionally*. In fact, there are constant reminders of the contrary, as Rosello outlines in *Postcolonial Hospitality: The Immigrant as Guest,* about how the very "law" itself seeks "to exclude ordinary people from the process of redefinition of the very model of hospitality that the state pretends to have adopted as the model of its constitution, and simultaneously to exonerate them (foreigners) from the responsibility of searching for their own context-specific definition of hospitality" (Rosello, 2001, p. 40).

Immigrants struggle daily to extend those limits imposed by a clearly inhospitable state; to find a space where they can be accepted and acknowledged as human beings. So, even though hospitality remains in popular discourse as part of a "cultural blueprint" of Greek society, it is very *selective*, and comes not only with limits that are virtually non-extendable, but also, with hostility. Seyla Benhabib (2006) argues that hospitality is a human right, and should apply to everyone regardless of how long they stay at a particular place (Benhabib, 2006). Today, however, we are so overcome by suspicion and distrust with the stranger, even though the stranger's intentions may be peaceful or noble. Hospitality, as such, and according to Derrida, is "interlaced with hostility." This liminal condition of hospitality/hostility claims Benhabib, is intensified when the *other* is devoid of rights (2006).

As one of the most popular holiday destinations for millions of tourists each year, Greece has managed to "live up" to its "hospitable" reputation on an

international level – that, of course, cannot escape an economic logic, thus hospitality mainly serves as an economic transaction – as visitors will frequently comment on the warmth and uniqueness of Greek hospitality. And while good citizenship is commonly reflected in the hospitality of individuals and communities in Greece, there appears to be a "selective," conditional, even capricious *philoxenia* that on the one hand, confirms the endurance of Greek tourism, while on the other, separates the temporary tourists and visitors from foreigners, who seek refuge or permanent residency in Greece. But such philoxenia, which is rooted in opportunistic acts, is socially threatening, disruptive, arrogant, almost hubristic, while the implications of lifestyle concepts in the marketing of hospitality mainly commodify culture to promote tourism in Greece. The review of the literature on xenophobia in Greece suggests that xenophobia (as well as this "selective," highly conditional *kind* of "philoxenia") severely influences Greek behaviours and casts a dark shadow on the positive nature, or character of philoxenia.

The rapidly increasing tensions, that are directly linked – though not exclusively so – to the combination of mass migration and/or immigration, escalating cross border crime, and ethnocentric, homogeneous, and exclusionist nationalist ideologies, have led to new challenges that threaten to undermine the purported stability of the nation-state, which is closely connected to notions of "homeland" or "motherland," mainly defined by ancestry (while notions of citizenship are related to blood, based on the principles of *jus sanguinis*). Such notions are fundamentally incompatible with mass migration – since it inherently contradicts the idea of belonging and loyalty to the social group represented by the state and its particular boundaries, the nation (Migdal, 2004) – and subsequently pose tremendous challenges to notions of democracy that have long emerged from within the confines of the nation-state, ultimately leading to a state of confusion and defence for many countries now playing host to immigrants. Controversial political theorist and philosopher Carl Schmitt (1983) argues that national homogeneity is a necessary precondition for the democratic exercise of political authority and, therefore, makes the "norm of equal treatment" contingent on the fact of a uniform national origin. Hence, the assumption of a compulsory collective identity, according to Schmitt, necessitates repressive policies, which ultimately means forced assimilation of "alien

elements" (immigrants) (Habermas, 1998, p. 141). Schmitt, then, recommends the "suppression and expulsion of heterogeneous elements of the population" (Schmitt, 1983, as cited in Habermas, 1998, p. 142). For Schmitt, democracy *requires* exclusion; it requires "homogeneity," which serves as a bleak reminder that the distinction between friend and enemy cannot be abolished (Mouffe, 1999), and most particularly when nation states, today, are deluded in seeking to defend an "ethnic homogeneity" of sorts. Myron Weiner, in his *Migration and Refugee Policies* (1996) writes:

> Many destination countries are in a state of confusion over how they ought to treat their immigrant communities. They are not sure whether they want their immigrants to stay or go home, assimilate or retain their cultural identity, nor whether the migrants and their children should be encouraged to feel patriotic toward their new county or maintain loyalty to their country of origin (p. 128)

Traditionalists and nativists, in particular, fear that immigrants – unwittingly so – contribute to the destruction of national survival and long standing notions of democracy that, essentially, construct the notion of citizenship within a nation state; for, ultimately, the notion of citizenship (which is inherently about membership, and can never be fully open, which makes it, more often than not, used as an exclusionary device) has been the glue that has held the nation-state together in a seemingly natural community authorized to exclude Others (Baines & Sharma, 2002). Francis Fukuyama (2008) maintains that Europe's failure to better integrate immigrants and minorities is a ticking time bomb that has already resulted in terrorism and violence, consequently provoking an even sharper backlash from nativist or populist groups, many of whom feel that the European Union "is rapidly destroying the territorial jurisdictions and national loyalties that have, since the Enlightenment, formed the basis of European legitimacy, while putting no new form of membership in their place" (Scruton, 2002, para. 9). I fear that the "ticking time bomb" Fukuyama foreshadowed, has exploded.

2.3 The rise of anti-immigrant sentiment

Not so long ago, French President Nikolas Sarkozy, in the name of national security, blamed immigration for all the social ills, stating that, as head of the French state [he] cannot let [his] nation be insulted (Casert, 2010). Mr. Sarkozy insisted that

France suffers *not* from a social crisis, but rather, a "moral crisis" and that "denigrating the nation is at the heart of that crisis" (Lerougetel, 2007, para. 18). Respectively, former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi had flat out rejected the vision of a multi-ethnic Italy, winning praise from far-right allies and accusations of racism from the left (Babington, 2009). Moreover, Mr. Berlusconi had never been shy about lending his full support to France's controversial decision to forcibly repatriate thousands of Roma people to Eastern Europe (Day, 2010). German Chancellor Angela Merkel has blatantly declared that any attempts to build a multicultural society "... and live side-by-side and to enjoy each other... has failed, utterly failed" (BBC News Europe, para. 9, 2010). The statements reveal particularly chilling, xenophobic, some may even say bordering on "fascist" anti-immigrant sentiments that are present and are sweeping across the EU, rendering immigrants as an alien force invading nations across the globe. In fact, the tremendous growth in electoral support for radical right wing parties across Western Europe that are clearly defined by their positions in opposition to immigration have been characterized as exclusivist, nativist, and xenophobic (Williams, 2010). With this kind of outlook from three of the most powerful political leaders within the EU and a profound shift to right-wing and nationalist politics, I question whether humanistic immigrant policies are even possible and whether monolithic constructs of citizenship can even change to make way to new constructs of citizenship, where interculturality or transculturalism and the eventual prospect of identifying a cosmopolitan citizenship can be envisaged, let alone, become a reality (Cuccioletta, 2002).

What is striking about the "immigration issue," are all these meetings that are taking place across the EU that purport to discuss "the problem of immigration" and attempting to find ways of "dealing with it." Meanwhile, the Swiss are "pandering to prejudice" with quota rules, that essentially restricts immigration to Switzerland (2013, April, 25, New York Times). As Southern European governments call for more EU funding to "deal with immigration," and vociferously clamour that the "burden of immigration" be shared across the whole of the bloc, northern European governments are resisting the call, and are uneasy about fuelling anti-immigration sentiment even though they clearly want to, once and for all, wash their hands of immigration. So, while the matter of immigration is an urgent one, no one really

knows how to tackle it, even though diplomatic service and agencies like the Taskforce for the Mediterranean led by the European Commission have been specifically set up to provide aid. The problem of immigration is so much deeper. The magnitude of immigration flows and the changes in the ethnic composition of the nation's population, therefore, urgently requires a re-examination and critical (re)evaluation of the current notion(s) of citizenship, beyond the traditional and monolithic conceptions that link citizenship to the territorial borders of the nation-state.

2.4 The Greek context

I find that the political and social climate in many EU countries at the present time – which is, more or less, a climate of confusion, anger and major distress that manifests into xenoracism (more so than xenophobia) – warrants a very close examination of the origins, of what seems to be a "sudden" *appeal*, or a resurgence, of right wing extremist political groupings that insidiously develop into movements and political parties such as the Golden Dawn. A return to conservative politics appears to be on the rise in Europe. Indeed, there seems to be a strong nationalist presence in Europe, accompanied by a rise in these far-right groups. My interviews with immigrant students, immigrant parents, policy actors, teachers, and school administrators (conducted in 2012), revealed that the widespread austerity measures, coupled by the constant and uncontrolled influx of undocumented immigrants to Greece, has fueled mounting social tensions reflected in rising anti-immigrant sentiments. The review of the literature confirms that sentiments such as xenophobia and xenoracism are more pronounced and pervasive, not only in countries where the proportion of non-European immigrants is relatively large (as is in the case of Greece[23]), but where economic conditions are relatively *less* prosperous (Semyonov & Gorodzeisky, 2011). Furthermore, there is merit to the conventional claim that extreme right-wing parties derive some of their support from anti-immigrant sentiment; this is most certainly the case with Golden Dawn. The rise in anti-immigrant sentiment virulently fuelled by the Golden Dawn, has crucial

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[23] Profile of immigrants in Greece: information from the 2001 Census recorded roughly 690.000 persons of non-EU or non-homogeneis status in Greece.

implications for politicians and political parties in power, as well as for policy reform possibilities for Greece. In addition, there are considerable policy implications in relation to how the Golden Dawn has managed to shift certain debates over the last year[24] (2012-2013); to insert itself into Greek consciousness, aiming directly at the "Achilles heel" of a (what constitutes a European) "nation": ethnic identity, national heritage, and a deeply embedded ideology of cultural homogeneity – and by extension alter, yet again, the policy agenda in Greece on a number of issues which in liberal democratic countries are non-negotiable, such as freedom of speech and human rights (Halikiopoulou, Nanou, & Vasilopoulou, (2012).

So basically, at the present time, political bodies and policymakers in Greece seem to be caught in a cross-fire of heavy demands from the "Troika,[25]" financial market participants (the holders of Greek debt), and the country's own citizens (2013, March 5, The International). It seems virtually impossible, at this time, to reach a consensus (without the EU's direct policing and influence), let alone create policy that does not contradict the objectives of earlier policy. It appears that state decision makers and policy actors (mainly politicians) in Greece have incongruent, inconsistent, and colliding interests as well as inherently different or conflicting organizational issues. Policies and political outcomes in any polity are a function of the interests, strategies and power that actors use to achieve their goals. In the case of Greece, these interests collide and there are no continuous and/or consistent policies from which to begin in the first place. Such policy confusion or lack of coherent policy altogether, transforms to political despair for the people who have already lost trust in "the system," creating the perfect breeding ground for fascism to emerge. In the attempt to reassert their national identity, which is reflected in language and culture (history) that many feel has been adulterated by unwelcomed immigrants, Greek people are "buying into" Golden Dawn's rhetoric that promises to "rid Greece of the stench of foreigners" and "return Greece to the Greeks."

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[24] Turning the spotlight on themselves with their constant appeal in the media

[25] Referring to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), European Commission (EC), and European Central Bank (ECB).

2.5 The Golden Dawn and implications for immigration

The Golden Dawn (or *Chrysi Avgi*/*Χρυσή Αυγή*), unobtrusively reared its *not* so "golden" head back in 1980 and officially gained attention and legitimacy as a political party in 1993, winning its first ever seats in Greek Parliament in the spring of 2012. It seems that the right wing, extremist party's popularity is on the rise, so much so, that if Greece were to hold new elections at this time, according to polls, Golden Dawn could (potentially) emerge as the third-largest party in Parliament, behind Samaras's *New Democracy* and the left-wing *Syriza* (2012, September, 30, The New York Times). In 2013, Golden Dawn was the fifth largest party, holding 18 out of 300 seats in Greek Parliament – this is rather disconcerting (and scary), to say the least (from my perspective) – while its popularity seems to be soaring at an alarming rate, as the party's tentacles have even managed to pervade Greek diasporic communities around the world. The Golden Dawn's mission? To restore sovereignty, security, and the dignity of Greek people; to resurrect nationalist ideals, and to resist the multiculturalist agenda (ultimately, seen as an anti-Hellenic agenda) of the New World Order[27] (2012, September 22, Digital Journal). The Golden Dawn has apparently taken on the role of "Robin Hood" or "Zorro," both "heroic" archetypes who share a common trait: that of "defending the common man." So too, the Golden Dawn employs "savior tactics" and strategies aimed at providing jobs, clothing, and food for "the people" weathering the financial crisis that has been sweeping Greece (and other European states – PIGS) since 2008. There is, however, one major caveat: "the people" the Golden Dawn wish to "save" are people of *Greek* ancestry – *only* – which essentially means that foreigners, or "undesireable" immigrants and/or anyone *not* of Greek ancestry[28] are not merely excluded[29] from this so-called "rescue mission," but fiercely hunted down depending on the darkness

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[26] The Golden Dawn is often referred to as a "neo-Nazi" or "neo-Fascist" party (mainly in the media).

[27] The term "new world order" has been used to refer to any new period of history evidencing a dramatic change in world political thought and the balance of power. Despite various interpretations of this term, it is primarily associated with the ideological notion of global governance only in the sense of new collective efforts to identify, understand, or address worldwide problems that go beyond the capacity of individual nation-states to solve.

[28] Citizenship in Greece is based on ethnic background, on the principle of *jus sanguinis* "by blood" and not *ius soli*, law of the land, i.e., land of the place of birth (Muir, 2010).

[29] Foreigners were excluded from food handouts on Mayday 2013 in Syntagma Square, when Golden Dawn handed out free food to Greeks only. Recipients of food on such occasions are asked to show their ID cards to prove that they are Greeks.

of their skin color, or their country of origin, and many times in very inhuman and degrading ways.[30] The Golden Dawn's "uprising," under the guise of ethnic preservation, ethnic purity, and ethnic homogeneity in the name of love for one's country, patriotism, and of course, (ultra) *nationalism*, is reflected in the nature of the mantra that the Golden Dawn's campaign slogans reverberate: "Greece is only for Greeks" and "Get the stench out of Greece" (as cited in CMS, Faiola 2012); slogans that clearly and forlornly suggest the racial, religious, and ethnic *cleansing* of immigrants.

I would like to take a closer look at the resurgence of proto-fascism as a *mutated* form of aggressive ultra-nationalism (reflected in Golden Dawn's mission statements, symbols and "national awakening" politics), which is beginning to (re)emerge in many European countries. In specifically looking at the case of Greece, a country that historically has experienced forms of fascism (proto-fascism not to be confused with historical forms of fascism)[31] though seems to be somehow – at the present time – manifesting a sentimentalized "nostalgia" of the military junta years (recently invoked by the 46th anniversary of the military coup, on April 21st 2013[32]). I furthermore argue that given the "right" conditions (continued atrocities, assaults and violence against immigrants, police brutality, economic despair and insecurity, socioeconomic challenges, demographic pressures, and growing unemployment, security fears, or a culture of fear associated with Islamism that fuels distrust and suspicion about specific ethnic and religious minorities, and populism that threatens democracy, whereby the voice of "the people" means people who support the cause), a new and more sinister form of fascism could (re)emerge, with a vengeance.

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[30] I refer to a recent example of 20 strawberry pickers from Bangladesh who were wounded and killed over back wages (April, 17 2013, Ekathimerini).

[31] Fascism in Greece has been present in politics since 1932 (the Greek National Socialist Party of 1932. "After World War II, Britain and America supported the Pro-Nazi Fascists in a struggle against the Greek communist KKE movement. In April 1967, a few weeks prior to an election, a military coup d'état took place in Greece and a fascist military government ruled the country from 1967 to 1974 (7 years). It was called the 'Regime of the Colonels,' and was headed by Colonel George Papadopoulos, who had collaborated with the Germans in World War II. The official reason given for the coup was that a 'communist conspiracy' had infiltrated all levels of society.[3] The contemporary Greek Golden Dawn political party has been described as subscribing to neo-fascist and neo-Nazi beliefs and practices." (As cited in the World Heritage Encyclopedia. See http://cdn.worldheritage.org/articles/Neofascist)

[32] 1 in 3 Greeks report feeling nostalgia for the military Junta. See http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/348568

I employ the term "proto-fascism," specifically, to call attention to the latent tendencies of fascism that may, at any moment, re-awaken (if they have not already done so) thus unleashing the dangerous potential of a "new" fascism that could erode and consequently destroy (liberal) democracy (see Giroux, 2004). Here I draw on Henry Giroux's (2004), *Proto-fascism in America* and Panayota Gounari's analysis of proto-fascism in Greece (Gounari, 2011), to possibly explain the recent climate in Greece, as well as to provide some basis for understanding how the emergence of right-wing movements affects the creation and implementation of educational policy that could potentially support immigrant students in what, at this time, appears to be a highly exclusionary school system and social environment. It is important to note that while fascist movements have undergone rapid growth recently within the Eurozone, and while their impact on social, political and educational life has increased, they are yet a long way from taking power in Greece or elsewhere in the economically "developed" world. Having said that, however, there remains a clear and present danger, particularly were democratic systems continue to weaken[33].

It seems quite possible that populist or neo-fascist parties (or groups) and their xenophobic and/or xenoracist agendas may one day prevail, signaling the demise of democracy. I argue that such outcomes are most likely to be determined by political forces, factors and ultimately, decisions. Clearly, and as professor of political science Christos Lyrintzitis (2011) sustains in his article *Greek politics in the era of economic crisis: reassessing causes and effects*, "apart from the economic crisis, Greece is undergoing a protracted and serious political crisis" (p. iii). Ergo, it is not the larger influx of immigrants and/or the unfavorable economic conditions, alone, that contribute to the rise of fascist groups like Golden Dawn; rather, and in the case of Greece, it has been the country's political elites that have been thoroughly and perpetually discredited over the last forty years for corruption and pandering, "creating (and not only) parasitic jobs for the political clientele of the ruling elite in return for political favors" (Panageotou, 2011, p. 12). It is, therefore, very difficult

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[33] Active fascist parties in Europe include: Fiamma Tricolore in Italy, The National Alliance and National Union in Spain, The National Front and British National Party in the UK, The National Democratic Party and The German People's Union in Germany to name a few – notice the emphasis on "national." See, also, integral nationalism.

for any government at the present time (be it PASOK, Syriza, or New Democracy) to instil trust to the existing political institutions (Lyrintzis, 2011). Consequently, Golden Dawn's illusory messages are attracting people who are in deep despair; who have given up on the country's political leaders and their voracious leadership because of their inability to generate trust. The rise of the far right parties in Greece most certainly poses a worrying prospect; one that requires a rigorous, as well as, an engaged analytical and critical approach with regard to the implication of policies proposed and possibly implemented in the future. While this dissertation does not directly, nor specifically scrutinize the history, organization, ideology, and political tactics of right-wing extremist or fascist political movements within Greece and/or the Eurozone, per se, I find that identifying and investigating the conditions under which nationalism begins to collide with (liberal) democratic values is crucial to understanding why today's "crisis" in Greece and the Eurozone is a very serious one, with nationalism at the epicenter.

2.6 The resurgence of proto-fascism in Greece

In his book Proto-Fascism in America: *Neoliberalism and the Demise of Democracy*, Henry Giroux (2004) argues that a new form of authoritarianism he refers to as "proto-fascism,[34]" is gaining alarming and potentially catastrophic ascendancy within the American political landscape that was exacerbated during the administration of George W. Bush (Giroux, 2004). According to Giroux, fascism is not to be consigned as an ideological apparatus frozen in a particular historical period – that is, fascism is not something that belongs buried in the past, but has mutated, taken on a new persona that threatens democracy and should be seen as "a theoretical and political signpost for understanding how democracy can be subverted" (Giroux, 2004, p. 18). Giroux, claim Webb and Gulson, (2011), is concerned with identifying fascism as a persistent set of political processes that were

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[34] While is important to call attention to the eight major features of proto-fascism outlined by Giroux, I will make brief mention of them and subsequently focus on two features that are specific to Greece. The first of eight features of Giroux's characterization of US proto-fascism is "a cult of traditionalism," followed by "corporatization of civil society," "the construction and proliferation of a culture of fear," "corporate control of the media," "attack on critical thought," "the power of a moralistic and anti-intellectual form of religious fundamentalism," "the growth of the national security state," and last, "the accompanying permeation of militarism into the social, cultural and political landscape of a country" (Giroux, 2008, p. 21).

not eradicated with the fall of the Nazis. Rather, fascism is "an enduring echo" that indicates the fragility of democracy and the tremendous potential that fascism has to erode and destroy democracy (Giroux 2004, as cited in Webb & Gulson, 2011, p. 183).

This emerging form of proto-fascism in Greece, as I see it, is manifested in populist politics, social welfare activism, street fighting/violence, and defensive nationalism – to name a few. Empirical examples of populism in the last few decade, notes Giorgos Katsambekis (2011), include the religious populism of the then Archbishop Christodoulos (in response to Greece's "identity crisis" in 2000[35]), the political discourse articulated by the leader of New Democracy, Costas Karamanlis[36] during the pre-2004 period (that is often referred to as a rather atypical "anti-modernization" populism), and the xenophobic rightwing neo-populism of Georgios Karatzaferis,[37] leader of the party LAOS (considered a right-wing neo-populist party). This kind of populism, breeds defensive nationalism and is clearly an

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[35] In 2000, a major clash between church and state erupted when the then Greek socialist government sought to follow a decision of the Greek Data Protection Authority, by removing the "Religion" field from the national ID cards carried by Greek citizens. Christodoulos opposed the decision, complaining that socialist prime minister Costas Simitis did not consult with the Greek Church on the matter and claiming that it was part of a wider plan to marginalise the Church from Greek public life; he also stated that the decision was "put forward by neo-intellectuals who want to attack us like rabid dogs and tear at our flesh. The archbishop organised two demonstrations in Athens and Thessaloniki, alongside a majority of bishops of the Church of Greece, supporting the inclusion of religious data on a voluntary basis, and asked for a referendum on the matter. For this purpose he was greatly supported as more than three million (about 1/3 of population) Greek citizens signed and asked for a referendum. In 2001, Christodoulos prompted international criticism after claiming that the ID decision had been instigated by Jews. The Central Board of the Jewish Community in Greece subsequently sent him a letter on 20 March 2001, asking him to clarify the matter and expressing their opposition to the mandatory writing of religious status in identity cards. The Archbishop replied in a letter that his source was the official web site of the USA Jewish Community where it was stated that the US Jewish Community had asked the Greek Government to remove religious status from Greek identity cards. He also noted that in Israel, the writing of religious status in identity cards is mandatory. The official position of the Greek Church became that the writing of religious status on identity cards should be optional. However, the Greek Government proceeded to remove the writing of religious status completely from new identity cards (Flemming, 2008, p. 212).

[36] Costas Karamanlis, nephew of that party's founder (with the same name), followed PASOK's well-charted path of irresponsible populism evident in free-spending ways, patronage politics and toleration to corruption, ethnocentrism and further divergence from Europe. It was the combination of those three factors that, irrespective of party in office, simmered for a long time until it exploded in the form of the fiscal crisis that has just hit Greece.

[37] Karatzaferis, considered a "shifty populist" and leader of LAOS, had already pushed the limits of public acceptability towards the right-wing extremism few years earlier, when in 2007 it became the first ever far-right party to enter the Greek parliament.

attempt to somehow preserve (or perhaps even *reclaim*) Greek identity, ethnicity and cultural homogeneity. The ideology of a "single nation" is reflected in the defensive character of ethno-nationalism and populism, which is quite common to many Balkan countries (Goussetis, 2000). The defensive character of ethnic-nationalism is all too reminiscent of the tactics employed by the national socialist movement in Germany in the 1920s, and of course, the military Junta of 1967. Tactics employed by the Golden Dawn, indeed, constitute a major threat to the very nature of democracy. While Giroux's analysis of proto-fascism specifically centres on the United States, there are most certainly a number of parallels that can be drawn vis-à-vis the case of Greece. Gounari (2011) critically juxtaposes the central elements of proto-fascist, racist, and hate ideology and its manifestations in Greek society.

The two features of proto-fascism that Panayota Gounari (2011) magnificently captures in *Manufacturing Fear: The Violence of Anti-Politics* is that of rampant nationalism and a selective populism "bolstered by the relationship between the construction of an ongoing culture of fear and a form of patriotic correctness" (Gounari, 2011, para. 16). In these dark times," notes Gounari, "we witness more and more incidents of racist violence against immigrants in Athens and other Greek cities. At the same time, ultraright nationalist parties (such as the Golden Dawn) gain new ground, and pseudopopulist discourse is taken to new heights as immigrants are blamed for the economic situation" (Gounari, 2011, para. 16). In her article in *Truthout*, "Papandreou Co-Opted Revolution – Now, the Greek People Must Reclaim It," Gounari asserts that militarization and symbolic violence manifested in economic, political and discursive form are daily "happenings" or "occurrences" in Greece today. Specifically,

> The repressive state apparatus is exhausting its force and unleashing its brutality on youth, women, pensioners and working people protesting in the streets of Athens and other cities. The presence of police forces in the streets of Athens on a daily basis brings to mind dark times of Greek history when the country was under cruel dictatorship. Amid daily new scenarios involving default, restructuring the debt, exiting the eurozone, return to the national currency and general speculation about the future that makes Greeks more and more insecure and desperate, material and symbolic violence are taken to a new level.... Under the auspices of neoliberal ideology that divests the state of any responsibility for social provisions (as evidenced in the degradation of the welfare state and cutbacks for working people), the weakened social and welfare state resorts more and more to material and symbolic violence,

including increased militarization, exponential increases in the police forces
and the omnipresence of police (para 14).

Gounari paints a very bleak, but accurate portrait that encapsulates Greece's
tremendous struggles today, many which are directly related to Greek identity.

2.7 The Rise of Populist and Neo-fascist Groups in the EU

The resurgence of ethno-nationalism has been emerging profoundly within
EU states as well as neighboring non-EU countries over the last few years. Groups
and parties such as the "Sweden Democrats" (a group with suspected neo-Nazi
roots) have proposed reducing asylum and family immigration by 90 percent. Their
group entered Parliament for the first time after winning 5.7 percent of the vote in
the general election in September 2010 (Castle, 2010). In early 2013, Marine Le Pen
of the far-right National Front called for the reinstatement of border controls within
the European Union and also promised to cut back immigration by 90 percent. Le
Pen and her party gained a record 17.9 percent of the vote (Mudde, 2012). In the
Netherlands, Geert Wilders's Party for Freedom, whose platform declares that "mass
immigration and Islamization are disastrous for Europe and the Netherlands," won
15.5 percent of the vote in the 2010 general election (Partij voor de Vrijheid; Kulish
2012, as cited in Reyes, 2013, para. 1). Clearly, there seems to be a new "dawn"
rising; one that bears tremendous implications on the idea of "preserving ethnic
identity" and "cracking down" on immigrants in these countries. While it can be, to
some extent, attributed to the failure, or inability, of the modern nation state to serve
the national community and to meet the needs of its minority populations in terms
of an equitable distribution of resources and opportunities (Pamir, 1997), there is
definitely more to this than meets the eye as to why this kind of fascism is
"suddenly" on the rise. Or is it? How much is too much immigration and do many
countries feel that they have lost control over their borders? Has modern
immigration become a form of neo-slavery? And how about sovereignty? Is declining
sovereignty and pervasive restrictionism in the politics of immigration in Europe
justifyable? Such questions alert us to the need to disaggregate this highly complex
policy arena and develop particularized generalizations about each component of
overall immigration policy.

2.8 Impact of right wing movements in Education and Educational Policy in Greece

With Greece at the epicentre of Europe's debt crisis, where poverty and unemployment are spiking, a fierce undercurrent of harsh anti-immigrant rhetoric combined with undercurrents of violence are taking root "in the malleable minds of patriotic youths" as they watch their country's sovereignty being eroded by foreign creditors and their jobs "stolen" by immigrants (Hall, 2013, para. 3). Golden Dawn's tentacles are making their way into the Greek education system, in public/state schools around the country, targeting pupils at schools, holding what are called "national awakening" sessions held at a Golden Dawn branch offices outside Athens (Athens, March 4, The Economist). And while many educators are shocked, others insist that "Greece must do everything to preserve her history; her identity." Perhaps, then, Golden Dawn is not the *cause* of negative sentiments against immigrants; perhaps Golden Dawn is a *product* of the deep-rooted historical insecurities and despair embedded deeply in the Greek collective consciousness.

2.9 Conclusion

Clearly, Greeks are protective of what is left of a once glorious past. Henri Bergson (1974) characterizes this instinct to defend ones nation as an instinct for war; a duty that takes on the form of hostility or violence if and when what we love is threatened. Thus, obligation implies a sense of cohesion and solidarity that is ultimately embedded in relations of inclusion and exclusion (see White, 2008). Bergson further argues that "[w]e commit a logical error when we suggest that it is possible to extend a love of family, community and nation to a cosmopolitan love of humanity precisely because the "habit of taking up habits" is necessarily organized by a desire to defend against enemies" (as cited in White, p. 57). Greeks have not been able to break free from this "habit," so to speak, because they have always felt that they have had to indefatigably defend themselves, their families, their nation, their identity, their "Greekness."

Greeks are struggling over the dilemma of how to "let go" of their "essential Greekness" which ultimately means: "letting in" other ethnicities to set up permanent residency in what (they feel) is left of their country. Moreover, many

Greeks blame the EU, and their entry to the EU, for diluting their identity and question whether they truly want to be "European" or in the EU at all (Greece's problems of maintaining both national sovereignty and national identity, and of preserving cultural particularity have preoccupied Greek political discourse since the beginning of the negotiations for Greece's accession into the European Community). Greeks have, on several occasions, reacted negatively to measures that allow foreigners to participate in national and/or local issues. The situation has become even more complex in lieu of the politico-economic crisis in Greece. These dilemmas, which ultimately lead to an impasse, have triggered ambivalent feelings toward national and European identity and toward the necessity of modernizing the nation's social, economic, and political structures (Panagiotopoulou, 1997). As *Kathimerini* newspaper put it: "Every institution, every group and every individual will have to redefine itself with regard to society as a whole" (Pine, 2010, para. 10), while talk of "the rebirth of a nation" is becoming more widespread. But how will such "rebirth" look like? Will Greece be able to move forward and "risk" leaving many aspects of this "essential Greekness" behind? This poses a tremendous challenge for Greeks who are the most reluctant of the southern EU states to recognize that it has become a country of immigrants, because at its core, Greece is simply *not* a nation of immigrants like the USA or Canada.

In sum, contemporary Greece appears to be living in the shadow of a once glorious history that is *not*. Greeks themselves often reminisce about this glorious past, their heritage, via monuments that reflect philosophy, democracy and politics. This imaginary pride, nevertheless, hides severe dangers that can quickly turn to hubristic tendencies of superiority (which is reflected in Golden Dawn's tenets), as Greeks often refuse to constructively reflect on the past, but perilously sink into derision and resentment when things that they feel they hold a certain ownership of become threatened. The preservation of the Greek cultural-historical heritage is immense for Greeks, which possibly prohibits them from seeing past the preoccupation of preserving their precious legacy, at any cost, even at the expense of democracy.

Indeed, "the process of globalization has increased integration of economies, politics and cultures, producing a tendency toward uniformity, thereby upsetting the

ability of individual nation-states to regulate economic activity, to extract and redistribute surpluses, to harmonize conflicting interests and to control political processes, as well as cultural values and practices within national boundaries" (Ardıç, 2009, p. 20). These emerging demographic changes, fluctuations, and tendencies toward integration and ethno-cultural uniformity have signaled a paradigm *shift*; in fact, globalization, in and of itself, gives ample cause for a paradigm shift toward a deterritorialized world.

This paradigm shift is certainly reflected in educational systems and policy reforms which, too, find themselves in the midst of political and ideological struggle, across Europe; across the globe. The implications of this paradigm shift are enormous and highly intricate. Professor of political science Daniel J. Elazar (2001) asserts that [w]hereas before, every state strove for self-sufficiency, homogeneity, and, with a few exceptions, concentration of (sovereign) authority and power at the center, under the new paradigm all states must recognize their interdependence; their heterogeneity (Elazar, 2001). European nation states must, therefore, rethink the hyper-nationalized conception(s) of the "homogeneous nation state," which ultimately necessitates a profound socio-political shift from an ideology of homogeneity to an ideology of heterogeneity and difference.

Like many European nations, Greece is currently undergoing a dramatic, painstaking transition, and seems to be in a state of mass confusion, feeling threatened that Greek national identity is becoming obsolete. Greeks are struggling over the dilemma of how to modernize without letting go of their essential "Greekness," which ultimately implies to let *in* other ethnicities. Moreover, many Greeks blame the EU for diluting their identity and question whether they truly want to be "European" at all. In their struggle with these "dilemmas" and how to come to grips with becoming a country with immigrants, Greek governments have tried to provide "a *quasi-social citizenship* for migrants, which is constantly undermined by restrictive migration legislation, and the narrow stance taken by the Court of the European Communities (ECJ)" (Konsta & Lazarides, 2010, p. 7). Restricting opportunities for full inclusion and citizenship of minorities ultimately undermines their legitimacy; they thus become marginalized in a so-called "democratic limbo," trapped in a zone of liminal legality – being kind of, but not really "citizens." Tim

Allen and Jean Seaton (1999) in their book *The Media of Conflict*, note that despite the hopes of a deepening democracy in Greece, ethnocentrism and nationalism have constituted serious obstacles to the process of democratization, as they perpetuate constitutional nationalism and the mechanism of exclusion this entails (Allen & Seaton, 1999, p. 177). There has, unfortunately, been a complete lack of action by the government and public bodies to overcome these obstacles. Xenophobic and xenoracist attitudes have increasingly been blamed for the absence of a civil society in Greece and the "lack of anti-racist education in a country where children are still taught to take immense pride in their '"ethnic purity"' (Guardian News and Media, 2010, para. 14). The paralyzing fear of endangering national sovereignty, coupled by a highly politicized cultural anxiety has come to haunt individual and collective imaginaries in the public life of Greece (Athanasiou, 2006). As anti-immigrant and anti-foreigner sentiments fuel, they reveal a rather stark, deeply divided and polarized society that propagates politics of exclusion/inclusion through emphasizing immanent, deep rooted distinctions between hosts and "strangers," while creating a seemingly irreconcilable gap that separates the two, rather than fostering conditions of reconciliation.

Such processes have blurred and distorted historically demarcated boundaries, shaking up the very foundations of sovereignty that many nation-states, including Greece, wish to uphold, thus tampering with long-standing notions of "citizenship." Furthermore, "Jekyll and Hyde[38]" approaches employed by governments add to the situation's complexity; approaches that are (for example), on the one hand, aimed at "filling the gaps" in labour markets, while on the other hand, ignore or fail to adequately and genuinely address the settlement, integration and educational needs of immigrants, which ultimately leads to increased fragmentation and manifests as xenophobia, racism and related intolerance. Exclusionary politics have created an urgency to address a range of humanitarian, ethical and economic issues that are central to the raging immigration debate. Foreign policy columnist for the *Washington Post* Anne Applebaum, describes Greece's bureaucracy as coming

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[38] Such "Jekyll and Hyde" (my characterization) approaches are very characteristic of Greek government "actions," whereby seemingly "good intentions" are followed by negative actions, or inaction.

"straight out of a Kafka novel" (Applebaum, 2010). She is not too far off from the truth. The Wall Street Journal points out that – extraordinarily – Greece, practically alone among developed economies, for one, does not have a centralized and computerized land registry which means, for example, that farmers can surreptitiously cultivate public land and eventually become de facto owners (Balz, 2010). To make matters worse, census records are not well-kept in the general registry and migration flows have been/are recorded (if at all) in a highly fragmented way. Hence, there is no easy way to distinguish between migrant, legal or illegal immigrant, asylum seeker, and refugee. Greek immigration policy is haphazard and largely incoherent, while the lack of public records on the duration of the stay of migrants makes the entire situation very confusing. Greece lacks coherent policies and this is reflected in the current "messy" political and economic situation. For years voters swing from one party to another, while governments seem to always be in transition and confusion, leading only to corruption and chaotic governance.

What I have provided is description of the political and social situation in Greece today vis-à-vis the issue of immigration. Greece is on the receiving end of massive attacks from other European countries who want to hold Greece accountable for neglecting immigrants and particularly for violating European asylum laws. All in all, Greece is presently on the *cusp* of a paradigm shift, which is not yet fully realized, particularly with regard to the mode of "state building" and its relationship to the collective perception of the ongoing paradigm shift from a mono-cultural society towards a multicultural society (Papadakis, 2006).

Immigrant subjectivities have always, and throughout history, had to struggle to assert their presence in the sphere of constitutional interpretation, and thereby, recalibrate the interpretive frame (Means, 2007). Making their presence known and legitimated allows them to *become* a part of "the people" but, perhaps, never entirely part of the "us" (this seems to be what many EU member states are resisting: immigrants cannot truly *be* part of the "us." For instance, a Somalian *can* immigrate to Greece and become part of "the people," but s/he will never *be* Greek; will never be "us"). When, however, they make their presence known in ways that undermine constitutional self-understanding, instead of engaging it, they are "not us" (Means, 2007). Immigrant subjectivities are, by definition, unprivileged and underprivileged in

Europe today, while their identities have constantly been shaped, reshaped, changed, and eventually altered to conform to, or to "fit," the dominant paradigm. Furthermore, rights are granted to, rights are taken away, and rights are suspended according to the interests of supranational or national entities. As a consequence, education systems, too, are having great difficulty addressing and subsequently meeting these enormous challenges. Given the ongoing tensions surrounding immigration, the immigration *experience* most certainly deserves a space in the literature so that the voices of immigrant subjectivities can be heard and possibly inspire considerations in shaping policy. What follows in chapter 3, as such, is a theoretical, empirical, and critical review of the literature that investigates and draws together some of the overarching themes and policy issues related to the education of immigrant students in Greece that identifies research gaps and foster policy recommendations aimed at improving education, research, practice, and policy affecting immigrant and marginalized youth.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive review and critical response to the literature that investigates the barriers that hinder inclusive education and citizen(ship) participation in education and other spheres of Greek society. Such barriers include xenoracism, sidelining, stigmatization, and marginalization – to name a few – that immigrant youth are often confronted with in Greek state schools, in addition to the lack of effective and consistent educational and public policies and programs that reflect the learning and social needs of immigrant students. Guided by the key research questions and themes identified in Chapter 1, as well as the contextual underpinnings outlined in Chapter 2, this literature review supports the study by lending itself not only to a deeper exploration into the political, economic, and social determinants and historical links that affect immigration in Greece today, but moreover, it seeks to facilitate, enrich, and reinforce the analytical and interpretive components of the study. The focus of this research is immigrant youth, one of the fastest growing demographics in Greece today (Reitz, Motti-Stefanidi, & Asendorpf, 2013) and at a very serious risk of being socially isolated within their social and school milieu, unsuccessfully transitioned, in danger of losing part, if not all, of their cultural identity, and consequently, at a higher risk of being involved in deviant and criminal behaviors (Ngo, 2009; Singer, 2004; Tonry, 1997; Wortley, 2009).

Although there are increasing references to, and numerous studies that reveal, and ultimately, confirm that immigrant students "often struggle in schools," have "lower scholastic outcomes" or "tend to have lower levels of education than natives," per se (Brind, Harper, & Moore, 2008; Di Bartolomeo, 2011; Driessen, 2000; Levels & Dronkers, 2008; Schnepf, 2007; Tienda & Haskins 2011), many of these studies conducted mainly in Australia, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and the United States – countries that are *traditionally* immigrant-receiving countries – tend to discuss immigrant students' educational disadvantages and the obstacles they encounter in their host countries

(Bonikowska, Green, & Riddell, 2010; Gunderson, D'Silva, & Odo, 2012). In addition, the sample sizes in many of these studies are quite large, making them more impersonal and distanced from the actual participants, which is a characteristic of quantitative research – to operate under the assumption of numerical objectivity. Few studies conducted within the broader Greek context actually *interact* directly with the immigrant student; *engage* with the immigrant student's experience of schooling, from the student's own perspective, and in the student's own voice.

The education of immigrant and minority students in Greece is "a problem" that runs deep and much beyond the country's capacity to envisage, or simply establish education policies for immigrant students. It is important to clarify that "the problem," I speak of, is not the *immigrant* or *immigration* per se; rather, it is the ubiquitous threat of the dissolution of national identity, particularly in the case of Greece. The question about how to educate immigrant and minority youth in Greece is tightly bound up with national identity. It is about defending that shared identity by sustaining and preserving the historical, collective, national memory; a *historical* memory that enables the nation to survive. Immigration is often seen as an "inconvenience" to a country's bureaucratic structures, since immigrants need education, healthcare, housing, and support services. But for counties like Greece, immigration threatens not only existing practices and beliefs that are deeply rooted in a strong cultural and social framework, but also, threaten to dissolve national unity and cohesion. I discuss state ideologies of national identity and history extensively in Chapter 8, *Meta-Theoretical Analysis*.

Policymaking in Greece must be understood as a rather ambiguous, yet polymorphic project that is often not followed through, in the sense that, while certain initiated policies might appear to be quite ambitious, even pragmatic and promising, they are at same time, highly contradictory when it comes to their implementation, thus creating a distance, or gap, between policy (aim) and practice (outcome). And while some ambiguity can oftentimes be regarded as useful to policy formation (see Cohen & Moffitt, 2009), it can also damage efforts to realize policy in practice, which appears to be the case with policy initiatives undertaken in Greece that were not, or have not been fully carried out. Perhaps, rethinking national identity in the age of immigration must become a priority in light of the unprecedented levels

of diversity and rapid demographic changes (Papademetriou, 2012; Papademetriou & Terrazas, 2010) that have taken place in Greece over the last two decades. But rather than unbundling the project of national citizenship and opening up possibilities for imagining new forms of solidarity and belonging that are less marked by the exclusionist histories of the modern nation-state (Purcell, 2003), many countries have instead, narrowed the rights to residency and citizenship by being more rigid, enforcing cultural conformity, taking steps whose (predictable) effects have been to isolate, and in some cases, penalize those who fall *outside* these norms (Papademetriou, 2012). In Greece, much of this exclusionary discourse is reflected in Prime Minister (the country's leader) Antonis Samaras's statements and threats to repeal laws that grant citizenship to second generation immigrants born in Greece (Dabilis, 2012). In a speech to his party membership, Samaras made frequent references to the Greek Orthodox faith and other "patriotic themes," claiming that, "There is no homeland without patriotism. There is no patriotism without pride." In addition, his sentiments on immigrants and refugees are clearly conveyed in his statement: "Greece has become a warehouse for all the undesirables" (Greek Reporter, April 26, 2012, para. 6). Indeed, the implications of citizenship acquisition and belonging, in Greece, lies in the elusive, prolific, and very powerful conceptions of "national identity."

3.2 Purpose

The aim of this literature review is to bring together some of the overarching themes and policy issues related to the education of immigrant students in Greece, and to examine the initiatives and policies that are in place for these students. This process might help identify any research gaps with the potential to foster policy recommendations aimed at improving education, research, practice, and policy affecting immigrant and marginalized youth. The review initially seeks to familiarize the reader with the basic assumptions about the problem of immigration and the crucial implications for the social adaptation and education of immigrant students in Greece, and at the same time, provide important insights into the policy implications of the education of immigrant students in Greek state schools. To accomplish an all-encompassing review, I will consider the school context, i.e., the organization and

educational practices available to immigrant students in state schools, like teacher preparation, after school programs, and language learning possibilities. In addition, I attempt to establish an historical and sociopolitical connection that will enable the development of a conceptual framework for the research undertaken in this dissertation, i.e., the historical, societal, and political influences that marginalize immigrant youth, and the intercultural, political, and institutional dimensions involved in policy making. In an attempt to address the dynamics and mechanisms that contribute to the marginalization of immigrant people, I have divided the literature review into three main segments. The first segment examines the contemporary sociopolitical context in Greece with a broader emphasis on the role of ethnic and racial groups, like the "Muslim Minority" (the only officially recognized minority in Greece) in Thrace, and the existing economic and power relations between dominant and subordinate groups. In this segment I take a closer look at the relevant literature around the effect of immigration on the economic and political stability in Greece, as well as the historical patterns of nation building and policymaking. The second segment looks at the literature with reference to the specific challenges facing immigrant youth, and the third segment explores the theoretical and empirical understandings of the immigration experience and seeks to investigate the literature of existing organizations, programs, and policy initiatives currently offered to immigrants. I thus began this literature review by combing through the last three decades of relevant research in the field. It is important to note that the review is not limited to scholarly journals, alone; rather, it includes published, or at the very least, printed community sources on the needs of immigrant youth, books, newspapers, on-line archives, textbooks, and research published by the Hellenic Migration Policy Institute and other institutes and organizations. Materials reviewed are written in both Greek and English, which has allowed for a more inclusive review with a broader and deeper scope of the issues discussed throughout this dissertation.

3.3 The Greek Peculiarity

Immigration has become a highly contentious issue over the past three decades, and as such, has received wide public and media attention, mainly centering

on the inflexible, and many times, inhumane ways immigrant receiving countries treat their new immigrants or immigrant populations. Greece has been undergoing tremendous scrutiny by the media, and by the greater European community for incoherent, inadequate, and oftentimes, *non-existent*, citizenship and immigration policies (Apostolatou, 2004; Pantelidou, Kakepaki, Maratou-Alipranti, & Nikolaou, 2007; Zartaloudis, 2013). The political discourses and tensions surrounding immigration have most certainly placed immigration policy, and particularly efforts to "manage [im]migration,[39]" high on the political agendas of many countries in the global north (Martell, 2010; Sassen, 2002; Talani, 2009; Triantafyllidou, 2009). The multidimensional aspects and multifaceted dynamics of immigration and the interpenetration of cultures and economies – which have been further exacerbated by globalization and internationalization – have increased the inflow and incorporation of "others," "foreigners" "allodapous[40]" or "xenous" into Greek society, posing serious threats and challenges to Greece's "mythical" monolingual, mono-cultural, mono-religious, mono-ethnic society – once considered to be the most homogeneous country in Europe (Hatzis, 2001). The sudden and massive influx of foreigners into the country – a country virtually unprepared and lacking, and continuing to lack, a coherent immigration policy – since Greece was initially and *traditionally* a sending country, rather than a receiving country – has created not only a demographic shift for immigrant-receiving societies, but has caused a severe national identity crisis that has radically challenged the self-perception of Greek nationhood (Christopoulos, 2009). This shift in Greek national identity vis-à-vis the context of the so-called "new migration" (Xenitidou, White, & Homer, 2007) has essentially altered long-standing, monolithic, seemingly intolerant and increasingly exclusionary citizenship policies that are currently targeted at accelerating the assimilation of immigrants, rather than preserving ethnic identities by promoting intercultural dialogue aimed at fostering mutual understanding and social cohesion. Alexandra

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[39] While it is important to distinguish between migrant (who is temporarily on the move) and an immigrant who comes to a country with the intention to stay, I will be using the term "migrant" and "immigrant" interchangeably throughout the literature review (many scholars, too, use the terms interchangeably).

[40] Allodapos (etymology) - (Greek: strange, foreign, or belonging to another kind).

Simou (2011) superbly encapsulates the national imaginary of the Greek, in comparing the public's negative treatment of new immigrants in Greece today, with the (xeno)phobic attitudes that Greek emigrants, themselves, had to face in their host countries earlier in the twentieth century. Simou asserts that Greeks appear to make a clear distinction between the "migrant-us" and the "immigrant-them" that gives way to different migration narratives whereby the "national-Self" is reproduced as a homogeneous category, either against the exploitative "Other" (host of Greek emigration), or against the "immigrant-Other" (invader of national borders). In other words, the Greek migrant experience rather than narrowing down the bridge between the Greek and the "immigrant," produces "the typified figure of the Greek migrant" which eventually has come to play a key role in the construction of a homogeneous, solid and resilient Greek identity, paving the way for the construction of the "new immigrant" as Other (Simou, 2011).

There is, indeed, a distinctive quality, *ιδιαιτερότητα,*[41] or *nature* that underpins Greek (state, ethnic, and cultural) identity, while the socio-economic conditions and characteristics of Greek immigration are highly context specific and unique to Greece as a now "new migrant *receiving* country." While some of these "distinctive qualities," conditions, and characteristics will become increasingly clear throughout the literature review, it is important to briefly highlight that Greek cultural identity relies on (and has historically relied on), and fosters, collectivity and social intimacy, rather than individuality. The cherishing of the collective mentality could, therefore, be attributed to the role of the nation-state, which has in many ways impeded the development of Greek civil society. Greek identity is, thus, more of an abstract cultural ideal than a formation process that stems from specific institutions and material conditions (Tziovas, 2003). Furthermore, the boundaries of identity are marked by "the distinction between 'kith and kin' (i.e., nuclear family, kindred, and people of shared geographical origins – other Greeks) and 'outsiders' (all those outside the above categories)" (Tziovas, 2003, p. 18). This creates powerful dichotomies of inclusion and exclusion that have had a decisive effect on the social integration of those who migrate to Greece.

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[41] Peculiarity

Lastly, but central to understanding the "Hellenic exception" (Kouvelakis, 2011), is Greece's historical development and the country's particularly brutal transition to capitalist modernization (Kouvelakis, 2011). Professor Stathis Kouvelakis (2011) in his article "The Greek Cauldron," provides a succinct overview and coherent timeline highlighting the crucial events and political developments of Modern Greek history. In fact, Greece is, at the present time, the Eurozone's "weakest link" because of key historical events that have played an integral part in shaping Greece's political economy, which has subsequently lead the country to financial disaster. Specifically, the fall of the Greek Junta in 1974 brought an end to a repressive cycle that initially begun with the start of the civil war in 1946, producing a sense of liberation that was far out of proportion, followed by a *metapolitefsi*, or regime change – a particularly effervescent change that radicalized Greek society in very distinct ways, unlike the post-Franco transition in Spain, or the Carnation Revolution in Portugal (Kouvelakis, 2011). Greece also possessed nothing comparable to the social compromise forged elsewhere in Europe in the 1950s and 60s, claims Kouvelakis; that is, there was no welfare state, no social democratic party, and wage labour continued to be very low. Workplace regimes were very repressive and unionization was impossible in the private sector, while unions are kept on a very tight rein in the public domain. Such events precipitated outward migration. The social compact, on which Greek governments had rested on, excluded the working class and peasantry and relied on the support of the petty bourgeoisie family-run businesses. Because of this compact, the Greek class structure has preserved a "distinctive peculiarity" compared to other European states: the relatively large petty bourgeoisie meant that wage earners came to constitute a majority of the population only in the 1970s. The narrow tax base, complemented by the lack of social welfare systems also reinforced another peculiarity: the reduced size of the Greek state, especially small if we leave aside its hypertrophied repressive apparatus (Kouvelakis, 2011). Greece's struggle to attend to the well-being and needs of its own citizens has historically, and as a result, posed enormous challenges. Hence, without a coherent immigration strategy or policy in place, it is difficult to imagine how Greece will attend to its immigrant population; to *non*-citizens.

3.4 The Muslim Minority, Turkey and Greece and *the Ottoman Imprint*

Another crucial factor that will provide insight into better understanding the immigration situation as well as immigrant education with relation to policy and citizenship education in Greece, today, and most importantly, when it comes to immigrants who are Muslim in religious orientation, is the ever-present "Ottoman imprint" that is deeply embedded in the collective soul of the Greeks. As such, I underscore the importance of Greek and Turkish policies that were created during the second half of the 20th century (in Greece), with respect to providing educational opportunities to the relatively large Muslim/Turkish minority population in northern Greece. While there are numerous inconsistencies in policy related to the education of Muslim minority children (Aarbakke, 2001; Antoniou, 2005; Karakasidou, 1993; Lambrianidis, 1999), there has been a significant and growing body of literature that investigates the dynamics of Muslim, and/or Turkish minority representations in Greece, specifically, in Western Thrace.[42] Leading scholars in the area of research and literature involving the Muslim Minority in Thrace include Thalia Dragona(s) and Anna Frangoudaki(s) (1997; 2001), respectively, whose contributions to enhancing the education of minority children in Thrace have been noteworthy, albeit, *not* without resistance from nationalist constituencies. Ultimately, the "Greek majority priority" principle, a perception deeply rooted in Greek society, trumps when it comes to providing justification for discrimination against minority groups and foreigners in Greece (Pavlou, 2007).

In addition, scholars like Anagnostou, 2001; Anagnostou & Triandafyllidou, 2005; Anastasakis, Nicolaidis & Öktem, 2009; Aslan, 2009; Borou, 2009; Boussiakou, 2008; Grigoriadis, 2008; Psimmenos & Kassimati, 2004; Tekin, 2010; Tsitselikis, 2004a; Tsitselikis 2004b, and Ziaka, 2009, have extensively examined the controversial, political, religious, and citizenship demands of the minority population in Thrace. And while steps appear to have been taken, at least politically, to

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[42] The Minority population of Western Thrace is not a homogenous entity and is comprised of several minority status people like the Pomaks, the Roma and Armenians. However, the Muslims of Western Thrace are the largest religious minority in Greece and are estimated to number around 120,000 (Spyropoulos & Fortsakis, 2009).

acknowledge and *legitimate* the rights of the Muslim minority population in Greece,[43] following a series of political and institutional reforms that took place in the early 1990s vis-à-vis the legal, political, and cultural rights of minorities – including initiatives encouraging minority participation in local/regional administrations and internationalisation of minority rights that have influenced Greek government policy towards its minorities, especially in the legal area – (see Anagnostou; 2001; 2005; Anagnostou & Triandafyllidou, 2007; Frangoudakis & Dragona, 2008), such initiatives were not entirely carried out. In fact, many of these initiatives and changes in Greece's minority policies, including programs like "Education for the Muslim Minority Children," were initiated with the vision to improve education in Western Thrace (which included developing new textbooks that were never delivered to the schools) and energized by politicians (mainly the PASOK government) who had a vision of a more "European Greece" (Tekin, 2010). By and large, it has been very difficult to change Greek peoples' perceptions of the *other*, who continues, in the minds of Greeks, to remain *lesser* than "our own kind." Hence, policy planning and reform implementation always seems to be stalled, delayed, forgotten, and "not important enough" in the grand scheme of things; in the name of "Greekness." Today, Muslims in Thrace remain segregated and virtually cut off from many paths of mobility open to other Greek citizens (Karakasidou, 1995), which has serious implications on their livelihood. Not having access to citizenship does not allow these people to obtain licenses so that they may use tractors for agricultural purposes, for instance; they are not able to obtain hunting licenses, since they are not citizens, and furthermore, they cannot be employed in the public sector (this excludes the teachers of the Muslim minority, i.e., minority teachers have been employed by the public sector to teach in schools, mainly in Thrace[44]). And while education remains one of the only avenues of social mobility open to most Muslims in Greece, the majority is functionally illiterate within the Greek nation-state, and

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[43] Greece recognizes *one* minority: the Muslim religious minority in Western Thrace, who are, in turn, protected by the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923.

[44] Christian teachers are paid by the Greek state. The Greek Muslims who come from the Thessaloniki Pedagogical Academy are *also* paid by the Greek state. The Greek state subsidizes the functioning of Muslim minority schools in Thrace (See Human Rights Watch; Boussiakou, 2007).

uninterested in assimilating with Greek national culture and society (Dragonas & Frankgoudakis, 2008; Karakasidou, 1995).

Greece's refusal to recognize any other minority, other than the Muslim minority has, in the recent past (2008), created a sensitive and politically charged climate that also bears serious implications on the interethnic relations between Greeks and the existing Macedonian (Slavic) minority[45] of northern Greece. Denying the existence of minorities undermines the country's democratic structure, a structure the Greeks have so passionately been struggling to uphold through over 400 years of Ottoman occupation and up to 1974, or after the fall of the Junta dictatorship and beyond. In response to a letter that the Prime Minister of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Nikola Gruevski sent to Greece's Prime Minister Kostas Karamanlis in 2008 (in an attempt to bring up the Macedonian issue in Greece), Karamanlis responded that:

> There is no "Macedonian" minority in Greece. There never has been.
> In this respect, any allegations regarding the existence of such a
> minority are totally unfounded, politically motivated and disrespectful of
> the historic realities of the region" (Hellenic Republic, July 19, 2008,
> para. 1).

In other words, the Greek state, officially, does *not* recognize the Macedonian minority in Greece. The implications are discussed further in the *Meta-Theoretical Analysis* chapter. So, how can a society be democratic without sufficient provisions and protections in place for its minorities (Philippou, 2007), let alone the blatant denial of their very existence? This "official" denial of an ethnic minority's existence (which is in extension a denial of their full civic status) in a sense, presents what Žižek refers to as an act of "systemic violence," which is a violence invisible to those on the privileged side and perpetuates fear, anger and mistrust on the side of the disadvantaged, which in this case is the minority which is left deprived of full civic rights. Systemic (or objective) violence is perhaps, a more dangerous kind of violence with catastrophic consequences for the smooth functioning of economic and political systems (Žižek, 2008). Unfortunately, however, the existence of these structures in Greek society is irrefutable and undeniable.

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[45] The Macedonian minority of northern Greece is *not* recognized as a minority by the Greek state.

Anagnostou & Triandafyllidou (2007) suggest that changes in *how* the entire Greek education system is run are necessary, and this basically means taking a much less centred approach to the single national culture and language (and religion). Rather, a broader approach that introduces the need for mutual learning and understanding of cultures and ethnic traditions of the *other* people who live in Greece, not only the Muslim minority's culture in Thrace, but also the cultures of large immigrant groups that now reside in Greece, are changes that must take place, first. The Greek Orthodox Church's refusal to withdraw from the public arena and sever ties to the state constitutes a serious obstacle that prevents the changes suggested above from taking place. Also, the much contested legacy of Ottoman rule and Greece's perpetually troubled relations with Turkey, continue to influence policymaking in Greece. In summary, the two most important factors that influence current Greek educational policy regarding immigrants and minorities is the rise of Greek nationalism focused upon unity through the Eastern Orthodox Church, and the ongoing antagonism between Greece and Turkey based on settling old scores with the Ottoman Empire (Kandemir, 1995; Pollis, 1999; Molokotos-Liederman, 2003; Stavrakakis, 2002).

The presence of Islam in Greece and the strained nature of Greek-Turkish relations are by no means new phenomena. A recent inflow of new immigrants, many of them from predominantly Muslim Southeast Asian and North African countries (Evergeti & Hatziprokopiou, 2012), makes broaching this topic very pertinent to the discussion. Because of Greece's Ottoman past, Islam in Greece is often associated with the Turkish/Ottoman "other" (Evergeti & Hatziprokopiou, 2012; Evergeti, Hatziprokopiou, & Prevelakis, 2013). As such, Greece's struggle to preserve the country's cultural ethos, ultimately lies in the "Ottoman imprint" (Brown, 1996; Fortna, Katsikas, Kamouzis, & Konortas, 2013) and the ongoing antagonism that strains Greek-Turkish relations that are deeply rooted in a past that neither countries have ever really come to terms with. Understanding the origins of Greek nationalism, therefore, necessitates a clear recognition of the Ottoman past, and the way in which national identity has become re-constructed for the Greeks. In this re-construction of the (new) Greek state, the Ottoman side of Greek heritage is a crucial factor that should be obvious, but is often ignored by those unfamiliar with

the country's history. Much of the literature, in fact, reveals that there is more of a display of, and pride, in the ancient Greek side of Greece, rather than the Byzantine/Ottoman side. Greeks themselves try to hide the Byzantine/Ottoman side of Greek identity (Detrez & Segaert, 2008; Heraclides, 2011; Millas, 2002) – and this is obvious in how the Greeks have tried to erase many things that served as a reminder of their Ottoman heritage, including thousands of mosques that were built by the Ottomans (and subsequently torn down) – but even so, there still remains a strong Ottoman presence that cannot be ignored (Haci, Feb, 2013; Binder, 2012). Maria Todorova (1997; 2009) argues that self-identities that were constructed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the Balkans, and of course Greece, were the result of opposition to the "oriental others," which would be the Ottoman Turks.

The Greek and the Turkish nation states and their citizens who identify themselves as Greeks and Turks, claims Millas (2005),

> …exhibit a series of recurring behaviors towards the "Other" that may be designated as "nationalistic." The image of the "Other" portrayed in Greek and Turkish discourses, reveals the manner in which national identity is created, developed, and reproduced as well as the framework within which bilateral relations are carried on. Nationalism functions as a binary system where "we" and the "Other" and are permanently present and interdependent (Millas, para. 1, 2005).

The problematic historical background of relations between the two peoples, which we mainly owe to fabricated national narratives, has had a deep impact on bilateral relations, including minority and immigration policies (Tekin, 2010).

In addition, Greece displays a distinctiveness among European nations, which provides an instructive case. In particular, the positioning of religion as the primary criterion of identity is a rather striking and unique feature, at odds with the prevalent notions of national identity amongst western societies where secular models have long prevailed. Hercules Millas, (2005), who studies interethnic perceptions in Greek and Turkish textbooks, maintains that while the image presented about "each other" has improved over the years, there is still, a long way to go; the controversy is far from being resolved. Millas states that for the first time the Greek Ministry of Education (and Religious Affairs), as well as historians, have clearly supported more positive changes in the school books (Millas, 2005). Recent controversy, however, was sparked with the introduction of the new grade six Greek

history textbook in 2007 by the Ministry of Education. The controversy was (and continues to be) overwhelming – even though the book did not make it to the classrooms – and very reactionary, stating that the textbook glosses over the hardships that Greeks faced under Ottoman rule, is biased towards Turks, and underestimates the role of the Orthodox Church in the battle for independence (Kremida, 2007). I discuss in more detail, in the *Meta-Theoretical Analysis* chapter, why such textbook narratives are important in understanding notions of nation building, ethnic preservation, and "ethnic engineering" and why it is so important for "Greekness" to be preserved at all cost.

3.5 Immigration Policy in the Midst of Financial Chaos

Given the recent global economic downturn, followed by Greece's fiscal crisis in 2008, it seems certain that the issue of how best to understand and manage international migration will become even more contentious, divisive and challenging for governments and international organizations in the years to come (Chamie, 2008); hence, it is of the utmost urgency to heighten people's awareness and understanding through promoting education for inclusive global citizenship in schools and higher education institutions. Schools are, after all, a vehicle through which identity, perceptions and understandings – real or imagined – are imprinted and developed (Lödén, 2008; Merali & Marusiak, 2005; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007). How the dominant cultural majority frames the educational system and the values that it propagates through schooling can either be inclusive, i.e., a vehicle through which to promote principles of social cohesion, solidarity, and equality or, exclusive, by equally propagating prejudice, stereotypes, perceptions of cultural confrontation, superiority, or discrimination (Tryantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007). There is, therefore, an urgent need for educational policies (or policies as reflected in *practices*, in general) that are able to respond to the needs of the entire student population; for educational policies that are culturally sensitive, that enhance educational, socialization and personal development opportunities for students of all communities (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2007). It is on the basis of such pragmatic considerations that my research contributes to current formations and practices of citizenship education and lends

particular insights into the symptoms and causes of social exclusion and the denial of substantive citizenship rights to immigrants.

The most recent wave (1990s) and heightened levels of immigration (and migration) – fuelled mainly by economic forces and pressures of globalization in promoting the potential for power diffusion and relocation (Aydinli & Rosenau, 2005) – has sparked massive debates and has raised serious questions and concerns regarding the promotion and sustainability of a just global system that takes into account the human needs and human rights of immigrant subjectivities. Overall, immigration within the European Union (EU), and more so in Greece, has become an extremely complex, multi-faceted "problem" (and a bone of contention between EU member states and Greece, mainly at the supranational EU level, since national level "choices" on how to "handle" immigration contradict the supranational level policy design) that cuts across policy areas. Basically, any measures taken by the Greek governments about the "immigration phenomenon" are mainly derived from EU directives (particularly under the chaotic financial conditions plaguing Greece today). Although Greek immigration policy is certainly affected by European (immigration) policy, there are some deficiencies of the state policy that are caused by ethical factors such as the complexity of the legislation process and bureaucratic nature of its implementation (Spinthourakis, et al., 2008b). Immigration, then, becomes a population problem, an economic problem, a human rights problem, a security problem. Ultimately, immigration is, in and of itself, a highly intricate matter with tremendous economic, social, political, and cultural ramifications and is by its very nature a policy problem[46] that has escalated out of control in the last decades, fuelled by globalization.

Martin Baldwin-Edwards (2004), co-director of Mediterranean Migration Observatory at Panteion University of Athens, provides a "coherent account of a largely incoherent situation" (p. 2) – referring, of course, to migration flows into Greece, migrants, policy responses and the socio-economic effects of migration in

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[46] Most nations are inherently opposed to immigration (to begin with) – except, perhaps, when immigrants serve to cover labour shortages. The main "problem," then, is the systematic failure (or inability) to enforce laws or to offer "rational" policy alternatives that cannot be applied universally. Immigration subsequently becomes an extremely complex, multi-faceted problem (that cuts across policy areas): a population problem, an economic problem, a human rights problem, a security problem, etc.

Greece. Baldwin-Edwards offers a comparative analysis of Greek migration to other southern European countries in his presentation/article "International migration: promoting management and integration – Immigration into Greece, 1990-2003: *A Southern European Paradigm*." His contribution to international migration to southern Europe has been of great importance, particularly in the Greek context, since there is a (chronic) lack of adequate funding for state research. Baldwin-Edwards points out that throughout modern Greek history, legal immigration flows have been "small and unknown," while illegal entry into the country has been impossible to estimate due to insufficient data (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004, p. 2). In his research, Baldwin-Edwards provides a significant compilation of migration data from 1990 to 2003. He discusses how immigration in Greece has become "criminalized" and how the development of the "dangerous immigrant" stereotype (particularly with regards to Albanians) has come into play. In the early 1990s, a very large number of illegal immigrants (mainly undocumented immigrants) stayed in Greece regardless of government policy. Subsequently (1998), a temporary "White Card" was granted for 6 months, followed by a "Green Card" of the duration 1-3 years.

A 2001 Census was conducted in February 2001 (and managed by the National Statistical Service[47]) with the explicit objective of assuring that all immigrants be recorded. Advertising campaigns and public assurances of the confidentiality of the data, along with some collaborations with immigrant NGOs, resulted in successful data collection, which Baldwin-Edwards identifies as "the first, and to date only, serious record of immigrants in Greece" (p. 5). Baldwin-Edwards provides impressive data and comprehensive charts, as well as a brief analysis of the socio-economic effects of migration in Greece. Furthermore, he addresses immigrant education claiming that while immigrant children in Greece form as much as 40% of

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[47] The Greek/Hellenic Statistical Authority (Ελληνική Στατιστική Αρχή – ΕΛ.ΣΤΑΤ) is an independent and autonomous authority in Greece that deals with the collection of data on behalf of the state. Prior to 2010, ΕΛ.ΣΤΑΤ was a non-autonomous service of the Greek state known as the National Statistical Service of Greece. The primary user of the Hellenic Statistical Authority is the Greek state, though international organizations such as the European Commission (Eurostat) and others use it. Important to note is that, prior to becoming an independent authority, ELSTAT was involved in a number of scandals involving false statistics regarding the condition of the Greek economy in recent years (see Στον ΑΠ τα ψευδή στοιχεία που εστάλησαν στη Eurostat (in Greek).

the school population (in some school districts that are populated mainly by immigrants), no intercultural education, or immigrant minority language instruction exist – if only on paper. In conclusion, Baldwin-Edwards identifies some common features between Greece and other southern European countries, which include large informal economies (20-30%), low participation rates (except Portugal), large agricultural sectors and other labor-intensive economic sectors, and a demographic shift to elderly populations without state welfare care. He maintains that all these features favour the illegal and semi-legal employment of immigrants as seasonal farm labour, housekeepers, construction workers, etc. On the other hand, he notes some major differences in the case of Greece. Over 50% of Greece's immigrants are predominantly from one country: *Albania*. Although the actual numbers are uncertain, approximately 3.5 percent of Greece's population is Muslim from Albania, and as mentioned previously, there is also an indigenous Muslim community in Thrace of about 120,000 persons (Tsitselikis, 2012). These immigrants are mostly with low educational levels (which is not the case in the rest of southern Europe). Furthermore, Greece's immigrants, who arrived in the last 15 years, make up 7% of the population, while most immigrants arrived illegally in Greece (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004). Lastly, the Greek conception of ethnicity has created serious problems for acceptance of immigrants into society. It seems (and this frequently arises in the literature) that Greece has made no attempt to minimize illegal migration through formal recruitment workers, while the government appears to be in a constant mode of delaying any implementation of EU permanent resident permits.

3.6 The "Problem" of Immigration

For Greece, immigration has turned into a policy crisis handled badly (or not "handled" at all). The widespread frustration (both at the national level and among European Union member states) with the Greek government's inaction, or unwillingness[48] to take active responsibility to construct workable, coherent integration policies and programs for immigrants (whose ever-growing presence has

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[48] This translates into lack of political will and fragmentation of organized interests, which is linked to a deficient engagement of policy making, failures and, ultimately, inefficient reforms.

become a major economic and social destabilizer[49]), coupled by a (latent) ethnocentric, monoculture political agenda that almost functions as a retrospective defense against "multiculturalism[50]" even "interculturalism,[51]" has fostered deep suspicion and antipathy toward immigrants, predicated on this overarching, illusory myth of preserving Greek "ethnic purity." To make matters worse, Greece's burdens mount when an estimated 90 percent of the European Union's illegal immigrants use Greece as the "back door" to gain access to "fortress Europe" (Spiegel, 2011), which essentially brings us to a tremendous void that exists in the "total" approach to this country's increasingly insurmountable problems (RIEAS, 2011). Unfortunately, immigration problems (and other problems) in Greece are very much like the Lernaean Hydra – chop off one head and (at least) two more grow in its place. Nevertheless, one of the greatest policy problems, or concerns of immigration throughout the EU, has been the question of integration (both social and systems integration) of immigrants and their families in their host societies and, as well, for host/receiving countries, which brings to bear a plethora of *other* issues, one of which is the social and ethicized inequalities present in education – which my study further investigates – and not excluding labour market issues and immigrant access to relevant networks and public institutions (Bratsberg, et al., 2010). Furthermore, issues of social cohesion (and social capital) come into play in the wake of newly risen social and ethnic differentiations and boundaries that create tremendous conflicts due to cultural, ethnic, and religious differences. After surveying the political, social and policy landscape, there is a better sense of why it is that immigrant subjectivities remain hidden or lost from the dominant cultural structures, and more importantly, why immigrant students continue to be marginalized and excluded from educational policy making. My research provides a necessary foundation to better understanding current educational policymaking in Greece.

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[49] Illegal immigration is actually an asymmetrical threat (too many "illegals") aimed at destabilizing the Greek state.

[50] In a pragmatic, liberal sense, *multiculturalism* is, by many, considered an assault on Eurocentrism, "on the procrustean forcing of cultural heterogeneity into a single paradigmatic perspective in which Europe is seen as the unique source of meaning, as the world's centre of gravity, as ontological 'reality' to the rest of the world's shadow" (Shohat & Stam, 1994, p. 2)

[51] Interculturalism is the new "term" to replace multiculturalism and denotes interaction between cultures, rather than integration into a national culture.

As long as immigration and immigrants are seen as "problem," politicians and nations will continue to employ exclusionary tactics that create huge divides, rather than bring people together. And while there appears to be great controversy surrounding Greece's efforts "to deal" with a growing influx of immigrants on multiple levels (social, economic, political, etc.), the policy debate on immigrant integration is, perhaps, a more burning issue in need of immediate attention in the EU. For Greece this "problem" will not "go away" until some sort of access to citizenship through legal channels is rendered possible and if there is some way to control the "out of control" problem of "illegal immigration" or undocumented immigrants. However, citizenship's paradoxical duality of being "internally inclusive" and "externally exclusive" still holds strong in the case of Greece (see Brubaker, 1992), despite the massive influx of immigration.[52] Immigration is, clearly, a social and economic problem. Not only are immigrants seen as taking up valuable resources, but their presence is making it increasingly difficult to amalgamate communities, thus undermining their sense of national identity. Policy makers must find ways to balance the economic need for migrants against the social problems they seemingly create. Immigration inevitably leads to fears about its social consequences, mainly because the presence of immigrants helps crystallize already existing social anxieties; anxieties about national identity and social cohesion (Malik, 2007); this holds particularly true in the case of Greece. The sheer inadequacy of current policies (or policy proposals) in Greece has caused considerable polarization (to the left and the extreme right) that not only discriminates against immigrants, but that fundamentally violates social justice ethical frameworks. Without a potential path to citizenship, or attaining legal status, immigrant people are left vulnerable and unprotected. As such, comprehensive citizenship reform in Greece is necessary, and ought to be rooted in human rights and social justice principles. The need for a restructuring of policy that allows for fair access and opportunity is more urgent now, than ever (see Kymlicka, 2003). Because of the vast array of literature surrounding immigration, my study, for practical purposes, focuses specifically on

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[52] It seems reasonable to liberalize access to citizenship for permanent residents and to allow the option for double or dual citizenship. I discuss citizenship more extensively in the *Meta-Theoretical Analysis* chapter and throughout the dissertation.

the "immigration situation" in Greece and on educational policies and programs that are (or are not) implemented and/or that are made available to immigrant students when they enter the Greek public school system.

3.7 Studies on the immigrant student experience

The review of the literature further reveals that there are few studies that focus on immigrant student experiences, and less so, on the "lived experiences" from the perspective of immigrant students in public or state school classrooms, even though the presence of immigrant students is becoming more prevalent as a result of global migration. My study is located within a hermeneutic quasi-phenomenological framework because it explored the perceived lived experiences of immigrant students in Greek state schools, while the hermeneutic component also emerged from the co-interpretations – as reflected in the pre-interview activity process[53] – between me, as researcher, and the student participants. A study that adopts a similar paradigm was conducted by Jyoti Rookshana Jhagroo (2011) and focuses specifically on immigrant students transitional experiences in their mathematics classrooms. Jhagroo examines the perceived past and present lived experiences of ten immigrant students and how these experiences influence their transition in the mathematics classrooms. Jhagroo's study, in addition, offers an interpretation of the students' perceptions of how their parents' would have rated their ability to transition in the mathematics classroom, which offers another dimension in understanding their academic self-concept. Jhagroo's interpretations are made (as are my own interpretations in this study) from the borrowed experiences of the immigrant students and presented through the researcher's lens.

Another qualitative phenomenological study conducted my Luz Barrientos (2011) attempts to understand the social and academic adjustment of Hispanic immigrant high school students in their school environments in the United States. Barrientos collects data through semi-structured interviews with 8 Hispanic immigrant students in one public suburban high school. Barrientos's study revealed

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[53] "Co-interpretation" denotes the ongoing dialogical process between the participants and me during the interviewing process, and their interpretations of the pre-interview activities. The participants did not partake in the interpretation of the data they produced, which is solely my own, even though they contributed significantly to my self-understanding of what they said.

that Hispanic immigrant students experience some indirect encounters of discrimination, but stated that their (other) Hispanic classmates had revealed that they had sensed discrimination from students and teachers. Barrientos concludes that teachers and administrators should not generalize about Hispanic immigrant students because their experiences vary significantly. And while research involving immigrant students learning experiences in schools is slowly growing, there is, at this time, a dearth of research and scholarly literature related to some of the learning and social obstacles that surround the educational experiences of immigrant students.

3.8 Educational Policy Initiatives in Greece

A review of the literature on the education of immigrant youth reveals that educational policy initiatives in Greece have not been meeting the long-term needs of immigrant students who continue to struggle in schools both academically and socially, in contexts that reflect dominant, mainstream, traditional Greek society. Consequently, immigrant students continue to lack viable learning opportunities when compared to the Greek pupils (Paleologou, 2004). The OECD policy review of migrant[54] education recently launched to compare education outcomes of immigrant students to those of their native (Greek) peers, in fact, confirms that students with an immigrant background are known to perform *worse* than native students, and subsequently, tend to have lower employment outcomes than the children of natives in most countries[55] (see OECD, 2010). More specifically, recent studies (Dimakos & Tasiopoulou, 2003; Drettakis 2000; Nickolaou, 2000) confirm that a large number of immigrant students in Greece experience "school failure" and other "school-related problems"; in other words, they fail to complete the lower high school grade (gymnasium) and even more fail to complete the upper high school grade (lyceum).

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[54] While it is important to distinguish between migrant (who is temporarily on the move) and an immigrant who comes to a country with the intention to stay, I will be using the term "migrant" and "immigrant" interchangeably throughout the study. My thesis, however, focuses mainly on (non-EU) immigrants.
[55] This does *not* however appear to be the case in Canada. "Children of immigrants have better educational outcomes in Canada than in any other Western democracy. Indeed, uniquely amongst Western countries, second-generation immigrants in Canada actually outperform children of non-immigrant parents" (OECD, 2006, as cited in Kymlicka, 2009, p. 3). Moreover, this is not solely due to the higher socioeconomic background of immigrants in Canada – on the contrary, immigrant children from lower socio-economic backgrounds also do better in Canada than in other countries (Kymlicka, 2009).

School principals interviewed in the late 1990s reported immigrant students' lack of language fluency and difficulty transitioning to their new school environments, while no "official" language transition programming was (is) in place for such students, except perhaps in "cross-cultural schools," where at least 45% of students are repatriated Greek and/or foreign students. In cross-cultural schools the standard curriculum is adapted to meet the specific educational, social or cultural needs of the students attending them (Mitakidou, Tressou & Daniilidou, 2009), which perhaps suggests a *willingness* for the realization of the vision of a school for all children. Despite this provision, there are only 26 cross-cultural schools established in Greece since 1996 (Mitakidou, 2009) and as indicated in Chapter 1, according to Mitakidou, Tressou & Daniilidou, (2009), cross-cultural schools are "problematic" in the sense that have *not* adopted nor created special curricula that cater to the specific educational, social, cultural or instructional needs of immigrant students' needs.

Kakos and Palaiologou (2014) confirm that the Greek State's approach to overcoming divisions in society through educational reform efforts in the development of intercultural citizenship education suggests that although attempts have and are being made to improve intercultural communication, underlying these attempts is the problematic understanding underpinning Greek identity, which suggests that Greece is an ethnically homogenous, mono-cultural society. This distinction between Greeks and non-Greeks, "us" and "them," which is integrated into citizenship and intercultural education programmes in Greece acts as a barrier and cannot act as a counter-force to tolerance, which consequently prevents the attainment of the objectives set out in these programmes (Kakos & Palaiologou, 2014).

Additional studies suggest that attitudes of native students and school principals towards immigrant pupils have been, at best, described as being "neutral" and "more often negative" (Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007, p. 12). A study conducted by Hantzi (2001) indicates that an immigrant person's country of origin most certainly influenced the perceptions of Greeks towards these particular target groups; namely, attitudes and stereotypes were aimed towards Americans, Albanians, Filipinos, and Western Europeans in general (with no particular country of origin mentioned). While Filipinos and Western Europeans were perceived "more

positively" than Albanians and Americans, respectively, the study revealed "certain" xenophobic feelings and attitudes that Greeks have towards people from abroad – even though Hantzi (2001) and others, (see Tsiakalos, 2006; Mikrakis & Triantafyllidou, 1994) insist that Greece is *not* a xenophobic society, because positive sentiments also surfaced with respect to particular ethnic groups. Certainly, these results are inconclusive and must be broadened to address legal and illegal aliens living in Greece, their acceptance by Greek society and their integration into this society (Hantzi, 2001). More specifically, one of the greatest obstacles in attempting to address the challenges of xenophobia, racism, and human rights violations in the educational system is primarily due to the fact that Greeks do not quite understand or they are not fully cognizant of their xenophobic attitudes. In fact, Greeks often become defensive when they are referred to as "xenophobic" and are quick to acquire a so-called defensive scapegoat syndrome – particularly politicians – who capitalize on growing public xenophobia that contributes to anti-immigrant rhetoric, consequently placing the blame on immigrants for political, economic, and social problems. Giorgos Tsiakalos (2006) asserts that the view that Greeks are xenophobic is widespread, yet the word "xenophobia" is a neologism even for Greeks.

> Although it is made up of two Greek words, "xenophobia" does not draw its origin from the Greek language, but it is a loan from abroad. As a neologism it does not bear any historical luggage and is understood by Greek-language users only etymologically: "the fear caused *by* strangers." It is in other words, a concept in which both victims and victimizers are not defined in the same obvious way as is the case of racism; indeed, in some cases the roles appear to be reversed (p. 196).

Hence, in the Greek context, the word "xenophobia" as opposed to the word "racism," is not "innocent," but has a particular and specific function, which goes hand in hand with the function the concept has acquired in the rest of Europe (Tsiakalos, 2006) ("xenophobia" and "racism" are in much of the literature, often correlated and even used synonymously). There is also *xenoracism*, which is perhaps a *newer* articulated form of institutional racism (a term coined by Sri Lankan novelist Ambalavaner Sivanandan) that has emerged and is directed against foreigners irrespective of colour; it is the kind of racism "meted out to impoverished strangers even if they are white" (Feteke, 2001, p. 24), and "bears all the hallmarks of demonization and exclusion typical of the 'old' forms of racism based on skin

colour" (*Department of Political Science University of Alberta*, 2010, p. 3). Xenoracism, as a notion, ties more closely to understanding the relation of Greek citizenship (*jus sanguini* versus *jus soli*) with respect to immigrants, and enables a more nuanced reading of the anti-immigrant discourses in the case of Greece.

Linos (2001) examines some of the incongruencies between strong anti-immigrant public sentiment and the pursuit of relatively liberal legalization policies; namely, the PASOK (former government) government's prioritizing on the economic impact of immigration by shielding itself from public opinion, rather than on focusing on the social consequences important to the Greek electorate. Linos explores the reasons for, and methods by which the Greek government has been pursuing an "unpopular immigration policy." More specifically, the Greek government took an *unpopular* stance toward immigration policy because it viewed immigration differently than the Greek public. While the social impact of immigrants was what concerned the public the most, and thus shaped their beliefs on the impact of immigration, the pool of elites from which government officials are drawn was most influenced by economic concerns. Linos draws on Migration Theory to explain the Greek Case and conducted 30 interviews with Greek, French and Italian policy-makers and activists and analyzed Eurobarometer data as well as country level indices of political variables to compare European countries that had passed amnesties to those that had not. Nonetheless, Eurobarometer polls ultimately indicate that public sentiment towards immigrants in Greece remains intolerant and xenophobic (Levinson, 2005). Faced with a large flow of immigrants in the early 1990s, the country responded by passing restrictive immigration laws that denied undocumented immigrants access to education, health care, and forbade receipt of government assistance, which essentially affirms that Greek immigration policy is based on an "exclusionary ideology for all other than ethnic Greeks" (Baldwin-Edwards 2004a, as cited in Levinson, 2005, p. 1).

Of course it would be highly counter intuitive to believe that prejudice, injustice, racism, xenophobia and exclusion do *not* seep into school environments – in fact, they may even be *generated* and *cultivated* within school environment. The integration of immigrant children into the local school systems seems to be a *sine qua non* for their adjustment to Greek society (Drettakis, 2001, as cited in Dimakos &

Tasiopoulou, 2003). In their fieldwork, Anna Triantafyllidou and Ruby Gropas (2007), who have most extensively studied immigration and immigrant students in Greece and whose tremendous contribution dominates the immigrant education policy literature, found that school teachers consider that immigrant pupils contribute to decreasing the overall educational attainment of schools and several occasions were noted when "some principals even obstructed the enrolment of immigrant pupils in their schools with formal excuses in order to prevent the 'degradation' of their school's educational reputation" (Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007, p. 12). Nikolaou (2000) and Travasarou (2001) express the urgent need for approaches to the integration of immigrant students that must include certain necessary educational services and the proper psychological support for immigrant students and their families. For example, towards that effect, a specially designed curriculum would allow immigrant students to learn their native language, history, and civilization, and at the same time follow the curriculum of Greek students (and thus learn more about their host society).

However, no systematic attempts have been made to increase the multicultural awareness of teachers and students; to prepare both the immigrant and the resident students for these changes in the educational process (Dimakos & Tasiopoulou, 2003). The review of the literature indicates that opinions and attitudes of students, administrators, and teachers have not been systematically explored. I anticipate that my research and investigation that aims to grasp the lived experiences of immigrant students, i.e., how these students make sense of and engage with their schooling environments, their interactions with teachers, other immigrant or "native" students and learning processes in the classroom, contributes further to the literature by exploring additional factors that contribute to these attitudes and possibly answers some of these questions by delving deeper into immigrant students, native Greek students, teachers' and administrators experiences.

Teachers and school administrators often frustrated with the lack of (government/ministry) support, funds, available resources (material and textbooks, bilingual teachers, additional staff to run the reception and support classes and lack of teacher training/professional development opportunities, etc.), take matters into their own hands, relying on personal initiative and conscience, *φιλότιμο*

(Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2007) and resorting to band-aid "solutions" that cannot possibly hold the enormous gaps, or cobble together viable, lasting solutions with the minimal tools available to achieve these ends. Ultimately, the lack of good governance coupled by corrupt practices, lack of transparency and legality, bad economic management by a swollen state in the benefit of big interests (Failadis & Moutsaki, 2010) has contributed not only to Greece's financial volatility, but has led to an immigration crisis that is spiralling out of control. This resulted to civil conflict, spread of crime, and the rise of other forms of human insecurity that are profusely bleeding into the Greek school system, which is, alas, unable to respond to the educational, cultural, linguistic, religious or ethnic specificity and needs due to the lack of support from government and Ministerial authorities (Gropas & Triantafyllidou, 2007). Perhaps Greece's solution to the social problem of immigration necessitates a mobilization of multidisciplinary thinking, institutional analysis and dialogue (not merely debate), that may help generate pragmatic solutions for one of the most important and complex challenges facing the Greek nation today: the integration of non-Greeks (into Greek society) into the Greek public school system. Clearly, aside from being a social problem, immigration has been interpreted as a national policy problem that urgently necessitates state intervention beyond building walls and barriers on the land border or sea to block unauthorized immigration. Sadly, many of the findings (Dimakos & Tasiopoulou, 2003) paint a rather disparaging picture for immigrant youth in Greek public schools. The lack of proper cultural sensitivity training for both national students and teachers may contribute to this increase in hostile sentiments towards immigrant students. The extreme opinions expressed by a certain number of students also need to be considered and will be further examined in the study, and points to the potential of schools as being active producers, and not just *re*producers, of xenoracism.

The introduction of immigrants into Greek society has not only caused certain educational problems, but also created a series of social services concerns and worries, and exposed even greater problems. Greece and Greek society, although a country of origin for generations of immigrants, has been unprepared to receive scores of immigrants from other countries (Damanakis, 1998; Nikolaou 2000; Rozakis, 1996). However, I find that the rhetoric of "unpreparedness" (that keeps

resurfacing in the literature) is "wearing thin" and that, perhaps, the time has come to begin to address some of these flagrant issues, more systematically and comprehensively.

From a policy perspective, it only makes sense to intervene when a sizable subset of the student population in Greek public schools is vulnerable and disenfranchised. However, and as a survey of the literature reveals, policy intervention has *not* necessarily been delivered "successfully" in the case of Greece, which can, perhaps, be attributed to the lack of political will, fragmentation of organised interests, even to other, particular to Greece formations of policy, or a greater inability to reach some sort of consensus that would eventually lead to intervention and subsequent policy implementation. In addition, analysis of the literature reveals a considerable need to investigate the highly complex nature of immigration policy and school level policies for immigrant students. Apostolatou (2004) maintains that the actors involved and the levels at which policies are made in Greece is a topic largely ignored by the academic community. Research on the *process* of policy-making in Greece is underdeveloped, while the review of the literature reveals, yet again, the need for future research and mainly focuses on the national decision-making level of immigrant and integration policies in Greece, simply because studies at the local, intermediate, and supranational levels are almost non-existent (Migrant Integration Policy Index, Greece; Prokou, 2003; Triantafyllidou, 2009; Tsakloglou, 2005). Although educational policy dealing with educationally disadvantaged groups has held (it seems) an important place in the political and social discourse in the last decade, or so, it has *not* been implemented into practice (Spinthourakis, Karatzia-Stavlioti, Lempesi & Papadimitriou, 2008b; Tsitslekis, 2004) and continues to remain at the platitude of "debate." After more than twenty years of massive immigration, the country continues to lack long-term migration policy perspective. Policy measures continue to be short term and highly fragmented and this is ultimately reflected in the public school system (that is centrally controlled through the Greek Ministry of Education and its departments). It seems that very little has been done to make programming for immigrant students a priority (Triantafillydou, 2009); as such, immigrant youth in Greece continue to be victims of an outdated and highly fragmented immigration (and public school) system.

Current statistics suggest that Greece's immigrant population has increased significantly (to over one million people according to 2005 census data). Triantafyllidou and Gropas (2007) maintain that while immigration policy in Greece has been quick to develop in terms of putting into practice stricter border controls and other enforcement measures, the Greek governments have been much slower in designing and implementing "a more comprehensive policy framework" that includes the regularization of undocumented aliens and that aims toward integrating this (immigrant) population across all sectors and areas of the host country. The prolonged, undocumented status of many migrants (many whose children are in the Greek public education system [see Vidali & Adams, 2006]) and the policy vacuum has, consequently, not helped facilitate active civic participation on the part of immigrants in Greek public life. Although several immigrant associations and NGOs led by Greeks have gradually emerged over the past fifteen years and have gained noteworthy visibility in the media, the media has, unfortunately, been inclined to privilege the perpetuation of negative prejudices and stereotypes of immigrants. Only recently have there been initiatives or measures that have aimed to target xenophobic attitudes and perceptions of Greeks towards foreigners; that aim to promote tolerance, cultural pluralism and to bring forward the positive aspects of migration. As a result, the legal/illegal status of immigrant workers has only reinforced their distrust towards the Greek state (which has been very ambivalent in the implementation of regularization and other immigrant policies). The authors further note that "scientific literature" (which I imagine connotes empirical work) on immigrant civic participation is extremely scarce, thus further investigation on such matters is urgently required.

As previously mentioned, Greek educational and school level policies that are inextricably tied to the political interests of the state,[56] tend to overlook immigrant (minority) groups, by and large, rendering them socially invisible and stigmatized

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[56] The Greek system is highly centralized. Formulation and implementation of educational policies have been very much affected by tradition and inextricably intertwined with patterns of classicism and nationalism over a long period of Greek history. Furthermore, since the state funds education, it reserves the right to define and control educational processes and policies.

(Danopoulos & Danoloulos, 2004). Furthermore, most immigrant groups[57] are typically excluded by citizenship law (Konsta & Lazarides, 2010), denied, or face ever increasing difficulties (in part attributed to Greece's inefficient government bureaucracy) in securing citizenship and naturalization status, mainly because citizenship in Greece is based on ethnic background; on the principle of *jus sanguinis* "by blood" and not *ius soli*, "law of the land."

Triantafyllidou and Gropas (2007) (particularly Triantafyllidou) systematically explore educational challenges posed by migration-related diversity in Greece. The researchers present and review the major problems that currently exist in the Greek education system and conduct field research in the context of the EMILIE project. This project examines the migration and integration experiences of 9 EU Member States and attempts to respond to the so-called "crisis of multiculturalism" currently affecting Europe. In reviewing the literature, the researchers conduct an empirical qualitative study that includs qualitative interviews with policy makers and teachers, informal discussions with actors involved in, or having a stake in, intercultural education, and two discussion groups aimed to generate primary material that may allow for a better understanding of the educational challenges posed by migration-related diversity in Greece. They consider the "European dimension" in order to explore to what extent, if at all, the EU has been involved in the development of an intercultural/multicultural approach in education. Their findings suggest that while migration and the need to accommodate and respond to the challenges arising from the current diversity within Greek society is fully acknowledged by the Greek authorities, the provisions mainly consist of measures relevant for the immigrant school population only, and these measures are part of an implicit assimilationist approach (Baldwin-Edwards, 2005; Segal, Elliott & Mayadas, 2010; Xenitidou, et al., 2007). Again, the authors stress the urgent need to promote initiatives requiring, of course, the attention of policy makers that will facilitate communication between different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups and that will tap into the cultural capital of foreign students.

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[57] Usually non-EU members. Foreign nationals of Greek origin, citizens of Member States of the European Union as well as recognized political refugees and stateless persons are more likely to apply for naturalization and more likely to attain citizenship. But again, the process remains blurry.

3.8 Educational Policy and the Political

Giamouridis and Bagley (2006) examine the policy, politics, and social inequality under the conceptual umbrella of "post-modernization" that permeates the educational system (and other levels including political, economic, cultural and social) in Greece by contextualizing educational policy in its wider political, cultural, and socio-economic context. The authors discuss how social inequality is reproduced in the Greek education system and emphasize the need for further research to better grapple with the complex nature of the nation-state in Greece. Before the authors begin to critique the political economy of Greek education and scrutinize the available (scarce) research, they sketch the structure of the Greek educational system and critically examine the outcomes of policy and the ways in which educational inequalities are mediated and manifested within the Greek education system.

On the political level, for instance, Greece has shifted to less nationalistic approaches in its dealings with its neighbouring countries and this is reflected in the considerable – though fragile – improvement in Greece's relations with Turkey. While the fundamental notions of Greek nationalism have been a Eurocentric perception of the world, homogeneity has been contested in the context of new developments which necessarily calls for a redefinition of Greek national identity, particularly since second generation immigrants become *better* incorporated in the social, political and economic structure of the country. All in all, the possibility of a considerable re-contextualization of the Greek population as a potentially post-modernizing labour force on both the cultural and social levels is necessary. More specifically, the authors discuss women's participation in the country's economic, political, and social life.

Education offers a prospect for equal opportunity and enhanced social mobility and can be considered as an opportunity for Greeks to take a leading role in the geopolitical area of South-Eastern Europe. Giamouridis and Bagley offer a breakdown of the structure of Greek education and pinpoint some of inefficiencies (that are numerous) in the Greek education system. Their findings (drawn from existing studies) suggest that the Greek educational system is promoting and reproducing inequalities among social groups. These inequalities are associated with

factors that are socio-economic, geographical, and ethnic minority status, and, to a lesser extent, gender status. Furthermore, they clearly assert that they are *not* of advocating that the notion of "cultural capital" cannot be applied to Greece, but suggest that the notion of cultural capital must be closely re-examined, re-defined, and re-applied, since some researchers tend to focus and merely confirm the significance of family background in academic achievement without actually looking at the effect of economic, educational or social factors in the process. This leads to the assumption or hypothesis of the importance of cultural capital rather than actually testing their hypotheses.

Monastiriotis and Antoniades (2009) maintain that despite significant progress in its path towards Europeanization, Greece's reform record remains highly problematic, which subsequently explains why educational reform has been so difficult to enact. Persistent reform failures and a continuum of half-way reforms characterize much of the Greece's recent history. In their paper "Reform that! Greece's failing reform technology: beyond 'vested interests' and 'political exchange'," the authors depart from dominant explanations that focus predominantly on the political and social context (lack of political will, fragmentation of organised interests, extent of rent seeking, etc.) and instead focus on the processes that shape the content of reform proposals. What they identify, is an inherent deficiency in the Greece's reform technology, linked to a deficient engagement of policy-making with expert knowledge – that encompasses all aspects of knowledge production, processing and utilisation – which results in continuous policy-learning failures and, consequently, inefficient reforms. The authors call for a re-direction of emphasis from the study of how actors contest reforms to the pathologies that lead to the production of contestable reform proposals and argue that continuous reform failures in Greece are not the responsibility of actors that exhibit "reform resistance" and/or block reforms. Despite the resistance applied to them, the pension system, the education system and the labour market (among others) have been reformed. Where reform failures are located, is more so in the ability of the proposed, contested, rejected or implemented reforms to address the anomalies of the system that they seek to transform. Hence, the issue of political contestation and reform resistance becomes not one of power and veto points, but one of efficiency and

reform technology where the resulting reforms are such that do not allow concerned actors to accept them. The issue of successful reform implementation, then, becomes a question of productive engagement with expert knowledge in all three levels: its production, contextualization and political negotiation. The paper certainly shifts attention to specific pathologies that lead to a production of inefficient reforms, which certainly has the potential to make a significant contribution towards a paradigmatic shift in policy-making that can potentially reform the reform technology of the Greece.

The OECD has recently prepared the brochure Greece at a Glance: Policies for a Sustainable Recovery (2010) that introduces practices and reforms that have worked well in other countries and that might be able to work within a Greek context. It proposes strategies that might correct imbalances, and modernize the economy, accompanied by action plans in each of the following nine critical areas:

> (i) public administration and budgets; (ii) pensions; (iii) the governance of state owned enterprises; (iv) tax policies; (v) employment and social policy; (vi) education; (vii) new sources of growth, innovation and green growth; (viii) competition; and (ix) the complex political economy problems associated with reforms in the public sector (OECD, 2010, para. 3).

The document furthermore argues that the economic crisis has opened up a "window of opportunity" for Greece to engage in deep fiscal structural reforms, rather than relying too much on temporary measures, as has often been the case in the past. In fact, Greece has been rather slow in taking advantage of the potential of the knowledge and green economies, with innovation indicators consistently lagging those of other advanced economies (OECD, 2010). The Greek government has already set out ambitious reforms, including its updated Stability and Growth Programme. These initiatives are expected to bring important fiscal structural benefits, including a more efficient and modern tax system, improved budgetary process and monitoring, and more reliable Greek statistics (OECD, 2010). The next step is to wait for such initiatives to take place.

3.9 Conclusion

An all-encompassing survey of the literature has revealed that child-centered, participatory research centered on immigrant students' experiences and perceptions

of their learning and schooling environments, is *absent*, which summons researchers and policy makers to take a closer, and perhaps, a more *critical* look at their epistemological and ethical assumptions about their views of children and youth and their centrality in policy development.

Most of the current research on immigrant students' narratives is centered around Latino immigrant students in the US and immigrant students in Canada, and mainly focused on experiences that are directly related to the cultural and linguistic discontinuities the students experience with American mainstream culture (Suarez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Valdes, 1996; Olsen & Jaramillo, 2000). Few studies conducted, internationally, provide insights explaining factors that determine an immigrant child's academic progress.

Carola and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (2001) conducted a longitudinal immigrant student adaptation study that captures the experience of immigration, focusing exclusively on the experiences of recently arrived foreign-born youth from Central America, China, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico and their families to the US. Their study offers not only valuable insights into immigrant youth experiences in American schools, but research approaches (triangulation techniques) that have proven useful in my own research.

Nathalia Jaramillo's (2012) most recently published book, *Immigration and the Challenge of Education*, an ethnography and a testimony of Latina immigrant mothers in South Central Los Angeles who express their concerns about the education of their children in hostile school environments and violent communities, is another insightful study of the interplay between immigration, youth and violence.

Leah Adams and Anna Kirova (2006) have done significant work on immigrant students' lived experiences in Canada. They studied loneliness among immigrant children in Canada (2001) and found that children expressed feelings of loneliness in their new schools, amongst other findings. A. Lin Goodwin (2002) examines teacher preparedness in light of changing demographics as a direct consequence of increased immigration, and how to deal with immigrant students by reinforcing the significance of the affective domain for immigrant children who have a "profound sense of loss, disequilibrium, loneliness, confusion, and displacement, mixed with anticipation, excitement, and anxiety" (163). Goodwin, furthermore,

stresses the importance of focusing on language learning and teacher preparation for immigrant students to succeed. As indicated, while there are several studies conducted on immigration, few are focused on the immigrant students' perspectives, insights, and interpretations of their experience in their schooling environments.

The literature review, as such, highlights the invisibility of immigrant students' lived experiences in the Greek context. While there is much insight to be gained by similar studies conducted within different cultural contexts, a theme that remains consistent throughout the literature is a concern of how schools and governments can be more responsive to the needs of immigrant students in an effort to make processes of policy formulation and implementation more accountable. In order to move closer to responsive, more accountable policies that are representative of the needs and priorities of immigrant students, it is necessary to better understand the context and conditions under which policy is made.

One of the central conclusions drawn from this literature review is the lack of research done on immigrant students' experiences in Greek public schools and a lack of testimonials of the students themselves. In much of the literature that has been reviewed, seldom has there been reference to the students' actual experience (student-centered research), except perhaps the study by Antonina Tereschechenko and Helena Araújo (2011) that examines the experiences of inclusion and exclusion by immigrant pupils in relation to the educational and social environment in the receiving country. The study draws on data from a small, exploratory qualitative research study conducted in a supplementary school context in Portugal to explore how Ukrainian immigrant children (aged 12-16) negotiate their sense of belonging in Portugal.

This study is not centred on the "immigration situation" in Greece alone, or on the political economy of immigration; rather, it emphasizes the complexity of immigration and the challenges immigrant students are confronted with and how they can potentially overcome them. The research methodology follows and bridges the apparent disconnection between immigrant students' experiences in schools and educational policy, and reveals important qualitative elements that can be used to bring the participants' voices to the fore.

Chapter 4
Theoretical Framework

4.1 Introduction

I begin this chapter by drawing on existing theories of the democratic liberal state, and on the frequently confused, but analytically *distinct* concepts of "nation" and "ethnie," as defined and articulated by British ethnographer Anthony D. Smith, and complemented by British-Czech philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner, who draw attention to the often neglected, but crucial to understanding the "workings" of the Modern Greek state, *cultural* aspects of nations, *ethnie*, and nationalism. Moreover, I turn to Chandran Kukathas to discuss some of the liberal "realities" of migration vis-à-vis multiculturalism, citizenship, and democracy. I also draw upon the work of leading theorists of democratic thought Jürgen Habermas, John Rawls, and John Drysek, respectively, to explore the "post-secular" state and the deliberationalist *ideal*. Such (multi)theoretical approaches and angles will provide the necessary cohesiveness and insights necessary to gaining a better sense of *how* the contemporary Greek state functions. I also interrogate the inevitable, and perhaps unharnessable, consequences of neoliberal, market-led globalization and restructuring, laced with *false* and destructive promises of economic improvement and prosperity.

To better understand how education and public schooling functions in modern Greece (beyond its institutional character) necessitates grasping the dialectical relationship that exists between nation, state, ethnie, and the Greek Orthodox Church. The theories of democracy and the nation in this chapter seek to establish the connection between forms of social and political power and the intersections that exist, while theories of multiculturalism – that have emerged in the educational field over the last few decades – respond both to the interaction between the pedagogical subject and the political subject in liberal democracies. Most importantly, however, theories of multiculturalism identify the importance of multiple identities that emerge from the narratives, voices, and agency that exist within education and culture (Torres, 1998). To elucidate the complex interplay of historical, political, economic, cultural, and social forces that play a pivotal role in

shaping education in modern Greece, I turn to educational theories in the context of social and cultural reproduction in an attempt to underscore the importance of agency by bringing to the surface the voices of immigrant students who have traditionally been marginalized in educational practice, schooling, and social life. Education opens up a space for a politics of resistance to emerge; a space for oppressed and marginalized groups who are marked by race and ethnicity, sexuality, or class to emerge from within the very structures that fuel and propagate oppression, hate, and inequality.

If schools reflect societal values as microcosms of the type of society that is desired (Dewey, 1941), and based on John Dewey's conception of moral judgment that hinges on achieving such desired ends (Johnston, 2006, as cited in Macris, 2009), it appears that the type of society that Greece presently desires is one that seeks to preserve Greek national identity. To demonstrate how this is reflected in the concept of Greek education, I draw on key educational theorists, like Peter McLaren, Henry Giroux, Louis Althusser, and Pierre Bourdieu and ideological and social reproduction theories as well as critical multicultural theories that aim to identify and solidify important features of the politics of education, how they emerge, and how they are reflected, produced, and reproduced in Greek state schools. The theories of social reproduction capture the hegemonic discourses relevant to this study and identify the structures, patterns, and practices of domination that systematically marginalize, oppress, and disempower immigrant students in dominant cultural contexts. Immigrant students in Greek state schools are, ultimately, "racialised others" – some more so that others – based on their ethnicity, race, nationality, culture, and religion and the Greek education system reflects as well as contributes to this racialization through schooling. Antonia Darder (1991) maintains that "subordinate cultures are maintained in oppressive conditions not only through the dominant culture's function to legitimate the interests and values of the dominant groups, but also through an ideology that functions to marginalize and invalidate cultural values, heritage, language, knowledge and lived experiences – all of which constitute essential elements for the survival of subordinate cultures" (p. 30). While the above educational theories might lend important insights to understanding immigrant students' marginalization by the dominant structures reflected in mono-cultural

approaches to education in Greek state schools, it is the immigrant students' voices and narratives in this study, that are critically important when attempting to evaluate the policy options available to them and the political and social realities they must deal with in the course of everyday life.

Lastly, I contemplate women's subordinate status within Orthodoxy. Greek Orthodoxy has been quite distant, and far removed from feminist concerns, viewing them as Western ideological products that threaten the "authentic character" and "unbroken continuity and tradition of the Church and of what it means to be Greek" (Molokotos-Liederman, 2009, p. 48). This, consequently, not only places Greek women *below* the European average of female participation, but furthermore, positions Greek women and their sense of *self* as individuals, mothers, spouses, workers, and citizens at a disadvantage, when attempting to reconcile Greek cultural tradition and family– in which Orthodoxy has tremendous influence – with economic independence and social autonomy (Molokotos-Liederman, 2009, p. 48).

The theoretical framework for this study consists of an *a priori* component, which is largely informed by the contextual elements discussed in the previous chapters, and that have basically helped map out the theoretical territory that grounds this research, and is followed by a presentation and analysis of the qualitative data collected in the year 2012 in Greece, respectively, in chapters 6 and 7. Furthermore, this dissertation includes an *a posteriori* component in chapter 8, *Meta-Theoretical Analysis*, that extends the analysis and discussion by returning to the key assumptions, themes, and outcomes of this study with the intent to interrogate the accuracy, adequacy, and appropriateness of the theoretical framework presented herein.

To begin with, I will draw on contemporary theories of the state, citizenship, and migration with a focus on the church-state relationship, which is an important relationship in the case of Greece, since state and church are inextricably intertwined. Religion in Greece is essentially an "ethnic" identifier, or an ethnic marker – an identifiable cultural characteristic that identifies members of a particular ethnicity. In Greece, one is not simply Greek; one is *Greek Orthodox*. Greece is also a "confessional state," which is a state that officially practices a particular religion, and *encourages* its citizens to do likewise (e.g. England, Anglican Christian; Iran, Shia Islam. Both confessional states, but Iran is also theocratic). Religious minorities in

confessional states are accorded differing degrees of *tolerance*. To make clear the relationship between the church and the state, or the interplay of ecclesiastical and governmental institutions in Greek society, I draw on John Rawls' and Jürgen Habermas's renditions of church-state relations, secularization, post-secularization, and democratization of state power.

The separation of the church and state is the assumption of most liberal thinkers, which essentially allows the state to be protected from religion, and religion to be protected from the state.[58] I will discuss how Anglo-Saxon/Liberal secularizing measures, that are necessary for protecting basic human rights that include the rights of immigrant people with different religious backgrounds and orientations, are perceived by the Greek Orthodox Church as direct threats to its hegemony; in fact, any move towards secularization, or even toward recasting the rigid parameters of "Greek identity," do not seem like a viable alternative for the Modern Greek state. I thus begin with an exploration of the theoretical debates of the nation/state and its structures in order to come to grips with Modern Greek constructs of citizenship and the profound resistances to immigration that emanate from within the state. Drawing from John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith's ethno-centric approach and Ernest Gellner's modernist perspectives of the state will serve as a point of departure. In addition, and throughout this dissertation, I examine the political aspects of national identity that are absent from the theoretical contributions of the above mentioned theorists.

The theories and analytic models presented in this chapter are those most relevant to the Modern Greek state "model.[59]" Greece's unique ethnic composition, most often referred to as "exceptional" (Beaton, 2009), basically denotes a long-standing (historical) uniqueness in Greece's nation-(re)building process (since 1821). In other words, Greece's more recent history (from 1821 onward) is marked by a series of dramatic changes in the country's social, political, and economic structures and composition. Thus, any theoretical approaches must be informed within a

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[58] See Robert Audi (2000), *Religious Commitment and Secular Reason*. Furthermore, secularism differs in how it is conceptualized in Anglo-Saxon, French, Turkish, Chinese contexts (see Calhoun, Juergensmeyer, & Antwerpen, 2011).

[59] There is no actual "model"; rather, I hope to construct one using several models that can represent the contemporary Greek state.

historically comparative and theoretical framework, inspired by developments in the theory of nationalism, and through an analysis of collective identities.

In what follows, I outline the key features of the liberal democratic state and how immigration becomes a *problem* in liberal democratic states and why, particularly in the case of Greece. In addition, it is most important to clarify and distinguish between the concepts of "nation" and "state," which are often infused as equivalents. I will *not* be looking at classical theories of the state (like pluralism, elite theory, Marxism, market liberalism), nor will I look at classical theories of Marxism simply because they are not *as* relevant, compatible, nor as *urgent* to understanding present day Greek contextual reality; rather, I focus on contemporary forms of social conflict that include the rise of new feminism, movement of ethnic nationalism, and struggles waged by the "marginalized layers of the population" (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, p. 3). In doing so, I invoke the post-Marxist musings of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe who maintain that society cannot be solely understood as a complex totality whose essential character and shape is determined by the nature of the mode of production (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985); rather, "the social is an infinitude not reducible to any underlying unitary principle" (139). Given the complex and unique nature of the Modern Greek state, I aim to sketch out the key features of the liberal democratic state, and subsequently clarify the *reinscribed* concepts of nation and state that have been transformed by globalisation and neoliberal global governance. I will then turn to Habermas and Rawls in an attempt to draw the connection between church and state, a relationship often ignored, but vital to understanding states like Greece where the monopolistic role of the church as a constitutional "establishment" that takes on a leading administrative role in matters of the state and broader society. Most importantly, however, understanding the church/state relationship by returning the historical legacy and relating this legacy to present day dynamics at play in Greece allows for a deeper understanding of the formation of Greek educational policy and how such policymaking affects and is affected by the broader religio-political ideological structures. The church/state relationship continues to occupy a prominent structural position in Greece (both proprietorial and managerial in nature), and as such, all Greek state educational policies – examples of which are discussed throughout this dissertation – are influenced by

church/state decisions. I approach these perspectives through a critical constructivist lens, and propose a path toward critical deliberation that may create new possibilities in how we approach participatory deficits reflected in policy inefficiencies that clearly exist in Greek society today.

4.2 Greece on the periphery

Greece has always been and continues to be a representative case of a European *Peripheral* model (as are countries like Ireland, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, for example, but Greece is *more* so on the periphery), in comparison to the *Continental* and *Scandinavian* (or *Nordic*) type "welfare state models," in that the country continues to lack specific institutional and organizational features that both Continental and Scandinavian models exemplify. Rather, Greece manifests a kind of immaturity and weakness of the welfare state and is, thus, paradigmatic of capitalism's inability "to grow itself out of trouble" (Milios & Baboulias, 2013, para. 6). In other words, even though Greece under the PASOK government has, perhaps, attempted to achieve a social democratic *type* welfare state, the country has been highly restricted by various shortcomings. One of the most significant differences (between Greece and other welfare states) lies in the deep-rooted relationship between the Greek Orthodox Church and the two political parties – that have been alternating in power since the collapse of the military junta in 1974 – PASOK (social democratic party) and New Democracy (ND) (liberal conservative party) vis-à-vis the role of state, family, and ecclesiastical involvements in social, public, and school level policy making, which makes the establishment of a modern welfare state very difficult, if not *impossible* (Kosonen, 1995, p. 86).

The traditional traits of the *Peripheral* model include patriarchal societal relations and fragmentary social security, which is often supplemented and guaranteed by the family, the church, and private organizations. The participation of women in the labour market in countries like Greece, Portugal, Spain and Italy, for instance, is usually lower than in other parts of Europe (except Germany), which emphasizes the important role the family plays in the provision of social security (Kosonen, 1995). In terms of the political, state, and nation building process, Greece (like Spain, but to a larger degree) is accompanied by a strong sense of "familism"

and "low stateness" (see Castles, 1993, as cited in Hemerijck, Palm, Entenmann, & Van Hooren, 2013), which is significantly impeded by the role of the Greek Orthodox Church. In Greece, the extended family and kinship has been, and more or less continues to be a highly significant source of care and support in Greek society, which in many ways makes up for deficits in the social welfare system (Hemerijck et al., 2013). It is also in the private sphere where finances are re-distributed, within and between generations (Ferrera, 1996; Trifiletti, 1999, as cited in Hemerijck et al., 2013). Because, informally, social care was mainly provided by women, Southern European welfare states, in general, suffered from a lower level of female participation in the labour force (Hemerijck et al., 2013). Even though Greek women's participation in the labour force has increased in recent years, women continue to hold a peripheral role in the patriarchal order.

4.3 The *dark* side of democracy

It seems that the highly contested concept of "democracy" has been overused, often inaccurately, and oftentimes abstracted as an empty, or *floating*[60] signifier[61] and perhaps manipulated to the extent that it becomes reduced (for many) to a day at the voting booth. Many fear that democracy is at risk of becoming an instrument of authoritarian control. In many ways democracy as a concept, may have, over exhausted its "usefulness" and may be used senselessly as a "polemic weapon" to enter any and every argument (Egyed, 2008). As such, I can appreciate the possibility of considering that there is another, perhaps, *darker* side of democracy (Mann, 2005) that carries more ominous consequences in certain types of multiethnic environments. Often referred to as the "tyranny of the majority," the process of democratisation may lead to violence, genocide, and "murderous ethnic cleansing"

[60] Democracy is a "floating signifier" because of the concept's radical ambiguity, which subverts the fixity of the sign. This ambiguity is precisely what gives the context its openness. Empty signifiers (because they're "empty," they float) are those "open" to continual contestation and articulation to radically different political projects. "Democracy," in Lacalu's view, is a key example of a *floating* signifier; its meaning essentially ambiguous as a consequence of its history and widespread circulation (Worsham & Olson, 1999).

[61] For Laclau, there is an empty or incomplete character in every discourse, which could be seen as the driving factor behind politics. Politics, looked at from this perspective becomes, as such, a struggle in the sense of trying to fill the emptiness with a given content – "to suture the rift of the discursive centre and to create a universal hegemony. The political struggle is therefore a struggle of identification, of obtaining a full/complete/positive/essential identity" (Wrange, 2007, para. 7).

(Mann, 2005). Thus, we should not always assume that democracy brings nothing but good to the world; rather, we must be vigilantly aware that even the most "democratic" of places, like Greece for instance, can carry a history, or a potential of violence. When authoritarian regimes weaken in multiethnic environments, "demos" and "ethnos" are most likely to become entwined, which can be a dangerous entanglement of sorts, capable of creating dangerous "openings" for political entrepreneurs to "play the ethnic, religious or communal card" in order to hold on to, or gain access to power and resources, as in the case of pre-genocide Rwanda (Desrosiers, 2007). The murderous ethnic cleansing that Michael Mann (2005) refers to in *The Dark Side of Democracy* is the product of the modern era of democracy; the aspiration to "rule by the people" gone wrong, whereby the people are both the *demos* and the *ethnos*. Here, the two meanings of "the people," as *demos* and as *ethnos*, become indistinct, which may consequently lead to a dangerous *fusion*. Immigrant receiving countries that have not laid out a clear distinction between ethnos and demos may run into problems, particularly when citizenship is *not* offered. The privileges of citizens (as opposed to the non-citizens) may involve discrimination against ethnic "out-groups" or "undesired immigrants." In extreme cases, the out-group may be excluded, or even cleansed, from the territory of the people (Mann, 2005). Laclau and Mouffe (1985) propose a "radical democracy" in the form of new, contemporary social movements that will appropriate, deepen, and expand liberal democratic principles on the *Left*, aimed at creating social and political change, geared toward challenging neoliberal and neoconservative concepts of democracy. In their words

> The new forms of social conflict have…thrown into crisis theoretical
> and political frameworks…[that] correspond to the classical discourses
> of the Left, and the characteristic modes in which it has conceived the
> agents of social change, the structuring of social spaces, and the privileged
> points for the unleashing of historical transformations.
> (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, p. 1-2)

Although I do not wish to take up an historical analysis or an etymological examination, or to make a normative judgement of democracy and its many iterations, nor do I wish to explore the deeper and darker implications of democracy at this time, since most people, more or less, understand "democracy" to mean

specific things whether in the form of government decision-making that involves the will of the majority, or as a beacon of hope to those who are demoralized, disadvantaged, or disenfranchised, I *do*, however, wish to caution against employing the term lightly or recklessly, since an *ideal* or complete democracy has not, yet, been achieved, simply because the "what" constitutes as "democratic goals" always vary or differ depending on the context and/or the goal. But even though the ideal of democracy remains questionable in many parts of the world, the "triumph" of *liberal* democracy in many European and North American countries should be examined more closely, and surely *not* be underestimated (Pace, 2011).

4.4 The *ideal* of liberal democratic state

Modern democracy has taken on a *liberal* form, playing on notions of "individual liberty" as pillars to a healthy, well functioning society, where all human beings live in a society that seeks to uphold the intrinsic value of every person through the protection of individual liberties or freedoms, and equality. Indeed, liberal democracy has come to symbolize an *ideal*, with a universal set of values ready to be "exported" throughout in the world (Pace, 2011). With these *ideal* principles and values in mind, visions of an ideal liberal democratic state have become the *preferred* political system espoused by many of the world's states, including Greece. Drysek and Dunleavy (2009) define liberal democracy as a political system where periodic elections determine how the legislature is constituted and who will hold the executive power of government; where fundamental civil liberties are protected by law and constitutional safeguards, while legal enactments and rules are equally and impartially enforced by an independent judiciary and legal system (this is the "liberal" part of the concept). Lastly, in a liberal democracy, the constitution specifies the power of particular offices and branches of government and the relations between them (Dryzek & Dunleavy, 2009). In a more general sense, however, the normative ideals of a liberal democratic state include limited government involvement, personal liberty, individual rights, political equality, majority rule and political participation. A liberal democracy necessitates that both "liberal" and "democratic" aspects be present; i.e., democracy is as much essential to liberalism as liberalism is essential to democracy; one *requires* the other (Egyed, 2008). The highest value of liberalism is

autonomy, while the highest value for democracy it is *equality* of political rights of all *citizens* (Egyed, 2008) (as opposed to subjects). But equality of rights to *all* citizens is a default position of democratic theory that still allows for two remaining exclusions: that of children (or those identified as children) below voting age who do "not yet" enjoy political rights and resident foreigners (immigrants) who may (or may not) be on their "institutionally prescribed path to the acquisition of full citizenship" (Offe, 2011, p. 448).

In political terms and at a very basic level, liberalism means the protection of individuals and minorities and the rule of law (especially that of the constitution which provides citizens with a bill of equal rights that include personal rights, economic rights, political rights, and often also "positive" social rights like social assistance, social insurance, regulatory intervention into markets, the state-supervised provision of services such as health and education) (Offe, 2011). In addition, liberalism means the separation of the legislative and the executive branches of the State and the separation of the State from institutions of civil society. Democracy, in political terms, means free and fair elections; the equality of all under the law; the equal right of all to participate in the political process, and the accountability of political leadership to the people as a whole. Professor Bela Egyed captures it well in the slogan for political democracy: "all power to the people" and in the slogan for liberalism: "all power to the constitution" (Egyed, 2008). And while the modern liberal democratic system places freedom as the foundational value of a civil society, freedom is nevertheless vulnerable to inequalities of power, wealth, income, and opportunity in our modern day society. In fact, I would go so far as to say that the liberal democratic states guarantee economic inequality.

Although it has been noted that liberal democracy in EU discourses is an *implied* set of ideals, rather than explicitly stated in policy, per se, academic literature has attempted to articulate liberal democracy as an instrument for the achievement of progress and equality (Pace, 2011). Some argue that liberal democracy is the best political system for ensuring Kant's *perpetual peace* and assume that liberal democratic states will not engage in wars against each other, although in practice, we may have learned otherwise. For the EU, this predisposition to liberal democracy is extended and put into practice through a strong focus on elections and election observation

missions, which form a vital component of its activities to promote democracy, human rights and the rule of law worldwide (European Commission 2000, as cited in Pace, 2011).

In the case of Greece, a harsh and very costly reality struck when domestic corruption was exposed (amongst other things), which caused a radical departure from the rule of law – since it was mainly government officials, lawmakers, policymakers who were those breaking the rule of law (and creating a "rule of exception"). The outcomes were catastrophic. As the crisis was unfolding, desperate citizens turned to authoritarian figures to dig them out of the mess they themselves have created (Friedman, November 8, 2012). Consequently, parties like the Golden Dawn begin to emerge finding response from the people who lost trust in governments who, ultimately, betrayed them.

Ideally, in a liberal democratic state, religious institutions must be distinct from the political institution. The social structure, in other words, must exhibit a duality, a fundamental institutional separation. A society that does not exhibit that fundamental duality; that "twoness," notes Wolterstorff (2012), cannot possibly have a liberal democratic polity (Wolterstorff, 2012). In other words, in Anglo-Saxon liberal democracy, a state is to treat all citizens equally with respect to their religion, or non-religion. Everybody, regardless of his or her religion is to have equal voice in their personnel and conduct of the state (Wolterstorff, 2012). One's religion, or lack thereof, should not make a difference to one's voice, but in the case of Greece, it *does*. Perhaps the most important factor that ought to be considered before undertaking an examination of this kind is, a better understanding of the role of the Greek Orthodox Church and its relationship to the Greek state that, more or less, allows the Greek state little elbow room for little, let alone any, "radical" policy creation. The deep historical relationship of the Church in state affairs warrants particular attention in beginning to understand how the Greek state *actually* functions within a liberal democratic context. Although there are numerous studies that examine the impact of religion and/or the church's relationship and dynamics to the state vis-à-vis political development, there are few, if any theories that systematically examine the Church-State relationship. I thus focus more closely on the Church-State relations as an inseparable part of Greece's historical development as a nation

by drawing on Rawls' and Habermas's rendition of the religion-state relations. But before I look at this relationship, it is important to understand how the nation-state has *changed* in the neoliberal times to a post-welfare state, whereby the welfare state and the identity of the social citizen have changed dramatically which has opened up new avenues for critical intervention. While I have briefly outline some key components of the liberal democratic state, this does not mean that the values and/or ideals stipulated are upheld in modern day "liberal democratic states," which is perhaps why immigration in liberal democracy becomes "a problem."

4.5 Liberal Democratic States and the problem of immigration and citizenship

Immigration today has proven to be quite problematic for modern liberal democratic states. Anglo-Saxon states like Canada, the United States, Australia, Britain, (traditionally immigrant receiving countries), as well as several countries in Western Europe, are popular destinations for immigrants and refugees alike, whether they are seeking safe havens, or simply wishing to improve their prospects of a better life (Kukathas, 2005). Chandran Kukathas (2005) argues for a "radical toleration of diversity," and approaches multiculturalism from a toleration-based account, which basically depicts a vision of a free, open society not based on the hierarchy of superior and subordinate authorities, but marked by respect for the independence of other authorities (Shah, 2012). Kukathas departs from Kymlicka who maintains that the liberal state should promote the integration of groups into the mainstream culture (through its policies on language, education, and citizenship more generally), and specify the principles which should guide policy-making. Rather, Kukathas does not see cultural integration to be the state's responsibility, and rejects the idea of making the boundaries, the symbols, and the cultural character of the state matters of justice (Shah, 2012). A free society according to Kukathas is not a stable social unity by a shared doctrine, but a collection of communities and authorities. Although I find Kukathas's theme "toleration requires indifference, not accommodation" an interesting one, I find his approach to the problem of immigration in a liberal democratic society quite intriguing.

For Kukathas, immigration is a problem largely because of the *nature* of the modern liberal democratic state. Most states, and certainly all liberal democratic

states, regard their people as "citizens" or "members" of the state – kind of like members of a club – but the notion of "membership" is not "standard" nor universal in the sense that it is not always clear what *kind* of rights individuals might have within a particular state; often such parameters are blurred. States, in other words, vary significantly in *how* they approach citizenship. Thus, liberal democratic states tend to restrict immigration because they must manage access to the goods for which immigrants and natives would compete (Kukathas, 2005). A recent example that has resurfaced, in the Canadian media, is the critique of Temporary Foreign Worker Program. Canadian citizens are "upset" that foreign workers are "taking their jobs," even though restaurant owners claim that Canadians are *not* filling these jobs that temporary workers are supposedly "taking," mainly because there is higher percentage of Canadian youth who move onto post-secondary education, looking for higher paying jobs or work in their field, rather in the restaurant industry. However, the "temporary" necessarily denotes exploitation of foreign workers which basically violates the Canadian law and human rights. Nevertheless, within the framework of a liberal democratic state, like Canada, it is legally possible and socially permissible to exploit people as "unfree labour" and to grant them "freedom of choice... to work where they want" *if*, and only if, they are categorized as "temporary foreign workers" (Sharma, 2012, p. 39).

Ultimately, immigration becomes "a problem" when immigrants "impose costs on society even as they bring benefits" (Kukathas, 2005). While there is a greater consensus amongst economists that the consequences of free movement are generally positive, since competitive labor markets make for a more efficient use of resources (Simon, 1990; Sykes, 1995: 159–60), not all nations appear to be benefitting immediately from an influx of immigrants, and most certainly not Greece. Kukathas further notes that the burdens of accommodating or adjusting to immigrants do not fall *equally* on everyone within a society, but highly depend on *who* the immigrants are, their country of origin, their educational qualifications, their location of settlement, with whom they end up competing for jobs, real estate, and public facilities. Seyla Benhabib (2011) maintains that multiculturalism is about purification of the "impure"; about homogenizing the heterogeneous. Culture and religion are *not* homogeneous, and mutliculturalists like Kukathas, for instance, aim

to identify specific cultural or religious expressions in each cultural and religious community suggest ways of sustaining such differences.

Seyla Benhabib (2011) expands on Arendt's idea of the "right to have rights" by emphasizing the importance of every human being's fundamental write "to be recognized as a moral being worthy of equal concern and equally entitled to be protected as a legal personality by his or her own polity, as well as the world community" (p. 62). Benhabib goes on to note that The Universal Declaration is silent on states' *obligations* to grant entry to immigrants to uphold the right of asylum, and to permit citizenship to alien residents and denizens. These rights have no specific addressees and they do not appear to anchor *specific* obligations on the part of second and third parties to comply with them (Benhabib, 2006). Although I support Benhabib's thesis, it is not merely the UDHR that is "silent" on states' obligation; rather, it is the denationalizing of citizenship that takes place within the nation-state itself that should be considered (see Sassen, 2007).

Like Saskia Sassen, I find that Benhabib's approach neglects to make a necessary distinction between "national" and "global" contexts, and thus treats the two (nation/globe) as mutually exclusive entities. In addition, it is not merely a matter of "kindness" by receiving states or their disposition towards respecting universal principles that is in question (Sassen, 2007); rather, it is a matter of their shared responsibility for the outcomes of migration and its impact on counties like Greece and whether such countries can withstand the demands of immigration.

Even if the benefits of immigration outweigh the costs to the nation, those who are adversely affected by an influx of immigrants will object; and in liberal democratic states this will translate into an electorally significant opposition (Kukathas, 2005) – with the exception of *Canada*. In Canada, both liberal and conservative parties *agree* about the benefits immigration brings to the *economy*. So, while immigration policy is a source of intense political contestation in most countries, in Canada, it has been shaped by a solid cross-party political consensus at the federal level (Marwah, Triantafilopoulos, & White, 2013). Parties also agree that immigrants contribute positively to Canada's social and economic well-being, in contrast to other countries (Marwah, Triantafilopoulos, & White, 2013).

Another important reason why immigration can be considered a problem in liberal democratic states is that these states are, to varying degrees, welfare states, which means that the state provides a range of benefits, including education, unemployment relief, retirement income, medical care, as well as numerous programs to serve particular interests (Kukathas, 2005). Immigrants are potential recipients of these services and benefits, and any state considering the level of immigration it will accept will have to consider how likely immigrants are to consume these benefits, how much they might consume, whether or not they are going to be able to finance the extra costs from the lifetime tax contributions of these immigrants, and what the short-term implications of accepting immigrants who begin by consuming more in benefits than they pay in taxes. Consequently, states are reluctant to accept immigrants who will not contribute to the society they migrate to; who come with health problems, or who are older, or perhaps, too old to contribute *enough* in taxes in their remaining working lives to cover the costs of medical care and retirement subsidies. Under these circumstances, liberal democratic governments will go to great lengths to *limit* immigration, though they often face pressures both to admit and/or to refuse entry to applicants seeking to enter their countries. The pressures to admit will come from businesses looking for cheaper labor (as is the case of the TFWP[62] in Canada), from humanitarian groups calling for the admission of refugees, and from families and ethnic communities pressing to have relatives join them from their countries of origin (Kukathas, 2005). Kukathas's analysis of immigration raises many questions and concerns immigrant receiving countries like Greece ought to consider in terms of ways of dealing with immigration, since a country's immigration policy necessarily affects who will share in the country's future decision-making processes.

4.6 The Greek state as it stands today (moving from social to market citizenship)

I begin with the premise that the Greek state is currently undergoing a series of crises, both in the economic sphere, and in terms of Greece's collective identity. First, it is important to start at a macro level, and consider the global and European crisis that has taken place over the last few years (2007/2008), which has ultimately

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[62] The Foreign Worker Program

weakened many of the former *perceived* as being ethnically "homogeneous" states. These states have become more fragile and vulnerable to attacks by financiers (see PIGS[63]) who seek guarantees for their investments, and greater short-term profits. From an historical standpoint, notes Anastassiadis (2012), "we are witnessing the crisis of the model of production and consumption that prevailed in Greece over the past thirty years" (Anastassiadis, 2012, An Economic and Democratic Crisis) that hit a climactic point with the Greek financial crisis in 2008. The crisis was followed by brutal cuts, coupled by financial assistance from the *Troika* (European Commission, the European Central Bank and the IMF). The Greek state, notes Anastassiadis, is currently (2012/2013) in a process of renewing its state-building project and giving itself a "new roadmap"; one that is perhaps considered to be more modest, fairer, and more realistic (Anastassiadis, 2012) given the interpenetration of new cultures and peoples that have begun to form and inform the country's *new* cultural fabric. Nevertheless, EU imposed austerity, and policies in the areas of public administration and budgets, pensions, tax policies, employment, education, innovation and green growth, reforms in the public sector and human rights are literally reducing the country's sovereignty. Panayotis Sotiris (2014) writes that "the so called 'Troika' (EU – IMF – ECB) actually dictate measures in the name of 'market liberalization' and 'competitiveness' and no legislative initiative of the Greek government can be initiated without the explicit approval of the Troika representatives" (Sotiris, 2014, para. 3). But this is not unique to Greece; in fact, "austerity packages" have been imposed as a condition for these countries to maintain their membership with the EU (Sotiris, 2014). Perhaps Sotiris is accurate to assert that what is happening in Greece can only be described in terms of a giant experiment in neoliberal social engineering (Sotiris, 2014).

4.7 Concept of "state" and "nation" in an Era of Neoliberal Globalization

The concept of "state" has changed dramatically over the last few decades. It is therefore, important to understand the changing role of the state in an era of globalization, austerity, and crisis and to acknowledge and summarize these "new,"

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[63] PIGS or PIIGS (includes Ireland) is an acronym used in economics and finance and refers to the economies of Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain, four economies of southern Europe.

yet not so new, developments or *transmutations*. The growing international competition that gave rise to Keynesian economics and the rhetoric of "deregulation" fiscal "responsibility" and "freeing" the market have begun to dominate the actions and policies of many governments world-wide at an alarming rate. The Greek economic crisis "summoned in" the Troika to "help" Greece out of the crisis, and to advance further its technocratic neoliberal agenda. Therefore, capitalism has beyond a doubt passed through a series of stages, epochs, and has evolved and morphed but ultimately, there are certain parts that have remained unchanged; the inner logic or *raison d' etre* of the capitalist system has remained unchanged, always driven by the pre-eminent drive of maximizing capital, now taken as the basis of state legitimacy. Consequently, we see the depletion and the weakening of the welfare state. Critics argue that along with the weakened welfare state, the nation state was also deteriorating to the point that it is becoming largely irrelevant (see Rotberg, 2002). While it is a commonly held assumption that the sovereignty and autonomy of nation-states has been radically reduced with the emergence of truly open and free global markets in capital and goods (though, interestingly, not in labor), I argue that the nation-state has *not* weakened in the least; rather it remains both the key site of political legitimacy and the locus of considerable and enduring powers (Malcolm, 2001). Nation-states continue to be immensely powerful; indeed, they may be more powerful than ever before in some respects. In the next section I define the concepts of ethos, state, and nation.

4.8 Understanding Nation, State, and Ethnicity

Aside from the strong linkages between language and culture, research in sociolinguistics confirms semantic differences between concepts, which are the reasons why words spoken in different contexts have different meanings. Defining the sociolinguistic structural variations of these concepts is important in this study because I draw from a body of words and concepts that mean specific things *within* a given context; in this case, the *Greek* context. The criteria with which I look at the Greek state are drawn from the six features John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith (1996) identify as being expressed by "ethnies," or "ethnic communities" (rather than ethnic *groups* or "ethnic" as a *category*). Smith initially derived the concept of "ethnie"

from the Greek *ethnos* to denote those ethnic entities from which nations emerge (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). Although present day nations-states are *polyethnic* (consisting of people from many backgrounds), most have been formed around a dominant ethnie, whereby ethnies are, by definition, associated with a given territory, a chosen people with a particular sacred land, and presumed boundaries determined by myth and memories of the dominant ethnie (Smith, 1991). A *nation* is "a named human population that shares a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all its members" (Smith, 1991, p. 14). While an *ethnie* can also (like a *nation*) be a community of common myths, memories, and a territorial community, the link with a territory may *only* be historical or symbolic, whereas in the case of nation it is physical and actual; specifically, "nations possess territories, and always require ethnic elements" (Smith, 1991, p. 39-40). Therefore, such distinction is very important so as to not assume that *nation* and *ethnie* mean the same "thing." The English language has no concrete noun for "ethnos" or "ethnie" and treats ethnicity as a primarily *cultural* phenomenon. I read ethnicity holistically as the total symbolic consciousness and material development of a given people, whereby nationalism represents the most intense (extreme) and holistic articulation of ethnicity, whereby the love of one's nation "is a consciousness that results from an actor's connection to her/his largest felt descent and kinship group" (Fong, 2008, p. 55).

Providing the above clarification will allow me to move onto briefly outlining the six characteristics of ethnicity that Hutchinson and Smith (1996) employ to identify and explain the roots of nationalism, since ethnicity plays a crucial role in understanding nationalisms, and more so, in the case of Greece. But before I do so, it is important to acknowledge Richard Alonzo Schermerhorn's seminal work *Comparative Ethnic Relations* (1970) that has been highly influential in Hutchinson and Smith's (1996) definition of ethnicity. Although there are other theorists who list similar key qualities in their definitions – like Manning Nash (1996), for instance, who examines ethnicity from a postcolonial perspective and includes three essential criteria for the creation and maintenance of ethnicity which are assumed kinship ties, commensality, and a common cult – Hutchinson and Smith's definition is more precise and comprehensive, and *closer* to helping us define and understand certain

(specific to Greece) cultural characteristics. Drawing from Schermerhorn, an ethnic group is a collectivity within the larger society who has real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one, or more, symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000). These may include symbolic elements as kinship patterns, physical contiguity, religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000).

Based on the above criteria outlined by Schermerhorn, Hutchinson and Smith, in turn, define six criteria that ethnies habitually exhibit, in varying degrees and include 1. a common *proper name*, to identify and express the "essence" of the community; 2. a myth of *common ancestry*, a myth rather than a fact, a myth that includes the idea of a common origin in time and place and that gives an *ethnie* a sense of fictive kinship; 3. shared *historical memories*, or better, shared memories of a common past or pasts, including heroes, events, and their commemoration; 4. one or more *elements of common culture*, which need not be specified but normally include religion, customs, or language; 5. a *link with a homeland*, not necessarily its physical occupation by the *ethnie*, only its symbolic attachment to the ancestral land, as with diaspora peoples, and 6. a *sense of solidarity* on the part of at least some sections of the ethnie's population (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996, p. 6).

Smith stresses the importance of ethnicity by arguing that the *ethnie* is anything but primordial for the cohesion and self-awareness of that community's membership (Smith, 1991) and insists that, "an ethnie may persist even when long divorced from its homeland, through an intense nostalgia and spiritual attachment" (Smith, 1991, p. 23). This kind of nostalgia and spiritual attachment may, perhaps, help explain diasporic Greek sentiments when Greeks are away from their motherland. Despite moving away from "their territory," economic and social activities remain strong in locations where Greeks of the diaspora live. Greeks always keep their traditions "alive" when they are away from the motherland (oftentimes, more so than the Greeks who actually *live* in Greece). Smith would argue that the emerging ethnic consciousness of a nation's ethnic background within these groups is so strong (even though they may have been living apart or far from their countries

for a long time, in most cases almost a century), that ethnic nationalism could emerge as a result of this intense nostalgia and spiritual attachment (Smith, 1991). This is something that I have experienced as a child of diasporic Greeks; the overwhelming tendency for cultural attachments embodied in the Greek Orthodox Church and other places like specialized food stores, for instance, that carry specific items and memories of "the homeland." Smith's, Hutchinson's and Schermerhor's conceptualizations and renditions of ethnie are very important in helping to better understand the collective elements that constitute "Greekness."

The relationship between ethnicity and nationalism is also an important one, and Ernest Gellner has an interesting analysis of ethnicity and nationalism. Gellner (1983) maintains that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones nor should ethnic boundaries separate the power holders from the rest. Gellner furthermore argues that "ethnicity enters the political sphere as 'national-ism' at times when cultural homogeneity or continuity (not classlessness) is required by the economic base of social life and when, consequently, culture linked class differences become noxious, while ethnically unmarked, gradual class differences remain tolerable" (p. 94). Therefore, nationalism cannot arise out of the thinking of nationalist thinkers; rather, nationalism is the construction of a long process, and since many ethnic groups cannot manage to become nations, nation-states are not "the manifest ultimate destiny of ethnic or cultural groups" (p. 47). In the case of Greece, Anthony Smith's proposition that national identity is drawn from pre-existing traditions which are crystallised in an extensive pattern of symbols, myths, rituals and representations through which they are then passed from one generation to the next, provides a better framework for the understanding of Greek nationalism. According to Smith, "Modern nationalism in part can be seen as deriving from powerful external pre-modern traditions, symbols and myths which are then taken up and recast in the nationalist ideologies of national mission and destiny as these emerge in the crucible of modernisation" (Smith, 1999, p. 332).

As opposed to Smith, Gellner maintains that ethnicity does not "cause" nationalism because nationalism cannot emerge without a nation to emerge from. Smith, on the other hand, argues that ethnic identity can cause nationalism. Through the rediscovery of an ethnic past, national identity could inspire ethnic communities

to claim their rights as nations; thus ethnic nationalism is the mobilisation of ethnic groups by using language, ethno-history, religion, traditions and customs (Isiksal, 2002). The desire to protect a cultural heritage and tradition creates a sense of superiority to ethnic group (Isiksal, 2002). Montserrat Guibernau (2004) also confirms Smith's argument by suggesting that when a nation faced resistance from ethnic groups within the country, it could cope with it either by destroying them or granting them a degree of autonomy. Guibernau and Rex conclude that if a state "fails to do either of these, ethnies themselves may develop in the direction of ethnic nationalism, seeking to establish their own states" (Guibernau & Rex, as cited in Giugni & Passy, 2006, p. 125). Gellner, like Smith, does not deny the importance of ethnicity in nationalism. However the formation of new social organizations, where social life has an economic base and depends on high culture, is more important in the formation of nationalism than ethnicity, according to Gellner. Another basic difference between theorists are their preconditions for the development of nationalism they propose. While Gellner suggests the importance and necessity of the political and cultural proximity of the ethnic groups as being the *cause* of nationalism, Smith emphasizes the importance of the pre-existing ethnies as contributing to strengthening nationalism (Smith, 1999). In countries like Greece where the population is almost ethnically homogeneous, the nation is seen as something unique; as a solidly integrated unit in all aspects, which makes the distinction or difference between the nation and the state practically inexistent (Özkırımlı, 2005). The following section will examine the complex relationship between religion and the state – two structurally independent institutions, yet mutually dependent.

4.9 Religion and the State: The Case of Greece

There is a strong and seemingly unbreakable link between national identity and religious tradition in Greece. The Helleno-Christian legacy, maintains Molokotos-Liederman (2009) (still) echoes in the current social, political, and cultural life of Greece. Indeed, the ties that bind Greek society to Orthodoxy are maintained through a variety of institutions including Church, State, and Education, while

traditions are kept alive through cultural and religious activities. Helleno-Orthodoxy[64] resonates in various aspects of contemporary Greek public life, including Church-State relations, state celebrations, popular religiosity, rites of passage and the education system[65] (Molokotos-Liederman, 2009). Historically, and to this day, the Greek government financially supports the Orthodox Church by paying for the salaries and religious training of the clergy, financing the maintaining Orthodox Church buildings, and exempting from tax the Orthodox Church's revenues from properties it owns (Report on Non-Religious Discrimination, 2012). Moreover, Orthodox religious instruction in primary and secondary Greek state schools – at government expense – and is *mandatory* for all students with no alternative (i.e., non-Orthodox religious) instruction offered. Students with other (than Greek Orthodox) religious backgrounds have the option to be exempt from religion class. Of course, private schools do offer alternative religious instruction to their students (see Report On non-religious Discrimination, 2012). Problematizing church–state relations within a liberal democratic framework can quickly lead to many contradictions, since the country functions in ways that are clearly incompatible with the minimally required institutional differentiation and with the most minimalist interpretations of religious freedoms and equal treatment of people from different ethnic backgrounds (other than Greek). Nevertheless, such problematization may offer insights into the longstanding debates about the monolithic constitutional design for church–state relations in the Modern Greek state.

The new global realities and the interpenetration of new cultural identities in many European countries make it increasingly difficult to distinguish between *ethnie*, that make the core of a culture, as illustrated by Hutchinson and Smith (1996) which, in part, make the country's artifacts, symbols, and/or rituals less clear and readily identifiable. For Greeks, religious symbols are extensively used in public life (religious rituals accompany every state ceremony – like opening or inauguration of a new public office, a hospital, and/or a school. Furthermore, parliament members as well as the President are required to take a religious oath – regardless of their

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[64] Also referred to in this document as "Greek Orthodoxy."
[65] I will be discussing, further, the relationship between Greek Orthodoxy, or Helleno-Orthodoxy and education in the chapter that follow.

religious orientation. Even on the first day of school, a religious ceremony takes place at the beginning of every school year and classes start everyday with Orthodox (style) prayer in the schoolyard. A reexamination of the Church–State relations vis-à-vis Greece's political, legal, and social aspects of democratization within a broader reconsideration of the meaning and role of religion in European states in the 21st century is necessary. The diachronic relationship between religion and politics and greater Greek society is an important one to consider because it plays a key role in understanding policy (formation and execution) and citizenship matters, since there is an assumed link between citizenship and religion and the assumption that being Greek means being an Orthodox Christian. Foka (2008) notes that Greece offers an example of a struggle over religion in the public sphere, different from that in Western Europe, where the focus is on "secular neutrality" and on whether space can and *should* be made for religion.

To better understand the implications the Church's involvement in the state and public life of Greece, it is important to examine the form secularism has taken on in liberal democratic states and the *modern* world. Jürgen Habermas is perhaps one of the most important theorists to consider surrounding the debate on the role of religion in the political and public sphere in the EU. His approach begins from the assumption that current day society *should* be characterized as a "postsecular" one. Essentially, Habermas analyzes the seemingly unexpected *return* of religion, i.e., "religious revivalism" or the "worldwide resurgence of religion: (a) the missionary expansion of the major world religions; (b) their fundamentalist radicalization; and (c) the political instrumentalization of their inherent potential for violence" (Habermas, 2009, p. 61). For Habermas, post-secularism does not entail the rejection of the ongoing secularizing process, but does not by any means signal a return to the medieval theological predominance. Post-secular society is defined by "the continued existence of religious communities in a continually secularizing environment" (Habermas, 2009, p. 63). Habermas proposes that both religion and the secular have to learn from each other and adapt themselves to this new post-secular context (Mozumder , 2011); in other words, they must learn to co-exist.

But even though there is this assumption that many societies are considered to be "secular," they are not as secular as they imagine to be. Perhaps it is important to

rethink secularism, and by "secularism," I am not suggesting that we turn "against religion"; rather, secularism means, at a very basic level, opposing institutionalized religious domination like in Greece, for instance, whereby the Church has inserted itself, and often dominates economic and state development matters, education, family life, etc. Craig Calhoun (2010) writes that secularism is often treated as an *absence* of religion or the exclusion of religion from the public sphere. This is often misleading. Secularism is more so a *presence*, rather than an absence. "Whether we see it as an ideology, a worldview, a stance toward religion, a constitutional approach, or simply an aspect of some other project – of science or a philosophical system – secularism is something we need to think through, rather than merely the absence of religion" (Calhoun, Juergensmeyer, & VanAntwerpen, 2012, p. 5).

The mono-religious approach to education that is prevalent in Greek state schools allows room for only *one* religion that qualifies as "Greek," and that Greek Orthodoxy – i.e., the role of Orthodoxy as carrier of Greek national identity. The mono-religious approach is also referred to as a "transmission model" because it aims to transmit a particular religion to the students (Hermans, 2003). Although this model does not necessarily imply complete disregard of other religions, it does aim to instill in "non-Greek" (non-Orthodox) students a will to participate in Christian Orthodox practices, regardless of their religious backgrounds. Perhaps it is time for the Greek education system, through educational policy initiatives, to make room for the newly emerging religious and social groups through a radical ideological reorientation of the Church and polity. As long as schools remain ideologically and religiously segregated, immigrants and immigrant youth will continue to be discouraged from participating fully in Greek society. The immigrant participants' lived experiences revealed the deep and all-encompassing role of the Greek Orthodox Church in schooling and educational policymaking. Immigrant student are, more or less, absorbed into the Greek education system that is strongly linked to ethno-national elements of the system.

While I do not wish to embark on a standpoint that reinforces the binary secular versus religion problematic, and while Craig Calhoun et al., open up new possibilities and angles with which to approach and rethink political theologies, pluralism, and secularism in modern day society, I would like to focus on the

compatibility of Orthodoxy within the Greek liberal democratic state and the inherent contradictions in promoting diversity, pluralism, and a public morality in Greek society, beyond Orthodoxy; if it is even possible to imagine a Greek "secular" state at all, let alone a "post-secular" state.

Habermas argues that "a post-secular can only be applied to the affluent societies of Europe or countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, where people's religious ties have steadily or rather quite dramatically lapsed in the post-War period" (Habermas, 2008, p. 17). In Habermasian thought, post-secularism does not have any relation with fundamentalism, as some scholars unsuccessfully combine the two terms; rather, "post-secular" refers to a change in consciousness which attributed to three phenomena: a) the perception that the religious strife affect the global conflicts; b) the belief that religious organizations are increasingly assuming the role of "communities of interpretation" in the public arena of secular societies, c) the fact of the immigration of "guest-workers" and refugees, especially those coming from countries with traditional cultural backgrounds (Habermas, 2009). Therefore, Habermas supports the fact that the Islamic countries and even the Eastern European countries could *not* face the post-secular era. Because Greece was never secular, it is one of the countries that "fits" into this category. It is important to note that religion (Greek Orthodoxy) will not disappear as a relevant influence neither in the lives of individuals nor in the cultural and/or political arena of the Greek state because Greece has *not* entered the "secular" age, yet, and thus it would be unrealistic to imagine post-secular possibilities; at least, not in the way Habermas imagines when he states that "Today, public consciousness in Europe can be described in terms of a 'post-secular society' to the extent that at present it still has to 'adjust itself to the continued existence of religious communities in an increasingly secularized environment" (Habermas, 2008, p. 19). Although I agree that we are entering a post-secularlist society, Greece as a society has not entered the "secularist age," rather, Orthodoxy is always reasserting and renewing its traditional and always privileged legal, social and cultural status within the Greek state. Greece is on the *periphery* of this dynamic, to both the Anglo-Saxon and Franco-Germanic worlds.

In sum, it is claimed that Europe has become *more* secular over the years. It has also been claimed that secularism has come to an end and that an era of post-

secularism has emerged. In other words, the impact of the role of religion in people's lives and the repositioning of religion in the modern society has played an important part according to Habermas. What is critical about the term "post-secular society" is the effort to narrow this phenomenon in the West. Many scholars argue that this phenomenon can also become a fact in Islamic countries, as it is fundamentally a dialogue between religion and the state. Jürgen Habermas declarations that "we are living in a post-secular age" initiated a debate about the end of secularization and the beginning of a new era in religious revival. Habermas argues, that "secular citizens, in their role as citizens, may neither deny that religious worldviews are in principle capable of truth nor question the right of their devout fellow citizens to couch their contributions to public discussions in religious language" (Habermas, 2009, p. 113).

John Rawls is more *inclusionist* than Habermas because for Habermas the transformation of religious into political arguments already has to be completed in the *informal* public sphere. Rawls, in contrast, leaves this informal sphere totally free and also allows religious arguments in the "formal public sphere" provided political reasons supporting the same position can be found in due course (Loobuyck & Rummens, 2011). Rawls seems to impose the condition on all individuals as far as they vote on or even simply debate issues concerning constitutional essentials (Loobuyck & Rummens, 2011). Habermas of course regards such a demand as an unacceptable psychological burden on religious citizens who, in his opinion, are allowed to participate in public debate while, at the same time, remaining religious monoglots (Loobuyck & Rummens, 2011). Rawls maintains that the reasons for the separation of church and state are these, among others, first of all in a liberal state, the state "protects religion from the state and the state from religion; it protects citizens from their churches and citizens from one another (Rawls, 1999, p. 166). It does this by protecting the freedom to change one's faith. Heresy and apostasy are not crimes (Rawls, 1999). Public law does not recognize heresy and apostasy as crimes, and members of churches are always at liberty to leave their faith (Rawls, 1997, p. 795). For Habermas, when considering what some advocate as "religious competition" in the state "it is unclear why under this premise the political community should not at any time be in danger simply of disintegrating into religious

struggle" (Habermas, as cited in Gripsrud, Moe, Molander, & Murdock, 2010, p. 301).

And while both Rawls and Habermas argue strongly that religion and state should be separated, I agree that we are entering a post-secular age, and what this means according to Habermas is that a post-secular society is a society where religion maintains a public influence and relevance, while the "secularist certainty that religion will disappear worldwide in the course of modernization, is losing ground" (Habermas, 2008, p. 4).

There are those like Charles Taylor who would argue otherwise, and maintain that there are forms of "religiosity" today that are widely mobilized and that resurgence of religion is not evidence of a new post-secular dispensation (Warner, Van Antwerpen, & Calhoun, 2010). Finally, I conclude that even though Greece basically "fits" into the a liberal democratic model , per se, the country functions in ways that are clearly incompatible with the minimally required institutional differentiation and with the most minimalist interpretations of religious freedoms and equal treatment of people from different ethnic backgrounds (other than Greek). Thus, Greece's "liberal democracy" is in many ways, at odds with principles of relational neutrality, fairness in all versions, and priority for democracy as is outlined in the model of liberal democracy and this will become more evident in the chapters that follow.

4.10 Education Theories of Social and Cultural Reproduction

It has been well established that education, mainly advanced through schooling, plays a highly important role in shaping individuals, other institutions and, of course, society itself. In fact, John Dewey maintains that schools are the primary, and most effective instruments of social progress and reform (Dewey, 1929). At the same time, schools are perhaps the most effective instruments in reproducing the dominant ideology, its forms of knowledge, and the distribution of skills needed to reproduce the social division of labor (Giroux, 1983). Before we can ever begin to engage in comprehensive actions that aim to promote immigrant student empowerment through citizenship education, we must pay closer attention to the wider socio-economic, cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic contexts that

contribute to reproducing social inequalities and sustaining the system of domination. Educational systems or apparatuses have the power to sustain, produce, and reproduce discriminatory patterns, ideas, discourses, practices, and structures that deeply seep into the very fabric of society (see Bourdieu 1977; Althusser, 2008), thus creating an ongoing, recursive feedback loop between social structure and the various social and institutional contexts. As a result, education should not be analyzed in isolation from the rest of society and the institutions that influence educational decision-making and public opinion. Rather, educational processes should be analyzed as an integrated part, and in a constant process of re-negotiation and re-articulation, with other social structures, processes, and practices in society (Trimikliniotis, Pappayiannis, & Kamali, 2013). Although there are several theoretical paradigms amongst which the problematic of cultural and educational reproduction rests and include functionalist systems theories, analytical conflict theories, neo-Marxist theories and post-structuralist theories (see Morrow & Torres, 1995), the discourses of social reproduction in education provide a substantial theoretical framework for exploring not only socioeconomic inequalities that pervade Greek society, but social and cultural inequalities that persist in Greek state schools.

The reproductive role of the state that necessarily reflects the schools and educational apparatuses by creating and imposing the ideological representation of the dominant culture – in this case, the Greek culture, that subordinates other cultures particularly those of immigrants who do not "fit" within, or conform to the hegemonic definition of "Greekness," and moreover, those who further deviate from the Western European cultural "prototype" (for example, middle-class, Caucasian, male, "white European"). That being said, I place great significance on the theories, histories, and structures of nation, migration, and democracy so as to better understand how schooling and education systems "work" in Greece. In addition, the labour market is perhaps the most important arena at which inclusion, exclusion, belongingness and discrimination (next to schooling) occurs. Although this study does not expand to capture labour markets, it does look at such issues as they are articulated in the narratives told by those participants who are vulnerable to social exclusion and marginalization such as certain minority ethnic groups discussed throughout this thesis. For any changes to begin to take place, it is important to

understand the complexities of inequality within mono-cultural and mono-religious educational contexts, which means becoming aware of the factors that reproduce inequality and sustain such systems of domination. The ideologies that inform present day manifestations of xenoracism in Greece that seep into Greek classrooms are such that sustain and reproduce the devaluation of cultures other than the Greek culture, and promote the valorization and praise of the cultural origins of the dominant culture. For Louis Althusser, the dominant, most important "Ideological State Apparatus" is the educational ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 2008). As such, school systems – that are intimately involved in the process of sorting and selection – slot students neatly into a hierarchy that is a homologous reflection of the workplace so that by the time they reach the age of sixteen, students are "ejected into production" (Althusser, 2008). In "Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatus," Althusser "traces ideology as a discourse which leads the individual subject to understand itself and others in such a way as to support the reproduction of ruling class power" (Elliott, 2004, p. 41). Althusser also interrogates how it comes to be that people accept submission or acquiescence to the dominant order, while the dominant class is able to manipulate the ruling ideology as such to serve their own needs, through exploitation and repression. And while in the case of Greece it appears that it is nearly impossible to break from the dominant cultural paradigm, and while theories of social reproduction may, perhaps, proffer a basis for understanding how and why inequalities are reproduced, they do not necessarily provide an immediate "solution" that could alleviate the reproduction and perpetuation of the vicious cycle of inequality that persists in schools (see Macris, 2009). If these theories are to be of any importance they could, perhaps, allow us to raise practical questions and ways of approaching that may, possibly, serve to guide and extend educational policy action and classroom practices.

Pierre Bourdieu (2008) analytically captures how social inequality is reproduced through schooling and educational systems by emphasizing that not only are social inequalities reflected by the educational system, but are produced or generated by the children of the "dominant classes"; in the case of Greece, by the children of the dominant cultural group, which is Greek. Greek middle class students undoubtedly have significant advantages when compared to children from low

income families, low socioeconomic status, and of course, they have greater advantages than students with immigrant backgrounds who most likely come from low income backgrounds and with a lower socioeconomic status. Immigrants, particularly recent arrivals, are furthermore recognised as a group "at risk" of experiencing higher levels of low income (Hou & Picot, 2002). Studies conducted in the US and Canada suggest that newly arrived immigrants generally have lower earnings than comparable native born workers, but their initial earnings gap narrows as they adjust to the labour market in the receiving society (Carliner 1981; Chiswick 1978; Meng 1987; Tandon 1977). If according to social reproduction theory children reproduce the cultural capital of their parents, and schools are active agents of social reproduction, first, and second generation immigrant students in Greek state schools are at a considerably great economic, social, and cultural disadvantage (OECD, 2012).

In this study, it is well implied and documented that the cultural capital of immigrants cannot be defined as one of the locals and is expected that the differences in cultural capital of immigrants compared to the natives is different. Since immigrant groups have less cultural capital (cultural capital also dependent on country of origin), there is strong evidence to support that immigrant students face an "ethnic penalty" depending on their country of origin, from the host country. Bourdieu goes on to say that cultural capital consists of familiarity with the dominant culture in a society, and especially the ability to understand and use "educated" language (Bourdieu, 1977).

In the case of Greece, the dominant language is Greek, and while the possession of cultural capital varies with social class, it also varies when it comes to cultural background. Cultural background or ethnicity makes it very difficult for lower-class, immigrant pupils to succeed in the education system (of course, there are more variables at play that do not in a sense, allow, for social mobility to take place because of negative perceptions of immigrants). As such, we must move beyond cultural capital or broaden the picture to consider why ethnic minorities experience such ethnic penalties when they enter relatively ethnically and religiously homogeneous school systems. Greek teachers do not have a clear sense of their role as cultural workers (see Roberts's 1998 analysis of Freire's Teachers as Cultural

Workers) and this is clearly reflected in the participant narratives. Educators and teachers who work with immigrant children must become reflective about their own ideological stances and be aware of the ideological positions that exist around them, and reflect on how their belief systems influence their interaction with culturally diverse youth and their families. Peter McLaren calls for a radical pedagogy; one that requires us to move away from our "comfort zones" and become active agents of social change. For McLaren, multiculturalism, diversity, and pluralism mean very little if we cannot critically reflect on our own practices as educators, parents, citizens, and critique, head on, the dominant ideologies that perpetuate oppression (McLaren, 1997).

4.11 Critical Multiculturalism

McLaren asserts that "multiculturalism and multilingualism are seen as threats to the social, political, and cultural stability of a country" (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 1999, p. 37) and proposes a revolutionary multiculturalism that transcends liberal pluralism by combining aspects of activism and oppositionalism, thus unveiling the critical characteristics that affirm the value of diversity and provide a sense of appreciation for marginality and difference in people and practices. As I have described throughout this dissertation, in the case of Greece and in such times of economic crises, the support for the wave of anti-immigrant legislation is increasing rapidly, as are neo-fascist movements throughout the EU. As such, it becomes "more critical to understand how these sentiments manifest themselves in school policies and practices, in classroom instruction" (p. 37). By using lived experiences, histories, and narratives as tools for social struggle, subaltern groups, marginalized groups, and specifically, immigrant groups and other cultural minorities can interpret and reconstruct their oppressive social conditions into meaningful social and political *action* (McLaren, 1995; 1997). This study has carved out a space for those marginalized voices to be heard, but further steps are required if transformative change is to occur. McLaren's critical multicultural pedagogy encourages marginalized groups and communities to forge political alliances, and in so doing to eradicate cultural homogeneity by interpreting and (re)constructing their own history (McLaren, 1995). As part of a concerted effort of anti-capitalist struggle,

critical multiculturalism seeks to establish social and economic equality in contrast to the conservative and liberal ideology of "equal opportunity" that masks the existing unequal distribution of power and wealth. Furthermore, a democratic multicultural curriculum, coupled by a deliberative democratic model in the classroom, encourages students to interrogate the multiple meanings of race, class, gender, and sexuality in a society which "playfully and seductively inverts and reverses the true meaning of social equality" (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005, p. 115). Critical multiculturalism, as such, has the potential of pressuring democracy to live up to its name by putting bourgeois liberal egalitarianism on the witness stand of history (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005, p. 115). It is crucial to develop a type of citizenship that speaks to the issue of multicultural, anticapitalist, and antiracist solidarity; an unvarnished version of citizenship, that does not arch toward common culture, but that establishes a common ground for struggle (Trueba & McLaren, 2000). Such citizenship necessitates "smuggling" into educational practice "a pedagogy of transgression that defines the injunction to remain passive in a sea of misery" (Forrester, 1999, p. 127); "a politics of identity and difference, and not an identity politics; a community of dissent, and not a common culture; a praxis of transformation, not a praxis of reform" (McLaren, 2000, p. 14). It is important to revolutionize pedagogy by making revolution pedagogical. It is not enough to substitute one type of hegemonic power for another; rather we need to reinvent power (McLaren, 2000). While education and schooling has the potential to transform society, rather than maintain a system of conformity (Freire, 1970), it is important to engage in deliberative dialogue with immigrant communities and educators and construct alternative representations of immigrant subjectivities in Greek state schools. Immigrant students are in a disadvantage to begin with, but should not tacitly accept the dominant class values, but critically interrogate their own class and cultural position. Perhaps critical, participatory research and deliberative democracy is transformative in that it may help communities to critically reflect upon the structures that repress their ability to thrive.

4.12 The State, the Church, and the Oppression of Women

It is well established throughout this thesis that the mono-cultural and mono-religious approaches to Greek education advanced by the Greek government school policies have tremendous implications not only for immigrant children and youth, but also, for Greek democratic citizens. Greek government policies clearly favor Greek culture, which is rooted in the Greek Orthodox Church and, more or less, tends towards the exclusion of ethnic minorities. Greek society, as reflected in Greek public schools is therefore entirely unrepresentative of the diversity of a multi-cultural society. Consequently, any assimilative conceptions of integration are not accurately representing the opinions and beliefs of all students, administrators, and teachers within the Greek public school system. These inconsistencies have serious implications for the government's ability to serve as a "representative democracy." An overarching theme that runs through the participants' narratives is, basically, that those who follow different cultural (including religious) traditions do not belong within the ethno-religious dimensions of "Greekness."

But what does the dominance of the Church actually mean in terms of women's place in Modern Greek society? Some questions that ought to be considered and that concern women in the Modern Greek state are, what would a theory of the state look like that might take into account the active female role in the state, without the direct interference of the church? Since the Church is understood as a male dominant oppressive apparatus, can the state *not* be understood as a form of patriarchal domination/relations, too? Can the state even become a theoretical object within the conceptual framework of feminist theory as it now stands in Greece? It is not enough to simply document the effects of the state (and Church) in reproducing male domination (any more than a class theory of the state is a catalogue of the class-effects of the state is sufficient). The existing body of theory explaining how religion contributes to conflict is underrepresented and, as I see it, inadequate. This is because no existing theory is both sufficiently comprehensive, in that it merely describes (rather than proposes viable alternatives) most of the ways in which religion can (potentially) become involved in conflict and sustaining and reproducing patriarchal structures, if that. Perhaps the research practice of intersectionality and the relationships between ethnicity, language, nationality, and religion and how they

intersect with race and gender might best allow new theoretical structures to emerge. So far, and since the Greek Orthodox Church is so strongly present within the Greek state, one can only imagine that it might have vested interests in *preventing* any kind of social reform that could potentially weaken the established social order, and blur the identification of "Greekness" with Orthodoxy (Coutsoukis, 2004). This trajectory is *not* good news for women. The Church's defense of traditional values has been especially influential on many aspects of Greek society, but more so, on the role of Greek women, as it seeks to reproduce and sustain the deep-rooted structures of domination that serve to perpetuate the ideology of patriarchy.

Greece is a country considered resistant to secularization, in which state and church have not yet been legally separated. This approach provides a more stringent test of the theory, by assessing its plausibility in a critical case. A decrease in religious authority is least likely to appear in a context where state, nation, and church have been historically and culturally merged. If approached through a social identity theoretical perspective (e.g. Tajfel 1981), religion in the Greek case remains strong and vibrant compared to most European nations, due to the role of the Christian Orthodox identity in maintaining a clear demarcation between Greek and *Other*.

4.13 Towards a *critical* deliberative social democratic model: A bridge too far?

As I have detailed, there are many complexities and variables involved in attempting to carry out a "democratic ideal." Thus far, I have sketched the outlines of theoretical models that provide lenses through which I approach this study; lenses through which to look at the problematic and social issues that inform policy implementation in the Modern Greek state. Given the complexities inherent in contemporary Greek society, I sense that turning toward a creation of educational policy through a deliberative lens that emerges from reasoned dialogue among Greek citizens and marginalized groups might be, perhaps, the most effective way to bring about necessary change within the policy landscape. But how can deliberative democratic ideals become realized in societies like Greece, especially in the new age of neoliberal triumphalism? If Greece as a society is far from the liberal democratic state "ideal," per se, how can any possibility of a deliberative ideal come through? A deliberative model opens up the possibility for people – immigrant, marginalized

subjectivities, cultural minorities, and those who are currently living *outside* the "borders" of a democracy to have a say in decisions that affect them and their lives. In most cases, citizens are "locked out of the policy-making process, which is a privilege reserved by the political elite and special interest groups" (D'Agostino, Schwester, & Holzer, 2006, p. 6). Deliberative democratic theory offers viable and realiztic solutions to policy makers, students and scholars who are interested in democratic justice. Engaging people in the deliberative process is essential to overcoming apathy, cynicism and mistrust toward government, and the apparent disconnect between citizens and decision-makers.

In Greece today, traditional structures of policy formation and decision-making rarely include citizen participation, while traditional means of representation, such as town hall meetings and public hearings, are not as effective in addressing injustices, and particularly kinds of injustices that include marginalized populations. Creating the conditions for meaningful interactions between citizens, non-citizens and government may alter the dynamic of the policymaking process by giving citizens, and marginalized people a means of voicing their opinions and concerns regarding specific policies and partaking in the process of implementation. The barriers to political inclusion are also the socioeconomic inequalities: societies contain structural, social, and economic inequalities (wealth, socioeconomic power, access to knowledge, etc.) that often operate to exclude or marginalize the voice and influence of some groups (citizens vs. non-citizens for instance) while magnifying the influence of others (Kies, 2009). Although both Habermas and Benhabib take "the stranger" and the marginalized "other" into account, it is important to emphasize the rhetorical power of personal testimony from marginalized individuals in a deliberative context. Deliberative democracy increases legitimacy by including previously excluded voices, and making marginalized groups feel that the outcomes of deliberation result from procedural fairness.

The model I propose, however, has a twist, and is borrowed from John Dryzek (2005) called the *critical* deliberative model because its benefits rest on the notions of *critical* and *deliberation*. The effectiveness of such model relies upon individuals remaining open to new information and proposals rather than doggedly advancing pre-formulated ones, which necessarily means that the Greeks might have

to be open to altering their opinions and even their preferences – stepping outside their "comfort zones," and allowing the possibility for other voices to emerge, other than the dominant ones. Though deliberation is seldom deployed and its practice may be completely unfamiliar to many people both in their public and private lives, discussing issues and resolving conflict by *not* pushing for "as much as we can get," or by imposing our dominant viewpoints across, but rather, by doing what seems reasonable and fair (Fung, Wright, & Abers, 2003). In situations where there is conflict of interest, or in situations "characterized by substantial differences of interest or opinion, particularly from ideological sources, deliberation may break down into either gridlock or power-based conflict resolution" (Fung, Wright, & Abers, 2003, p. 30). But while deliberation may be done in an egalitarian and democratic manner it does not guarantee that those decisions will be effectively translated into *action*. For deliberative democracy to "work" in real-world settings and for action to be mobilized, it must be able to involve any kind of individual and treat their participation as objects of *transformation*. Perhaps a problem may be the insufficient attention to the fact that participants in these processes usually face each other from unequal positions of power (e.g. male/female citizen/non-citizen).

The process of deliberation may perhaps be the only way to achieve any kind of consensus. Of course, there may be other (and possibly *better*) ways of achieving this, and different models may turn out to be superior to the critical deliberative model. Nevertheless, given the multiple variables that citizens and non-citizens are confronted with on a daily basis in Greece, I think that adopting a public deliberation and reflection to reach a consensus about the problems in policy might be a solution. In other words, the Greek state necessitates moving beyond a liberal democratic model, and adopting a more *"radical"* version of democracy. Critical deliberative democracy has been the dominant theme in democratic theory for the past decade. With an emphasis on informed and critical citizen deliberation, deliberative democracy is a successor to models of participatory democracy (Dryzek, 2007). The quality of deliberation in actually existing democracies, however, remains a challenge; that is, in praxis, this model can be *problematic*.

Perhaps Greek citizens ought to conceptualize and consider potential roles within a deliberative system; that is, within the context of all talk-based approaches to

conflict resolution and political decision-making (Calvert & Warren, 2013; Habermas, 2008). My analysis focuses specifically and the creation of viable policies that take immigrant students into account. The circle of deliberation can be extended considerably by communication of stakeholder representatives with their grassroots constituencies during the negotiation phases. This form of deliberative democracy has the potential to influence legislation and policy making, while it seems policy analysts are turning their attention to how policy designs can and should encourage citizen deliberation in confronting complex problems and tradeoffs.

Why *critical*? Because critical theory is concerned with emancipation of individuals and societies from oppressive ideological forces; it operates on a deeper level than liberalism. Criticality or critical theory identifies the extra-constitutional forces that liberal deliberative democracy cannot counter and sensitizes citizens to the existence of forces (Bantas, 2010). Therefore, a deliberative democracy founded on critical theory will be more authentic (authenticity here refers to whether democratic control is substantive or symbolic in nature), than simply a deliberative democracy based on liberalism, because it promotes greater citizen competency (Dryzek, 2002). In agreeing with Dryzek, the "critical edge" is necessary to a functional and viable deliberative democracy. Without the "critical edge" it would be difficult to maintain democratic authenticity in the face of transnational capitalist political economy. Second, the domestic and static version of deliberative democracy would struggle to respond to several elements of the globalizing world, including the deep plurality of political society, ecological challenges and globalization (Bantas, 2010). This kind of deliberative democracy with a critical edge is geared towards civil society, rather than the state. This kind of democracy *encourages* democratization of areas that have resisted democratization because liberal aggregation systems operate there. This kind of deliberation is better able to withstand and even resist hegemonic discourse of transnational capitalism by expanding democratic authenticity and scope.

4.14 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have drawn on existing theories of the democratic liberal state, and made a distinction of concepts of "nation" and "ethnie," as defined

and articulated by Hutchinson and Smith, and complemented by British-Czech philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner. I examined the liberal "realities" of migration vis-à-vis multiculturalism, citizenship, and democracy and drew upon the work of leading theorists of democratic thought: Jürgen Habermas, John Rawls, and John Drysek, to explore the secularist and post-secularist state, and finally the deliberationalist *ideal*. To demonstrate how all these theories tie into educational discourse, I draw on key educational theorists Peter McLaren, Henry Giroux, Louis Althusser, and Pierre Bourdieu to solidify the features of the politics of education, how they emerge, and how they are reflected, produced, and reproduced in Greek state schools. I, furthermore, interrogated the inevitable consequences of neoliberal, market-led globalization and restructuring laced with *false* and destructive promises of economic improvement and prosperity and questioned the possibility of whether or not Orthodoxy and feminism can possibly coexist harmoniously. Finally, I look toward a critical deliberative model that may have the potential to influence legislation and policy making in Greece, by focusing on how policy designs can encourage citizen deliberation in confronting complex problems and moving toward a solution. However, any decisions made in a deliberative procedure must necessarily include all those who are affected. In other words, a deliberative process cannot merely encompass some aggregate conception of "the people"; rather it must consider a diversity of viewpoints particularly of those affected by particular issues. Immigrant people in Greece, and particularly undocumented immigrants, despite high levels of integration into Greek society, do not enjoy basic citizenship rights. As such, their voices become more difficult to organize, articulate, mobilize, and integrate into policy discussions (Karpowitz, Raphael, & Hammond, 2009). Because immigrants are formally excluded from aspects of the political system, they have less influence on institutional and public policy making. It is therefore important for immigrant students to have the support of their teachers, their administration and their local communities to strengthen the relationship between deliberation and advocacy. Creating alliances between local authorities and civil society will allow for a more hospitable learning and social environment for children that may create the possibility for change and immigrant student empowerment, which can only result through active participation and

commitment by teachers, administrators, local politicians and the community. In the chapter that follows, I outline the research design and specific methodological approaches used to ground the qualitative inquiry, investigate the research problem, and guide the data collection.

Chapter 5

Methodology and Design

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I provide a rationale for the chosen research design and data collection methods used in the study, as I locate the work within the ontological (ways of being), epistemological (ways of knowing), and axiological (ways of doing) frameworks that have emerged from my own embodied values and knowledge (my worldview), and that have subsequently evolved and morphed into new, co-constructed forms of knowledge. The theoretical perspectives, methodology, and methods selected, illuminate the complexities and challenges revealed in immigrant students' narratives with regard to their schooling and social experiences, and proffer insights for improving the quality of immigrant education. The research is placed within the constructivist paradigm, while the interpretive and critical paradigms have been identified as the overarching frameworks of this study. The case study approach has been employed to obtain detailed accounts and in-depth insights into immigrant students' schooling and social experiences. The methods utilized include semi-structured interviews that are described and positioned within the constructivist epistemology that is predicated on the belief that knowledge is constructed or shaped by experience.

In what follows, I outline why I have selected the interpretive case study approach to conduct my research, as well as, the components of a case study and the rationale for the procedures used to analyze and subsequently report the results. I begin by describing my research philosophy that details why hermeneutics as a method herein, is the most suited approach to illuminate the deep underlying issues or unstated assumptions that relate to immigrant students' schooling experiences, followed by the research approaches, the research design or strategy, and the scope and limitations of the research design. Lastly, I dedicate the final portion of this chapter to a detailed discussion with reference to the challenges and limitations in the translation process in the context of qualitative research. Although there have been numerous qualitative studies and inquiries that use more than one language within a single research piece or study, a review of the research suggests that only an

"extremely limited" number of studies attempt to shed some light on some of the pragmatic and methodological issues that arise from the use of multiple languages within a qualitative research work (Baumgartner, 2012). I thus draw attention to the translation process in qualitative research by focusing specifically on the researcher's (my) role as translator.

5.2 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research opens the space of the *possible* that emerges through the researcher's perspective, interpretation, research, and interaction with the world; it opens the space for untold, subjugated or broken stories to be heard; it gives voice to those who have otherwise been marginalized, ignored, "tuned out," previously unheard, silenced, or negated, to emerge through the cracks and margins of society, with the intent of making their contribution to knowledge audible, visible, *valid*. It is precisely the capacity of qualitative research to access the perspectives and experiences of the marginalized that informs my study and that necessarily unfolds through experiencing, en(act)ing, and languaging, which are essential to education and pedagogy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Haskell, et al., 2002). Qualitative research approaches seek to actively involve participants in interpretations that accurately[66] represent them based on a holistic worldview, rather than a disassociated collection of parts.[67] Hence, the qualitative researcher's analysis requires not only criticality, but intuition, creativity, and innovation for, perhaps, the greatest challenge lies in putting the pieces together to make wholes, by encapsulating the raw data into logical, meaningful categories so as to engage in a holistic interpretive synthesis that will facilitate a fuller understanding of the phenomenon, context or culture under consideration (Jensen & Allen, 1996; Sandelowski, 1997, as cited in Suri, 2000).

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) describe the qualitative researcher as a *bricoleur*, as "a maker of quilts" who deploys whatever strategies, methods, and empirical materials are at hand to create a *new* whole (Becker, 1958, as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The product of the interpretive bricoleur's labor is a complex set of

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[66] I am referring to *probable* accuracy of interpretation based on the weight of evidence supporting the interpretation (Johnson, 1990).
[67] Qualitative research usually begins as a disassociated collection of parts.

fluid, interconnected images and representations, while the solution – the bricolage itself – which is the result of the *bricoleur's* method, is an emergent construction (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In his article "On to the Next Level: *Continuing the Conceptualization of the Bricolage,*" Kincheloe (2005) embraces a form of interdisciplinarity of the bricolage and delves deeper into the relationship between a researcher's ways of seeing and the social location of his or her personal history. Kincheloe discusses the ways in which social location and personal history shape the production and interpretation of knowledge, thus revealing the greater complexities of the bricolage, which, essentially, "exist out of respect for the complexity of the lived world" (Kincheloe, as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 317). As researchers employ the methodological, theoretical, interpretive, political, and narrative dimensions of the bricolage, they are engaging in a "fictive" element of research, just as scientific inventors have used their "ficitive imagination" in creating design documents for the electric light, the rocket, the computer, or virtual reality to produce something that did not yet exist (Kinchloe, 2005). In the same way, qualitative researchers make a variety of previously repressed features of the social world visible by describing dimensions of the socio-cultural, political, economic, psychological, and pedagogical cosmos that have never previously existed; as a result, the qualitative researcher as bricoleur "creates a space for reassessing the nature of the knowledge that has been created about the social cosmos and the modes of research that have created it" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 347).

The interpretation process much like a *montage*, a performance text, a sequence of representations that connects the parts to the whole, leads to a revelation of new understandings, new wholes; what is new, is that which had been obscured by a previous image. Like improvised jazz, the sounds and understandings blend together, overlapping, forming a composite, a new creation. The improvisational jazz metaphor (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) is also a valuable tool for understanding creation, or rather, *co-creation* of new forms of knowledge. Improvisational jazz can be, for many, too frenetic, incoherent, and may even seem unstructured (much like qualitative research has often been criticized for lack of structure in the openendedness of the inquiry, i.e., "an unwillingness to stick to a predetermined set of questions, hypotheses or variables" [Stommel & Wills 2004, p.

176]). Indeed, qualitative research is usually referred to as being "unstructured" (namely, in the unstructured approach of the interviewer), while quantitative research is seen as more "structured." Like improvisational jazz musicians, qualitative researchers must often intensely focus on the "here and now," remembering the effects of history on the context (Morse & Field, 1995), for what they, too, are creating is an "on the spot" or "off the cuff" "experiment," often inspired by the "audience's" or participants suggestions and input. The outcomes are usually unpredictable, almost like balancing on a tightrope and not knowing precisely where the other side is. Researcher and participant, therefore, must depend on each other to take the first step and, eventually (and hopefully), make it to the other side, *together*.

Embracing a qualitative approach, therefore, necessitates that we become fully aware of the ambiguities, abstract tensions, and "intricate terrains" that we must navigate in order to generate research that is relevant and well-informed (Merriam, 1998). I recognize that undertaking a qualitative approach is like taking a journey without (always) being in control of its destination. What makes things more complex is that the choices the qualitative researcher must make regarding which interpretive practices to employ are not necessarily made in advance, but depend on the questions that are asked – and the questions to be asked, of course, depend on the context (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; 2005). Without a doubt, the qualitative researcher enters an unsure terrain, with no clear and, possibly, no final destination, for the research process, the topic, and the researcher's own perspective will continue to change – since the researcher herself is in a constant state of change: a constant state *becoming* (and almost never *being*) (Merriam, 1998). The final destination, therefore, remains unique for each inquirer, known only when – and if – arrived at (Patton, 2002). Any findings and conclusions, as a result, may remain tentative, possibly unknown and open to multiple interpretations, inviting further dialogue and criticism, which may hint at directions for further research and implications for practice. Although I was confronted with the possibility of tentative findings, I feel that my study has yielded a substantial body of useful information that ushers new ways of understanding immigrant students' lived experiences in Greek state schools.

5.3 Hermeneutics

Hermeneutic philosophy informs the conduct of my research through a phenomenological investigation that aims to grasp the lived experiences of three immigrant students, i.e., how these students make sense of, and engage with their school and social environments, their interactions with teachers and other immigrant and native (Greek) students, and their learning processes both in and outside the classroom through the subjective readings as elicited through our interaction. This study has evolved out of my belief and personal experience that immigrant students have been (as I was), and continue to be marginalized, excluded, or merely forgotten, in policy implementation. Immigrant students' identities and *personhood* are often ignored in schooling; as such, they often find themselves facing challenges that affect their educational trajectories, and thus have distinct needs that schools and education systems must adequately respond to. My ontological position is reflected in an epistemology that prioritizes actively attending to immigrant students' learning experiences, simply because my prejudices (pre-judgements) that are revealed through my own experiences as a "foreign[68]" student, have ultimately shaped, in one way or the other, the information that I have attained throughout this journey into qualitative inquiry. My ontology represents my *past*; it is an *anthology* that carries with it how I have come to *be* in the world – the places I have been to and the people I have interacted with and who have influenced me. I bring all of this into this dissertation, because *who* I am necessarily determines how I carry out my research. The "I" therefore provides the "link" to the participants' narratives, complemented by the literature and research.

Indeed, in qualitative research, the researcher must somehow be(come) involved in their research, at a personal level (the personal experiences and perspectives researchers bring to their work) which is what oftentimes inspires researchers to contribute to the development of the body of knowledge within their

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[68] I refer to myself as a "foreign" students because I am not sure how else to describe my "status." This is my emotional anomaly. I was referred to as "allodapi" or *αλλοδαπή,* which basically another way to describe foreigner, or someone "from abroad" used with strangers either on the opposite camp or the same side (Heath, 2005). I am of Greek origin (both my parents are Greek), but to me, Greece was a foreign country and I was considered a foreigner, a "xenos" for many years, until I assimilated into Greek culture. Mostly, I was referred to as a child of "metanastes" or *μετανάστες*; a child of "emigrants."

discipline(s) or area of interest in the first place; that motivates them to look at their practice deeply and to immerse themselves in their participants' narratives through a dialogic and reflexive encounter, whereby meanings and knowledge are co-constructed. My own schooling experiences as a "foreign" student in a rural Greek school, have been the impetus for undertaking research involving immigrant students and exploring the links between immigrant students' schooling experiences and xenophobia, xenoracism, marginalization, racism, diversity, integration, social cohesion, and nationalism. My participants' narratives, along with my personal insights have opened up an intermediate space where *new* knowledge has synergistically been co-produced and co-created. Invoking Paul Ricouer's methodological implications of *distanciation*, I argue that the dialectic of participation and distanciation is an important one to consider (Ricouer, 1981). In qualitative research, it is important that the researcher *become* immersed in the life-world of the researched in ways that their voices and interpretations are not muffled by the researcher's interpretations; it is also crucial that the researcher reflect critically and be acutely aware of her or his own prejudices as a researcher. In addition, the researcher must reflect on the meta-theoretical frameworks that essentially question traditional conceptions or applications of knowledge, whether explicit or implicit, that informs their research. Distanciation, as such, is a necessary condition for "good qualitative research" (Dreyer, 2009, p. 16), because without strategies of objectification such as interpreting, comparing, coding, theorising, and critical thinking, good qualitative research is not possible (Dreyer, 2009).

My focus on participants' lived experiences follows a hermeneutic and *quasi-*phenomenological tradition where human knowledge is *not* seen as an objective mirror. Since phenomenology and hermeneutics are inextricably linked, I cannot ignore the phenomenological dimension of the participants' lived (learning) experiences in my study. While I was uncertain what the experiences of the immigrant students would yield when I initially set out to do the study, or if the intensity of the participants' experiences would be similar to the intensity of my own experiences (or other immigrant students' experiences), I felt, at the time, reluctant to prescribe a purely phenomenological approach to this study. Today, I am better able to understand the meaning of phenomenology, and as such, to incorporate certain,

and *not* all, phenomenological elements into my methodology. Phenomenology, essentially, seeks to describe, rather than explain, and emerges from a perspective that is free from hypotheses or preconceptions (Husserl, 1970).

My research has not been able to refrain from explanation and preconceptions; it is not possible to begin this kind of research without preconceptions, pre-judgements, prejudices, or bias. And although phenomenology is particularly effective in bringing to the fore the experiences and perceptions of individuals as they are delivered from their *own* perspectives – which I feel has successfully been achieved in this research, and therefore at challenging structural or normative assumptions – adding the interpretive and critical dimensions to this work might facilitate in creating the basis to inform, support, critique, and challenge policy. Therefore, hermeneutic phenomenology lends itself beyond description, and into a territory that allows for discoveries in meaning that are not immediately apparent (Merleau-Ponty, 1996), as it allows the researcher to educe understanding, by bringing forth the presuppositions in which we already live (Jardin, 2000).

"Prejudice" in hermeneutics refers to prior knowledge, or pre-understandings that influence me as a researcher in both a positive and negative sense. The description of, and subsequent understanding of the phenomenon arises from multiple layers of interpretation and reinterpretation that are constituted by my horizons of prejudice, while interpretation is shaped by past understandings (Gadamer, 1997). As humans, we are (to some extent[69]) pre-cognitively aware of our cultural and historical situatedness, and our understandings are woven deeply into our lives (Spence, 2001). For Gadamer (1992), prejudice encompasses the historically and culturally produced pre-understandings that necessarily influence our interpretations and, thereby, contributes to our current ever-changing understandings. For a hermeneutic, at a basic level of interpretation, there is no difference between pre-understanding, bias, or prejudice; all understanding *is* biased in this way based on our pre-understandings that are composed of our prejudices (Hirschheim, Klein & Lyytinen, 1995). I therefore embarked on this research *with*

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[69] Although we can be pre-cognitively aware of our cultural and historical situatedness, we can also *achieve* such understanding.

prejudice, for prejudice *is* that which makes the understanding, development, and interpretation of cultures and "others" possible.

Hermeneutics not only begins with ontology[70] (an inquiry into being), but takes ontology seriously with the purpose of gaining a deeper appreciation of culture and cultural influences as it looks in depth at the concept of the person, the idea of culture, and the relationship between the two. Such is my attraction to hermeneutics. The hermeneutic circle is the existential character or condition of human understanding and the essential attribute of *Dasein* (the implicit knowledge of being) (Heidegger, 1962). Ultimately, hermeneutics *is* the foundational practice of *being* itself (Smith, 1991). My attempt to understand who I am and what I do as an inquirer, as a researcher, involves "coming to terms with hermeneutics" (Smith, 1993, p. 7) – insofar as *understanding* is not merely the process of seeing clearly the ways in which self-understanding or subjectivity emerge from a set of particular conditions – but to see how my own identity opens out onto the horizon of other identities (Smith, 2002). Therefore, the purpose of employing hermeneutics through interpretive inquiry as a formal research process (see Ellis, 1998) that necessarily arises out of interactions that work outward and back from self to event and event to self (Ellis, 1998; Allen & Jensen, 1990), is *not* to translate my subjectivity *out* of the picture, but to take it up with a new sense of responsibility (Jardine, 2000); to *understand*, not in the sense of argument or stating my claim, but rather, in a dialectical sense that "requires that one does not try to argue the other person down but that one really considers the weight of the other's opinion" (Gadamer 1989, p. 367).

As a researcher who is engaged in interpretive analysis, I must stand outside my own history (though I certainly cannot ignore this history; I cannot remain impartial) so as to engage in interpreting the meanings of others. It is through the discovery of the Other in my Self, and my Self in the Other that I may, perhaps, be able to engage in a critique of the Self through an exegetical study of the Other. It is here where the inherent flexibility and utility of hermeneutic thinking lends itself to an emic (derived from my personal account within Greek culture), rather than an etic analysis (removed from the phenomenon) (Merriam, 1998). The hermeneutical dimension, then, manifests itself through personal experience, by the ways in which

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[70] Hermeneutics *is* ontology, according to Heidegger (1962).

that individual encounters society (Gadamer, 1977). Andrzej Wiercinski (2008) suggests that the pure openness of hermeneutics creates the possibilities of promoting a culture of friendship in a globalized, yet profoundly divided and critically differentiated society. In the spirit of recognition of the outsider, of the *other*, hermeneutics can effectively advocate for conflicting interpretations, which need not lead to conflicts, per se, but rather to responsible action (Wiercinski, 2008). After deep reflection and careful consideration I have come to the understanding that hermeneutics has provided a segway to gaining deeper insights into my own existence through my encounter with the *other*.

Hermeneutics is "the art of understanding"; a way of coming to terms with the foreign and unfamiliar. Hermeneutics precisely holds a place for the possibility of renewal, for the rebirth of the spirit, for new life (Jardine, 2000), as it attends to the ruptures and irregularities in existence; in *being*. And while hermeneutics is certainly not a "method" of determining truth,[71] it is a way of understanding the conditions that make truth possible (Gadamer, 1977); it is a way through which qualitative researchers, such as myself, come to understand others through interpretation in light of an already existing web of background meanings and/or theories (Smith, 1991). Heidegger (1962) asserts that nothing can be encountered without reference to a person's background and pre-understanding. In other words, every encounter involves an interpretation influenced by an individual's background or *historicality*. Similarly, the significance of Gadamer's concept of *historicity*, of understanding, and the ontological implications of tradition and prejudice is the very condition of proper understanding; a condition that must not be escaped, but that must be ongoing through the dialogic process (Gadamer, 1977); through critical provocations and interventions that invite a decisive response. Hence, the process of understanding and interpretation certainly requires a constant revision of prejudices and language that serves as a universal medium that creates the possibilities in which understanding occurs (Gadamer, 2004). Because our lives are constructed historically, through culture and language, the process of understanding is ongoing because there

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[71] Gadamer's *truth* cannot be adequately explained by scientific method. Hermeneutics is not a "method" of interpretation; rather, it is an investigation into the *nature* of understanding.

is always something new to be discovered, uncovered, or said (Gadamer, 1977). Hermeneutics is, thus, an analogue for human life, conceived not as an objectively renderable picture, but as a "horizon of future…still undecided possibilities" (Gadamer, as cited in Jardine, 2000, p. 121).

5.4 Epistemology

My epistemological perspective is that of critical constructivism, which merges constructivist views with a critical epistemology. In other words, my conceptual framework seeks to align the constructivist perspective with a critical (theory) orientation, which involves combining ideas related to *how* people think while they interact with the social environment (constructivist), how they are impacted by power structures in society, and the ethical consequences of their choices (critical). The constructivist paradigm informs my approach because immigrant students' experiences are interconnected with language, literacy, and education and are experienced in unique ways that are greatly influenced by socio-historic and political contexts. Embarking on research through a constructivist lens suggests that I am open to multiple constructions, which necessitates an ability to grapple and deeply explore issues of culture, race, nationality, ethnicity, politics, and multiple constructions of realities because the research participants, themselves, come from a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Constructivism is a theory of knowledge and learning (the nature of knowledge and how people learn) that rejects the rationalistic Cartesian notion that there is a monolithic knowable world out there (Kincheloe, 2005). For constructivists, nothing represents a neutral perspective and, as such, they seek to "shake away" or disempower grand or master narratives which might open the way for *other* narratives to emerge, other voices to be heard, and perhaps, alternative conceptions and meanings of the self and the other to become resurrected. Constructivist epistemology views the cosmos as a human construction – a social construction, or how we can approach the cosmos more meaningfully. Post positivist theories (like constructivism) examine various philosophical and social groundings of diverse theories, learn from them, and understand the social construction of all of

them as a *bricolage*, while the knowledge that the world yields is subject to interpretation (Kincheloe, 2005).

Most important, perhaps, is the contribution of constructivism to education, as it shifts in emphasis from knowledge as *product*, to knowing as a *process*. Knowledge is an ever changing entity, fluid, and heavily influenced by experience. Like knowledge, human beings, too, are mutable (changed through interaction); they bring different conceptual frameworks to a situation based on their experiences, which necessarily influence what they perceive in a particular situation. Since constructivism privileges multiple realities, representations, and perspectives we cannot assume that peoples' experiences will overlap, even though they may have common threads or characteristics. The researcher, in turn, must take the multiple perceptions of the participants into account and provide the best possible interpretation of reality. Thus, it is important to treat and recognize the significance of the unique experience each participant brings to the interview process. In other words, there is no one true *experiential* reality; rather, reality is constructed in accord with the concepts most appropriate to personal experiences (Lodico, Spaulding, & Voegtle, 2006). As a constructivist researcher, I must attempt to understand the complex, multiple realities from the participants' perspectives through interpretation and through an understanding that deems knowledge as temporary, developmental, socially, and culturally mediated, and therefore, non-objective (Brooks & Brooks, 1993). The constructivist approach to such multiple experiential realities offers the opportunity for deeper engagement with the subjective experience of immigrant students in Greek public schools.

At the same time, however, my research cannot overlook the critical dimension, which is aimed at reforming these environments; that proposes possible solutions to the problems that are framed by the dominant cultural paradigm. My study, therefore, necessarily moves beyond constructivism to adopt a critical constructivist stance in order to explore both immigrant students' interpretations of their learning environments and the societal influences that exist. A critical constructivist approach, complemented by the insights of the critical model holds the potential to modify power relations by listening to individual voices that challenge the dominant discourse. In critical constructivism students' identities matter because

"children and young people enter the schoolhouse with extant worldviews constructed by their own experiences and the social contexts they have lived" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 6) – they are not a homogeneous entity. Such perspectives actively shape school experiences and learning, while the emerging conceptual model will further provide valuable insights on how to organize the complexity involved in studying immigrant students' experiences within the context of globalization. It is the openness of the constructivist approach to multiple realities, complemented by a critical hermeneutics approach that allows for a deeper engagement with the subjective experience of immigrant students in schools because it allows truth to emerge through hermeneutic interpretation; through the interaction of diverse agents "who co-create patterns of meaning in their iterated interaction with each other" (Stacey, 2003, p. 325).

The conceptual frames that inform my study not only contribute to my understanding of the condition of the immigrant student in Greek public schools and greater society, but hold the possibility to transform the reader's understanding of issues related to globalization, transnationalism, and immigrant students and how their experiences shape their understandings of citizenship and membership, or *belonging* within society. My conceptual framework, therefore, serves to situate and focus on a range of issues concerning the neglect of immigrant student's educational needs in Greek public schools and the impact and consequences of such neglect on society. Because there are tensions between immigrant peoples' desire for full social citizenship in the forms of democratic rights, employment, and education and the limited social and cultural capital they possess with which to achieve these goals (Yi, 2005; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), it is crucial for nation states and politicians to consider and actively provide opportunities for membership so as to alleviate existing tensions between immigrants and wider society that, in fact, begin with immigrant students and other minority or special needs groups' marginalization and/or exclusion in schools.

5.5 Interpretive Inquiry

Hermeneutics, or rather, *hermeneusis* (the *process* of interpretation) is the *exegesis* (critical interpretation) of the fundamental process of understanding and

interpretation that is reflected in the qualitative methods and methodological principles I espouse in my study. Interpretive inquiry has been uniquely capable in assisting me in this undertaking, as I attempt to assimilate the perspectives and lived experiences of immigrant students in Greek public schools. As previously revealed, my research is grounded in the philosophic theory of hermeneutics – the nature of understanding practical phenomena; of phenomena appearing in text, through interpretation. Analysis is, essentially, the hermeneutic circle that moves forward and backward, starting at the present (never closed, nor final) and constantly evolving, "where the meaning of the part is only understood within the context of the whole, but the whole is never given unless through an understanding of the parts" (as cited in Gallagher, 1992, p. 59).

More specifically, the interviews or engaged dialogues with the immigrant students have been transcribed and analysed utilizing the hermeneutic circle, by which meaning and understanding unfolds through the constant renewal of questions and conversation. Our research allows us to "let itself show" to some extent; to perhaps *reveal* itself, without forcing our perspective on it (Ellis, 1998). The participants' stories, in this study, have provided access to their perspectives, thereby creating an opportunity for more shared meanings, making the interpretive account more comprehensible. In immersing myself in the hermeneutic spiral, I have been able to draw out what was hidden within the narrative accounts through careful attention to what is being, and what has already been said (Conroy, 2003). The interpretive inquiry spiral (which can also be understood as a distinct hermeneutic circle, only better, since the spiral is an open curve "which unlike the circle, does not circumscribe a finite space" [Arsenault & Perron, 2009, p.130]) with its forward (projective) arc and backward (evaluative) arc, has helped me make better sense of the encounter, by drawing from my pre-understandings which are derived from my personal and previous experience, knowledge, and expectations. In the backward arc the first interpretation is evaluated by re-examining the data and contradictions, gaps, or material drawn from the encounter that was not adequately explained by the first interpretation (Ellis, 1998). This spiral of understanding and interpretation, as such, describes a process of *creativity* through which new knowledges can, perhaps, be discovered. The hermeneutical process "avers the transformative nature of engaging

with an experience which claims and compels the researcher to know and appreciate the experience studied in increasingly subtle and yet expanded ways as the inquiry continues. Often the researcher is greatly changed and transformed by this iterative hermeneutical endeavour" (Anderson, 2000 para. 8).

Education encourages detailed attention to the care of students as human beings and grounds its practice in a holistic belief system that nurses care for the mind, body and spirit of the child. A holistic approach and avoidance of reductionism are, therefore, vital for educational research – especially in research that involves children. Interpretive inquiry allows the researcher to "make the path by walking it"; *it* enables research to be *humanised* (Ellis, 2006). As a researcher, I too, must become *re*humanized after experiencing a sense of *de*humanization as a *foreign* student, as a child, in what appeared to be an inhospitable and, unforgiving to the *other*, place. There is much apprehension with undertaking such approach because many times, one cannot see where they are going; there lies much uncertainty. But as I revealed earlier in the dissertation, it is coming to terms with such uncertainty that allows new possibilities or surprises to emerge. It is the inherently creative character of interpretation, of the interpreter who works holistically in an effort to discern the intent or meaning behind the other's expression (Ellis, 1998) that drew me to hermeneutics and to the art of interpretation. My openness, humility, and genuine engagement in this research undertaking, therefore, began to unfold with my entry research question: *How do immigrant students in Greek public schools experience schooling?* Although my own experiences in the Greek public school system were less than positive, I have been open to the possibility that the participants I interviewed would bring with them *different* experiences, possibly more positive experiences than my own (or possibly more negative). I thus began this journey with the openness "to behold or contemplate life in its wholeness and complexity" (Ellis, 1998, p. 19).

In re-visiting the notion of "fidelity," or my own commitment to this research project, I wish to emphasize that the researcher's engagement in such inquiry process requires multiple levels of commitment: commitment to self, to the project (including both the process and outcome), to the inquiry group as a whole, and to each participant involved in the project. Drawing from Lawrence and Mealman's (1999), *Collaborative Ways of Knowing: Storytelling, Metaphor and the Emergence of*

the Collaborative Self, commitment to self includes the knowledge and belief that one has the ability, the openness and willingness to devote oneself to a complex and multi-layered project, such as the one I have undertaken. Such project includes not only one's internal motivation, but the various dimensions of working collaboratively with others. This is particularly important when undertaking research with or about children or youth, since it raises many unique issues, mainly ethical ones. Children's insights are particularly important in educational research, yet their vulnerability has been used as a shield of protection and reason to *not* include them in research studies, which has resulted in excluding children from research, and subsequently, fail to learn about them and develop new, better ways to approach, treat, and protect them. Children in most places occupy a position of both "diluted rights and limited citizenship" (Shultz, 2008, p. 133). Providing children with the possibilities to exercise their voice, their critical agency, and their ability to take action through active participation in the democratic process in authentic ways and through active participation in the creation of policy may, indeed, lead to transformative possibilities (Shultz, 2008).

Research with children necessarily means that the researcher must address a number of critical issues such as planning, carrying out the dissemination stages of research, ethics, consent, legalities, power relations and methodology. It also requires reflexivity on the part of the researcher. Lewis et al. (2004) maintain that if research with children and youth is to result in better understanding and improving social conditions, we must be reflexive researchers and from time to time "stand back and take stock" (p. 3). Children and youth require patience, which I have learned by being a responsive teacher for the last twenty years in working with children. Children and youth have their own sense-making and ways of proceeding (Ellis, 2006), thus it is important to create the conditions that will enable young participants to recall and consider past experiences and express, or articulate their significance from their own perspective.

5.6 Exploratory Interview

In an attempt to prepare myself to undertake research that involved young people, I conducted an exploratory interview with a grade 9 immigrant student, to

"test the water" through an initial exploratory interview, before undertaking any large-scale study, which prompted me to re-frame and refocus my research questions and interview plans and alter my ideas about interview approaches with children and youth (Ellis, Janjic-Watrich, Macris, & Marynowski, 2011). This process has enabled me to acquire a more holistic understanding of my young participant's experiences and alerted me to important whole-part relationships. With an interview that used pre-interview activities and some prepared open-ended questions (see Appendices A and B), I learned what it had been like for a student who immigrated to Canada to attend school. After critically reflecting on the relations of power between a teacher and student, I became acutely aware, initially, of the two sets of power dynamics that existed between "Enzo" who *was* my student, and myself: that of teacher and researcher, and how these power dynamics have impacted (altered and affected) my study. As I became aware of the power dynamics in place, I almost "expected" that Enzo would praise his schooling experiences in Canada; I expected that he would speak very positively of his learning experience in Canadian schools, about his teachers and classmates and about life in Canada. I felt that, perhaps, Enzo did not want to come across as being ungrateful for the opportunity to come to Canada. He wanted to be liked. He compared his schooling in Canada to his "circus" (his words) schooling in Iraq, where children are "allowed to finish their smoke outside the classroom"; where "teachers didn't care about education. What education?" He stated. Enzo has been to both public and private schools; his mother had to pay so that he "could learn something."

As Enzo and I sat together around his drawings (initiated by the pre-interview activity he selected), he began by telling me much about his past. He talked about how his family had been driven out of his birth country, former Kurdistan. He explained that "no one here in Canada knows what Kurdistan is, so I tell them I'm from Iraq." He talked about being "Kurdish and having no country" and how he feels a sense of belonging in Canada because "people are nice, they care…they are like me."

In his own words:

> **VM:** *Tell me about your relationships between you and other immigrant students and other students ("Canadian" students) at your school.*

> **E:** *I don't have a country and when they ask me and I tell them, they don't know it; they don't know Kurdistan, so I say I'm from Iraq; people know Iraq. I have no friends from there (Kurdistan), but I hang out mostly with other immigrant students because I have a lot more common things with them...*

Enzo was quite surprised that I knew where Kurdistan was and how I was aware of the Kurdish peoples' struggles. Allowing Enzo the space and time to tell me *his* story – which revealed so much more that I ever imagined – made me realize that "personal meaning is not always immediately available to consciousness, ready to be expressed briefly and quickly" (Stinson, Blumenfield-Jones, & Van Dyke, 1990, p. 4).

Enzo's drawings and related stories ignited my own comments and provoked further questions, thereby supporting an intense dialogue between us. With the drawings as the centerpiece for starting our interview, Enzo spoke confidently and enthusiastically, taking the lead as he told me much more about his drawings. He described the tumultuous conditions and his (chaotic) schooling experiences and "escape" from Iraq through mountains and valleys in the context of bomb explosions and constant gunfire. His younger brother was killed in one of the bombings. Finally, Enzo described his arrival to Canada as finding "the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow." Throughout this inquiry process, I learned about how meaning and knowledge is *co*-created through hermeneutics and how interpretation is the way human beings are, while experience itself is formed through interpretation of the world. Hermeneutics does not re-construct the past for its own sake; rather, it always seeks to understand the particular way a problem engages the present. I see interpretation and understanding as creative acts, not just technical functions (Hultgren, 1994). Barone (1990) calls for the need to look at inquiry from the two basic dimensions of science and art and in that process re-describe of what we ourselves are like and what unfamiliar people and voices are like. It is, thus, the inherently creative character of interpretation, of the interpreter who works holistically in an effort to discern the intent or meaning behind the other's expression (Ellis, 1998). Enzo's drawings elicited several questions, primarily because the images he chose to create had little to do with schooling and much more to do with how he understood and contextualized his life in Canada (his current country) and (compared to) Iraq (the last, of several countries he and his family fled). From the drawings, I was able to construct subsequent interview questions.

While Enzo's drawings allowed, or rather, *stimulated* the emergence of detailed dialogue, there were noticeable shifts, turns and twists in his story that were not necessarily (nor immediately) providing me with the answers I imagined I needed. The interview experience with Enzo motivated me to gain a deeper understanding, through a dialogue process (through trial and error) and ultimately alerted me to new ways of approaching the participants' experiences in my study. By listening to the participants' stories, I have been able, along with the participants, to develop new understandings of certain shared phenomena. Throughout the dialogue process, ideas emerge, are articulated, shared, listened to, responded to, built upon, challenged, re-thought, clarified, validated, changed and expanded. In the end, a mutual understanding might be reached. It is the nature of such inquiry, through prolonged conversations that provides the space for greater possibilities for creativity to emerge. While this process may not always be harmonious, our understanding of our own experiences is deepened through critical engagement with others, which creates possibilities by asking critical questions of one another, testing assumptions and/or offering alternative interpretations. This exploratory interview, of course, alerted me to the possibility of unexpected contingencies that could take effect in my actual study, whereby serendipity and chance, perhaps, affected the research process and outcome in a deep and unexpected ways. I speak more to these contingencies in what will follow.

5.7 The Critical Hermeneutic Dimension

My entry point for this inquiry is, invariably, through a critical hermeneutic lens as I attempt to examine the political discourse and economic impacts of immigration on recipient countries, with a focus on Greece. While the insights of Gadamer, Heidegger, Dilthey, Jardine, and other hermeneutic thinkers inform the interpretive component of my research, I further emphasize the necessary linkage between the hermeneutic approach and the critical dimension that takes into account interpretations of power structures and brings to the forefront not only a theory of meaning and experience, but also, a theory of action. Critical hermeneutics addresses the need to understand ideology both through a cultural and a hermeneutic lens. The historical processes entailing power and ideology play a salient role in the

"politics" of immigration and are closely examined in this study. Paul Ricoeur (1991) talks about the perpetual conflict and plurality of interpretations; a "battlefield of ideologies" (Roberge, 2011), which is, more or less, the impassable relationship between clarity and obscurity, between unveiling and *disguise*. Ideology is, as such, by necessity interpretive, not a flaw or vice per se, but a privilege of comprehension that lies at the heart of interpretation (Ricoeur, 1991). In Ricoeur's words, ideology's role is to "make possible an autonomous politics by providing the needed authoritative concepts that make it meaningful" (Ricoeur, 1986, p. 12). David Kaplan (2003) elucidates Ricoeur's analysis of ideology and outlines the difficulties inherent in the construction of narratives that extend to a collective narrative relating the stories of groups and institutions. He maintains that "the danger of the stories groups tell about themselves is that they often become frozen oversimplifications, expressed in slogans and caricature, serving only the interests of power and authority. Ideology functions through this kind of collective memory, as well as through ritualization, stereotype, and rhetoric, all of which prevent us from interpreting and recalling things differently (Kaplan, 2003, p. 96). Critical hermeneutics, thus, allows the very possibility of a dual epistemological and ontological front that it condenses within itself all the great paradoxes of culture and its diverse tensions, which are inherently present in my study, and Ricoeur's critical hermeneutics have served as a guide in the exploration of the "problem" of immigration and its historical trajectories, because it discerns the cultural and hermeneutical impact of the phenomenon. Thus, I find that hermeneutics can be partnered with a critical approach that searches for a way between dualities, and highlights the polyphony of voices (Kinsella, 2006). I therefore assert that critical hermeneutics offers many unexplored possibilities with respect to the underpinnings of qualitative inquiry. As such, I highlight both the critical *and* interpretive dimensions of qualitative inquiry and make explicit the philosophical underpinnings in my research. Lastly, understanding the formation of the Modern Greek nation-state and the role of education and schooling throughout Greece's nation-building and state formation process remains a very significant point of reference and investigation in this dissertation in terms of understanding how the dynamics of national identity with relation to migration and citizenship policy formation actually work.

5.8 Case Study and Ethics Review

In order to better understand the learning experiences of immigrant students in Greek public schools, I have elucidated, thus far, how I employ interpretive (hermeneutic) modes of inquiry as a qualitative research method. The validity of interpretations depends heavily on local particulars, on the values of the investigator, and the individuals in the setting. In interpretive inquiry each situation is understood as idiosyncratic and unique and examined as a case study. A case study approach is particularly useful for studying educational innovations, for evaluating programs and for informing policy. What may be construed as a drawback, however, is that case studies are limited by the sensitivity and integrity of the investigator. Because the investigator is the primary instrument of data collection, the investigator is essentially left to rely on her (or his) own instincts and abilities throughout their research effort (Merriam, 1998).

The case study approach was the most appropriate for my study because the research itself seeks to incorporate multiple sources of "evidence" that will contribute to a holistic and meaningful framework for studying "real life" situations (Yin, 2003). Current official public education policy documents and literature have revealed how school policy objectives reflect or correspond (or not) to minority student needs in their school environments. In other words, my study seeks to better understand the relationship between policy and practice – *if* in fact school practices reflect policy and *how* is it that they do. Case studies seem to be the preferred strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 1981, as cited in Kohlbacher, 2006). The gaps identified in the literature review and the policy documents, have allowed student needs to be identified out of their narrated experiences and their interpretations (how they made sense) of these experiences. The advantage and strength of a case study research design for this particular study has been the open-endedness, broadness, and flexibility it has allowed both the participants and myself, in unison, to explore the issues in depth, with the possibility of opening new areas and new theoretical constructions. Furthermore, the case study approach has allowed me, as a researcher, to focus on the specific cases identified, by isolating a small number of participants,

who have opened new pathways to understanding the complex issues I have identified in this dissertation, thus far, and have ultimately strengthened what is already known about the issues at hand from previous research. Social scientists and educational researchers, in particular, have made wide use of case studies in qualitative research methods to examine contemporary real-life situations and provide a basis for the application of ideas and extension of **research** methods is what my research has sought to advance.

The information and data gathered, including comments and behaviours observed, have been organized into topics, themes, and patterns in the *Findings Chapter*, and have been subsequently analysed in the *Data Analysis Chapter.* The data has provided rich and very meaningful information that carries the potential to sensitize policy makers and politicians to take notice of immigrant students and, perhaps, plan for them accordingly.

In this study, participants were assured that all the information they provide would be kept confidential. All data collection, storage, and processing has been in compliance with the principles of the Data Protection Law. Ethical approval for this project was obtained from the University of Alberta ethics board (HERO) and operational approvals were obtained, accordingly, on site. Under no circumstances were identifiable responses provided, nor will they be provided, to any other third party. Information emanating from the study will only be made public in ways that will ensure the complete anonymity of all participants involved.

All participants involved in this study were approached in a non-threatening way and on a voluntary basis. Most participants (teachers, administrators, and policy actors) were people I had established relationships with and who had verbally agreed to assist me in carrying out this study. Consent forms were negotiated in advance, and a convenient time for the participants was arranged for the interviews to take place in a non-threatening setting, which included the participants' offices, and public spaces, like cafés and local parks. All data were collected in various cities and locations, both rural and urban, in Greece. Participation was voluntary, while consent was negotiated with the participants at several levels. First, the participants were asked to consider my request for their inclusion in the study and were provided a letter that introduced the study (see Appendices). What followed, was a written

consent form; that is, a clearly written form that identified the research topic (see attached Appendices), and that clearly and simply identified and described the interview process, and including, the pre-interview activities (see Appendix A). Anyone not feeling comfortable was not made to feel obliged, or in any way pressured, to be involved in the research. No students, parents, teachers, administrators and policy actors were interviewed without written consent. Participants were told both verbally and as outlined in the letters of introduction and consent forms, that at any time, they could ask to see the notes that I was recording, if they so chose to, so that they could clarify any inaccuracies, or ask me to stop recording. At the same time, I often stopped the interview to ask for clarification, usually when the participant had concluded their answer. Some researchers often respond, probe, or ask for clarification during the course of the interview (Fontana & Frey, 1998; Rubinstein, 2002), while other researchers wait until participants have concluded their stories before asking for clarification, believing that any intrusion into the interview process has the potential to alter its course (Schutz, 1992).

The data collection process was completed in two stages. First, the three immigrant student participants (former students) selected were asked to complete one of six to eight pre-interview activities in the form of drawings or diagrams prior to our meeting (2012).[72] The participants were given one week to create these drawings, sketches, collages, or diagrams. Two of the three student participants returned with pre-interview activities completed, while the third participant saw no value in completing a pre-interview activity. He maintained that he did not find expression in drawings or diagrams; that he was not "taught to express himself this way" and preferred dialogue, instead. The completed pre-interview activities yielded a written narrative (journal entry) and a blank sheet, with no drawing on it, which revealed the participant's feelings of invisibility in the school system as an immigrant student. Both narrative and blank sheet were used as an entry point into the subsequent interviews, which used a series of in-depth, non-prying, mainly open-ended questions[73] that led to to semi-structured interviews, allowing for open engagement in a conversation about the immigrant students' experiences in Greek

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[72] See Appendix A
[73] See Appendix B

public schools. The data collection and interviews were conducted in July, outside, and away from the school environment. The interviews served to explore and gather narratives (or stories) of students' lived experiences in Greek public schools. Moreover, the semi-structured interviews served as a vehicle by which to develop a conversational relationship with the participants about the meaning of their experiences. This was achieved through my own as well as the participants' reflections the topics at hand (van Manen, 1997). The interviews opened up a space for the participants to share their stories, in their own words.

A semi-structured interview format was chosen in this research to allow participants some freedom to respond to questions and probes and to narrate their experiences without being tied down to specific answers (Morse & Field, 1995). A further advantage to such interview process is that the participants were encouraged to express their thoughts, freely, which created an atmosphere that was less formal than a structured interview process. Interviews are understood best as processes situated in culture and context and socially constructed by the participants involved. My familiarity with the Greek culture, and language, of course, help to gain deeper insights into the participants' lived experiences. All participants were interviewed in the Greek language. The participants, however, were given a choice of interview language (Greek or English), since relying solely on the English language to carry out the interviews in Greece may have affected participants' responses. All (former) students selected for the interviews were immigrant students from non-EU countries, while one student was a native Greek student. While not all migrants and minorities are equally exposed to racism and discrimination, a series of studies in the labour market have revealed that non-European migrants (e.g. Africans, Arabs, Pakistani, Filipino, Turks, etc.) and certain minority groups (e.g. Roma, Travellers, Muslims, Blacks, etc.) are more exposed to racism and discrimination than others in the work place (see ICMPD/EUMC, 2003). I was not able to find students who had immigrated to Greece from EU countries. Students from EU countries usually attend private schools (this was revealed in the interviews from teachers, administrators and policy actors whose experiences suggested that they rarely if ever had immigrant students in their classes from EU countries). A comparative investigation of two groups of students (from the EU and non-EU countries) might

have enhanced the depth of the analysis by providing insights into how students are (or not) discriminated against in their school environments depending on their citizenship status (being EU or non-EU citizens) and how this affects the quality of their learning and social environments. However, this was not possible in this study given the time constraints and difficulty in locating participants. That said, the teacher, administrator, and policy actor narratives suggest that the public school system caters mostly to low income non-EU immigrants.

The interviews were audio taped, in addition to note-taking on my behalf, which ensured that I could revert back to the interview in case there is a "technical" issue with the tape recorder, and transcribed verbatim with consent from the participants. Transcriptions were processed using the hermeneutic circle: dialogue, fusions of horizons, and metaphors to understand the meaning of the experience and hermeneutic spiral (forward and backward arcs), and the hermeneutic spiral, moving from text to context.This has facilitated in gaining a better and deeper sense of the relationships between different actors within the policy subsystem. Since the research is descriptive and interpretative in nature, it was important to further investigate the immigrant students' interpersonal relationships, which included setting up interviews with immigrant parents – who were *not* related to the immigrant students interviewed – their Greek student peers and, of course, teachers. The interpretive nature of the research has helped identify cues on how interpersonal relationships can affect immigrant students' adaptation and transition in their social, familial, and schooling environments. The interpretive nature of the research has helped identify cues on how interpersonal relationships can affect immigrant students' adaptation and transition in their social, familial, and schooling environments.

The empirical data collected through the interpretive interviews were conducted with *former* immigrant students who were 18 years and older, who had already lived in Greece for a minimum of five years, and who, as a result, had a better grasp on the Greek language. All student participants were fluid in the Greek language. Alternatively, participants were given the option to be interviewed in English, or in their mother tongue so as to limit any possible linguistic obstructions that could hinder their full and effective participation ability to express their thoughts and interpretations throughout the interviews. At the same time, I was aware of the

possible complications that could incur by adding two more relationships to the interview (interpreter–participant and interpreter–investigator–myself). The teachers, parents, administrators, and policy makers were formally interviewed using semi-structured interviewing techniques, thus allowing for an area of inquiry to be open to any revision by the participants. Since my interviews were semi-structured, open-ended questions and discussions developed in both anticipated and unanticipated directions. All interviews were successfully recorded, transcribed, and presented in the *Findings Chapter*.

The data were difficult to quantify and the results are not generalizable, nor are they universally applicable because of the non-uniform tactic(s) employed. Furthermore, I too, as Alan Peshkin (1993), am not convinced that "reputable" work necessitates generalizations; in fact, I strongly feel that qualitative studies are not generalizable as they may *appear* to be in the "quantitative," or in the traditional sense; besides, generalizability should not be a primary concern of qualitative research (Myers, 2000); rather, it is the insight obtained through the qualitative study that is of the utmost importance.

5.9 The Participants

The results of this study are based on data collected from twelve participants (see Table 1). The participants of the study include 4 students (3 immigrant students; 1 native Greek student), 4 educators (1 elementary school principal; 1 retired secondary school principal; 1 secondary school substitute teacher, and 1 secondary school teacher), 2 policy actors (both whom are educators actively involved in implementing policy alternatives for disenfranchised and marginalized youth), and 2 immigrant parents. The participants were selected, as such, to capture a range of perspectives and experiences concerning the various aspects of public schooling in Greece and how Greek state schools address, or not, the social and learning needs of their immigrant student population. The pre-interview activities[74] – that were specifically and solely designed for the immigrant student participants, with the intent to support them in recalling and sharing stories related to how they experienced schooling in Greeks state schools (see Appendices A, B, C, and D) – and the

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[74] See Methods Chapter for pre-interview activity significance.

interview questions, sought to elicit information about the attitudes, opinions, perspectives, and meanings that were relevant to the immigrant student experience. This was done, not only from the perspective of the immigrant student, but also from the perspective of the native Greek student, the educator or teacher, the parent, and the policy actor. All interview questions were semi-structured, using mainly pre-set questions that were crafted as such to broaden the scope for open-ended responses, allowing not only the participants to voice their experiences openly and freely, but at the same time, allow the researcher to elicit detail and extend the narrative.

Different sets of interview questions were asked of the different groups of participants (see Appendices), while the pre-interview activities (Appendix D) were reserved only for immigrant students, that served to co-create knowledge. Each set of interview questions aimed to create a deeper sense of understanding and disclosure of the different perspectives and details concerning specific descriptions representative of each individual's experience (student, teacher, policy actor, parent) in a social and school setting, and were centered around learning about the participants' often deeply meaningful and emotionally laden personal experiences. According to Guba and Lincoln (1989), qualitative research uses "multiple, constructed realities ungoverned by natural laws, causal or otherwise" (p. 86) that can be studied holistically, while inquiry into these multiple experiential realities will inevitably diverge (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). The study, therefore, brings together the perspectives of immigrant students and parents, native Greek student, teachers, school administrators, and policy actors in an attempt to identify the intersectionalities in the participants' personal narratives, thus fostering a more holistic approach to understanding the inherent complexities in immigrant students' schooling experiences.

5.10 Words Unspoken

Full verbatim transcripts of all the interviews were initially transcribed (word-for-word) in the language in which the interviews were conducted, which was Greek, and then translated from Greek to English, thematically categorised, and finally analysed in the common themes that emerged and that are presented in this chapter.

In addition to the verbatim transcriptions, participants' nonverbal behaviours were considered to be central to the validity and veracity of the data collection, as well as, beneficial in facilitating and enhancing the data analysis, thus bringing me, as a researcher, *closer* to making better sense of the data. Research in the area of communication referred to as *paralinguistics*, suggests that nonverbal communication can provide useful cues that could help better understand, detect, and analyze structural events in human conversations (Chen, 2008). Specifically, culture – as defined by psychologist and expert in the field of microexpressions, gesture, non-verbal behaviour, and culture, David Matsumoto (2006) – is a shared system of socially transmitted behavior that not only describes, defines, and guides people's ways of life, communicated from one generation to the next, but significantly influences nonverbal behaviours, i.e., facial expressions, hand movements and body postures (Kudoh & Matsumoto, 1985; Matsumoto & Kudoh, 1987). In fact, there is overwhelming evidence to support that culture plays a tremendous part in moulding nonverbal behaviours, which comprise an important part of the communication process as a whole (Matsumoto, 2006), and particularly for Greeks, who are commonly thought of as "champion gesture users in the Mediterranean." Therefore, the nonverbal components, or paralinguistic elements, if you will, have been taken into account in this study.

The data were initially arranged along the lines of central tendencies (or themes), clusters, and frequencies, then divided into three parts (society, state, and school), each part mutually dependent, but all contributing to the functioning of society, as well as subparts that reflect the results of the three research questions that guide the study. The case study method lent itself not only to in-depth, multi-faceted explorations of complex issues, but furthermore, helped investigate the subjective meanings of individual actors, as well as identified the social structures where in-depth meanings were manifest. Such investigation provides the basis for confirming, challenging, testing, and extending theory and has, in turn, been used not only as a means to determine, but also, to interrogate the theoretical underpinnings that inform this study.

The interviewing process involved thematic clustering and a certain degree of improvisation, both important elements and hallmarks of narrative practice, that in

many ways, resemble a fine work of jazz. Embracing the premise that interview narratives are "artfully assembled, discursively informed, and circumstantially conditioned" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2012, p. 40), the interview process opened itself readily to the visceral and sensuous dimensions of creativity. Rather than adhering to a predetermined set of interview questions, I found that it was necessary to "step outside" my comfort zone, and formulate questions, spontaneously, taking into account the participant's narrative agency, as well as my own. Interspersed throughout the *Findings* chapter, as such, are dialogues I engaged in with the participants in an attempt to break away from the set questions, and allow a sense of fluidity to infuse the interview process. The dialogues were initiated by asking participants to often describe and extend their descriptions on a particular experience that stood out as important to them, but also, I asked questions that were directed at attaining clarification and further elaboration from the participants in order to better understand their unique perspectives, as described in their own voice. With this in mind, I have included my own voice in the presentation of the findings, without privileging it in relation to the other voices; rather, my voice opens up a space for a dialogic, polyphonic account.

5.11 Selection of Participants: *Challenges and Contingencies*

In order to participate in the study, prospective research participants were required to meet certain criteria. First, in selecting immigrant students, it was required that the students be, at least, 14 years of age. All student participants in this study, however, were over 18 years of age, and/or older. Second, it was required that immigrant student participants be first generation immigrants (i.e., born *outside* of Greece). Third, it was essential that participants be able to converse fluently in the Greek or English language. In selecting the teacher and administrator participants, it was required that they actively taught in Greek state schools for a minimum of 5 years. I selected policy actors who have been actively involved in the context in which policy change and implementation occurs. In addition, the policy actors were required to be responsible for the planning and/or design of programs, with active participation that seeks to go beyond existing models and policy approaches.

One of the most challenging aspects of this study was the recruitment of immigrant students between the ages of 14 and 17 whose parents were relatively well versed in the Greek or English language. The student participants for this study were mainly located with the help of members who live in the community, as well as, snowball sampling, whereby recruited participants were asked to assist me in identifying other potential participants. Recruiting student participants under the age of 18 posed a tremendous challenge because the parents of the students, or youth, were reluctant and some even expressed fear in signing the participant consent agreements (particularly, the undocumented immigrant parents), even after I assured them that I am not an immigration official, and that the purpose of my study was to engage with them, and learn more about their experiences as immigrant parents. One parent reported:

I am uncomfortable to give you information about my child because the school will say that Tugba's parents are traitors and do not appreciate the school's and country's hospitality; that we are ungrateful. A teacher might get angry and call the police. They will deport us if this happens.

Another parent reported:

I do not doubt that your intentions are noble, but this is a small town and everyone knows everyone's business… Why do you ask me for my signature? What do all these papers really mean? It is confusing and I do not wish to be involved in anything that requires me to sign, nor do I wish for my child to be involved in all this paperwork. You can go ahead and ask me and my child anything you want, I will tell you, but please don't mix me up with the papers or ask me to sign…

As a result, I had much difficulty receiving initial responses back from parents and gaining access to young peoples' narratives, especially when it came to obtaining written permission and a signature from them. The parents received written information about the study, as well as a consent form to sign in order to allow their child to participate in the study. This stage posed some difficulties mainly because, some parents, who were initially interested in consenting to their child participating in the study, did not return the forms, even though they were reminded, by me, on a few occasions. I suspect that one possible explanation of immigrant parents *not* wanting to sign the consent and assent forms may have been due to language barriers (not well versed in Greek or English), and as such, may have felt uncomfortable signing something they did not fully understand, even though a translator of their choice was offered as an alternative option. In addition,

the forms, in and of themselves, may have been, and understandably so, intimidating to prospective research participants because they required some time to read. Although I had made every effort to construct the forms as such to be as comprehensive as possible, for all participants involved, i.e., by using language appropriate for the participants' age group and education background, some prospective participants did not even ask to read the forms. In fact, the mere sight of the forms seemed to make potential participants uncomfortable. This led me to suspect that immigrant parents were reluctant to sign the assent form out of possible fear of being "discovered" as being "illegal" or without documents in the country. A recent survey (2013) found that over 60 percent of undocumented immigrants in four countries studied revealed that they felt isolated and were afraid to leave their homes because police could ask them about their immigration status (Theodore, 2013). Consequently, the main challenge was attempting to find a sufficient number of students under the age of 18 who satisfied the selection criteria, particularly in the rural area where part of the study was conducted, and where the number of immigrant youth was smaller than immigrant populations in the larger urban centers (like Athens or Thessaloniki). In addition, because the bulk of the data collection was carried out over the summer months (June and July), students were on summer break, which made participants more difficult to locate and contact.

In lieu of these difficulties, I made the informed decision of relaxing some of my selection criteria. Finally, another factor that contributed to my decision to not interview school age students was the limited time frame of my study. The timing of a study necessarily affects the types of issues that can be explored with a participant, and as a result, to the overall effectiveness of data-gathering. While timing needs were considered at all stages of the study – at the recruitment stage, during follow-up interviews, and after the participants had exited the study – I did not anticipate I would find resistances and arouse fears in potential participants as reflected in their responses discussed earlier. As such, and given the time constraints of this study, I recruited student participants who were former students in the Greek public school system, and 18 years of age, or older. Recruiting all other participants like policy actors and educators did not pose a challenge.

5.12 Translation and its discontents

In an attempt to provide the best possible interpretation and representation of my participants' lived experiences,[75] and by this means, *ensure* the rigor and interpretability of my data, I would like to acknowledge and discuss the challenges of translation from the premise that interpretation of meaning constitutes the core of qualitative research. Because meaning is generally revealed to the reader through text, language differences generate additional challenges that might hinder the transfer of meaning, which may result in its inevitable loss (van Nes, Abma, Jonsson & Degg, 2010). Since both critical and interpretive (hermeneutic) dimensions of qualitative inquiry inform the conduct of my research which is, in part,[76] a critical hermeneutic investigation (a study conducted in the Greek language) that aims to grasp the lived experiences of immigrant students, school administrators, policy-makers, and teachers in Greek state (public) schools (i.e., how these participants make sense of and engage with schooling in their environments, their interactions with each other, as well as the learning processes in the classroom), I focus specifically on the researcher's role as translator in qualitative research; a role that is crucial, but has hitherto been ignored. Given that relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to the translation process in qualitative research, to date, I argue that the *act* of translation necessitates methodological consideration and ought to concern all researchers and scholars undertaking studies involving both inter-lingual and intra-lingual translation. I, therefore, underscore the centrality of translation as an *act* and *art* of interpretation, by extending consideration to the readership (the reader), and possibly creating a platform for future scholarship and awareness on the demanding, yet highly creative role of qualitative researcher *as* translator.

I invoke Paul Ricoeur's (2006) model of translation for hermeneutics (that encompasses Ricoeur's philosophy *of* translation and philosophy *as* translation), to

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[75] By "lived experience" I am referring to the unique nature of each human situation as revealed in my participant's narratives. I draw mainly from van Manen's (1990) hermeneutic interpretation of the meaning of a text which he defines as being a process of "insightful invention, discovery or disclosure" that formulates a thematic understanding (van Manen, 1990, p. 79). This process is not bound by rules, rather it is "a free act of 'seeing' meaning" (p. 79). At this stage of my research, and following the act of translating my transcripts, I examine the ontological understandings that might shed more light on the data analysis.

[76] I will not discuss the translation/interpretation of policy documents at this time.

mainly illustrate the importance of forgoing the illusory, almost seductive "lure of omnipotence" (Kearney, 2006, p. xvii) that beguiles the translator to erroneously envision the possibility of "a total translation which would provide a perfect replica of the original" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 9). In the words of French translator and philosopher Antoine Berman (1984) – who Ricoeur borrows from to solidify his position –"the desire to translate is grafted onto (this) curiosity about the foreigner" (as cited in Ricoeur, 2006, p. 32); "there is no absolute criterion of what would count as good translation" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 34). We must therefore abandon the dream of the perfect translation and admit to the total difference between the peculiar and the foreign. In embracing the impossibility of a perfect translation, the translator may then begin to appreciate the artistry she or he may bring to the translation. In sum, translation cannot be "perfect"; thus, as researchers/translators we must surrender the notion of "the perfect translation" and accept that translation will always work through approximation. Ricoeur cautions us from having both excessively "high" and/or excessively "low" expectations; rather, his model of translation calls for a "linguistic hospitality," a balanced medium, if you will, to one another's opinions; a hospitality that welcomes difference (Mootz & Taylor, 2011) infused by the sheer pleasure of "receiving the foreign word at home in one's own welcoming house" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 10). I discuss the notion of "linguistic hospitality" later in the chapter.

While the very *act* of translation has the capacity to bring radically different worlds into contact with one another (Taylor, 2011), the intricate *art* of translation, is one that demands negotiation and mediation between two dramatically distinct sides through the complex task of intentionally constructing some fragment of common ground for the two sides to converge, which in the process, has been proven to be more than a mere linguistic endeavor; rather, it is a model, a paradigm worth studying, considering, re-examining, and perpetually learning from (Shadd, 2012). Lastly, focusing on the translation process as an *act* and an *art* (form) may also alert us to the political and ideological dimensions inherent in the translation process, and how it often takes place in situations of power. Specifically, in addressing the epistemological implications of *who* is actually involved in the translation process (the researcher as translator, or an external translator other than the researcher), how the

final product is ultimately delivered to the reader, and *how* the reader will, in turn, respond.

5.13 Grandeur, risk, and betrayal

In his book *On Translation* Ricoeur asserts that the difficulties linked to translation are "easier said than done and occasionally impossible to take up" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 3). He refers to the "urge" to translate as a *test*, an *ordeal*, a *probation*ary (testing) period of sorts, while the translator's task is a "work of mourning" (p. 4) which, by no means sounds like a pleasant "task" in the least! As the translator embarks on this seemingly challenging "ordeal" of translation, she or he begins to recognize the impossibility of the "perfect translation," and must somehow come to terms with this profound, albeit shocking realization. When all is said and done, and the translator has somewhat assimilated this sense of betrayal inherent in the very act of translation, perhaps she or he may then be able to salvage some important parts of her or his "original" work, so to speak.

For qualitative researchers, such as myself, the interview transcript is, essentially, the only concrete link to my participants' expressions of experience (Tan, Wilson & Olver, 2009); however, during text analysis it is virtually impossible to recreate the events that took place during the interview process because of the complexities, conflicts, and contradictions involved in translating lived experience to an objectified text and back again, which involves both a certain level of text dependency and distancing –(or *distanciation*, a notion appropriated from Gadamer, and radicalized or re-worked by Ricoeur to describe the interpreter's separation from the world of the text prior to her/his assimilation of it), which is an essential part of the interpreter's participation in the truth of the text (Ricoeur, 1973).

The process of interpretation is complicated enough without having to add to the mix the challenges of inter-lingual differences. In my study, I share with my participants the same (non-English) native tongue, which is Greek. My difficulty, initially, was in attempting to negotiate an accurate representation/translation in my study which is ultimately written in *English*. So before I could begin to interpret the data, I stumbled upon the challenges of translation in the first phase of interpretation/analysis of the study. Some questions that quickly arose with relation

to the process of interpretation were: What are my participants actually intending to say? Did I understand them as they wished to be understood? What influenced their day? What influenced my day? Is their word an accurate, or close as accurate representation of what they wished to communicate to me? What were the societal circumstances (economic ones in Greece) under which the participants spoke? And many, many more questions.

Embarking on this process of translation, therefore, has constituted a very bewildering and very fragile phase in my research that led me to question how was I to express the meanings, yet keep the interpretation as close to its original form as possible wishing (secretly), of course, to provide the perfect replica (and perhaps aiming to provide the perfect replica is every translator's wish until they learn otherwise), or as close to an perfect replica of meaning as possible. As a result, the translation of my transcripts posed specific challenges, because it was difficult to translate concepts for which specific culturally bound words were used by the participants. For instance, in my study, the use of the word "immigrant" was used or applied in different ways by different participants. While I used the notion of the word immigrant to mean *μετανάστης* (in Greek), many participants referred to immigrants using different words like: *ξένος*, or *αλλοδαπός* (other, foreigner, from another land, alien, etc.), similar words that most certainly have (dramatically, at times) different connotations in meaning. According to Ricoeur, words, sentences, and texts create a gap in relation to a supposed "perfect" language, and "a source of the misunderstanding in everyday usage and consequently the occasion of multiple and competing interpretations" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 26). In the case of "immigrant," the word was used differently by different participants: *μετανάστης*, *ξένος*, or *αλλοδαπός* and carried with it more than one meaning (polysemy), which means that meaning is defined through usage, which basically means screening the part of the word's meaning which suits the rest of the sentence, and with it, contributes to the unity of meaning expressed and offered for exchange (Ricoeur, 2006). Some of the usages of the word "immigrant" (in Greek) revealed negative, perhaps condescending undertones. The context, in other words, determined the meaning that the word has acquired in different circumstances and by different people. From then on, "arguments over words," states Ricoeur, "are endless" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 26). There

is also the issue of hidden contexts, i.e., connotations that are not all intellectual, but affective, not all public but particular to a circle, a class, a group, or secret society (Ricoeur, 2006). Ricoeur claims that there are entire margins hidden by censorship, prohibition (lack of access); the margin of that which is unspoken, criss-crossed by all the figures of the hidden (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 26). It is to this heterogeneity that the foreign text owes its resistance to translation and in this sense, its intermittent untranslatability (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 23). Texts are furthermore a part of cultural groups through which different visions of the world are expressed, visions which moreover "can confront each other within the same elementary system of phonological, lexical, syntactic division to the extent of making what one calls the national or the community culture a network of visions of the world in secret of open competition" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 31). The work of the translator does not move from the word to the sentence, to the text, to the cultural group, but conversely (equally): absorbing vast interpretations of the spirit of a culture, the translator comes down again from the text, to the sentence and to the word. Therefore, it is important to understand a culture, before undertaking such endeavour (Ricoeur, 2006).

In conclusion, language differences may affect the understanding and interpretation of meanings in different phases on the way from participant to reader. If translation issues are not given adequate thought and attention, this may pose several problems when trying to communicate the findings of the study, which needs to be done in such way that the reader understands the meaning as it was expressed in the findings, originating from data in the source language (van Nes et al., 2010). Specifically, the message communicated in the source language has to be interpreted by the translator (which in my case was myself), and transferred into the target language in such a way that the receiver of the message understands what was meant.

Because my research is located within the European context, I find Ricoeur's interest and discussion regarding the future of European politics very prescient when he suggests that European politics, and eventually world politics, must be politics based upon an exchange of memories and narratives between different nations, "for it is only when we translate our own wounds into the language of strangers and retranslate the wounds of strangers onto our own language, that healing and reconciliation can take place" (Kearny, 2006, p. xx). Reconciliation is ultimately what

Ricoeur proposes when he describes the ethics of translation as an inter-linguistic hospitality. The world is made up of a plurality of human beings, cultures, tongues. Humanity exists in the plural mode, which means that any legitimate form of universality must always – if the hermeneutic model of translation is observed – find its equivalent plurality (Ricoeur, 2006). The creative tension between universal and the plural ensures that the task of the translation is an endless one, a work of tireless memory and mourning, of appropriation and disappropriation, of taking up and letting go, of expressing oneself and welcoming others (Ricoeur, 2006). Ricouer's final word is "incompletion" (or inachevement), which acknowledges that translation, understood as an endlessly unfinished business, is a signal not of failure, but of hope. In other words in his essays on tolerance about Europe, Ricoeur maintains, as articulated through Kearney, that through language we can overcome negativity about interfaith and intercultural differences. Kearney emphasizes Ricoeur's hermeneutic of translation by means of which the translator returns *changed* and *enriched* from engaging with the other (Scott-Baumann, 2009), through linguistic hospitality.

5.14 Translation as an *art* of interpretation: *Translation with a hermeneutic twist*

As I have indirectly alluded so far, there is an art that complicates the already artistic nature of hermeneutics, and that is the art of translation. The act every translator must undergo is the creative betrayal of their original work. This constitutes a major "risk" in the act of translation, yet this is the very point through which creative artistry emerges and this is Ricour's great contribution to translation, with a hermeneutic twist. The *art* of translation is one that is complex and difficult. While the work of translation is said to carry out a double duty (adding to the double hermeneutic): to expropriate oneself as one appropriates the other. My main concern as a hermeneutic researcher is how to negotiate and salvage the significant elements in the text, namely, my transcripts that could potentially become "lost" in the translation process, or become untranslatable, thus creating cultural disjunctions and tremendous gaps in meaning.

At first, when attempting to engage in the act of translation, I felt a tremendous sense of resistance, that Ricoeur refers to as a sense of the deceitful refusal to have the language of reception subjected to the test of the foreign (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 5) – "the foreign" in my case being the English language. But the resistance to the work of translation is not weaker on the side of the foreign language. The translator meets with this resistance at numerous stages of her enterprise. She encounters it at a very early stage as the presumption of non-translatability, which inhibits her even before she tackles the work – like an initial fright, there is the initial *resistance* to translation. I was alerted or awakened from the initial presumption, or fantasy (and subsequent disappointment) nourished by the banal admission that my original text, could not be duplicated by another original. From that moment on, and since there could be no space for surrendering, I began to engage in the art of translation through linguistic hospitality.

While there are certainly dilemmas in translating from one language to another, as I quickly discovered through my inter-lingual translations, Ricoeur cautions, or rather, alerts us to the translation issues in our own linguistic communities (intra-lingual) in which we make the misunderstanding worse without explanations. At the same time, a bridge is thrown between internal translation and external translation, that within the same community, understanding requires at least two interlocutors: these are not foreigners admittedly, but already *others* – there is something foreign in every other (Ricouer, 2006). We reformulate, explain and say the same thing in another way – always engaging in a process of reinterpretation. Words, sentences and texts create the gap in relation to a supposed "perfect" language and a source of the misunderstanding in everyday usage and as such, the occasion of multiple and competing interpretations.

As I have identified (through Ricoeur) in this chapter, there is no absolute criterion for "good translation." A good translation can aim only at a supposed equivalence that is not founded on a demonstrable identity of meaning, in other words, an equivalence without identity; an equivalence that can only be sought, worked at, supposed. The only way of criticizing a translation, in the end, is to suggest another supposed, alleged, better or different translation.

So, despite all the "mourning" and the "drama" involved in the translation process, Ricoeur insists that there is hope; that there is a light at the end of the tunnel; "a crack, in everything. That's how the light gets in" (Cohen, 1993). It is this notion of mourning that Ricoeur speaks of that, in and of itself, produces the happiness associated with translating. In Ricoeur's words: "The happiness associated with translating is a gain when, tied to the loss of the linguistic absolute – there can be no absolute – it acknowledges the difference between adequacy and equivalence, equivalence without adequacy" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 10). Therein lies its happiness. When the translator acknowledges and assumes the irreducibility of the pair, the peculiar and the foreign, he finds his reward in the recognition of the impassible status of the dialogicality of the act of translating as the reasonable horizon of the desire to translate" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 10). The epistemological and methodological implications of translation must be taken into account in the context of qualitative research. As sole researcher and translator of the transcripts in this study, I have had to critically reflect on my translation practices by becoming aware of the limits and limitations of translation.

5.15 Concluding Thoughts

The nature of students' experiences in schools is influenced not only by the quality of instruction with their peers, teachers and administrators, but also by the school's policies and practices that directly and fundamentally reflect those experiences. Policy must inform and influence school practices, if they are to meet student learning and social objectives. The literature review has revealed an obvious gap on immigrant students' experiences in Greek public schools. Another apparent gap is a depreciation, or lack of policy in education that takes into account immigrant students as well as other minority groups. There is much evidence that shows that immigrant youth insufficiently and inadequately benefit from schools that, more or less, seem to fail in addressing their needs. As a result, immigrant students often leave schools without the necessary certificates and qualification. An important challenge that immigrant students face is the uncertainty for a fair and equal chance for social and economic mobility (Vedder, Horenczyk, & Liebkind, 2006). Surveys have shown a growing intolerance among nationals towards immigrants' presence in

general and impatience about the rate of their integration. This "rejection" is experienced by immigrants as a depreciation of their presence (Vedder, Horenczyk and Liebkind, 2006).

In this study, the former students' accounts comprise the primary focal group. It is through the students' narrations that I have been allowed access to *their* understanding of their world. In keeping with an interpretive model, I identify myself as an active participant in the students' stories or narrations. In this chapter, I have laid out how I incorporate hermeneutic and critical principles into my research design in order to carry out a coherent, workable study. The design execution of such a study requires, of course, critical reflection on my own values, my assumptions, and my beliefs as well as those of the participants and the community in which they find themselves.

In attempting to understand or to conceptualize notions of citizenship education in the context of multicultural, polyethnic[77] and conflict-ridden societies invokes an explicit re-examination of the prevailing or currently accepted liberal and national discourses that have long dominated the conceptualization and practice of citizenship. Our world is clearly and undeniably driven by capitalist and corporate interests, regulated capitalism and ultra conservative and subsequently exclusionary policies which hold fundamental ground and strengthen the foundation for globalization, which is ultimately aimed at serving the privileged few. However, we cannot and must not remain in a state of passive submission to the global injustices that take place before us, but must learn to look them in the eye and confront them; for it is not techno-scientific capitalism, nor partisan politics, nor politico-religious fundamentalism(s), nor the nation state – alone – that drives humanity towards its own destruction; rather, it is the inability to extend philoxenia (hospitality); to extend an olive branch towards the other, to accept, even embrace the "otherness" of the other that allows for injustice and unimaginable human suffering to continue. Before we become political, we must first become personal. It is through the lens of personal experience that my research will reveal itself.

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[77] Polyethnic (as opposed to multi-ethnic) denotes historical routes that feed into the construction of ethnically diverse societies.

The following chapter delves into the multi-layered, nuanced narratives, as I try to make sense of the social reality within which marginalized youth exist in a subjective and sensitive manner, in an effort to generate new theoretical angles, insights, and prospects. In an attempt to respond to Greece's *failure* or inability to provide clear conceptions of citizenship, and citizenship possibilities to people of foreign parentage who are seen as a threat to the nation, necessarily lends to a deeper interpretation of the policy dynamics at play. In the following chapter I present the research findings that include insights from interview transcripts, field notes, and observations that aim to provide a descriptive account of the study.

Chapter 6
Research Findings

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected over the duration of the field research period conducted in Greece in the summer of 2012. It includes insights from interview transcripts, field notes, and observations that aim to provide a descriptive account of the study. As the sole researcher, what is reflected is my own interpretation of how I make sense of the data, by providing insights and drawing meaningful conclusions from a relatively large body of data. The plethora and diversity of data collected represent both an opportunity for articulation of the hitherto marginalized voices, and a challenge in terms of selecting, organizing, managing, and analyzing the data in a fairly succinct and well-ordered manner. As such, I have been inclined to delineate the boundaries of the findings through a comprehensive layout of this chapter that comprises the research findings, as well as key research themes that are organized into two main sections: (I) Students' and Parents' Voices and (II) Policy Actors' and Educators' Voices. Each section illustrates narrative elements that capture each participant's lived experience; elements that emerged from our dialogical interactions and perspectives in the co-construction and co-creation of meaning. While the significance of the findings will be explored at greater length and depth in the *Data Analysis and Interpretation* chapter, a brief discussion highlighting some of the themes that transpired from the narratives will be interspersed throughout the text with the intent to support, reinforce, contextualize, extend, and elucidate the narratives. Some quotation passages are longer to capture the full capacity of the participants' words and to enhance readability. In essence, this chapter provides empirical evidence that will test and re-evaluate my theoretical, epistemological, and ontological conjectures in an effort to address the research questions posed in this dissertation, and to meet the overall objectives of this study. Most importantly, however, this chapter opens up a space where the participants' voices may find resonance, as I ensure that their views are represented clearly and accurately, in their own words.

Verbatim quotations are used to emphasize and elicit the participants' voices, while a thematic framework aims to classify and reflect the findings that have resulted from the in-depth, semi-structured interviews that were conducted with the participants in the study. The inclusion of verbatim quotations serves not only as a basis for the enquiry, but more importantly, as a means to deepen understanding and to enhance readability. The chapter begins with a brief description of the participants (see Table 1). Such description aims to provide additional perspective and context that will assist the reader in navigating through the findings that are presented. The chapter ends with a discussion of the findings and a synopsis of conclusions that were drawn, which will subsequently aid in the interpretation and analysis of the findings in *Chapter 7: Data Analysis and Interpretation*.

6.2 Section I: *The Immigrant Student and Immigrant Parent Experience*

The first of the two sections, as outlined earlier, present the findings of the study based on observation, pre-interview activities, and field notes, followed by in-depth interviews with four former students (three immigrant students and one native Greek student and two parents – neither of which are children of, or related to the immigrant parents interviewed), and how their insights and interpretations, as well as my own, relate to the research objectives that aim to answer the research questions of this study. In what follows are the research findings that include verbatim quotations, as well as paraphrasing and summarizing from the interviews of this study, as described in chapter 5 *Methodology and Design*, followed by a brief discussion of the themes that emerged. Although the findings cannot be generalized, I investigate the wider implications of the findings in Chapter 7. The process followed in the selection of the quotations involved a thematic synthesis of the different perspectives, as well as a careful selection of representative or unique verbatim segments of the interviews that allowed me to maintain – to some extent – a sense of *confirmability* (see Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The findings below highlight how immigrant students experience their school and social environment, and how their educational and cultural backgrounds, as new immigrants, has shaped their experiences in Greek state schools.

6.2.1 First Encounters

In this section I present the participants' first encounters with their new school environments when they first arrived to Greece. The immigrant student interviews revealed common threads which allowed me the opportunity to understand more about the various issues immigrant students and their families might face in their first encounters with the Greek public school system. Some of the overarching themes that emerged are as follows: All students wanted to learn how to speak Greek as soon as possible, and some feared they were not learning fast enough. Those who spoke or understood some Greek feared that they were going to make a mistake if they spoke in the classroom; as such, they often kept quiet. There seemed to be tremendous pressure to assimilate into the school culture. Many participants felt intimidated and afraid. Others wanted to conceal their identity, and adopt a new identity in their new culture. The one thing that stood out, however, is that most participants felt alone in their efforts to assimilate in their new schools and social environments; they felt that no one was helping them or could help them. Both students and parents, alike, express their frustrations in the narratives that follow. Immigrant parents often felt the backlash of their childrens' frustrations at home, and expressed that because of the language barrier, were unable to help their children. Furthermore, their work schedules were another barrier to communicating with the school.

6.2.2 Reluctant to Speak; Reluctant to Be

After being in Greece for ten years, Areti (pseudonym[78]) claims she has forgotten how to speak Albanian. She revealed that she spent many days in the Greek classroom without as much as uttering a word. She was afraid to speak.

IS2: *When I came to Greece at age 8, I forgot how to speak Albanian. I spoke no Albanian at home because I really wanted to learn Greek. Early on (in school), I did not speak Greek; In fact, I did not speak at all because I was scared I was going to make a mistake… I had a very horrible experience when I entered elementary school in Greece, an experience I will never forget…*

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[78] All the participants in this study have pseudonyms, i.e., none the names used herein are the participants' actual names. I selected participants' names using a random baby name generator from the internet. In addition, I used names that reflect the participants' cultural backgrounds.

Oksana recalls feeling helpless and alone in her new school environment, as though no one really acknowledged her presence, particularly the teachers; she thus turned to the student beside her for help. She admits to feeling tremendously isolated in her social surroundings and school environment. She was afraid to be *the Russian.*

IS1: *I learned how to speak Greek very quickly. I had to, and tried very hard to learn proper Greek. I practiced speaking day and night. I did not want people to recognize my Russian accent, but they did, until I was able to hide it better... I had no help. It almost seemed like I was expected to learn on my own. I don't think the teachers knew what to do with me… It is very awkward and difficult when you don't know what people are saying about you… when you don't know what to say to them… how to respond…*

Dardan had a very easy transition into the public Greek schooling system, mainly because his family arrived to Greece when he was only 3 years old. Dardan's grandfather spoke fluent Greek and lived in Greece prior to his family's arrival to Greece. Dardan does not, currently, speak Albanian; his family did not wish to preserve their language, and as such, did not speak Albanian much in the house. Dardan does not perceive himself as a "non-Greek," even though he was born in Albania, of Albanian parents. He considers himself (to be) Greek (see extended discussion in *Meta-Theoretical Analysis* chapter for discussion regarding what it means to be Greek and "Greekness"). Throughout the interview, Dardan raised numerous social and moral issues he had observed while attending school in Greece, but avoids discussing issues relating to racism, propaganda, patriotism, and nationalism. He does not, nor has he ever felt "singled out" as being an immigrant student or a "foreigner" by his peers.

IS3: *School in Greece was very easy for me. I basically started my education in kindergarten, in Greece, so I was basically like the other Greek children. It was not difficult for me at all to learn the Greek language… things seemed to be calmer (than they are today – migration has increased today); more relaxed when I entered school... I do not speak Albanian very well to begin with...*

6.2.3 Immigrant Parents Feel Disconnected from their Childrens' Schooling

Both immigrant parents I spoke to revealed that they were not connected to their child's school (i.e., they did not interact with the teachers or regularly inquire about their child's progress), mainly due to language barriers and the fact that they worked many hours and could not meet with the teachers. Nevertheless, the parents value education and made certain that their children did their school work at home.

The parents I spoke to could not afford to send their children to "frontistirio" (private tutoring lessons), at first, but did so when they were better able to afford private tutoring. One of the key issues that came through in the interviews not only relates to the parents' frustration in not being able to help their children with homework because of the language barrier, but also, in parents' anguish in not being able to help with their childrens' emotional needs – their frustrations and anger – because their work schedules necessarily took precedence in the early encounters with their host country. The immigrant parents in this section reveal their own frustrations and their feelings of inadequacy in helping their children at school and after school.

IP2: *The first year was a nightmare. Karim did not want to go to school; he was angry every day. He hated the school; the teachers; his classmates. There was so much hate and anger. There was little we could do because my husband and I both worked all day and sometimes, all night. I cleaned houses many nights, and restaurants... Sometimes the children were alone at home... my daughter, who was the eldest, was having lots of troubles with school... I did not go to the school to ask about my childrens' progress. What was I to do there? How was I to communicate? I worked a lot and had no time to go ask the teachers. Besides, I could not speak Greek at that time. I made sure the kids did as much reading as they could at home, when I was home; when I was not, the kids were expected to do their school work.*

I could not help my child with the (Greek) language. I did not speak Greek, either. It was very difficult when my child came home not knowing what to do. It was very difficult for me not knowing what I could do for my child. I felt helpless. I met a lady who spoke my language, as well as Greek, and she helped us talk to the teachers who said in a friendly tone: "Anya and Karim are doing well in school. They will need some time to acclimatize..." ... they said, it takes time... Other than that one time, maybe one more time, I was not in contact with the school, or the teachers... the kids were learning as best as they could.

IP1: *I wanted to go to the school and ask how my children were doing in their lessons, but I did not speak the language well, and counted on what my children would tell me about their progress… My son would tell me when he would come home from school: "Don't speak to me in Albanian!" He would become very angry. He read books written in Greek every night, even though he did not understand what he was reading. We were barely making ends meet, at first, when he needed most of the help, but we had no money to send him to a tutoring school... some of his friends helped him learn Greek, as did the teachers at his school. Now he is a grown man (20 years old). He never speaks Albanian at home; only Greek. I think he was ashamed to be Albanian because of the reputation of Albanians (in Greece)...*

6.2.4 A Matter of Age

A child's age during migration affects social integration (Åslund, Böhlmark & Nordström, 2009), and can be seen as a determinant on schooling outcomes. Students who migrated with their families at a younger age experienced fewer difficulties in school and with integration. In addition, all immigrant students in this study (IS1, IS2, and IS3) expressed, either directly or indirectly, that they did *not* wish to uphold their mother tongue. They were most interested in learning the Greek language as quickly and as efficiently as possible, so that they were not identified as "foreigners." They wanted to *become* Greeks. Immigrant students, who entered the Greek state school system at a younger age, seem to have been assimilated more successfully. Immigrant student IS1, Oksana, had a slightly detectable accent that perhaps revealed her Russian roots. Throughout the interview, the participant tried very hard to conceal her accent, and was very proud of how quickly she had learned to speak Greek. She blushed and laughed nervously when she made a linguistic error during our interview, and apologized profusely when she thought her Greek was not adequately spoken. Immigrant students IS2 and IS3 had no detectable accents.

Given the absence of statistical data in this study, I am particularly cautious in drawing conclusions. However, as revealed in the literature and through these interviews, I can corroborate, that while immigrant students are a highly vulnerable group of students to begin with, they are more vulnerable when they arrive to the host country at an older age (lower secondary school age). Older students are burdened not only by having to acquire knowledge of the host language and "catch up" with the higher levels of attainment achieved by their peers in host country schools, they must do all this while coping with all the problems of adjusting to a new educational and social environment (Beck, Corak, & Tiend, 2012).

6.2.5 Fear of the Other

Athena's (GS, native Greek student) perspective is an interesting one. For Athena, the differences that separate foreigners or "xenous" from Greeks are

tremendous, from the clothes they wear, to the way they smell. And while foreigners can be(come) friends, they will never be "blood"; they will never be "Greek."

GS1: *There were foreign students at the school I attended. They were "different," of course… You could tell they were not Greeks a mile away. They smelled funny (bad) and their clothes were old fashioned, depending on the country from which they arrived. They just did not belong… I didn't particularly make a point of hanging out with them because of their reputation, but I had a few Romanian and Albanian friends, not close friends, but friends nonetheless… Our interests were different; we liked different foods and we liked doing different things; had different traditions, interests; a different sense of humour… and if you struggle to communicate in your own language with someone, and are always making a big effort to communicate, it becomes exhausting. It is easier to be with your own kind (of people); with people who share your language, your music, your food, your culture…*

Because Dardan's family immigrated to Greece when Dardan was only 3 years old, I asked Dardan whether or not his classmates knew that he was a "non-Greek" person, mainly because nothing in his appearance or disposition suggested that he was "Albanian." His spoken Greek was impeccable, since he had started kindergarten in Greece, and he looked no different than most Greeks would look, even his name was Greek, not *Albanian*. Nevertheless, his classmates were afraid of him, and kept their distance, "at first," which necessarily suggests that they had a preconceived idea regarding Albanian immigrants, as he reveals in his own words:

IS3: *… in the beginning they (my classmates) were somewhat hesitant (in approaching) with me. They (my classmates) seemed to be afraid of me… even though we played together, they seemed to always keep a distance because they feared the unknown (the bad reputation foreigners have in Greece, like stealing, causing violent episodes, etc.); they did not trust me, at first, but through the years I developed the best friendships, and earned their trust.*

6.2.6 Inadequacy of the State School System to Provide Support to Immigrant Students

In the narratives that follow, inconsistencies in the Greek state education system are revealed. While some immigrant students disclosed that they were helped in their transitions into their schools, others were not. The native Greek student also shares her perspective as a non-immigrant on how she perceived immigrant students in her school were being treated. In addition, immigrant student and parent narratives reveal and confirm the lack of school resources in Greek state schools, substandard teacher education and teacher training, corruption in the school system

(through a shadow economy in education that undermines public education), as well as the lack of consistency and coherence of educational policy in the Greek education system.

IP1: *We could not afford to send our children to a tutor, at first, but we quickly found out that this is how the system here (in Greece) works. We had to work harder simply to send our children to tutors so that they could have better chances at competing with the other students. Tutors are very expensive... but if you cannot pay, your child has no chance to succeed in this system...*

In the dialogue that follows, I was seeking to understand how the immigrant student participant, Dardan, who candidly identified as a Greek student, perceived other immigrant students' experiences in his school and classroom. I wanted to know if immigrant students in state schools were getting the extra help they needed, academically, within their schools, to better transition and be successful in their learning. In addition, our dialogue went on to expose corruption in the Greek public school system, through private tutoring, otherwise known as "shadow education," or the "grey economy," Greece's "guilty secret," which has grown to become a vast enterprise in Greece.

IS3: *There was a girl from Romania, who never actually went to school in Romania, even though she arrived to Greece when she was 8 years old. She could not keep up with the classes, so they put her in special classes in the afternoons (kind of like tutoring). They (the school) had brought in a teacher to reinforce or support her learning. She had to spend two extra hours a day in school, after school, just to get caught up. But within the same school year, she was caught up and integrated successfully into the mainstream classroom. Teachers here are very willing to extend themselves and help their students learn... Secondary Education (Δευτεροβάθμια) sends a supply teacher to work with students who require the extra help, say, for two to three hours a day, extra. Of course, the teacher is paid.*

VM: *Does this happen regularly when new immigrant students arrive to the school?*

IS3: *This is the only case I am aware of. But I have heard that there are teachers who are hired to do reinforcement work with immigrant students. Let's say the immigrant student's parents have no money for private tutoring (which is basically how the education system works here, in case you are not aware – often referred to as "para-paedeia" or "shadow education"), the school or teacher offer up some hours, for free, to help the students in the challenging classes (core classes: physics, chemistry, math, composition…). Sadly, I think the education system in Greece is corrupt; "dirty" in many ways…*

VM: *How do you mean "dirty" or corrupt?*

IS3: *Let's say that there are a large percentage of teachers (public school teachers) who do not "give their best" in the classroom, and they purposely allow "gaps" in their teaching so that the students seek help in the "system of parapaideia" (or "shadow education" – the industry of private tutoring). I knew an example of a teacher who taught in the public system who had a brother who was not placed (in the public school system), and he tutored chemistry. The teacher would send his students to his brother for private tutoring, and for a very large fee, I might add… and of course the students would seek help there…*

6.2.7 Shadow Education

Learning resources in Greek public schools are limited, thus private institutions like tutoring institutions, are more efficient at delivering education public schools cannot. Shadow education exists in the private sphere, and due to economic costs, excludes most disadvantaged families from participation. Out-of-school public school tutoring is a very big industry in Greece. Relegated to the private sphere, shadow education is often perceived by educators and policy makers as falling outside the purview of public education and its equitable provision (Bray, Mazawi, & Sultana, 2013). Research shows that not only is private tutoring *not* a "private" phenomenon, but that it is intertwined in complex ways with the public provision of schooling and operates in relation to it in multifaceted ways that will be discussed at greater length in the analysis chapter.

IS3: *... the school lacked resources; lacked computers of any kind… so even if a student was to be interested in technology, there was no access to such technologies. Small villages and towns are really suffering from lack of resources… So, parents force their children into thinking about jobs in the public sector, if they know someone who can help their child get a job there, because they are under the impression that getting a job in the private sector will "set them" for life! There is a constant quest for certainty in work; stability. Or the way university entrance exams are done here is so time-consuming, and in the end, fruitless. You study for an entire year, sometimes more, and in the end, you may not even gain entrance to the university…*

IS1: *No, there was no special class I attended that helped me learn the Greek language. I learned it in the classroom; in the school ground; at the café… I learned the language through different subjects and with the help of classmates and later on with tutors. This is the system here. Everyone has a tutor or goes to a tutoring institute, whether they know Greek, or not. Those who can afford to be tutored in all subjects, learn quicker in all subject areas, others just have to work harder, and basically don't stand a chance when it comes to competing with students who have this privilege.*

GS1: *I can say with reservation, of course, that there were some teachers who, let's say, did try to help the foreign kids in school. But for the most part, they (the foreign students) just sat in their*

desks quietly trying to follow the lesson. There were no special classes for immigrant students that I was aware of, except from what I have heard over the last year about these "reception classes"… but from what I hear, they are very inconsistent, as are most school, and other sorts of "initiatives" in Greece… Of course there are always the frontistiria... but many Greek families can no longer afford private tutoring, let alone immigrants...

6.2.8 Greece: *A Place of Opportunity*

All immigrant students' parents (IS1, IS2, and IS3) immigrated to Greece because they envisioned Greece as a place of opportunity; border proximity – Greece being close to the Albanian border – was also a key factor in drawing a greater number of economic immigrants (both documented and undocumented immigrants, who form the bulk of immigration to Greece because they work for lower wages than the native Greeks, and provide job-flexible labour) into Greece (see Fakiolas, 1999a; 1999b). In addition, the participants interviewed had family members or pre-existing social ties in the host country, which ultimately encourages or provides a strong motive for family migration.

IS3: *My parents chose to come to Greece for my brother and me. They never actually thought of moving away from Albania, until they had us. They wanted a better future for us, and also, because my grandfather was already living in Greece, they thought it would be a good opportunity for all of us to move here.*

IP1: *I moved my family to Greece because there were opportunities. I wanted something better for my kids and the school system back home provided limited opportunities. I woke up one day and realized that we were living in a very violent and poverty-ridden place. Every day was a struggle… getting food was a struggle. I wondered... how can it be worse in Greece?*

IS1: *My mother saw an opportunity… she knew some people here (in Greece) and they said there we opportunities in Greece... my mother could work as a housekeeper or as a cleaning lady in a hotel. We left everything behind in Russia, for the unknown… my mother is now married to a Greek man…*

IS2: *My parents immigrated to Greece because there were job opportunities here (in Greece), that meant a better future for our family.*

6.2.9 Defining Identity

In an effort to make better sense of how Dardan understood his cultural identity, I asked him if he had missed his country of origin (which is Albania). The findings below suggest that the participant identifies as a Greek person, with very little, if any "loyalty" to his motherland. In other words, the participant confirms the importance of his (new) Greek cultural identity, rather than his natal cultural identity:

VM: *Do you miss going back to your country of origin, Albania?*

IS3: *No, not really; not after my grandmother died… the only reason I would want to go back there would be to see my relatives; specifically, my uncle --- who prefers to come to Greece to visit us, rather than have us visit him in Albania…*

VM: *Do you consider yourself Greek or Albanian?*

IS3: *Let's say that I leave Greece and move to the United States, one thing is for certain: I would refer to myself as being Greek… I have never missed returning to Albania because I have learned to live in Greece; to be Greek… I have lived here (in Greece) all my life, as far as I can remember… my fundamental beginnings emerged here; therefore, I cannot consider myself anything less than a Greek… When I go out with my friends and someone asks where I am from, my friends will respond by saying: "he is from here." There is a kind of racism; I have discussed this also with my parents, because a lot of people of their generation immigrated during that time… there is tremendous rivalry; antagonism, of course, because a lot of cultures are underdeveloped, "third-world"; poor (those are mainly the people who migrate)… and they know that in order to make it ahead, they must trample over corpses… I must step on you, not hold on to you for support, per se; rather, I must crush you… if I belittle you, I rise up; I am greater… This is the kind of mentality that persists amongst poor immigrants coming to this country…*

Most participants reveal that they do not miss their country of origin, and have made Greece their country. Most participants' previously lived in poverty and one lived in a war zone. While Dardan identifies as being a Greek, other participants IS1 and IP2, in our dialogue below, identify mostly with their natal cultural identity, Russian and Syrian, respectively.

IP1: *I have not gone back to Albania since we moved to Greece. I have no wish to go back. Our life is here (in Greece). What would be the purpose of going back? It is difficult to begin a life in a new country, but I am glad we brought the family to Greece.*

IP2: *Things in Syria are not good... there are always problems. We will not go back... family living there want to leave, but it is very difficult, either way...*

IS1: *No, I am not nostalgic of going back to my country. This is my country now.*

VM: *Do you consider yourself to be Greek?*

ISI: *Well, I am Russian. I am not Greek. I cannot change that. I think that since my mother is married to a Greek man, I may be able to become a Greek citizen, but that is quite difficult, but no… I am not Greek, it is not in my blood. Russia is in my blood…*

IP1: *No. I do not (feel that I am Greek). I am not Greek.*

IP2: *No, we are not Greek. We are often (in everyday life) reminded that we are not Greek… we do not have the same rights as Greeks, and why should we? After all, we are in their country, and they are gracious enough to accept us…*

6.2.10 Selective Immigrant Discrimination and Racism

Immigrant students experience different forms of racism and discrimination, both overt and covert, in their school and social environments. The students' narratives in this study clearly reveal the salience of subtle, but mainly, overt discrimination and xenoracism toward particular types of immigrants, depending on their country of origin. Some immigrant students, perhaps, face more discrimination than others based on the color of their skin, religious identification or affiliation, and/or country of origin. Several studies also show that differences in countries of origin result in differential integration and treatment of immigrants (Fleischmann & Dronkers, 2007; Levels & Dronkers, 2008; Levels, Dronkers & Kraaykamp, 2008; Van Tubergen, 2004). Immigrant stereotypes are widespread, while many Greeks think about immigrants – mainly Albanian's – stereotypically. Immigrant students often experience unfair attitudes and treatment based on their ethnic phenotype, language use, legal migration status, and of course, their country of origin (see Grigorenko, 2013). The origin characteristics of immigrants may often arouse different reactions from the natives of the host country, some of which are revealed in the narratives that follow.

GS1: *There was a girl from Albania, Salma, who was constantly picked on. They called her "dirty Albanian." I felt so bad for her. She had no friends; even the teachers avoided her, ignored her…The girl from Germany, Frieda – her mother was German – was never picked on. She was very pretty, with blue eyes and blonde hair. Everybody liked her, and everyone wanted to be her friend. She, too, was an immigrant student, and her Greek was not spoken well, but the Germans come across as being more "civilized"; cleaner… Other foreigners like Albanians or Bulgarians care less about themselves…*

IS2: *When I was in fifth grade, several years after I arrived to the school, there was an incident I witnessed involving a younger Albanian student who was waiting in line to buy a cheese pie at the school concession. I had witnessed a very similar thing happened to me some years before. An older student pushed the younger foreign student away from the concession line saying: "Get lost you dirty Albanian; get out of my way!" The same thing had happened to me. I had gone to the concession, too, to get a cheese pie and another girl fiercely pushed me out of the way saying: "You do not deserve to eat a cheese pie. Go back to your own country!" I intervened when I saw what the Greek girl had said to the little foreign girl. I grabbed the cheese pie out of the Greek girls hand and said: "Do not treat her like that! How would you like to be in a foreign country and be treated like you just treated this little girl? On the other hand, I somehow understand why the Greek girl might feel like she did and act the way she did… but on the other hand, what she did was wrong.*

The teachers at school did not speak nicely to me. They did not treat me well… I would often ask for help and the teacher would say to me: "Do it yourself" or "Why don't you just read it over again and again; eventually, you will get it." I tried not to ask so many questions… and for the most part, I did everything alone. Until one day in junior high, I raised my hand to ask a question and one teacher took at least a half an hour (the class was 45 minutes long) to explain the questions and the answers to me. The same teacher always took the time to answer questions; she helped me tremendously; she was my guardian angel… but that was one teacher…

IS1: *Kids were very cruel. I recall one time I was struggling with a math problem and a classmate said to me that we couldn't all be mathematicians; some of us are by nature, destined for "other trades" making a very demeaning hand gesture. He was clearly implying the sex trade, since many Russian women are in the sex industry… Kids would not play with me. I tried to approach them and they would say: "You can't play with us." There were other kids, of course, who would let me play in their group. But I do believe that we learn from how our teachers behave…some teachers responded very harshly to me, saying for instance: "leave me alone" or "do it yourself" or "what are you, stupid? Can't you put your mind to work?" Teachers would say this in class in front of other students, and other students would hear it and respond the same way to foreign students…Once a teacher said to me: "Why can't you be more like Hans, he came to Greece not knowing a single word of Greek, yet he is an exceptional student!"*

6.2.11 Neglected, Invisible, and Overlooked

Immigrant students often feel invisible, or overlooked, in Greek state schools. Some immigrant students reported feeling that their teachers viewed them in unfavorable ways for no apparent reason other than the fact that they were immigrants from an "unfavourable" country of origin.

IS1: *There were people who never gave me a chance – the teachers in particular; who never actually saw me from the moment that I arrived; they ignored me – never even noticed, nor were they aware of my existence, and when they were aware that I existed, they acted as though they did not want to like me or get to know me … too bad because I had so much to say that I never had a chance to*

say… (The participant is filled with emotion. She is now an adult, and still cannot come to terms with how she felt mistreated and ignored in her school environment).

IS2: *There was once a time when a teacher was very negative towards to me. She always failed me; she never – not once – gave me a chance or the slightest possibility to be successful in her class. So, one time, when the opportunity presented itself, I just had to ask her why. I asked her what it was I did to her that made her respond to me in such a negative way. She actually could not respond; she couldn't give me an explanation.*

Throughout our interview, participant IS2, Areti, expressed her gratitude in having been given the opportunity to reveal, to me, her harrowing experience as an immigrant student in the Greek state school system. She had not, before, spoken about such matter, not even with her mother. Her parents were unaware of the tremendous difficulties she encountered, and tried to conceal them as she reveals below when asked…

VM: *Were you afraid to speak to your mother or father about your experiences at school?*

IS2: *I could not tell my mother what was happening to me… I could not talk to my mother, let alone my father. What was I going to tell her (my mother)? No, I was not afraid. I just did not want to upset her. Like most mothers, my mother was always very overprotective, and if I told her what I was going through in school, I am afraid that she would cause a commotion, and that, of course, would turn boomerang back to me. I was trying to protect her, too.*

VM: *I wonder if your mother might be aware of how you were mistreated in school, today, now that you are older.*

IS2: *She might imagine it, but I never actually told her or confirmed anything because I did not want to hurt her. The only person who knows such things is that one teacher, who I am friends with today, as an adult, and some of my close friends.*

IS3: *Greece is generally a very hospitable country; Even when Greeks did not know you, they held the doors to their homes wide open, for anyone to enter… this used to be the norm, but now, everything is wrecked, particularly over the last few years, and I believe that this happened because too many immigrants entered the country without control; immigrants who threatened to destroy the Greeks; threatened about how they were going to take away (things) from the Greeks, rather than give or offer something back to the Greeks… this has essentially destroyed the reputation of immigrants coming into Greece. There has been a breach of trust. Greeks no longer trust immigrants… Immigrants today have created ghettos, gangs, and cliques, making it very dangerous to even walk in certain parts of the city (Athens) without fearing for your life… Immigrants come to Greece every day and they are quite young, and they deal drugs, and they have no respect for the society… we live in a democracy…we can't just level everything. Greece is imbued with many moral principles which we (Greeks) have created, all over the world. We are a culture that has given many*

foundations that spread throughout the entire world, right? Isn't that what Greeks are known for all over the world? Isn't Greece the start of civilization?

I felt, at this point, that it was necessary to interrupt the participant, as I was sensing that a very strong sense of Greek ethno-nationalism was coming through in his narrative. Even though the participant is an Albanian immigrant, he identifies with the dominant cultural narrative, which is taught in schools, and he supports it.

VM: *I will interrupt you to ask if this is what you have learned in school. Is a strong sense of patriotism and sustaining Greek national identity strong in Greek state schools?*

IS3: *When I was in elementary school they taught us that we must support our Greek nation through 1. Patriotism, in that it is important to be patriotic and love one's country 2. Religion, and its importance in getting Greece though many wars and 3. Nationalism. Many teachers were trying to show us that the reason why we are here is because some great people/heroes sacrificed their lives for your freedom and knowledge… Morning Prayer time was very important. The other very important thing was when they asked me to be part of the flag bearing team…I felt very proud to be a part of that – holding the flag and honouring those who sacrificed their lives… because had they not sacrificed their lives, you would not have a better future…we must honour these people. We must...*

VM: *Did you ever suspect that there was any use propaganda to spread Greek nationalist ideals when you were in school?*

IS3: *No. Not from the Greeks. There is no propaganda. The Greeks – which is why I admire this country – have Soul (Psyche).They have taught me to believe in what I believe in until the end...*

VM: *How about for students with different religious orientation than Greek Orthodox? How did they "fit" under this banner that includes Patriotism, Religion, and Nationalism?*

IS3: *Yes. Actually, I have one very good example… I had a classmate who was Jewish. He went to school with us and every year we competed on who will be the best student in the class. In other words, he would get the best marks. My classmate, while he was present in religion class at school, was not graded. The teachers, the school never made him participate. They gave him an option… they asked him if he wanted to participate, and because he did not wish to be segregated from us, his classmates and friends, he chose to attend religion class; audit the class without receiving a mark.*

6.2.12 Church and State Relations

The relationship that exists between the Greek Orthodox Church, the Greek state, and the Greek nation[79] today in Greece, vis-à-vis the role of the "Christian Orthodox/Greek Citizen," is an important one, and will be discussed in greater detail in the next two chapters that follows. Nevertheless, it is important to note here, that all immigrant students, as well as, immigrant parents in this study confirmed that they are of the Greek Orthodox Christian faith; that is, they confirmed the Greek Orthodox dimension of their (new) religious identity; ultimately, that which defines "Greekness." Considering that Islam has historically been the dominant religion in Albania suggests that under the Ottoman rule, Albanians accepted, or were converted to Islam. Conversion to Islam was essential to establish a sense of privilege, amongst other things, which was usually the motive for conversion. In 1967, an official ban of religious practices in Albania has made Albania the first and only constitutionally atheist state ever to exist (Tonnes, 1982; Pearson, 2005).

Today, Albanians who migrate to Greece (and other predominantly Christian countries like Italy, for example) have made tremendous efforts to cover up, or downright, obliterate their Albanian origin and/or identity, and try to "pass" for Orthodox Christians or Greek-Albanians. This re-identification, re-socialization, re-orientation, and re-integration of Albanian identity into Greek society and culture – that necessarily presupposes the abandonment of a previous identity for a new, "Grecified" identity – is without a doubt a strategy that seeks to advocate comforting for the local society's inattention to the stigmatized origin. In addition, and in the case of many "less-desirable" immigrants in Greece, identity abandonment, which is quite common, can also be seen as a process of dissimulation of a stigmatized peoples, evident in practices like name changing and change in religious affiliation (Kokkali, 2011), discussed in more depth in Section II.

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[79] Church, state, and nation, as well as the distinction between state and nation will be discussed in Chapter 8.

6.3 Conclusion

This section has delineated the key research findings using a selection of verbatim quotations that were generated from the semi-structured interviews conducted with three immigrant students, one native Greek student, and two immigrant parents. The participants' narratives have captured the multi-layered and nuanced understandings of the complexities inherent in immigrant students' learning and social experiences in the Greek state school system. Some of the themes that emerged from the findings have particular implications for immigrant students, while the interpretations, along with support found in the literature pertaining to the relevance, implications, and importance of these findings will be discussed in the following chapter. The narratives in this section have brought to bear some of the problematic structures and mechanisms that exist, not only in Greek state schools today, but in Greek society; specifically, in how the country, as a whole, "handles" or understands immigration. To summarize, all immigrant students in this study have expressed that they did *not* wish to uphold their mother tongue. In addition, student narratives – both immigrant and non-immigrant narratives – reveal and confirm the lack of school resources in Greek state schools, substandard teacher education and teacher training, corruption in the school system, as well as, lack of consistency and coherence of educational policy in the Greek education system.

More troublesome, however, is how origin characteristics of immigrants provoke xenophobic and/or xenoracist reactions from the host country. Finally, while it is evident that language and learning to communicate in Greek, appeared to be a fundamental concern for immigrant students in this study, it is *not* the only concern. Immigrant students' sense of marginalization may be directly linked to poor transitions and adjustment in their new school and social environments, which brings into question, what actually constitutes "healthy" social and emotional development of immigrant students in Greece? The Data Analysis Chapter will allow for a deeper exploration and fleshing out the themes and concepts that emerged from the findings in this chapter. In the next section, I turn to the narratives and perceived barriers for immigrant students in the Greek state school system from the perspective of the teachers/educators and policy actors, as their insights and unique

contributions allow me to make better sense of the immigrant student experience in Greek state schools.

6.4 Section II: *Sense-making and co-construction from the policy actors' and educators' perspectives*

The previous section has attempted to capture a range of perspectives that emerged from immigrant students, immigrant parents, and one native Greek student with reference to how they had come to understand the complexity of their experiences in the Greek state school system. Section II presents the findings of the study based on observation, field notes, and in-depth interviews with 4 public school educators (an elementary school principal, a retired principal, a high school teacher, and a substitute teacher), and 2 policy actors (both who are also educators and public school teachers, alike). I borrow from authors of *Public policy: The essential readings*, Theodoulou and Cahn (2012) to define "policy actor" as an individual, or a group, who formally or informally seek to influence the creation and implementation of educational policy alternatives, and/or solutions. Educators E2 and E3 requested to be interviewed simultaneously. Although they were *not* colleagues teaching at the same school, they were most comfortable in having one another present as each others' "sounding board." Policy actor PA1, "Katerina," has been actively involved in special needs education, inclusive education, minority youth education, and education involving children of the Muslim minority in Thrace. She is both a primary school teacher and a policy actor. Policy actor PA2, "Ioanna," is a professor of social psychology and has been formerly involved in the legislation and implementation of educational policies. She has been a very influential political figure and institutional policy actor, actively involved in the Greek political arena as an active participant in parliamentary committees on education, culture, equality, and human rights. In addition, policy actor PA2 has contributed enormously to the educational needs of minority students in Trace, by helping create new resources, textbooks, and curricula with an aim to promote multicultural education and differentiated learning. Indeed, all participants have contributed significantly to this work, by lending their perspectives and invaluable insights and allowing me the opportunity to delve deeper

into understanding the varying degrees and levels of inequality that continue to run rampant in Greek society.

As Greece's creditors continue to tighten the noose on Greece's already broken economy, thus widening the gap of inequality at unprecedented heights, a *crooked* political system predicated on vested interests and corruption demonstrates systematic failure to respond to long-entrenched racial, ethnic, and gender inequalities. Greece is undeniably a country that tremendously struggles with inconsistent, incoherent, and unsustainable policies. As such, what is revealed in these narratives substantiates that the Greek education system is ill equipped to provide instructional strategies that support differentiation to the Greek student population, let alone, to minority and immigrant student populations.

6.4.1 "Mother Tongue"

By law, under the Treaty of Lausanne, and supported by educational bilateral agreements such as the Educational Agreement 1951 and the Cultural Protocol signed between Turkey and Greece, immigrant or minority students in Greece and Turkey legally have the right to receive education in their mother tongue. As Boussiakou (2007) denotes, this right is supposedly "guaranteed" and "supported" in numerous legal and policy documents like the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 27), and the Convention on the Rights of Child. This is a clear example of how policy defies practice, and vice-versa. As is clear in the narratives and as the literature substantiates minority students in Greece and in Turkey do *not* have adequate opportunities to gain knowledge of the Greek or Turkish language, respectively, as their "mother tongue" language. While there have been sporadic initiatives by teachers and parents, reinforced by the sense of "philotimo,"[80] (teachers' or parents' own initiatives) and to organise classes of Albanian, Ukrainian and Arabic language in schools in Athens, such classes have usually lasted for a couple of years, while some did not even go beyond a few meetings mainly because of the practical problems (they operated unofficially in the

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[80] The virtue of "philotimo," or "love of honor," is discusses later in this chapter as well as in the following chapters.

evening in public high schools), and in addition, the immigrant parents' working hours were such that they could not bring their children to the classes, outside the normal school hours (see Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2007). In cross-cultural schools in Greece, teachers are also available to provide interpretation and counselling services for immigrant pupils. But alas, and notwithstanding the relatively large number of immigrant pupils that have entered the public school system in Greece over the last few years, there is no provision for mother-tongue teaching at schools – at least, not in any consistent fashion. The only exception involves children of the Muslim minority living in Western Thrace (and the bilingual program for elementary school), and this, of course, is not without problems (see Boussiakou, 2007). Foreign languages being taught in Greek state schools are English, which is mandatory, and perhaps one of the following: French, German, and/or Italian. Only in the context of two programs for Intercultural Education, funded 75% by the European Union, were Albanian and Russian taught in some schools on a pilot basis (Maligkoudi, 2007). In the narratives that follow, the policy actors (PA1 and PA2) elucidate some of the policy struggles and policy efforts made to accommodate immigrant student learning in their mother tongue.

PA1: *I'll tell you how it works, while normally, it is required, by law, that mother or native tongues be taught in schools, what I know until recently about public schools is that the schools offer English, French, Italian – languages that students may choose from to learn as a second or third language – because English is mandatory everywhere.*

In intercultural schools, however, the native languages spoken in countries outside the EU are not taught. Anyway, second and third language learning is and effort reserved only for the privileged, and not for minorities.

The tongue that the (immigrant) student brings from her/his home in the Greek school does not exist anywhere (what this means is that the student basically assimilates the language of the host country and "forgets" her/his own native tongue, particularly if the tongue in not part of the "desirable" languages being taught as second or third languages in Greece). There is nothing to suggest that the immigrant students, or any child for that matter, can see a bit of their own (cultural) identity start to emerge in the schools they attend. Meanwhile, there are other difficulties from then on.

PA2: *The Ministry (of Education and Religious Affairs) lays out their priorities and one of their priorities was for the education of the 2450 immigrant children – a pilot project on (preserving the) Mother Tongue. The idea was that because we did not have the exact numbers (of students), we did not know whether parents would want their children to attend classes on "Mother Tongue" (which*

means immigrant students preserving their own tongue when they immigrate to Greece). For instance, I have serious doubts that Albanians would want to have "Mother Tongue" lessons for their children – (on the contrary), they wish to have them learn Greek. They want their children to become Greek; they baptize them (Greek Orthodox). The entire system was unready for the entire process (to accept any notion of "other" in Greece and to program adequately). A policy that was instituted in 1997, talked about lessons in the Greek language, or as the Ministry (of Education) refers to as "Mother Tongue" (which would mean allowing the immigrant student to maintain his or her mother tongue and having classes in schools that are delivered in the immigrant student's mother tongue). If one uttered the words: "Mother Tongue" everyone in the Ministry jumped out of their seats... When I dared to suggest that the Greek language be considered as a second language, I was confronted with frightening hostility: "The Greek language become a second language? How can the Greek language possibly be second? The Greek is always first! The Greek language is always first!" Greek educational policy makers do not have an understanding of language one (first) and language two (second) – an otherwise basic concept. "Greek is always first!" This is deeply embedded in the state. There is no clear definition in the mind of the state, and in extension, in the minds of consultants – the entire administration, up to the consultant management of educators, such concept does not exist. The concept here is harsh assimilation, because it (harsh assimilation) is deeply connected to the concept of Nation State – an ideological matter – that has never ceased to be very strong in the minds of the Greeks. Homogeneity. The homogenizing notion of the "Nation State," which was required when Greece became a State after the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire has never left the minds of the Greeks. There is a kind of homogenization supremacy of Greeks, and no concept of differentiation, which Greeks and Greek policymakers feel is a cardinal sin. Consequently, there is no notion of differentiation. The Greek class is a homogeneous class; so there are no boys/girls, nor different classes – you know, in their minds there exist no class differences. Rather, the school is "something" that produces one kind of student. The teacher is exasperated. He or she has never the basic training in what constitutes teaching a class where students have different rhythms of learning.

There are certainly contradictions when it comes to the implementation of "mother tongue" in schools. While it appears that policy efforts have been made to preserve immigrant students' mother tongue, these efforts have only been sporadic teacher and parent initiatives, and not policies being "enforced" by the Ministry of Education. Surprisingly, the Ministry maintains that the "intercultural dimension" of Greek education policy and practice is *not* their responsibility (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2007). The organization of mother tongue classes in Albanian, Ukrainian, and Arabic, mainly taking place in Athens high schools, have usually lasted for a couple of years, while classes some did not even go beyond a few meetings (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2007). As such, Greek official policy was switched over to the foundation of special classes and special schools for foreign and repatriated children. These "new" educational programs, with the help of the European Union were targeted specifically to the education of this group of pupils (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2007). The literature suggests that Albanian communities in the region of

Central Macedonia try to create mechanisms of maintenance of their language and culture, to show that individual and collective initiatives can function as counterweight to a stiff educational policy that cannot recognize the duality of the linguistic and cognitive heritage which these children carry with them (Maligoudi, 2007). However, the participants' narratives in this study did not reflect that preserving their mother language was as a priority.

6.4.2 **What's in a name?**

Migration necessarily involves the loss of the familiar, including language, attitudes, values, social structures, and support networks (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). Many immigrants, particularly immigrant youth, seem to be "in a hurry" to assimilate or acculturate to the dominant culture – either voluntarily or involuntarily – which can be viewed as a process by which the immigrant person's cultural differences disappear, as she or he adapts to the majority or host culture's value system (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). As a result, the individual's cultural identity may be lost during the assimilation process, as he or she moves within the host society. The narratives that follow exemplify the aforementioned elements that immigrant students often wish to forsake their cultural identities and adopt a new, Greek identity. In the case below, the immigrant children had "Grecified" their names to better assimilate into Greek culture.

So, what's in a name? Names have, historically, symbolized peoples' ethno-linguistic and religious identities; they locate and differentiate people. Naming practices are a very important linguistic behavior that often reflects the interaction of larger forces in the socio-cultural milieu, such as aesthetic values, taboos, protocols, cultural practices, political factors, the relative prestige or status of a native language vis-à-vis a dominant language, and the production and control of cultural capital (Harrison, 2002). As such, names must be taken seriously, as indicators that point directly to the ebb and flow of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991, as cited in Harrison, 1999).

In her article *Being Albanian in Greece or elsewhere: negotiation of the (national) self in a migratory context*, Ifigeneia Kokkali (2011) maintains that Albanian peoples' identity

negotiations are marked by massive practices of name-changing and disavowing their religious affiliation, and in many cases (and from my own experience), baptizing or christening, children, in particular. Kokkali asserts that Albanians' efforts are premised on the desire to convince the local communities that they are "not like the other Albanians," in order to set themselves apart from the rest of the group, as well as the stereotypes that accompany Albanians (2011).

PA1: *In returning to teaching after a leave of absence, I noticed that some students in my old classroom were not Greek. After a few days in the classroom, I discovered that those immigrant students had changed their given names (to Greek names). By the way, this is a very common phenomenon, i.e., for a (foreign) student to change her/his name. I later discovered that there is one child is from Iraq, two girls from Albania and two Roma/Gypsy students in the classroom without so much as a piece of their identity present. At some point, I approached the student from Iraq at break when I heard her being referred to as "Elena." I asked her if Elena was her name. She replied: "No. But it is what I like to be called." This really disturbed me. When I approached the homeroom teacher and asked her how it is that the girl from Iraq decided to choose the name Elena, the teacher responded like it was a non-issue and said: "that is the name she declared upon arrival to the school, and I did not question it." I asked: "Has she ever spoken about where she is from? Where her parents are from? Where she was born? About her country of origin?" "No..." responded the teacher "...because it did not seem that she wanted to talk about these matters." I then asked her if a space was ever created whereby a student could openly and comfortably feel that she or he could discuss such issues freely, about her or his country, per se, within the classroom and greater school setting? Were they allowed or given the opportunity? "No. Why? Are we not doing well? We do not have a problem." Responded the teacher, who was (apparently) not able to see a problem...*

The following narrative captures a young Albanian student's shame in his language and culture. Language necessarily indicates a person's sense of belonging or exclusion from a given culture and value system.

PA1: *One thing that profoundly shocked me was when I was teaching a young Albanian student in grade one, who had arrived to Greece only two months prior. He did not speak a word of Greek. He did not even understand what: "What's your name?" meant. We worked with the homeroom teacher for 2 to 3 hours in the Reception Class environment. There were about 35 children in the classroom (Reception Classroom). The number is unusually large, but there were two classes brought together for that specific lesson. During the first week of classes, we focused on introductions – this was the suggested style of reception, so we started to play different games, related to getting to know the student and we had invited an older student from grade 5 to help us communicate with the young children who spoke no Greek, since he was quite fluent in both tongues (Greek and Albanian). All students were quite excited to begin the activities, while the young student translator was helping translate what the activity was about. When it was this little boy's turn (who had just arrived from Albania no more than two months prior to) to tell us about himself, he responded in Albanian (hysterically): "I don't speak Albanian!" He began to scream and cry. He had his hands over his*

ears so he did not have to listen to the student translator who was speaking in Albanian. The little boy said to the student translator in Albanian: "Tell the teachers that I do not speak Albanian, and that I am Greek!" At that point I was dumbfounded. We were all dumbfounded – shocked!

The message is clear: change your identity to become one of "us." But there is the other argument that states that your name IS Hassan, NOT Christos because that is what your documents state. There are colleagues who, one way or another, don't seem to want, or to allow, another "identity" and are not handling it adequately. Many times colleagues will say: "Ah, you are an Albanian" in a way that suggests that "Albanian" this uniform, generic entity that is made up of one piece – a stereotype, if you will.

PA2: *Fundamentally, this notion of "acceptance of differences," this notion that this (Greece) is NOT a homogeneous society (anymore) and you need to create room for differences; there are fugue resistances to this...*

6.4.3 Reception Classes and Teacher Training

In response to the question: *How are immigrant students greeted or welcomed in Greek state schools?* Another question emerged concerning reception classes, and when such classes were actually established. The answer with regard to *when* reception classes were established in Greek schools varies significantly amongst participant experiences in this study. Although there is a distinction between "cross-cultural schools" and "regular state schools" or "mainstream schools" vis-à-vis reception classes, "regular" state schools, too, offer(ed) reception classes. Reception, or "support classes" (as they are often called) are mostly *transitional*, i.e., for children with linguistic difficulties; namely, cultural minorities. The Greek educational system in the framework of "cross-cultural education" was more or less established in the early 1980s and has operated ever since with differentiations introduced by ministerial decisions (Mitakidou, Tressou, & Daniilidou, 2009). An added difficulty, note Mitakidou et al., is that there is a distinct tendency, both official and unofficial, that the immigrant students remain in the reception classes the *least* amount of time possible. An overarching explanation for this "quick turnaround" lies in the fact that there remains considerable confusion among teachers as to the level and quality of language proficiency that is required for the students' smooth transition into mainstream classes. The purpose of my inquiry below was to clarify *when* reception classes were established in this particular rural school that had a fairly large immigrant student population.

E3: *The so-called "reception classes" have been established within the last year (2011) – the establishment of reception class has become institutionalized, over the span of this year (2012)… The integration classes help students with learning disabilities, while the reception classes help bilingual students get a head start on the language. This class is generally for immigrant, foreign students.*

E1: *Oh, this is a recent thing, reception classes… just this year (2012); at least in our rural school.*

More evidence of inconsistencies as to *when* programs like *Priority Education Zones* (ΖΕΠ – *Ζώνες Εκπαιδευτικής Προτεραιότητας*) have commenced are revealed. In addition, the reception classes, according the participants' narratives, began very late in the school year (February, 2012) in this particular locale – no reception classes were running prior to 2012 even though participants' confirmed that the number of immigrant students attending their schools was quite large and on the rise. There is an air of uncertainty that engulfs the conversations regarding the actual launching efforts of reception classes. While immigrant students have been a part of Greek society ever since the early 1990s, only recently (2011), have these "reception classes" become available to immigrant students in *some* rural schools. One of the school administrators in this study confirms that reception classes in her school commenced late in the 2012 school year due to lack of policy design and planning, while all participants expressed uncertainty about whether or not such classes will continue. Essentially, reception classes were established so that immigrant students could focus on learning the Greek language, so they could quickly assimilate and transition to mainstream (all-Greek speaking) classrooms.

E3: *Our reception classes began in December because of lack of policy design and planning, so everything was basically "last moment"… These are programs created through ΕΣΠΑ or NSRF (The National Strategic Reference Framework, or NSRF program basically establishes the broad priorities for Structural Funds Programs in Greece). NSRF are programs funded by the European Union. If the EU was not funding, such programs would not exist because the salaries paid to teachers would weigh (financially) on the state (Greek) – additional salaries, that is. So there was an announcement for positions and educators were invited to apply.*

E2: *We are not certain whether reception classes will continue. It depends on NSRF and on the government… because if the government stops any kind of cooperation with the EU, these programs will stop as well…*

E1: *Reception classes were run sporadically and according to need; there is no set plan as to how long they will run, or if they will run next fall (2013). I recall the principal coming into my classroom*

just this year for the first time (2012), and saying that the school will run a reception class. This was in the month of February.

PA1: *Now the reason there is a breakdown, or a discontinuation of reception classes is that there is now, a large percentage of students who are second generation: that is, they are born in Greece. So, in a way, there is/was a movement away from creating new reception classes. In other words, and this was the argument, that since many students are no longer "immigrants" born outside Greece, they have no problems with regard to learning the Greek language. Hence, the "language issue" is now solved, and this seemingly "solves" all the problems... But this is not the main problem. These immigrant students enter a different school system that is monolithic, anachronistic, conservative, and not flexible – this is the educational system in Greece, at least in elementary schools. So the logic is that since we have tackled the language barrier, everything else is "good." This is certainly not the case.*

How "well" reception classes run, is highly dependent on the teacher, or rather, on the teacher's "mood" and/or "discretion," ultimately revealing a policy weakness. According to participant narratives, teachers who are increasingly "made" to teach in reception classes, often do so without proper training or expertise in the area of working with children and youth who are linguistically and culturally diverse, which puts not only the teachers in a difficult spot – trying to work with students without the necessary tools that will help them understand and relate to students (and parents) with diverse backgrounds. Greek teachers do not appear to be adequately prepared to meet the demands brought about by changing demographics. On the other hand, immigrant students face a plethora of problems that stem not only from linguistic differences, but also from cultural and religious differences, which are not taken into account, or directly addressed in the narratives.

PA1: *At this moment, then, there are very few schools (in Athens, at least) that have the largest numbers of immigrant students, and therefore, reception classes. The work usually done in those reception classes is subject and dependant on the instructor's or teacher's "mood" or discretion: that is, to make it more "open" or welcoming, or not... Mainly reception classes work as such: the child is isolated from her/his class, the teacher teaches the language lesson, and the child returns to class. But there are too many schools that do not even have reception classes and everyone does what she/he thinks is best…*

Ultimately, reception classes are underperforming in recent years in Greece, because even though many schools are created or opening, they are not staffed with adequate personnel (educators or teachers who are trained in the field or new reception classes are simply not created... Internal positions for staff were created for such classes... The classrooms (for reception classes) were on the far and isolated part of the school building. The way students are trained or taught in reception classes

was either in small groups or individual (one-on-one) lessons. Students were taken out of their "normal" classes for a number of hours a day and participated in the reception classes.

E1: *I was teaching mathematics and physics one day, and immigrant students the Greek language, i.e., how to communicate with me, the other (day). I did not volunteer to do this, but I did it because I cared about these poor souls who did not know a word of Greek when they entered my classroom…*

The NSRF, or *The National Strategic Reference Framework*, is a requirement of EU Regulations for Structural and Cohesion Funds for 2007- 2013, that are compatible with a National Reform Program that focuses on innovation, viable infrastructure projects, and upgrading human capital (see Invest in Greece Agency website[81]).

E2: *Substitute teachers are not eligible for applying for teaching positions sponsored by NSRF, nor were they placed to meet the needs of the emerging immigrant student population in Greek state schools.*

VM: *So who could apply for the positions?*

E3: *Educators who have interest in this area.*

VM: *Are educators specialized in this area (special education, immigrant or minority education)?*

E3: *No. Anyone can apply, without special education training. The point is that the teacher we had teaching reception classes really wanted to teach these students (but had no specific training). The teacher we hired had the will and was extremely organized, but she finished general studies at the university. I imagine that teachers can now specialize in special education (not certain), but this idea of reception classes is at an "experimental stage." The girl who taught the reception classes at my school (a substitute teacher) was very young, just fresh out of university. She had much fervor, and was very organized. As such, the results we saw were quick and positive…The young teacher responsible for teaching immigrant students in the reception classes was young and not exhausted – merely a child herself. She completely embraced the students… she took a couple of seminars in Athens perhaps for one weekend, and I cannot recall if the travel costs were paid for… it may have been on her own initiative and out of her own pocket.*

E3: *The school counselor is mostly involved with immigrant students.*

In asking participant E3, Myropi, to clarify what the role of the school counselor, or school consultant was, I was better able to understand what other support systems are in place for immigrant students and students with special needs. The answers were rather scattered and, at times, conflicting with regard to what the

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[81] For ESPA programs see: http://www.espa.gr/el/Pages/staticWhatIsESPA.aspx

actual role and level of expertise of the school counselor really was. What was conclusive is that teachers teaching in the reception classes had no special training or teacher education in how to transition immigrant students into mainstream classrooms. In addition, there were limited, if any, resources and materials available to teachers that could facilitate language learning.

VM: *Tell me, did (does) the school counselor come to your school often?*

E3: *She came to the school about three times (last year). Don't forget that here in Greece, school counselors will go to a school a total of five times in a school year, if that… The school counselor is responsible for special needs students – mostly students with behavioral issues and learning disabilities and difficulties. It is important that the school counselor has a book publication, and this aside from having more than one degree… she must have knowledge in level "A" understanding of computer programming. This is important. Of course there are school counselors who have no such training… We do not have a school psychologist, but we can contact an organization (acronym escapes the principal) it is a diagnostic service that diagnoses children with learning disabilities or behavioural issues (stealing, violence, lying). This organization sends sociologists and psychologists...*

VM: *How attentive is this organization? What I mean is, how quickly would a psychologist, for instance, come to the school to help a child in distress?*

E3: *Well, here is the problem. The principal has to make the appointment, but to make the appointment, you need to "know" people in the organization – nepotism and preferential treatment... For instance, I can call and make an appointment for a particular student, and the couselor or psychologist will come in 2 to 3 months, if at all.*

VM: *So if a child is exhibiting violence, or is abused at home where would a teacher or a principal go to for help?*

E3: *The mayor's office... If you are in a big city, you go to the town or city hall.*

VM: *So when a student is in distress, abused, either physically or psychologically, the principal must intervene and...*

E3: *... and the principal informs the school counsellor/consultant and she comes and talks to the child. From then on, she will find a way to speed up the appointment making process because she considers the matter urgent in nature, or not.*

Upon clarification and a fairly long discussion on the job description of the school counselor and school consultant, I was finally able to grapple somewhat with the differences between the two jobs, though ambiguity persisted. The principal (E3) was actually referring to a school consultant, who also has a counselor's job. The actual job description of school consultant is rather unclear, depending on who one talks to. After detailing the qualifications one must have to become a

counselor/consultant, the school principal (E3) admits that there are school counselors with no book publication(s) and no more than one university degree – which are the minimal qualifications one must have in order to become a school counselor. The principal made it seem as though attaining such "position" is a matter *not* of what you know or what your qualifications must be in order to secure such position, but *who* you know and which political party is in power, and if the political party "works" in one's favour, of course. This might be an example of how some job positions in Greece may be facilitated by nepotism or patronage.

By and large, there appears to be a lack of adequate teacher preparedness for the challenges that accompany contemporary educational multiculturalism and social justice issues (Georgiadis & Zisimos, 2012) in Greek state schools. Greek public school teachers are not adequately trained to combat issues on racism, xenophobia, and discrimination and promote social justice in classrooms. Teachers' and students' understanding of what constitutes "critical education" and "critical thinking" in this study, is rather obscure; fuzzy. According to Georgiadis and Zisimos (2012), "most of the teacher training programmes in Greece, even newer ones, have a top-down structure, and are sporadically or inconsistently organised and have neither clear task objectives, nor proper regime. To make matters worse, teacher training programs are what I would characterize as 'weighted down' by the bureaucratic mechanisms of the Ministry of Education, which gives the involved parts no option for cooperation" (Georgiadis and Zisimos 2012, p. 53).

E4: *In my time, which was quite a long time ago, pedagogy meant knowing the history of education, and how education came to be (foundations).*

VM: *Was, or is there any practicum, or praxis, application, teacher training for new teachers or future teachers?*

E4: *Not at all. There was a time when I recall where we went to schools and observed other teachers "at work," but that was at an experimental stages and it took place at a school that was "experimental."*

VM: *So to confirm, in order to become a teacher who teaches in the public school system in Greece, one does not require teacher training.*

E4: *Correct.*

6.4.4 The Untranslatables

"Philotimo" (also spelled: *filotimo*), is a notion that surfaced frequently, in most of my interviews. In fact, "philotimo" is a word I was quite privy to growing up in a Greek household, and is a complex notion specific to Greek culture as well as highly influential when it comes to shaping Greek cultural identity. As a result, it is deeply ingrained in the Greek psyche which makes it "intensely evocative" and, consequently, difficult to translate. Philotimo is most often associated with "co-operation, fairness and altruism" (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1972; Vassiliou & Vassiliou, 1973; as cited in Fontaine, Scherer, & Soriano, 2013). Greeks consider it a tremendous offence to commit an act of "aphilotimia" (Greek *αφιλοτιμία*), because "philotimo" is the expected behavior of any Greek, and is associated with acts of generosity and sacrifice for one's family, community, society, nation, without expecting anything in return. Philotimo is, essentially, a life principle, interpreted as love for honour – a norm of the (Greek) citizen (Katerinakis, 2010). According to popular discourse and encapsulated quite accurately,

> *Filotimo* is inbred, and cannot be taught. It comprises unconditional love and respect toward parents and friends, gratitude for any small kindness, admiration for one's ancestors and heritage, honor, dignity and courage, pride in being Greek transposed into a sense of duty to the country. It also involves a deep personal freedom which makes one stand strong and dignified, demanding respect in any circumstances. All these virtues are part of filotimo, but the concept is more than the sum of its parts, it implies something that Sophocles referred to as a mystery, the essence of being Greek. In the words of Thales of Miletus, "Filotimo to the Greek is like breathing. A Greek is not a Greek without it. He might as well not be alive" (Lexington, 2013, p. 1).

I would like to draw the reader's attention to the subtle, but at the same time, obvious, innuendos to the sense of *philotimia* (verb) that infuses some of the narratives in this section.

VM: *But aside from "love of the educator for the student" or "philotimo," that you speak of, is there training, or teacher education that exposed educators to strategies they can apply in classroom settings that allows for the transition of foreign students, or special needs students in the mainstream classroom?*

E4: *No. There is no teacher training. Not that I am aware of.*

VM: *How about student identity? How does a Greek educator praise or help students retain parts of their own cultural identity?*

E4: *This is a very important question that you ask. I do not think that this is done enough, if at all, in Greek State Schools.*

E1: *Foreign students come into our classroom and we try to do what we can for them, but we do not have the tools to do what is best for them. Most do not even have papers about them. We just open up our classrooms and our hearts and let them in...*

PA1: *I have worked, voluntarily, for some years early on when reception classes or immigrant support classes were established. There were segments, in these "classes" that operated through The Network for Support of Immigrants and Refugees. There are still colleagues who work in the support networks, again, on a voluntary basis. Some of these classes operate in the afternoon, within the space of the public school. Teachers gather parents from different areas and offer tutorials in Greek at school (the municipalities offer such programs, but the municipalities do so through programs and efforts from the European Union, and hire educators who are paid for their services. The attempts of the teachers I mentioned (including myself) are purely volunteer efforts, in providing immigrant parents with this kind of help.*

E4: *What is very important to note is that it should be known that the Greek people are hospitable, and because there is another "Greece" outside Greece (the diaspora) we understand what the notion of hospitality entails. We always treat our foreigners as we have been, and as we wish to be treated by foreigners when we are in their country… It is our national duty, a pedagogical duty, and a duty of friendship…. Children are, most importantly, children, whether they are Greek or Albanian or Russian… a child is a child and the child requires love, wherever that child is located, he or she is a human being... I feel that my colleagues demonstrated adequate support and love toward these children, but this does not mean that there were no exceptions…(he smiles, having knowledge of colleagues who were not as supportive and caring for immigrant students), but all in all, we did not discriminate against students of different cultural backgrounds.*

There was no discrimination in my school. Generally, the Greek educator addresses all children with love. Of course there are challenges with regards to integration and inclusion of these kids… When I was principal in the 80s to about the mid 90s, there were no guidelines no policies of any sort and most certainly no organization. Everything was based on each individual educator's initiative and φιλότιμο (from the goodness of their heart). The number of immigrant students in the school radically increased when I retired (in the mid 90s), in the sense that more families migrated to Greece as opposed to single males, who predominantly entered the country in the early 90s. Therefore, the number of foreign students increased in the mid 90s as a result of family migration. Although I am no longer active in the school system, my view is that the Greek educator does what he or she can in an effort to integrate students into the classroom and school setting. Teachers love their students; Greek educators love their students… a climate of antipathy or aversion was created by the foreigners, and mistakes that they made. We used to leave our homes unlocked, but with the uncontrolled surge of foreigners into the country, this changed, rapidly… it changed Greek morality,

and Greeks began to fear (buckle up), even though our hearts were open… I do not think a person can be an educator without an open heart.

6.4.5 Differentiated Instruction

There does not seem to be a clear understanding of what differentiated instruction entails, in the sense that a teacher observes and understands the differences and similarities among students and use this information to plan instruction based on these needs. The policy actors below describe how difficult it is for teachers in Greek state schools to grapple with the notion of differentiated learning.

PA2: *There is no notion of differentiation. Teachers cannot cope with differentiation in Greece. There is no such concept. They cannot think in terms of a differentiated classroom, therefore, it is not that there is no class, of course there are class structures in the classroom, and many teachers are politicized, and if you tell them that there are no class differences of course they will say "poor underprivileged students," etc., but they have never been trained in viewing the classroom as a differentiated space/classroom. According to Greeks, the classroom is one: a homogeneous classroom. They have never been trained how to teach class with differences...*

Educators/teachers were, essentially, are never hired with new qualifications. The program of studies was never changed and there were always partial measures taken – very bad ones, at that – and in the end, it was all nonsensical for children in state school who happened to have an "other" than Greek identity.

PA1: *There is no provision in how to welcome or "accept" anyone who is "different"; the different language learner, that is, because if we open discussion on the religious (matters of religious faith) issue, things are even worse and much more complicated…*

Teachers feel utterly exasperated when they have to deal with differences in the classroom. And when the differences are religious or ethnic, this becomes amplified because down comes crashing this deeply embedded ideology (religion-state-language). And when attempts for differentiation were made in the form of immersion classes – which many times were either cancelled (like at present - 2012) or just functioned as a homogeneous classroom, regardless, ignoring any differences whatsoever. Therefore, classes became segregated and they were the "bad classes" in the school – stigmatized. Even building wise (in terms of where these classes were located in the school) they were in the isolated, far-end wing of the school. There was never a notion of "immersion." The same thing happens with special needs students. So if a student is blind or deaf or handicapped in any way, that student has absolutely no support systems in place. The hope (when I was in a position of political power) was to change the classroom so that it could welcome everyone... The Greek educational system has never prioritized the concept of an integrated classroom...

There appears to be no notion of differentiated instruction, inclusive education, or integrated schooling in Greek state schools, which makes it very difficult for teachers and policymakers, alike, to plan, acquire resources, and implement instruction that will subsequently aid students who require differentiated instruction.

PA1: *I work in the area of special education, especially in recent years, which is an indicator of how the Greek school system sees anyone who is "special" or who is/has "special needs." Special education is not taught in universities as part of a teacher training program. The worst part is that after some formal policy declarations, say, trying to establish policies regarding special education, the way that these policies are carried out is through integration. That is, the student should adjust to the school environment, and not the school to the student's need (whether immigrant or student with special needs).*

The Greek school system is trying to sustain "homogeneity." That is the perception.

Even our policies, in terms of education, very often seem to be borrowed (rather than tailored to meet the needs of the students in Greece – the Greek students) from the other systems and subsequently applied indiscriminately. Say (for instance), policies applied in schools in England. Greeks will take the policy (from England) and apply it to the Greek context, as is, without considering the implications. In "borrowing" anything, it is important that it be customized within the particular context, and secondly, to fix what is needed requires the foundation, or the infrastructure to implement it. For instance, there is now talk about closing special education schools... there has been a general discussion that schools that cater to students with disabilities and special needs be closed, and that all children are integrated in the general school system (mainstreaming). This had been done in England, during Thatcher, I think ... The reason this happened in the UK, according to popular criticism, was for financial reasons, mostly. But when you see the outcomes of the Thatcher administration and other such examples with dire outcomes, why implement similar projects?

6.4.6 Broken Policy: *The disconnect between policy and practice*

It appears that current educational practices in Greek state schools vis-à-vis reception classes for new immigrant students (also referred to as "support classes") seem to be far from reflecting policy intentions – i.e., those reflected in official policy documents that come directly from the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. Educators and policy actors in this study were rather confused as to *when* reception classes were to be established and *what* exactly teachers were required to do in such classes. A closer look into the implementation of educational policies reveals inconsistencies between policy and practices, most often negating attempts of equity

creation. Perhaps one of the biggest challenges observed in this study is the lack of connection between desired education practices, as espoused in policy –"on paper," if you will – and the actual education practices on the ground. In 1996 (18 years ago), reception classes were included in the cross-cultural education policy, but their role and function were further defined by the ministerial decision Φ/10/20/Γ1/708/7-9-1999 (Mitakidou, et al., 2009). It is important to note that the immigrant students I interviewed in this study were *not* placed in reception classes when they arrived to their new schools in Greece – in fact, some had not even heard of such classes when I brought it to their attention. Alarmingly, the disconnect between the two dichotomies is quite evident in the educator and policy actor narratives, which brings into question the sorts of practices that schools are supposed to engender, but are clearly *not*. Such inconsistencies found between formal models and practices that take place in schools today reveals a gap between national educational policy models and actual practices of reception in Greek state schools.

PA2: *The Ministry (of Education and Religious Affairs) announced in '96 (when changes were brought about), four big programs that were created and funded by the EU and many of these were created because we had been shamed from the EU for measures we were NOT taking... We were shamed about how we treat the Muslim minority in Thrace (and generally, our immigrant population)... These were big initiatives, expensive ones, too, (costing) millions (of Euros), but never really followed through... many of them did not come to fruition…*

E3: *This is very bad in Greece – the inconsistency of laws and policy. There are too many inconsistencies and exceptions made regardless of which political party is in power.*

6.4.7 The ties that bind: *Orthodoxy and the State*

The doctrine of assimilation reinforces the ethnocentric model prevalent in Greek state schools. Ethnocentric educational discourse forms a field of power relations that define certain forms of subjectivity or subject positions students are expected to take up when they enter the Greek state school system. The dominant political subject is the Greek nation, while those who do not conform to the juridical-political criteria of "territory" and "blood," and consequently, language, are in an inferior position with relation to politics and the state (Pechtelidis, 2009). Most importantly, however, is that the Greek state is strongly linked to the Greek

Orthodox Church, particularly in relation to other European countries. Yet, as much as one would like to believe there has been little decline in the religious nature of Greek society (96 percent still claim to be religious – which is much higher than any other EU state) (Barker, 2008), "the linkage between religion and national identity extends beyond the simple measure of religious belief and attendance" (Barker, 2008, p. 114). In other words, *Orthodoxy* is a central factor in recognizing another Greek (interpellation[82]). It is essential to "Greekness." The Orthodox Church is constitutionally tied to the Greek state. In a most recent example, in the process of issuing the new history textbooks in Greek state schools, the authors were criticized for reworking the historical narrative. In fact, the Greek Orthodox Church has now requested (if not demanded) oversight in the textbook content that, at this point, appears to be undermining the characteristics of Greek identity in the name of political correctness and European integration. The Greek Church and nationalist politicians asked for the withdrawal of the book (Broeders, 2008). The textbook has, in fact, been condemned unanimously, by all public sectors, except perhaps for the Socialist Party and Coalition of Radical Left, SYRIZA. SYRIZA was against the book's withdrawal for several reasons; one reason was because the book *downplayed* the role of the Greek Church during the Greek Revolution. Another reason was because the book took a compromising stance on the Cyprus question, and also because it questioned the existence of "Secret Schools" during the Ottoman rule, to name a few (Bilginer, 2013). Consequently, the textbook was removed from the Greek Curriculum, but still remains available in bookstores (Bilginer, 2013). Religious education is mandatory in Greek state schools, while the state subsidizes religious studies at institutions of higher learning. The Greek Orthodox Church *is* a state institution, and while it is seemingly subordinate, it continues to have tremendous power within the construction (and reproduction) of the Greek concept of *nation*.

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[82] I invoke Louis Althusser's ideological State apparatuses and their practices to support that the unity of ideologies be it religious, ethical, legal, political, aesthetic, etc. is assured by their subjection to the ruling ideology. In the case of Greece, the ruling ideology is imbued by the Church/religious apparatus. It has been argued (see Stavrakakis, 2002) that, the Greek Orthodox Church has been acting as an *Ideological State Apparatus*, in the Althusserian sense. I will discuss this relationship more extensively throughout the thesis.

PA1: *Ultimately, immigrant children are considered to be "a problem" and this with regard to the language issue, alone, without examining the other issues at play, because if we touch upon the notion of religious difference, then things are quite tragic…*

With regards to the issue of religion, all books in Greek state schools refer to or are addressed as such to Orthodox Christians, alone. The law entitles any student not of the Greek Orthodox to seek "relief" from religion class. The school is obligated to honor the immigrant child's right to leave the classroom, or be occupied with something else during the time of religion class.

However, there are many families who choose to allow their child to participate in religion class (and I am not sure if it is really their choice or whether they believe that there is no harm done in observing the class), or whether it is that they do not wish that their child to be segregated or excluded from the social group – just another way of exacerbating the differences.

6.4.8 Books and Resources: *Truth, or something like it*

Experiences, images, narratives of immigrant peoples in Greek literature or in school textbooks are largely absent, even though immigrants, today, constitute a large part of Greek society and are significant contributors to the diversity of Greek society. Although policy changes and reforms, such as the proposed reform of law 2413/1996 with a view to expand and complement the scope and means of intercultural education in Greece (Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007) have been proposed, few such reforms have actually materialized. One change that has stirred up considerable controversy, with Maria Repousi[83] as the central figure in what appears to be an ongoing and unrelenting controversy that taps deeply into the heart and soul of what constitutes Greek nationhood, is the debate generated by the publication of a 6th grade history textbook, *Contemporary History for 6th Grades*, that was written by a group of historians, led by historian Maria Repousi. The book emphasised major political divisions in Greek society and highlighted the way leading political parties and other groupings perceived major historical issues pertaining to the common past of the two nations, amongst other things. Of course, the Orthodox Church did not remain passive, claiming that the textbook attempted to belittle the extent of atrocities and brutalities that the Greeks had suffered under the *Turkokratia*

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[83] Maria Repousi was the head of the team that authored the new 6th grade elementary history book that caused outrage and controversy amongst political parties and the Greek public. She is a historian and currently member of Greek parliament from the marginalized Democratic Left (DIMAR).

or Ottoman rule (Bilginer, 2013). Although the controversy was, at first, confined to historians and academicians, Archbishop Christodoulos had managed to galvanize public opinion. As will be revealed shortly, aside from strong the anti-immigrant narrative that pervades Greek society, there is a tremendous resistance to any sort of change that could remotely benefit immigrant or minority people, or in general, people who do *not* exemplify "Greekness," which is directly linked to the nationalist narrative Greeks wish to uphold at any given cost.

PA1: *Of course, there is no reference to other religions in Greek text books (except Greek Orthodox), and curriculum, while awareness regarding other religious entities is virtually non-existent. The material itself hardly allows any space for discussion regarding other religions to emerge and many speak in a very derogatory way about other religions – specifically and especially, when addressing Muslims and the religion of Islam.There are a lot of tensions in Greece in this area. As far as religions like Buddhism, Greeks have a romanticized, almost folkloric notion of this religion: the love animals and birds, etc., which instantly creates a "good religion"/ "bad religion" binary. By and large, however, the identity that the immigrant student brings with him or her from home is never officially acknowledged.*

PA2: *So when I left the Ministry (The Greek political arena), the person who took my place, did not accept a "second language" even though the Ministry itself had officially declared Mother Tongue. It is a written policy. These things happen here (in Greece) all the time (where policies are "made" but never actually delivered). The Ministry of Education requested that educational material be used in conjunction with the material in the classroom for students in secondary education, for the (Muslim minority) students; the Turkophone students… So we made call for educational materials for language, literature, physics, history, geography, etc. There was a call, right? (This is as official as it gets). Clearance came back by the Minister of Education… So the books were printed by the "Organization." Then came to power the "new" government of PASOK and along with the new government came a new special secretary of education and disagreed with having the books distributed… remember, these were books already commissioned by the Ministry of Education; printed by the Ministry of Education, we were in deep need of these books for these students, while at the same time, we were obligated to the Ministry to honor the call for these materials to be distributed to the students and to be used by teachers as a helpful resource along with multiple resources in their classrooms, to be used with Muslim children, Turkophone children so they could be helped in the classroom and at home, while at the same time the teachers could learn what it means to juggle/use multiple materials or resources – because they had never learned to use multiple materials… The new Minister said: "I do not give clearance for the pilot." The resources are (still) in a warehouse, even though the teachers ask/beg for them; need them desperately. The books are stored in a warehouse. It's over.*

There is only one program of study for Greek state schools, where the teacher has absolutely no freedom to escape this. As a result, the books and program of study (πρόγραμμα σπουδών) has become a Bible; a Quran... has turned into something that has ONE Truth; one way in which things are done. The ONE is above all – there is no notion of differentiating to achieve a

comprehensive/ holistic/integrated school a free or liberated teacher who is in charge of his or her own teaching.

Take the history books, for instance: "Truth" is only ONE – there is no sense of criticality or critical thought anywhere in the education system in Greece. These are all prerequisites in order to accept a child in a classroom who is of different color; different religion – a prerequisite, and then the rest will follow.

PA1: *At some point The Ministry (of education) had created some books, a series if you will. Necessary changes have not been made – the books are anachronistic; the material is written many years ago. The names of characters in these books are Eurocentric names, and refer only to European students. This is the same for textbooks in all subject areas. Until recently, and up to a few years ago (we used books in the last twenty, twenty-five years without the slightest change). The resources, therefore, are not helpful in the least. But there have been initiatives in creating material/books, that are actually helpful.*

6.4.9 Perpetual Political Instability

Lack of policy implementation in Greece, is often attributed to political instability. Any efforts to tackle problems in education, agriculture, healthcare, debt, or offer amendments to theories of implementation are most often met with "good intentions," but end up in failure, because of a greater inability to generate long-term political trust. There are numerous explanations about why failure in policy implementation and/or delivery occurs in Greece – be it poor leadership, bad policy design, social resistance and/or internal party politics, Exadaktylos and Zahariadis (2013) identify political mistrust, or the inability of government to track down problems and provide viable solutions, as the greatest problem plaguing Greece today (Exadaktylos & Zahariadis, 2013). In fact, the current debt crisis is, ultimately, the result of failure to implement the law or hold political figures accountable and responsible for Greece's woes. Amongst other variables, it is Greece's corrupt political system (in the forms of bribery, favoritism, nepotism, cronyism, fraud, austerity, embezzlement, to name a few) that necessarily undermines trust. With Greece being "the problem child" of the EU periphery, endemic corruption and dubious early retirements, a weak (or non-existent and oftentimes nepotistic) tax-collection system, and an even weaker political will to enforce collection, no government has even been able to break from such "habits." Rather, the

governments "ran expansionary policies that, given the country's low productivity growth, resulted in increasing debts and widening deficits" (Blyth, 2013, p. 62).

PA2: *There is great instability and weakness in one government following the policy of another government. But the horrible thing is that neither the so-called "socialist governments" are capable of this, because Greece is run by the same governments for years now. Although I must admit that the socialist governments had a concept that was truly progressive with regard to differentiation.*

The truth is that deep change needs to take place – radical change, from either the government as a whole, or from a political figure – a minister, say – who will be determined or motivated to create that change.

6.4.10 Lack of Trust in the "System"

The Greek government suffers from a perpetual lack and deficit of a coherent and systematic approach to rule-making, policy making, law making, and ultimately, abiding by the rules, laws, and policies they *propose* to create. These chronic problems in the "system" reflect poor incentives for teachers, lack of rigorous requirements for "in-service teacher training," and shortcomings in the curricula of key competences, which consequently fail to prepare students for post-school life, especially in vocational and technical education (OECD, 2010). As a result, Greeks' trust in any government that is in power is relatively low (OECD, 2010). This lack of trust can also be linked to the slow pace of structural policies and reforms that are aimed at improving the functioning of the public administration and public services, including public healthcare and schooling. Ongoing lack of transparency, politicization of public services, and weak accountability make policy changes reform attempts more difficult to accept by public opinion (OECD, 2010).

PA2: *Educators, to a great degree, do not trust top down approaches, because we know and have proof, time and time again, historically, that without planning and a goal, nothing substantive can be achieved. For instance, a new minister is elected and he will abolish a certain policy (there is an ulterior motive of sorts). For example, in recent years with the changes made in ways of teaching by introducing the project preparation instruction, to work with the teacher some sections. Educators responded very strongly, not so much for the tool that was introduced, but because it was imposed with suspicion, suddenly, and abruptly. And there is bad faith.*

Greece is a very hierarchical country – the "word" must come from the top. Any policy approaches are always top-down. Of course, in the long run they should be bottom up... but if such processes

(bottom up ones) have no direct relation with the formation of the policy that runs in-between, there is obviously a problem.

What happens in policy is – because Greece is a country of conflict, rather than a country of collaboration; the culture is non-collaborative – that there is no policy in education where a sense of consensus exists among all parties. For instance, the head of education in Finland stayed in power for 20 years; this makes a big difference. In Greece, there is absolutely no stability, nor continuity in policymaking, let alone any consistent movement toward any consistent implementation of policy.

6.4.11 Greeks are not xenoracists

Most Greeks do not see themselves as racists. In fact, the most spontaneous response when asking a Greek person whether she or he is racist or not, is met with a definitive "NO!" Nevertheless, the problem of racism, particularly, xenoracism, is insurmountable, despite the absence of relevant studies on racism in Greece. As Giorgos Tsiakalos (2006) writes, "there are not any reports by governmental services about racist discrimination in everyday life, neither about assaults with racist motives against immigrants and members of minority groups – despite the fact that the media often report incidents" (Tsiakalos, 2006, p. 8). More recently, the rise of the Golden Dawn has most certainly managed to shift debates regarding racism over the last year (2012-2013); to insert itself, or tap into Greek consciousness, aiming directly at the "Achilles heel" of a (what constitutes a European) "nation": ethnic identity, national heritage, and a deeply embedded ideology of cultural homogeneity – and by extension alter, yet again, the policy agenda in Greece on a number of issues which in liberal democratic countries are non-negotiable, such as freedom of speech and human rights. One of the crucial properties of contemporary racism is its blatant denial. Such is the case in one of the participant's narratives that follows.

PA2: *In Greece, the policy issue is a big issue… All of these years we have not managed to have a unified stance on education – no matter who comes into power (politically) every time. On the piece regarding: "How do we want education to look like? A minister comes into power or is elected and makes changes. Another example is the issue of books: the way our books are changing is sudden and abrupt, within one year and there was substantial training for this new material. Immigrants entering our school system actually, make more visible the major absurdities that have already existed in the school system – all those who are visibly different (visible minorities) because non-visible differences are mostly ignored or not seen in the school system). For instance, if you have a class where all students are Greek speaking, let's say, or Christian Orthodox, the educational system considers them all the same. Even different modes of learning or different learning rhythms are*

explained so as to justify who is clever and who is lazy; how much their parents helped prepare them, and how much they did not prepare them – numerous labels. Essentially, the presence of immigrants I think, has revealed the negative aspects of the failing Greek educational system and the system overall.

Herein lies (in Greece) complete paralogism (what completely defies logic). I mean you have children who you want to learn Greek because they are in your country; the Ministry sets priorities. The Ministry… all I was trying to do was make sure that the resources were delivered; accounted for, because they were paid for, it was the Ministry's call and they did not follow through... (if policy is to ever be delivered) it requires a daring government; you need a daring minister, and you need somebody that will deeply believe in that change. And then you need time. But in order to have that time, you need somebody to begin to set new priorities…

Through informal discussions with friends in Greece who have school age children, as well as from the participants in this study, I was able to confirm that it is common for native Greek parents to often choose to enroll their children in schools where there are lower numbers of immigrant student populations. School principals also may often *avoid* registering immigrant students in their schools as to circumvent stigmatization of having "too many" immigrant students – which may deter parents from enrolling their children in schools with higher immigrant student populations.

PA1: *There are schools in which principals admittedly do not want to enroll immigrant students. You might see for instance two schools in the same neighborhood where many immigrant people live; where the one school has most immigrant students (say 20 percent, while the other enrolls only native Greek students and zero percent immigrant students, because the administrators for one reason or other find ample excuses that they are supposedly "not able" to register immigrant students. So, even though there are policies that mainly suggest that the public school system must accept all immigrant students in their schools, like all things in Greece in my opinion, everyone finds a way to escape policy, or use (abuse) policy to suit their own needs… Those who had a better established "networks" had more perks and privileges (nepotism)*

VM: *Does the principal or administrator have the power to refuse immigrant students in their school?*

PA1: *Yes, they do. I feel that unionism/syndicalism has a share of responsibility in all this, because even when such injustices occur and are reported, it is very difficult to search records – they will find a way so that no records are available. Therefore, we are talking about a situation where there is no way of finding out things (no official records), and this is reflective of the mentality…*

6.4.12 Citizenship Confusion and Policy Instability

Despite the legal framework discussed earlier in this chapter with regard to the education of immigrant children in Greece, the promotion of the Greek cultural identity, the advancement of the Greek language, the Orthodox tradition – and *not* the advancement of multiculturalism or intercultural education – remain dominant in Greek schools and in Greek society today (Makri-Botsari, 2008). Law 2413 of 1996 that is believed to regulate issues of Intercultural Education (aim, content, teaching staff, designation and administration of schools), has *not,* yet, been implemented (Dimitrakopoulos, 2004). Therefore, intercultural, or multicultural education of sorts, in Greece, does *not* regard *all* immigrant students. Furthermore, and as revealed in the student narratives, the actual aim of Greek state schools is to develop citizens who internalize national values, venerate national heroes, and accept glorified versions of national histories. These goals are also embedded in the idea(l) notion of "Greek citizenship." The implications with regard to citizenship education are very weak, because nationalism in Greece today still remains strong.

PA2: *In some cases, there are teachers who accept and respect the identity the student brings with her/him. Who acknowledge the linguistic, religious, musical, food, overall cultural difference the students bring with them, but these are personal initiatives from individual teachers and not established policy. Many of these teachers (without curricular focus of any sort) try to promote cultural awareness across subject areas like environmental education, or health education, but mostly, they are not properly applied. For instance, it is not enough for a teacher to say: Ah, how nice, paint us a picture, or sing us a song in Albanian" Children born in Greece who are of Albanian ancestry, often know few details of the countries from which they come. So this does not mean that they know traditional songs ... I mean, asking the student to "tell us something different, tell us a song to tell us about Albania ..." is not effective. Many educators feel that now that we have asked the student to "sing us a song in Albanian" that they have "solved" the problem. "We did what we had to do." It is like school is a non-moveable place and whoever fits, comes in – and then we cut the excess.*

Greeks fear multiculturalism; Merkel fears it; the EU fears it, because they cannot grasp it in relation to national identity; national preservation; homogeneity.

There is no one concept of the meaning of multiculturalism in the Greek mind, because no one can believe in a multicultural society like Canada, for instance. Canada can believe in a society which prioritizes in ethnic or multicultural policy; in citizenship rights… so beyond the notion of human rights – in the French citizen's notion – the notion of multiculturalism has not been actually thought through. Of course you must be aware of the policy in place for second generation children…

There was a policy put in place last year (2010) under the PASOK government that second generation children who have been born in Greece, acquire Greek citizenship/naturalization status. In Greece there is no "citizenship" status, as you know, and this law or policy was passed under Papandreou (Jr.). Well, the first thing that the ND party said in parliament was "as soon as we are back in power, we are going to rescind this policy/law." So, in other words, children who are born in Greece, have gone to school in Greece all their lives cannot attain citizenship, because you cannot become Greek, you are BORN a Greek. These children may have never been to their country of origin, and the "new" government promises to not provide them with naturalization… The issue of immigration is so badly treated.

VM: *How about immigrant regulation – how many immigrants will come into the country?*

PA2: *Actually, immigrants are going to other countries and when they arrest them in those other countries, they bring them back to Greece (or Malta, Italy, Spain – they bring them back to the entry points). And of course, Europe does not want the burden and has loaded everything on Greece, and Greece is always on red (alert) because we behave horribly toward immigrants and we do not provide asylum – there are no facilities and there is hatred, and the darker the skin the more hatred there is. Greece is truly a racist society!*

VM: *But it seems clear to me that policy changes every time a new power/government comes into power*

PA2: *But even if a new policy or law does pass, nothing comes of it anyway… When the going got tough with PASOK and they were casting blame on the party (for the citizenship discussion) it, PASOK defended itself saying that "we did not give out too many citizenships, anyway…" and to "not worry, since the policy did not go through…"*

VM: *Well, I have read through the official documents from the Ministry of Education…*

PA2: *So what? Nothing happens anyway…. Nothing… The documents mean nothing. Nonetheless, I do know both sides of the fence. I have had different kinds of power in the field: hands-on power.*

VM: *My trouble lies in trying to find the connection or the link between policy and practice – they somehow, do not seem to coincide…*

PA2: *That is true (there is a major disconnect).*

Citizenship matters in Greece are very complex, as outline by the policy actor above, while citizenship seems to be beyond the reach of immigrants who wish to permanently reside in Greece (Triandafyllidou & Veikou, 2002). In order to speak meaningfully about the membership or "citizenship" of immigrants living in Greece, we must go beyond discoursed of the nation-state and ethnic nationalism. I engage with such discourses in more detail in the *Theoretical Discussion* chapter.

6.4.13 Inclusion and Diversity

The inclusion process of students with disabilities in Greece faces many practical problems despite the existence of the corresponding regulations and policy. Until recently, there were only a few "special classes" in few mainstream schools throughout the country that were aimed at promoting the inclusion of a broad range of children with "learning disabilities" in mainstream primary schools. Students with learning disabilities had limited access to the "general classroom" (Avramidis & Kalyva 2007). It is important at this point to emphasize that special classes in Greece operate quite differently to most western countries. In the following section it is revealed that Educators who try to create change to accommodate immigrant student and special need students' needs are met with fierce resistance.

PA1: *I have decided that conflict is a part of life. I have accepted this. I want to do well by my conscience. I cannot sleep at night knowing that a child is being emotionally abused or ignored and pretend like I don't see it. We are not with a watch on our wrists on standby waiting for when the bell to ring. We are here for many students in need, and the school must address those who are in need.*

PA2: *Educators are few and they are quite oppressed/broken/pressured to cover the material… and they raise their hands high in surrender. They cannot make it through…*

Diversity, is a very important concept, one that is not very well understood. Like I said before, it is a multiple (kind of) diversity, even in the classroom with one single child, that has different religious and/or cultural orientation – culture I mean in the sense of "ethnic" culture. Even if you don't have one single child (who is different religiously and/or culturally), there is still diversity, you still have different kids who learn in different ways, at a different pace; you still have kids who are different with diverse learning needs, so you need to completely re-examine teaching practices – you need clarity, you need different pace, you need to employ different strategies of teaching; you need to collaborate; you need to empower teachers.

The concept of dialogue is with difficulty understood. There is no dialoguing politically, for instance, between the educator and administration. The Minister wanted teachers to be evaluated. The very word "evaluation" for educators is quite threatening, which is quite natural because the state and the citizen seem to have irreconcilable differences in Greece. As such, the citizen is an enemy of the state and the state is an enemy to the citizen; ergo, why even make mention of "evaluation" when it does not "fit" in the grand scheme of things. Teachers cannot understand why they are being evaluated and on what grounds or criteria?

6.4.14 Teachers as Reactive, not Reflexive

Greek teachers seem to be lacking a degree of reflexivity, as well as criticality, which ultimately ties back to the lack of reflexive inquiry in teacher training programs in Greek universities. Rather than being reflexive, Greek teachers are often reactive, attributing ownership of problems to their students or others, like politicians. They view student and classroom circumstances as beyond their control, seeing themselves as victims of circumstances. They are willing to take things for granted without questioning, without exploring alternatives. They enforce predetermined standards of operation without adapting or restructuring based on students' needs. PA2, basically, captures what the majority of respondents reflected in their responses and, also, what dominates the literature around "teacher reflexivity" in the Greek education system.

PA2: *Greek educators are very un-reflexive, but they do not know the criteria or what it means to be a self-reflexive educator, like they know in Canada…*

6.4.15 **Notions of Criticality**

Although educators are familiar with the notion of "critical thinking," I found that it did not constitute a significant part of teaching in the classroom. While most participants in this study considered critical thinking to be of primary importance to instruction, most teachers and educators could not articulate critical thought. In addition, participant E2 seemed to be unable reconcile the notion of critical thinking with what how she articulated notions of racism. It was a struggle to unpack notions of racism because some participants are encumbered by Greek privilege or supremacy that prevents them from thinking critically about their own race and racism.

VM: *What does Critical Thinking mean to you (as a teacher)?*

E2: *It means I listen. I listen to you and when I respond I sift through my response at a deeper level. I accept positive and negatives. And I respond after thinking deeply, critically.*

E1: *Critical thought does not exist in our schools…*

E3: *Over the last few years there has been a shift toward critical thought. Before we were dispensers of knowledge, rote learning… today, at least with the new books that have come out, there is space to cultivate the notion of critical thought. Now I can't tell you how successful this has been, because it is quite new; it is still early, but time will tell… But in relation to when I went to school, primary school students are learning at a different level – at a more critical level, that's for certain.*

E2: *(Speaking to E3) and you feel that students are better today?*

E3: *Yes. Much better today. I have kept old scribblers of students, as well as a foreign student's work (Albanian) and I can say for certain that students are thinking and writing more critically. Perhaps the spelling has not improved much, but students' ability to think critically has definitely changed.*

E2: *This is another big problem in my view, the fact that students cannot spell properly. I am a philologist and I cannot accept my son not learning how to spell Greek appropriately. If language, too, is lost, what else will be lost?*

Participant E2's agitation in this last quotation with reference to the loss, or deterioration of the Greek language, raises some wider concerns. Modern Greek, as other European languages seem to be undergoing linguistic simplification or linguistic reduction. Many Greeks fear that recent linguistic changes, and the emergence of neologisms – that more or less delineate new worldviews – in Greek and its dialects, like simplification, creolisation, pidginisation (Tamis, 1990) may eventually lead to the death of the Greek language. As I briefly mentioned early on in this chapter, religion is closely linked with ethnicity, but also with ethnic language and often acts as a carrier of ethnicity (Philippaki-Warburton, Nicolaidis, & Sifianou, 1995; Tamis, 1990). Throughout our interview, participant E2 expressed fears that the Greek language is becoming too diluted, as numerous neologisms or xenologisms come into play. Peter Mackridge (2009) confirms, that there is, in fact, a wide perception that the Greek language is, indeed, in crisis as many Greeks feel that their language is becoming "an endangered species" (p. 330). On the other hand, there is the assertion that one does not need to have studied Ancient Greek in order to "handle" Modern Greek – but try convincing a philologist, like participant E2 was another issue altogether. In addition, and most important to this study is the large number of immigrants to Greece, estimated to be around the 10 percent mark of the population, poses a new issue: the use of the Greek language is ceasing to be the most exclusive preserve of people who originate from geographically or ethnically

Greek family backgrounds – ethnic Greeks. Greece's identity is changing shape, and is no longer one of the ethnically, culturally, and linguistically most homogeneous nation-states, as was its reputation.

6.4.16 So, are Greeks racists or not? *Denying Racism is the "New Racism"*

Throughout this study, rarely has immigration been discussed in a positive light – as being, for instance essential to Greece's economic, demographic, social and cultural development. This section reveals a denial of Greek racism; in other words, it suggests Greeks are not racists. However, this new "movement" of denying racism can be just as perilous as blatant racism. The participants in this dialogue caution that denying "our (Greek) past, our history, can only doom us to repeat it." As such, it is critical that the reader understand the historical trajectories that inform and drive this dialogue. In this dialogue segment, I have decided to keep the longer version of quotations, rather than breaking up the passages of text by inserting my own insights. My insights and interpretations will be discussed further in the chapter that follows.

VM: *Are Greeks racists? What does racism mean to Greeks?*

E2: *We are not racists! We have reached a point in Greece when we speak of nation (ethnos), when we speak of national (ethnic) identity, when we speak of tradition, we speak in fear because they (the EU and greater community) will peg us as being racists. We would (have) never accept so many foreigners (in Greece) if we were racists. The issue is that along the way, a negative image was created against foreigners, and in my opinion, not unjustifiably so.*

Immigrants enter the country with no respect for us (the host), and blame us, and threaten us by saying that: "We came to take it all away from you."

When you have foreign students in your class, or in your school, and they create tremendous violence, and behave very violently (physically), you fear. We Greeks are afraid to send our kids to school, and I personally, am afraid to send my son to school because there are five foreign kids who say that: "We came here to fuck you!" And they have gangs and ghettos!

It is unacceptable that my child is walking distance from the music conservatory, and he is afraid to walk with his guitar because the foreigner is lurking under the bridge, waiting to snatch his guitar – they have threatened my son. We are not racists! Because I fear walking in the classroom and talking about Greece... because if I talk about the Asia Minor disaster (1922), and what really happened, the foreigners (αλλοδαπά) will say Mrs. "so-and-so" is "distorting" history! Because the history books were changed and have been re-scripted by Ms. Maria Repousi...

VM: *For what purpose (have the books been re-scripted) in your opinion?*

E2: *Because she believes (this is Mrs. Repousi's opinion), that we do great evil to "them" (to the Turks)... we "slaughtered" them – is what is being said – during the Asia Minor Disaster... that the grade 12 history book – that I teach – dedicates a paragraph to the Disaster – 15 lines to be exact – eliminating 4 pages that talked about the Asia Minor Disaster (AMD)... They simply state in the book that "There were many disasters... one of them was in Asia Minor." (At this point, the participant is clearly upset at this). The do not speak of how many Greeks were slaughtered nor do they mention how many Greeks drowned, nor do they mention how many houses that belonged to Greek were burned... they mention nothing! Because if we dare mention these "incidents," we are immediately considered to be nationalists and racists. If I walk into the classroom and actually say exactly what happened during the AMD, I will never be allowed to teach History again because I would be considered a nationalist and that is wrong!*

At this very moment in the Ministry of Education there is word going around that Greeks do not have "origin"/ "ancestry"/ "lineage" with the ancient Greeks (no connection or relation to); that we emerged, or showed up in the 19th century! They are trying to dilute our national identity, or rather to eliminate it in the name of modernization or progressivism. We are dissolving Greece and it is unacceptable!

Greeks are NOT racists! If Greeks were racists, there would be no foreigner in Greece. The Greek people accepted the foreigners; gave them food and hospitality, in their own homes. We let them hold our flag... can you imagine allowing an immigrant – an illegal – hold your national flag, say in the USA?

E3: *In Greece, whether one is Greek or not, they are allowed to hold the flag (important to discuss here the significance of the flag for Greeks and their Greek identity) – and so that they do not call us (Greek teachers) racists, we end up giving foreign students "20" in literature, when they are not even don't so much as know the Greek language – it is not their mother tongue – and they have only arrived, say, three years ago and they get "20s" which is absurd (100 percent), and we give our Greek students "19s" (95 percent). So the "other" takes the flag… We are not racists, that is what is rumoured, because if we were racists, "they" would not exist here at this moment, because in every house there is a foreigner (inside/ living there).*

VM: *But Greece has been repeatedly reprimanded by the EU regarding human rights violations; treating immigrants and refugees disrespectfully with regards to race/ color/ ethnicity.*

E2: *Yes, because it is to everyone's advantage to imagine that Greeks are racists, because the foreigner is in a position or in a place (Greece - locations) that everyone wishes could be in… let us not forget the "dreams" of creating a "Great Albania" or the "Great Bulgaria" and of course… the "Great Turkey," no? There are maps in the EU, that some politicians in Greece consider and accept as being accurate; maps that bring the border of Bulgaria all the way down to Thessaloniki, and the Albanian border all the way down to Ioannina. We speak of Macedonia and they mean Skopje as being Macedonia and we (Greeks) do not speak! There were maps, a long time ago, before Skopje was "officially" named "Macedonia" that actually referred to Skopje as Macedonia and nobody took it seriously…*

No one has our history… when we were building Parthenons, others were behaving like bears. This does not make me a racist, nor does it make me a nationalist, I simply KNOW history, and because I come from a place with a wounded and painful history, a place that has been hurt – my family is from Asia Minor who were refugees – I find what is happening in the name of "modernization" and "progressivism" completely unacceptable. We even see ourselves (Greeks see themselves) as racists. No, we are not racists. I am not a racist. I am not a racist because I am afraid to take my child to school.They (the government) have given many rights to immigrants. It is not racism to feel annoyed at this moment with the fact that the Muslims in western Thrace are referred to as "Turkophones…" while the Ministry over the last few years has issued a law which states that the percentage of Muslim children in Thrace will enter the university? Meanwhile Greek students literally struggle to pass the entrance exams, to pass with a 13 (/20); Greek students, Christian students, to put it more correctly, while the Muslim passes with a 4/20… the Muslim!

I want to tell you (Vicki) and I want to emphasize it again, that in the name of progressivism and modernization we have become racists against our own people; against the Greeks.

It was Ms. D. (former politician, Special Secretary, and policy-maker) who said that, as a nation, Greece was created in the 19th century (historically)… Ms. D. feels that we should thank the Ottomans for "helping" us; for transmitting to us to us culture and a sense of "civilization." What more can I say? And we made her "Special Secretary…"
Is it racist or not, that Ms. Diamantopoulou (education minister) went to Xanthi and made mandatory (even if only at an experimental stage), learning the Turkish language in secondary schools, as a second language! Is that racist, or not? Did she even bother to ask me if I want my children to know Turkish, let alone learn to speak Turkish? My nephew was essentially forced to leave the school he was attending in Xanthi and went to another school because his parents could simply not accept this. Is this considered to be racist or not? What about choice? Options? In high school, my son can choose the language he wishes to learn, German, Italian etc. In this case there was not choice. I fail to see the logic.

We are members of the EU. We belong to the EU, but this does not mean we leave our Greekness, our Greek identity behind. We are one nation and we have a history. The EU was not created to demolish or destroy the national identity of nations. Ethnoi hold on to their national/cultural characteristics and we continue united, one gives to the other. This does not happen here… this is why our children do not know certain things (about Greek history). It is unacceptable that our school history books say History of Modern Greece and in high school, our children do not actually learning Modern Greek history! We learn about Crack (cocaine) in the USA, we learn about the industrial revolution, we learn about a ton of useless things and then, there is a small section that talks about 1940, another section that refers to the Junta and about dictatorship… but because this material is near the end of the book and it is near the end of the school year, we seldom have a chance to complete it; to discuss it…

VM: *Tell me about national celebrations. How has celebrating, or not, such events in Greek history changed in character?*

E2: *They are not really celebrated anymore. If you ask most of the students in junior high and high school what happened on March 25th, they will most likely not know. There are no lessons devoted to such important moments. There are tremendous changes made in the materials; in the books. There are also many distortions and alterations in historical material. For instance with the Imia*

(the two uninhabited Greek islets in the Aegean between Turkey and Greece that caused a military crisis and dispute over the sovereignty between Greece and Turkey), is referred to in the history book as the Greeks or Greece trying to "claim" the islets. The Greeks were not trying to "claim" them. We are not trying to claim them; the Imia are Greek; they are ours! But the book, nonetheless, states that the Greeks attempted to "claim" them…

VM: *Tell me about who writes Greek textbooks for Greek schools. Last time I recall that there was one publisher (for many years), who had the monopoly on supplying the schools with textbooks.*

E2: *That publishing house no longer has the monopoly. Today, we have the Pedagogical Institute, and also, there are private publishing houses that supply the schools with books.*

VM: *So, who determines what knowledge and information makes it in these textbooks?*

E2: *There are writing teams, not related to the publishing houses.*

VM: *And who manages these teams? Are these teams created by the education ministry?*

E2: *This I do not know. All I know is that we get the books.*

E3: *Some changes to books usually occur during a shift or change in government.*

VM: *So what you are saying is that the change in textbooks is reflective of the political party's ideology?*

E3: *Yes. But I think this is good because it sustains the balance…*

VM: *What changes can you expect from the new government (Samaras) in education?*

E2: *For me, there needs to be a national target.*

VM: *Could you please clarify?*

E2: *Let me say this from the start: In order for a nation/country to support itself or to sustain itself, it must have: 1. National identity, 2. Culture, and 3. Language – these elements are very important, and I am not saying this because I am a philologist, but this is how I think it should be. We must focus on language (the Greek language). Children need to learn how to speak proper Greek, and they have to know their history; they need to learn morals and customs, traditions. For a nation to exist, it requires continuity. And continuity requires knowledge of traditions. If we continue like this, in a few years our children will not know how great and important it is to be a Greek, because it is a big deal to be Greek. They will never learn about Democracy and how it emerged from Greece, they will think that we must bow our heads in servility (ragiadismos).*

And the most important thing is, that if "our" children/students (meaning Greek students) learn their (Greek) history, foreign students will also learn Greek history and the glory of this country and they will take care in living in such incredible country/place. And when the foreigners who come into our country learn our history, they will know that they did not come here to devour us; they will also learn that they did not come here to sustain their own cultural identity and nationalist trends. They

will come to Greece knowing that they must learn from Greece… Alas, this is not what is happening in Greece, and this is why were are considered to be racists, and when they come into our country like that, we can't help but have negative attitudes toward them (foreigners).

One of the fundamental elements of our culture is hospitality ~ φιλοξενία (philoxenia). So, what are we suppose to do? Be hospitable. However, when hospitality was breached, even in Ancient Greek times, it constituted hubris.

So, does this make the Ancient Greeks "racists?" The Ancient Greeks gave everything to the foreigner; to the other (there were of course, limits), but the other always took advantage of that hospitality. The Neo-Greeks (Neoellines – current day Greeks; Modern Greeks) are not racists. We opened up our homes, they came in, we gave them everything! I (as a Greek) have to pay to go to the hospital. The foreigner shows his or her card (immigration card) and he or she gets free healthcare. Why am I not entitled to free healthcare as a Greek citizen? Isn't THAT racist? In my OWN country to feel like a foreigner? So why should I be considered racist because I say what I say about foreigners, because I am claiming my rights? Rights I have lost? Isn't feeling a sense a of safety a human right? Why should I be afraid to be at home alone at nights? I fear being robbed, and that is the best case scenario… what about if they harm my children? Or even worse, kill me? I am not a racist. I am a person who will defend by life and belongings. I am not a racist, I simply wish to claim my rights as a Greek citizen!

E3: *I believe that there are many Greeks who mistreat immigrants. To be honest with you, at times, I fear the Greeks more rather than the immigrants! However, I truly don't like that they barged into my country in the hundreds of thousands, millions… and instead of being integrated into OUR Greek culture, it seems we might be integrated into THEIR culture…*

Of course there are people who do not care about immigrant well-being, like some doctors, for instance who may say: "Ah, whatever, he is a foreigner," and will not really engage with their immigrant patients. These are extreme cases of course. But teachers who carry with them a sensitivity of sorts, do not react in such hostile or inhospitable ways, especially if a child is from a good* (immigrant) family – because there are good immigrant families (she says this with conviction); families who are grateful for what you are doing for their child in school. In fact, a Greek may never be grateful in such ways…

VM: *What is the biggest problem you run into, as an educator in the school or in the classroom – aside from the language barrier?*

E3: *Violence. Physical violence, and major behaviour problems. There is a lot of physical violence in our schools, which is obviously a form of defence. Immigrant students feel that by beating the Greek student up become superior. And because there are no severe (school or district) laws or penalties forbidding or deterring students from engaging in such forms of physical violence, so as an administrator, you have no leverage to take action… sending the child to a neighbouring school does not solve the problem, nor does suspending the child. But even if you do suspend the child, or worse, expel the child he or she has already left behind successors to continue the "work."… At least, that is the way I see it as a principal.*

E2: *This kind of violence, that originates from foreigners begins in primary school, in a milder form, of course and then escalates. In primary school there are no penalties for such behaviour. The law*

does not intervene at this stage, and consequently, it escalates in middle and high school, and gets out of control. I think it is important that it is addressed immediately in primary school (like no tolerance initiatives). It should be nipped in the bud. In the root.

E3: *Children, what ever their racial background, should learn to coexist peacefully and in harmony.*

VM: *In harmony and in line with Greek ideals and definitions. By Greek rules?*

E2: *Yes. They need to accommodate to our ways, and not for us to go out of our way, or destroy our ways altogether, to accommodate the foreigner's ways. A balance needs to be found and sustained.*

E2: *Foreigners gushed into the country, uncontrollably, which is always a mistake. Nothing good could have come out of that, and now it is too late… it was a government decision to allow all those immigrants into the country without actually thinking about the consequences.*

VM: *But should there not be some preparation before such huge decisions are made? (opening the borders for all and any immigrant to come into the country). How about papers, immigration papers? Citizenship?*

E2 and E3: *There is no such thing. Citizenship does not exist even today.*

E1: *Listen to the Greek National Anthem. Therein lie your answers regarding citizenship and nation.*

The Greek National Anthem is an integral part of Greek identity. Singing and listening to the national anthem and the emotions the anthem generates is what distinguishes Greeks from non-Greeks because it serves as a reminder of their history which Greeks feel that under no circumstances should be forgotten. This is quite evident in the participant in the participants' narratives in this section. The anthem was written by highly praised Greek poet Dionysios Solomos in May 1823. What started as a poem was harmonized in 1828 by Nikolaos Mantzaros, and the "Hymn to Liberty" or "Hymn to Freedom" (*Ýmnos is tin Eleftherían*). Officially, the poem became Greece's national anthem in 1864. I have provided, below, a poetic rendition by Rudyard Kipling (Rudyard Kipling [1865–1936]. Verse: 1885–1918. 1922).

Hymn to Freedom

We knew thee of old,
Oh divinely restored,
By the light of thine eyes
And the light of thy Sword.

From the graves of our slain
Shall thy valour prevail
As we greet thee again --
Hail, Liberty! Hail!

Long time didst thou dwell
Mid the peoples that mourn,
Awaiting some voice
That should bid thee return.

Ah, slow broke that day
And no man dared call,
For the shadow of tyranny
Lay over all:

And we saw thee sad-eyed,
The tears on thy cheeks
While thy raiment was dyed
In the blood of the Greeks.

Yet, behold now thy sons
With impetuous breath
Go forth to the fight
Seeking Freedom or Death.

From the graves of our slain
Shall thy valour prevail
As we greet thee again --
Hail, Liberty! Hail

The Greek national anthem is widely heard. From an early age, Greek children are taught about the significance of the words, and in some schools, it is sung every morning, immediately after Morning Prayer.

VM: *How about the immigrant students who enter your schools, do they have papers?*

E3: *There are no papers. Even though we ask for papers, they have nothing to show. In fact, and in accordance to the "new law" you have to accept the child into your school with or without papers; even though they are illegal immigrants. But having immigration papers is the least of our worries today. The worst is that they come to our country without immunization records, and without the slightest understanding of hygiene… while the Greek students are required to be immunized before entering the school system. Now doctors fear tuberculosis outbreaks…*

E2: *There is a return of the older diseases. There is no control or care (health). For the first time this year we had nurses sent to our school – on their OWN initiative from the health center to*

actually check all students' immunization records and to administer the right vaccinations to all students who were not immunized or who were missing an immunization.

E3: *No, we have not had nurses at our school for immunizations. There are tremendous inconsistencies in this country. It is a matter of how persistent one is (as a principal, school or district).*

VM: *What do you mean how persistent one is? Isn't providing immunization to all students a fundamental requirement?*

E3: *No. They just give us a paper and tell us everything is all right (like a check).*

E2: *Immigrants threaten to make our classrooms a living hell. They threaten and they deliver! We, as educators, try very hard to show foreign students that "this is how we do it in Greece," and this is how you should do it… but it's scary to send your child to school and not know how he or she will come back home: beaten, mugged, psychologically abused or threatened…*

Here (in Greece) there are problems of great magnitude. There have been laws and policies created that deliberately discriminate against Greek students! Immigrant students are passing from grade to grade with marks they do not deserve. They enter Greek universities without merit, and without actually having written the entrance exams. And when they do (which is another example of inconsistency), they pass with marks way below the standard passing grades. Therefore, there is discrimination against Greek students.

E3: *There are various different scenarios on gaining entrance into Greek universities and they are rather inconsistent and blurry. There are many exceptions… and not all students get a "free pass" into university.*

E2: *In my experience, I had a student who could barely speak Greek and got into the university, just like that!*

Even in the Greek armed forces you must write entrance exams (Panellinies or Pan Hellenic exams). In fact, last year, there was a law that said any foreigner who wishes can apply to the Greek Armed Forces… as long as they had citizenship. And foreigners did gain entrance to the armed forces and teachers and educators questioned this. How is it possible for a Turk, say, to be in the Greek Armed Forces – to fight… Turkey?! It makes no sense.

It is important to mention that in February of 2013, a total of 85 New Democracy MPs signed and tabled a motion to *amend* existing legislation, which allows all Greek citizens, including naturalized immigrants to enroll in military academies. The MPs fear naturalized citizens could be a threat to national security. They argue, that the amendment they are proposing is necessary due to "the peculiarities of the issues concerning our national security compared to other European countries [and] the acute problem of illegal immigration that our country is

facing, in combination with the law concerning citizenship" (EnetEnglish Feruary, 27, Tsilivakis, 2013, para. 4). The proposed amendment stirred a fury of mixed reactions from politicians and high-ranking officials in the armed forces. In support, the chief of the Hellenic National Defense General Staff, General Michalis Kostarakos, tweeted in Greek that "The time has come to regulate the issue of the race of students enrolling in military schools. They should be required to be of Greek race" (EnetEnglish, Feruary, 27, para. 4).

VM: *So, as I see it, policy and law is changed quite frequently, and easily?*

E2: *Yes, in Greece everything is possible and paralogical… (illogical or escapes logic).*

There is no immigrant policy or politics in Greece… there must be a uniform, or consistent education; a kind of education that is ethnocentric or geared toward preserving our Greek identity. But we must also assimilate the foreign students (my question: without allowing them to preserve their own national characteristics. In other words in Rome, do as the Romans do…). I think that we should definitely respect the national identity of the foreigners, but they must respect and assimilate into our society, since it was their choice to come here.

To me, a teacher in the most remote of villages is more of a creator of knowledge than someone who sits in his or her chair and professes equalities of sorts, because the teacher is a fighter, a combatant – much more so than the academic or academician… To me, paideia or education should has as its target the nation – this is what the Ancient Greeks believed in. Because if this is not the case, then what sort of paideia are we talking about? What sort of history are we talking about? The foundation of paideia IS history. If paideia is anti-nationalist, then, there is no history, and with no history a nation cannot exist – and therefore there are no roots. It is like building this beautiful house without foundations. Well, with the first tremor, it falls; it is destroyed. A tree can have wonderful crops, and can appear to be beautiful, but if the roots begin to rot, either from overwatering or too much drought, it will die… Therefore, a nation requires proper/strong roots and as such requires knowledge of history; if there is no history, Babel… and this is why they cannot accept Greece and all other nations are trying to fight us; destroy us… I am not a nationalist, nor a racist, but I respect a nation's discoveries… and if America discovered potatoes, for instance, I respect that and I feel that it is very important because if the potato was not discovered, I would not be able to eat the potato. Everyone has something that they have discovered or cultivated, and if we forget what Greece has contributed to the entire universe, then, we stand to lose everything…

The native Greek perspective, or host accounts and reactions to the immigration situation in Greece, as revealed in the above narratives, are very crucial, because the host views shape both immigrant peoples' identities as well as *how* they are perceived by the dominant culture through the practical realities they face on a daily basis. While this research focuses on the immigrant experience, I cannot

overlook the challenges experienced and expressed by host individuals with relation to immigrantion. Taking into account *their* perspectives, as harsh as they may be, as well as the interactions and the social relationships between them and immigrant peoples can help us investigate further the root of the tensions and violence that exist between immigrants and natives. As revealed in the above quotations, there is a deeply ingrained fear of foreigners because they are considered to be violent and "take away," rather than contribute to the host society. The views expressed, herein, were more negative than positive and focused mainly on the threats and disadvantages that immigrants bring to Greece, like violence, or violating the country's norms and values and "taking more" than they are entitled to. These perceptions of threats are linked to negative emotions such as anger and moral disgust that contribute to anti-immigrant prejudices.

6.5 Conclusion

This section was a challenging one to amass, particularly when it came to selecting the excerpts from the transcripts aimed at supporting my theoretical assertions. It was important to interweave the quotations, as well as to include my own musings, clarifications, and initial interpretations to the findings presented in this chapter. The goal was to allow for thematic categories to emerge from the participants' stories, which will, in turn, strengthen the analysis and interpretation components in the following chapter. Throughout this chapter, I selected quotations that could provide the necessary links for the formation of both thematic and exegetical coherence that was complemented and enhanced by my own interpretive activity. Locating the thematic structures was essential, both in terms of keeping the information organized, and in helping to create a segway for analysis and interpretation. Some of the verbatim quotations selected revealed terms and concepts that kept resurfacing in the interviews. Other quotations revealed power of emotion, confusions or hesitations, complemented by my own requests for elucidation. In addition, I deemed it important to emphasize the power of the quotations by including larger quotation segments, rather than summarizing or paraphrasing.

To recap, this section included the perspectives and voices of teachers, educators, and policy actors that precipitated a dialogue between me and the

participants. I began by requesting clarification, but also gaining a stronger sense of the significance of "mother tongue" for immigrant subjectivities. What appeared to be "the law" – that immigrant or minority students in Greece have the right to receive education in their mother tongue – was actually subverted. As was obvious in the narratives and supported in the literature, minority students are *not* given adequate opportunities to receive instruction in their mother tongue.

Several themes that emerged from the narratives were that immigrant students seemed to desire assimilation or acculturation into the dominant culture. In many cases, immigrant children had "Grecified" their names to better assimilate into Greek culture. In fact, immigrant peoples' identity negotiations are marked by massive practices of name-changing and disavowing their religious affiliation. The question of when exactly, over the last twenty years, were reception classes actually established in Greek state schools, varies significantly amongst participant experiences in this study. In Greece, the linkage between religion and national identity extends beyond the simple measure of religious belief and attendance. Indeed, the Orthodox Church is constitutionally tied to the Greek state, and while it may appear to be subordinate to the state, it continues to have tremendous power within the Greek concept of nation.

By and large, there appears to be lack of adequate teacher preparedness for the challenges that accompany contemporary educational multiculturalism and social justice issues in Greek state schools. Greek public school teachers are, clearly, *not* adequately trained to combat issues on racism, xenophobia, and discrimination and to successfully promote social justice in their classrooms. And while teachers and students, more or less, say that they understand the principles of "critical education" and "critical thinking," in this study, I sensed that their explanations of what critical thinking entails, were rather obscure and fuzzy.

Immigrant peoples' experiences, images, narratives are largely absent in the literature and in textbooks even though immigrants, today, constitute a large part of Greek society and are significant contributors to the diversity of Greek society. Although policy changes and reforms with a vision to expand and complement the scope and means of intercultural education in Greece have been proposed, few, if any such reforms have actually materialized.

"Philotimo" is a notion that resurfaced in most of the interviews with Greek participants as well as with immigrant participants, and is the *expected* behavior of any Greek, associated with acts of generosity and sacrifice for one's family, community, society, nation, without expecting anything in return. Greek educators in the Greek public school system take matters into their own hands, and volunteer their own time, in an attempt to help immigrant students, since there are few structures in place for them in Greek public schools.

There appears to be no notion of differentiated instruction, inclusive education, or integrated schooling in Greek state schools, which makes it very difficult for teachers and policymakers, alike, to plan, acquire resources, and implement instruction that will subsequently aid students who require differentiated instruction. Lack of policy implementation in Greece, is often attributed to political instability. Any efforts to tackle problems in education, agriculture, healthcare, debt, or offer amendments to theories of implementation are most often met with "good intentions," but end up in failure, because of a greater inability to generate long-term political trust.

Most Greeks do not see themselves as racists, yet the problem of racism, particularly, xenoracism, seems insurmountable. As revealed in the narratives, there is a greater absence of relevant studies on racism in Greece, in addition to a lack of teacher education on multicultural or intercultural education and citizenship education. The notion of "Citizenship" is a grey area and will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters that follow. Finally, the idea of Greek language deterioration has raised concerns. Modern Greek, as other European languages, seems to be undergoing linguistic simplification or linguistic reduction, which has serious implication on ethnic homogeneity. Greece's identity is changing shape, and is no longer one of the ethnically, culturally, and linguistically most homogeneous nation-states.

In this chapter, I have presented the findings of the study, through a representation of excerpts from the transcripts of the narrative account, alongside my own musings, interpretations, and commentary, in an effort to outline some of the overarching themes that emerged in the study, which sets the tone for the analysis and interpretation process in the next chapter. The following chapter

investigates the deeper meaning of the empirical findings that emerged from this chapter, such as recurring themes in the interviews. The results of the analysis will be guided by the themes and supplemented by literature that aims to corroborate and complement the results.

Chapter 7

Analyzing and Interpreting the Findings

7.1 Introduction

     The *Findings Chapter* intended to capture and present immigrant students' experiences in their school and social settings, and to ensure that their voices were brought to the forefront, mainly through the careful selection of verbatim quotations, paraphrased commentary, observations, and of course, my own reflections that brought forth the narratives and the participants' voices where they could be *heard* and subsequently taken into account. This study is, ultimately, grounded in the voices of immigrant subjectivities and those who interact with them, and can attest, or *protest*, to the realities described herein. The participants' contributions have been essential in allowing me to make better sense of the conditions of immigrant students' marginalization; conditions that are endemic and in many ways, inherent, not only in the society in which they live, but also, in the rigid and monolithic educational institutions they attend. The participants' voices have contributed tremendously to responding to the research questions in this study, and have furthermore, shed light on new emerging themes, insights, and understandings of social exclusion that may lead to future research prospects and advancements. Indeed, some themes that have emerged in this study have opened up avenues, and created further insights in rethinking some of the fragile foundations of human research.

     While the *Findings Chapter* introduces and interweaves some of the key themes, with variations and extensions interspersed throughout the participants' narratives, this chapter elaborates on and substantiates the overarching themes that emerged as recurring topics drawn from the participants' experiential responses. As a critical hermeneutic researcher, I invariably draw on the relevant scholarship as I begin to make sense of the participants' narratives and the themes that transpired in the *Findings Chapter*. This chapter, as such, is a conglomeration of the themes that will be analysed, interpreted, and deliberated in a systematic and transparent way. The chapter encompasses three analytically distinct, yet interconnected parts that include

the relationships that exist between public schools, state, and (civil) society and will facilitate in the exploration of the dynamic interplay of the three. In other words, I explore the intersections between schools, state, and society and the points of convergence; how the three invariably shape immigrant identities as well as immigrant subjectivities, and how they subsequently interact, intersect, and influence policy in Greece. I use the term "intersection" to underscore the compounded forms and institutions including politics, culture, faith, education, that lead to marginalization and exclusion. Such analysis allows me to move beyond the dichotomous boundaries of binary thought, and unpack the social, economic, political, and cultural complexities that continuously, and consistently, thwart the pace and nature of policy development in Greece.

Specifically, this chapter comprises the analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the findings that have resulted from this study. The analysis entails the breaking down of the themes into constituent parts that aim to answer the research questions in the study. The interpretation component allows for a reduction of the findings to an intelligible and interpretable form, so that conclusions can be drawn. At this very critical stage of interpretation, I would like to reiterate once more, that I have been, and continue to be, acutely aware of my own subjectivity as an invariable component in the process of sense-making and interpretation that inform this study. Kögler asserts that, "crucial to the context of a critical hermeneutics of subjectivity, is that the symbolic emergence of the reflexive self takes place against the background of power-influenced structures of meaning" (Kögler, n.d. p. 31). In this light, I engage in the interpretation of the texts through my own historically and culturally situated lens. Finally, included in the analysis and interpretation, are my own insights that lend to the significance of the findings in light of what is already known about the research problem under investigation. At this stage, I undertake an explanation and description of the findings, with the new insights that have emerged, and that will eventually bring me back to the research questions posed in the beginning of the study, as well as, to the review of the literature.

In what follows, I discuss how schools, state, and society, in synergy, contribute to the maintenance or *breakdown* and function or *dysfunction* of Greek society as a whole, and the factors that stand in the way of policy making and

subsequent policy delivery. Some of the main issues identified in the study include policy implementation problems and barriers, corruption, lack of continuity in government policies, inadequate human and material resources, the Greek Orthodox Church, political instability, all which have led to a large policy implementation *gap*, i.e., the widening of the distance between stated policy goals and the realization of such planned goals. Although there are policies on paper that are constructed, revised, and seemingly updated regularly, there are significant – deeply embedded in Greek identity and Greek collective consciousness – barriers that stand in the way of effective policy implementation, as it is clear that desired and projected results are, systematically, *not* being achieved. As such, implementation barriers remain vast to improving education and schooling in Greece.

Before delving into the intricacies of meaning-making, it is important to elucidate, that in choosing the particular excerpts that represent the participants' voices in the data findings, I find myself complicit in constructing the participants' subject positions, insofar that *I* am the one (researcher) who is, essentially, representing them and their narratives. I am duly reminded of what Sandra Harding calls "strong objectivity" and how the perspectives of the marginalized can help create a more *objective* account of the world (Harding, 2003; 2004 a; 2004b). Harding argues that our positions as teachers, authors, researchers *are* dominant positions – whether in the classroom, in our publications, or dissertations, our voices carry with them a great deal of power. Although, Harding argues, that it is perhaps unfortunate that the world we live in is, in fact, hierarchically organized, and power positions do exist, it *is* possible for people in dominant groups to *use* their voices as a resource; to ask the kind of questions that will bring forward the voices of the marginalized, so that they can be heard. In supporting Harding's stance, or *standpoint*, I concur that it is not enough to simply "record the participants' voices" by becoming "transcription machines" (Harding, 2003) – this is *not* how it should be. Rather, we must substantiate, supplement, and complement these voices with theoretical and conceptual input. I feel that the expertise and resources I bring to this research, both at an empirical and conceptual level, allow me to translate, interpret, and articulate the relations in an institutional language that has a better chance of being heard by

public policy makers, which may create the necessary impact that may bring forth desired change.

While the aim of this research has been to *privilege* the marginalized voices by bringing these voices via the participants' narrated experiences to the forefront, I must acknowledge that it is the amalgamation of the participants' perspectives, as well as my own standpoints that have made this "marriage" possible. The participants' voices have provided me with insight into the participants' lives; into their lived experiences, shedding light on the oppressive structures that pervade immigrant peoples' daily existence. However, I wish to emphasize that the voices should *not* be viewed as representative of any one group, "authentic," or as reflections of a person's "true" identity or reality (Chadderton, 2011; Jackson, 2003, p. 704).

My intention is *not* to reinforce existing stereotypes by suggesting homogeneity or essential links between perceived identity and experience; rather, I wish to acknowledge the plurality of voices that are dynamic, contradictory and forever *incomplete* (Flores, 2000). I, therefore, embrace the notion of *multivocality* (or *polyphony*, see Bakthin, 1981) to explore the multiplicity of contradictory narrative voices located not only within *myself*, as a researcher, as a child of repatriates, as a student, as a teacher, and so forth, but also, through the contradictory narrative voices and themes discerned from the participants' responses, and the interaction thereof, amongst participant and researcher. These interactions are subsequently analyzed to distill an inclusive set of statements and nuances that capture the meaning of the participants' experiences. For Bakhtin (1981), each cultural voice exists in dialogue with other voices; it opens up for multiple interpretations to emerge from different perspectives. As a researcher, "to shed light on these narrative voices means to provoke a deeper understanding of the often silent tensions that lie underneath observable behaviors in the narrative" (Mizzi, 2010, p. 2). The strength of multivocality, claim Golden-Biddle and Locke (2007), is that the crafted field stories or narratives, bring with them the richness and complexity of real-life interactions and events which may, perhaps, hold the capacity and strength to influence policies and practices. The drawback of multivocality, however, is not being able to "hold on" to the entire narrative, but rather, for practical purposes,

having to use selected quotations from the interviews to illuminate the participants' voices and insights which may, moreover, take away from the richness of the narratives. Thus, I approach multivocality, embodied in the participants' narratives, as an opportunity to create a cohesive voice that carries with it an ethical and social responsibility of the researcher as interpreter, in the co-construction and co-creation of knowledge.

The analysis that follows goes beyond counting words or attempting to extract objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes, and patterns that may be manifest or latent in the narratives of a particular text (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Rather, I delve deeper into the multi-layered, nuanced narratives, as I try to make sense of the social reality within which marginalized youth exist in a subjective and sensitive manner, in an effort to generate new theoretical angles, insights, and prospects. I therefore present my analysis of the data by which I examine patterns and common themes that emerged from the findings in the previous chapter, and discuss how these patterns relate to the broader research questions. Included in this chapter are my analyses of 1) common themes in the participants' narratives that suggest re-emerging patterns; 2) deviations from these patterns and discussion on the factors that might explain atypical responses; 3) interesting and compelling stories that emerged from participant responses and how these stories helped illuminate the study questions, and finally, 4) gaps in the research. I thus begin with a short personal narrative that serves as a launching point for further interrogation of the themes that emerged from the participants' narratives with relation to how immigrant students made sense of their learning situations in Greek state schools.

7.2 *That* was then, and *that* is now

The Greek state school classroom seemed to me a desolate, uninviting, dark, and cold place – in part, because the heat registers never actually worked, as there never seemed to be enough money available to purchase heating fuel. But aside from that, the school, itself, personified the archetypal disciplinary institution Foucault illustrates in *Discipline and Punish*, where oppressive power often lurks behind a mask of short lived hospitality and goodwill; *philoxenia* and *philotimo*. Colorless, frayed paint chipping off the walls, making way for the unsightly mildew to set up winter

residence; the ubiquitous musty (and I imagine *unhealthy*) odour, complemented by the noxious scent of raw sewage coming from the adjoining washrooms, ever-permeating the enclosed foyer space, where first impressions are made. But one adapts to such unpleasantries, in time. I guess this is what is actually meant by saying that basic human needs are organized into a hierarchy of *relative* prepotency.

The classroom mirrored the barren schoolyard that was paved in layers of rugged, broken, unfixed – it seemed for years – concrete and rubble. Nearly lifeless, it eagerly anticipated the loud, eardrum-piercing "siren" that summoned a return of life – laughter; noise – of children back into the schoolyard during the short recess breaks. The one thing that stands out in every Greek classroom, against the bare, colorless, and mundane backdrop, is the Byzantine-inspired icon of Jesus Christ Pantocrator, whose face invariably evokes both contrition and compassion, and that necessarily graces every classroom's north wall. The teacher's desk and chair is raised on a platform to confirm, in a sense, that the teacher is *second* in command, in a classroom, school, and world, where *God* oversees, and overrules all acts.

My junior high school mathematics teacher often stood by the door, after the siren (bell) had gone, taking one last drag before exhaling his cigarette smoke directly on to my face, wittingly, as I attempted to make my way into the classroom, squeezing through him and the rusty door frame, and trying so hard to avoid the slightest physical contact with him. He often had this sardonic smirk of antipathy on his face when he looked at me. I don't know whether it was because I was a "difficult" child or student, or whether it was because I was a *girl* – a female in a clearly male-centered world; whether I was "American" or sported this "American look[84]" that was clearly the butt of many jokes over time, yet coveted by many, at the same time; whether I was ugly or pretty, or whether my "broken" and "faulty" Greek was irritating him. Perhaps it was the way I chewed my gum that precipitated an antagonism of sorts. I always thought it was the way I dressed – too colorful for his colorless existence. I don't know. Perhaps he knew of my Gypsy bloodline, and

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[84] I was the first person, ever, to wear cowboy boots in the area; I was also the first to take a backpack to school and actually wear it on my back. I was made relentless fun of like: "Hey, where's your saddle?" Or, "Are you climbing Everest with that backpack?" Relentless ridicule, indeed!

feared that I could "take his soul[85]." I often wondered, since then, what *pedagogy* actually meant in this person's mind. Be that as it was, in retrospect, there was nothing I could have done, at the time, to make it better. I could have been a moron; I could have been a genius, but that didn't matter a smidge, because he found great satisfaction in failing me in mathematics, and sending me outside the classroom every time I raised a question; simple as that. I was thirteen years old.

Today, I understand my teacher's negative disposition toward me. I also understand why the Orthodox priest, who taught religion class at the public school I attended, failed to convince me, let alone *instill* in me through the subjection of Christian Orthodox doctrine to "believe, and to not question." He much preferred that I *not* be present in his class; rather, he sent me away, outside the classroom for no apparent (to me) reason, or so it seemed (at the time) – other than being, as he claimed, "disrespectful," because I was chewing gum – thinking that "the problem" (which was *me* and everything I stood for) would, eventually, "go away." I understand, now, that I was a disruption, indeed, an *intrusion* into the patriarchal, despotic authority that shaped their teacher identities to the core. I intruded on the very authority that was bestowed upon them by the deep structures of collective memory embedded in the Greek Orthodox faith, the very moment I resisted to abide by the rules set forth by the Church. Ultimately, I personified *that* which went against this order because I always questioned, wondered, provoked, and never accepted what was simply relayed to me at face-value. I embodied the *unorthodox* whenever I asked questions; I asked, as they saw it, the *wrong* questions; those that could simply *not* be answered because they went against the grain of the Christian Orthodox dogma that was at the time: *πίστευε και μη ερεύνα* or "believe, and do not question." I was laughed at when I stood up to my botany teacher, and the entire class, firmly insisting that a tomato is, *scientifically*, a fruit. I *interrupted* patriarchy and "Greek culture" in my school and social environment in profound ways, and struggled to escape the unrelenting structural violence that was imposed upon me and my female counterparts, many of which could not see *it* for what it was because they were deeply immersed *within* it. I, on the other hand, remained on the *outside* of it, looking

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[85] People have all sorts of superstitions toward Gypsies taking their souls, but Gypsies are, in turn superstitious. I learned such things from my paternal grandmother, who was a Roma Gypsy.

in, sometimes feeling *invisible*, and sometimes, stuck in a state of *inbetweeness*. Many years later, my participants' voices echo similar experiences reverberated throughout my own schooling and social interactions in the Greek public school system.

Today, I have become aware of how the Greek state reproduces and perpetuates, both directly and indirectly, through policy and legislation, through resistance, or by blockading new emerging *truths* like those revealed in the new grade 6 history textbooks, whose publication never came to fruition – a truly remarkable example of fierce and unyielding resistance to change, or, entertaining the *other* side of *truth*, or at the very least, another *shade* of truth. Publication of this grade 6 book was, eventually, stopped – after relentless conflict – because the book did not emphasize, or uphold national "Greek values," nor glorify national Greek heroes *enough*. But, ultimately, the book was not published because it downplayed the ever-powerful and ever-present role of the Greek Orthodox Church in Greek history. Indeed, as columnist and news writer Emre Metin Bilginer (2013) reports in his article "Recent Debates on Greek History Textbooks: The Case of the Contemporary History Textbook for 6th Grades by Maria Repousi," that the Greek Orthodox Church was the leading and strongest opposition party against the publication of this book, along with political parties like KKE and Golden Dawn, who astonishingly "put up a united front" (Bilginer, 2013, p. 8). Imagine that... a far leftist/communist party (KKE) uniting with a far right, fascist party (Golden Dawn). This clearly demonstrates the power of Greek nationalism, at its very core, where otherwise opposing parties, come together, in unity, in the name of the *Nation*.

My old classroom looked the same twenty five years later, when I walked by my old school and peaked through the dusty windows, in the summer of 2012. The Pantocrator was still hanging up on the north wall, "watching." The old classroom had not changed much except, perhaps, for the curtains. There were curtains up, or blinds, of sorts. When I went to school there, back in the day, the lower half of the window panes were painted white, to deter the students from looking outside and not paying attention to the palpable indoctrination taking place within the classroom walls.

7.3 Keeping my *Distanc(iation)*

In hearing the immigrant student participants recount their learning and social experiences in Greek state schools, I felt that, on some level, I knew what it was they spoke of. Although I would never consider myself to be an overly emotional person, in any way, listening to the immigrant students' stories on the digital tape recorder made me feel quite emotional. There was one particular incident during the interview process with an immigrant student, when I had to actually *stop* the tape recorder, a few times just so both the participant and I could take a deep breath or two in order to continue. Gadamer and Habermas' analysis entered my consciousness many times, as well as their objections to the idea that a researcher, or scientist, can ever be an impartial observer in the research process, or remain unaffected by the hermeneutic situation. How could I *not* be affected by the hermeneutic situation? I saw pieces of my *Self* in the student participants; I heard aspects of my life being narrated, yet, twenty two years had elapsed. Although I had been fully aware, since the beginning of this research endeavor, of the restrictions regarding objectivity of interpretation inherent in this kind of research, I was also aware that my research would necessitate *critical* supplementation, and critical scholarship necessarily requires *distanciation*. Ricoeur writes that distantiation is *not* by any means an alienating (in this case, from the participants) distanciation, but a necessary *detour* toward the appropriation of the new worlds (Ricoeur, 1991). In other words, while I was aware that I could not remain completely impartial to the participants' narratives, I quickly adopted a methodological attitude of distancing myself from them, and conducted my interviews with this mantra in mind. The student participants' stories struck a chord. Indeed, many chords, creating both dissonance and consonance, and at the same time, awakening within me an overpowering yearning for resolution; for *harmony*. The participants alerted me to things worth fighting for and in the end, thanked me, time and time again. And I found a sense of reassurance in their words that I was, perhaps, doing *something* right: "What you are doing is important," they said. "Someone has to hear; someone has to listen... something has got to *change*..."

7.4 The Invisible Immigrant

The first student participant I interviewed, Oksana,[86] met with me for the first time, at a quiet neighbourhood café in Kato Patisia[87]. We, naturally, sat under the shade of an olive tree, and waited for the server to take our order. In the interim, and after going through all the paperwork and signatures required to undertake such study, I finally handed her the pre-interview activity sheet, which essentially asks the student participant to choose a drawing or diagrammatic activity from a list (see Appendix A), and bring the activity completed for the next meeting that was to follow a week later. We thereafter chatted, informally, and "off the record" about several things, both pertinent to the study, as well as unrelated, general things about the weather. I then asked her to meet with me in one week to discuss the pre-interview activity, and partake in an interview.

Oksana met me the following week, same time; same place, holding a paper in her hand. We sat down and ordered coffee. She pulled out her cigarette pack and offered me a *Prince Regular* (heavy duty tobacco, not meant for a casual, wimpy smoker like myself). I politely declined owning up to my "wimpiness" and pulled out my own, "Extra Lights" pack, of *Stuyvesant Blue*.[88] After what seemed to be a very long first drag, Oksana handed me the piece of paper she was holding in her hand earlier. At first glance, I thought that she was joking. I made sure that I looked at both sides of the paper, *twice*. It was blank; a blank, relatively good quality calligraphy paper, not written on.

Not a single word.

Nothing.

In a polite, yet clearly perplexed way, I stated:

"There is nothing on this paper..."

Oksana responded:

> *Exactly. I chose the activity that said to create an activity or drawing that you are most comfortable with that will allow you to express you schooling and/ or social experiences in Greece. And this is my response... My schooling and my social experiences since I arrived to*

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[86] All the participants in this study have pseudonyms, i.e., the names used herein, are *not* the participants' actual names. I selected participants' names using a random baby name generator from the internet. In addition, I used names that reflect the participants' cultural backgrounds.

[87] Although this is an actual neighbourhood in central Athens, it is a fictional location of our meeting.

[88] I have since, quit smoking.

Greece have been, for the most part, best described as... void. I felt invisible; it was like I was not there... in the classroom... I didn't know what anyone was saying; people avoided eye contact with me; it was like they didn't know what to do, so they acted like I did not exist... I was invisible. Blank, like this paper.

Two of the three immigrant students interviewed in this study expressed having feelings of "invisibility," or being *overlooked* in their respective classroom and school environments. However, Oksana's "blank paper metaphor" spoke volumes about this particular young female immigrant student's schooling experience, and evoked strong emotions that added another layer of complexity to our interaction. Oksana's description about her "feelings of invisibility" sparked my interest to delve deeper into the research and "discourses of social invisibility." I discovered that the while groups of people referred to as "invisible immigrants" or "invisible minorities" are showing up in the current literature, whereby people, also including immigrants, are rendered invisible by their professions, their class positions, their race, their legal status, and in Oksana's case, their school and learning environments, the discourse vis-à-vis immigrant invisibility focuses closer on older immigrants who immigrate to countries (mainly the United States) later in life. Other examples of invisible minorities in the literature include people with mental illness, different learning abilities, sexual, and religious orientation. Invisible minorities are essentially people who are stigmatized for a characteristic or quality that is *not* apparent or obvious (Shallenberger, 1991) and, ultimately, not visually recognizable. Unmasking this stigma can cause a lot of anxiety for invisible minorities, as they are constantly trying to manage their appearance to others (Shallenberger, 1991). Gypsies, for example, represent the largest transnational genetic and socio-cultural isolate of Europe and is considered to be the largest "invisible minority" (Peeters et al., 2013). Prison inmates, particularly women, are at risk of becoming an invisible population (Fleishman, 2013). Finally, unless they disclose their identity, lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, and/or transexual (LGBQT) students are also considered an "invisible minority" (Lopez & Chism, 1993). It is important to increase our awareness about invisible minorities and, perhaps, create a broader definition that encompasses young immigrant students, who are *not* "visible minorities."

The research on immigrants suggests that ethnic elderly groups, or older immigrants, are among the most isolated people in America, with an alarming seventy percent of older immigrants who speak little or no English (Leigh Brown, 2009, New York Times). With most immigrants not being able to drive or communicate due to language and cultural barriers, they manifest feelings of isolation. Studies suggest that depression and psychological problems are widespread amongst this group of immigrants as a result of language barriers, a lack of social connections, and of course, different values that sometimes conflict with the dominant culture, including those of their assimilated children (Leigh Brown, 2009 New York Times). With regards to younger, school age immigrant pupils, Chávez and Guido-DiBrito (1999) suggest that as a result of their racial and ethnic identities, learners bring to the learning environment vastly different experiences of treatment by teachers and peers. Members of many minority and international groups bring an experience of consciously having to negotiate and even "survive educational treatment of invisibility or negative ultravisibility, lowered expectations, stereotyping, hostility, and even abuse" (Cháve & Guido-DiBrito, 1999, p. 45). As such, "invisibility" is becoming an important concept for theorizing identity, not only in gender minority or in disability studies, but in expanding the boundaries to immigrant peoples' sense of invisibility in their host countries, and future *homes*.

To better grasp the "invisible minority" or the "invisible immigrant," I employed insights from disability studies about invisible disabilities in order to analyze and better understand the schooling experiences of the participants in my study, since all three immigrant student interviewed in this study could be considered "invisible immigrants," in other words, the participants could *not* be considered "visible minorities," yet they all revealed to have experienced intolerance and some form of discrimination throughout their schooling. Ethnic background in all three cases, (Oksana's, Dardan's, and Areti's) worked of course, in tandem with other aspects of identity to shape the experiences of immigrant students in Greek state schools. I feel that closer examination of immigrant students' experiences can be most useful when gender identity, race, sexuality, disability, and class are taken into account. In other words, an intersectional approach may provide a more holistic picture of the participants' experiences in their social and schooling environments.

Oksana's schooling and social experiences were necessarily shaped by a confluence of factors rather that one factor in isolation – being a female, being an ethnic minority, and struggling to make ends meet, economically, were most certainly chief factors that contributed to her difficult transition and subsequent life outcomes.

As Greece struggles with issues of migration, diversity and minority rights, I could see how *less* visible minorities could somehow blend into the background, and consequently, be ignored. Perhaps invisible minorities and national origin, regardless of color, get the least attention in research, followed by "accent" (Divers, 2013). In Oksana's case, her quiet and shy disposition, including her physical characteristics and *accent*, made her experience the sense of isolation she spoke of, with relation to her classmates and teachers. In a sense, most immigrants who entered Greece were *not* visible minorities, but "white" ethnic minorities like Albanians, Bulgarians, Russians, Ukrainians – eastern Europeans, western Slavs, peoples who are, more or less, "white," or a shade of white. In the UK, for instance, Polish people integrate well in British society, but are, in fact, considered to be the second largest ethnic minority group, and consequently, an "invisible minority" in the UK. Invisible minority communities, such as Jews, Irish Catholics and Poles have "disappeared from statistical sight," and as a result, are rarely, if ever, referred to in discussions of ethnic plurality (Stavo-Debauge, 2004). In general, invisible minorities are not generally discussed in multicultural textbooks or thought of as a distinct cultural group, yet they exhibit major cultural differences when compared to the "norm," or the dominant paradigm. Nevertheless, they continue to be marginalized, even in a time when acceptance of ethnic minorities and ideals of a pluralistic society are "the norm." Some may perhaps insist that groups like invisible minorities share *similar* experiences of marginalization and oppression that have been endured by visible racial and ethnic minorities such as the African, Aboriginal, Mexican Americans and other visible minority groups (Sizemore, 2005). Such comparative approaches most certainly warrant further investigation.

Oksana could be seen as an "invisible" immigrant to the ethnic perception of Greeks because of her phenotypic features. Oksana's accent when I met her was slightly detectable, revealing her Russian roots, as did her phenotypic features – facial characteristics: her bright blue eyes and naturally blond colored hair and pale skin.

Throughout the interview, Oksana tried very hard, and it was quite obvious to me, to conceal the slight "exoticness" (*exoticness* in comparison to Greek phenotypic characteristics; from the "insider's" perspective, per se) her accent betrayed, and was very proud of how quickly she had learned to speak Greek. She blushed and laughed nervously when she made a linguistic error during our interview, and apologized profusely when she thought her Greek was not "up to par" in comparison to *my* Greek. Oksana arrived to Greece with her mother at the very tender and sensitive age of thirteen. She struggled tremendously to "fit in" and felt very lost and bewildered during her school years. She later revealed that her first few years in Greece were a blur and that they were "best left where they were: in the *past*."

Many immigrants fear the stigma that accompanies their foreign accent, and often try to eliminate or reduce their accents, even when their accents do not impair comprehensibility (Nguyen, 1993). In fact, accent can become both manner and means for exclusion and marginalization. When people reject an accent, they also reject the identity of the person speaking: his or her race, ethnic heritage, national origin, regional affiliation, or economic class (Lippi-Green, 1994). And although a foreign accent has often been sexualized and exoticized in movies and the media, as indicated in the Comito Study[89] (2010), Leather (1983) claims that an accent is a "powerful symbol of ethnicity" (p. 199) and can become a serious social detriment, raising the potential for discrimination and negative evaluation in society (Derwing & Munro, 2005; Munro & Derwing, 1995). Foreign accents can furthermore, cause social, educational, occupational, and professional problems because of the reduction in intelligibility and comprehensibility in communication (Maeda, 2010), and powerful characteristic of social alienation, one which necessitates further investigation (Lippi-Green, 1994).

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[89] The Comito Study is an experiment whereby subjects are placed in a relaxing and mood enhanced room, where natives spoke simple phrases in their English. Subjects were also made to hear regional accent, and their reactions were monitored by electrodes which were attached to them. The results apparently showed that women get stimulated by Italian, Spanish, Greece and French accents. Conducted in May 2010, Comito study is now expanding its research to Europe (Lake, 2011), see http://weeklyworldnews.com/headlines/19246/british-accent-no-longer-sexy-study-finds/ Weekly World News).

In trying to get a stronger sense of what constitutes an "invisible immigrant," I stumbled upon the works of artist Ramiro Gomez and his work "interruptions" (as he calls them) – art pieces that represent life-size, two-dimensional, cardboard and acrylic painted cut-outs of immigrants or Latino laboring characters like fruit-pickers and farm workers that are placed in what might be considered "influential areas" or landmarks like the East Front of the Capitol, or against a rail outside the Rayburn Building, with the intent of making the invisible, *visible*. Gomez's also disperses his cardboard cut-outs in rich neighborhoods, in front of celebrity homes, and outside fancy stores in Beverly Hills to create awareness and to remind people, by making *visible* the immigrants and laborers, who contribute to making their lives more comfortable (Montgomery, February 13, The Washington Post. The placement of Gomez's art is unauthorized, and is consequently taken down within a day or so. Nevertheless, Gomez memorializes each work's brief existence with photos and has managed to give invisible people, even if only through a cardboard prompt, a chance to be *seen*.

Spanish artist Oscar Parasiego's series *Diaspora*, also makes quite a remarkable "statement," if you will. Parasiego illustrates the transformation of cultural identity in his "photography as truth," inspired from his own move from Spain to the UK. Each portrait is altered to be a silhouetted reflection of the environment (kitchen, living room, garden) that symbolizes a cut-out of the person present, but unknown or invisible when thrust into the alien world of a different country. This artist's work makes much better sense when looking at it, rather than *reading* a description. For many immigrants seeking opportunities away from home, what begins as a practice of assimilation and cultural ease quickly becomes an evolution of personal identity, whereby "the former self transfigures anew, a stranger to both their past and present, uncertain how to hold on while moving forward in the foreign landscape before them" (Garrett, 2014, para 1). The desire to be visible makes immigrant people in Greece in a hurry to learn the Greek language and to settle as quickly as possible in their community and environment. They also try not to look differently, so they dress in like ways as the Greeks do. They do not wish to be invisible. They want to "fit in"; they want to be like the Greeks; they want, at the very least to be acknowledged.

7.5 Country of Origin

Immigrant students often feel invisible, or overlooked, in Greek state schools. As noted in the previous section, some immigrant students reported feeling that their teachers and peers viewed them in unfavorable ways for no apparent reason other than the fact that they were immigrants from an "unfavourable" or "less desirable" country of origin. One participant remarked: "I am an Albanian, and this is why I am treated badly. Albanians have a bad reputation; we have disrespected the Greeks and took advantage of their hospitality. If I were from Germany, I would be treated better, because Germans are more respectful people." National patterns of preference regarding specific immigrant groups that presents MEP rankings of immigrant groups from "least desirable" to "most desirable," ranked immigrants from North Africa, Africa, and Asia among the top three *least* desirable groups (Lahav, 2004). For Greeks and Germans, specifically, the least desirable groups were Turkish migrants and East Europeans, respectively (Lahav, 2004). East European influxes were deemed "most threatening" to countries such as Germany, Belgium, and Denmark, countries that were, more recently, "affected by asylum seekers from the east" (Lahav, 2004, p. 116).

The national context of destination countries affects not only the perceptions of natives and immigrants, but also influences immigrants' likelihood to perceive in-group discrimination (Andre, 2010). Several studies confirm that differences in countries of origin result in differential integration (Fleischmann & Dronkers, 2007; Levels & Dronkers, 2008; Levels, Dronkers, & Kraaykamp, 2008; Van Tubergen, 2004), while quantitative research confirms that "country of origin is a statistically significant predictor of citizenship acquisition for nine of ten immigrants" (Bueker, 2005, p. 103). It is also important to note, that country of origin matters as much for *how* it interacts with other key characteristics, such as education and income, as for the independent influence it exerts on these two political processes (Bueker, 2005). For instance, participants in this study stated that immigrants from certain countries of origin, such as Russia, Ukraine, or the Czech Republic are more warmly received and encounter greater help navigating through bureaucratic channels *more* than immigrants from other countries, like Albania or Pakistan, who face more discrimination. These insights and understandings are drawn, of course, from a small

sample, each participant representing her or his own worldview and, as such, are not generalizable. Nevertheless, the findings are corroborated and supported by existing research and theoretical perspectives.

There is a growing body of literature that shows that country of origin influences the role religion plays in the immigrant's life in her or his new host country (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001a; 2002b). In the case of Greece, note Roudometof and Makrides (2010), over 56 per cent of the immigrant population of Greece comes from Albania, whose population is predominantly Muslim, which would seemingly suggest that Albanians would be in favour of constructing mosques that would provide for their religious needs. However, this is not the case. On the contrary, Albanians are the most likely group to convert to Orthodox Christianity, and this is evident in the participants' narratives. All Albanian participants in this study had converted to Orthodox Christianity. As mentioned in the *Findings* chapter, Albanians have made tremendous efforts to cover up, or downright, obliterate their Albanian origin and/or identity, and try to "pass" for Orthodox Christians or Greek-Albanians. In addition, and in the case of many "less-desirable" immigrants in Greece, identity abandonment, which is quite common, can also be seen as a process of dissimulation of a stigmatized peoples, evident in practices like name changing and change in religious affiliation (Kokkali, 2011). Such practices, asserts Kokkali, 2011),

> Offer an exemplary indication of how the Albanians' otherness has been silenced so as to fit in the Greek society. They have changed their names in order to pass for co-ethnics from the Greek minority in Albania and for the same reason they have also christened their children or even themselves, erasing thus every cultural difference that could hinder inclusion. This 'invisible' difference is the key to the Albanian immigrants' supposed integration (p. 169).

Immigrant students experience different forms of racism and discrimination, both overt and covert, in their school and social environments. The students' narratives in this study clearly reveal the salience of subtle, but mainly, overt discrimination and xenoracism toward particular types of immigrants, depending on their country of origin.

7.6 Age of Immigration

The participant narratives in this study corroborate literature claims that suggest that while immigrant students are a highly vulnerable group of students, to begin with, they become *more* vulnerable when they arrive to the host country at an *older* age (lower secondary school age) (OECD, 2012). Older students are burdened not only by having to acquire knowledge of the host language and "catch up" with the higher levels of attainment achieved by their peers in host country schools, they must do all this while coping with all the problems of adjusting to a new educational, cultural, and social environment (OECD 2012). A child's age during migration necessarily affects social integration (Åslund, Böhlmark, & Nordström, 2009), and can be seen as a determinant on schooling outcomes. Students who migrated with their families at a younger age experienced fewer difficulties in school and integration. A review of the literature relating to the adaptation of immigrant children in countries like Australia, Canada, and the United States could, perhaps, lend valuable insights into understanding the importance and implications related to a student's age of arrival to their host country.

Age of immigration is a very important factor and relates, directly, to how well students adjust to their new schooling environments, and this is particularly important for *first* generation immigrants. Margaret Gibson (1997) asserts that "first generation immigrants' school performance is directly influenced by such factors as age on arrival, length of residence, the nature of previous schooling, and the support received in the host country (p. 436)." In addition, age, at the time of immigration becomes the *most* important factor in determining future economic outcomes of immigrants. There is, in other words, a correlation between age of immigration and future economic outcomes, i.e., children who immigrate at a younger age, are more likely to have better future economic prospects (Baum & Flores, 2011; Rumbaut, 2004). Most studies that focus specifically on school age students' age of immigration to their respective host countries, have been conducted in Australia, Canada, and the United States and countries that are considered to be, traditionally, immigrant *receiving* countries. Therefore, cultural context ought to be considered, carefully, in any pedagogical analysis undertaken, as to not universalize complex and diverse cultural communities into a single category, which may subsequently lead to inaccurate

conclusions. However, in the case concerning immigrant students' age of immigration, drawing insights form the Canadian and American contexts might shed light on immigrant students' struggles in Greek state schools by allowing us to get a better sense of how immigrant students adapt and adjust in their new schooling environments. In addition, the Greek schooling system can learn valuable lessons and derive important insights from educational systems that *favour* migration, like Australia and Canada, who have shown marked improvement in the welfare of both their first and second generation immigrants (Guven & Islam, 2013).

It is well documented in the literature that age of arrival to a host country is *critical* for immigrant students' integration and plays a key role in students' adjustment and adaptation processes. Empirical evidence identifies several factors that influence school performance and academic achievement of immigrant children, yet the *most* important factor that influences their school performance is their age upon arrival to their host country. Other factors include length of residence in the particular host country, grade level entry, family background in the country of origin, parent's educational and economic status, educational and occupational aspirations of parents for their children, language spoken in the home, school context in the host country, sanctions supporting school success, the student's individual effort and persistence, respect for teachers, and trust in the school system (see Bankston & Zhou, 1997; Corack, 2011; Fuligni, 1997; Garcia-Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Gibson, 1988, 1991, 1995, 1997; Jacob & Jordan, 1993; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Matute-Bianchi, 1991; Rumbaut, 1995, 1997; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Valverde, 1987; Vernez & Abrahamse, 1996; Waters, 1997).

In this study, it was clear that students who entered the Greeks school system at a younger age seemed to adjust quicker, as was in the case of Dardan. Dardan, revealed that he had "no trouble adjusting" or adapting to life and school in Greece because his family immigrated when he was 3 years old – too young to even remember his native Albania. Dardan revealed that, contrary to his positive experience, his older brother, who was a young teen at the time, found it very difficult to adjust to the school and social environment in Greece. Many factors play a role in a student's adjustment to a new environment, particularly in the adolescent years. Therefore, a crucial factor that influences students when they enter their host

country schools is *age*. As a result of his early integration in the Greek school system, Dardan did not see himself as a "non-Greek," even though he was born in Albania, of Albanian parents. He considers himself (*to be*) Greek, and "being Greek" to Dardan is a great privilege and honor. Throughout our interview, Dardan praised many things specific to Greek culture as well as the Greek school system. I am not sure whether he praised the system because, as he claims, he had never felt "singled out" as being an immigrant student or a "foreigner" by his peers, even though initially, his peers were hesitant to befriend him because of Albanian peoples' "bad" reputation in Greece. Nothing in Dardan's appearance, or demeanour suggested that he was an "ethnic Albanian" – he just seemed to "fit in" to his environment and his job as any other Greek person would. His spoken Greek was impeccable; he was very articulate and well grounded, with a very charming personality and had an air of confidence about him that imbued a sense of comfort. Nevertheless, his classmates were afraid of him, in their initial encounters with him, and kept their distance, "at first," Dardan stated, which necessarily suggests that they had preconceived notions and ideas based on prejudice and resentment toward Albanian immigrants, often referred to as "Albanophobia," or fear of Albanians. Albanians have been, perhaps, the most rejected and stigmatized ethnic group in Europe, often stereotyped as criminals, prostitutes, and uncivilized people (King & Nicola, 2009). Dardan confirmed that this was the case, i.e., this is how Albanians are stereotyped, and felt that his classmates' initial hesitations and fears toward him may have been *justifiable*, after all. Dardan assimilated into Greek culture very quickly and revealed to me that he understands why Greeks are fearful of (Albanian) immigrants; "how could they not be after all the terrible things they do?" Dardan spoke very highly of his teachers who were "more like friends with their students," but Dardan also excelled in school academically, and was very proud to share, with me, his accomplishments of being a "strong student" and "very much liked by his peers and teachers." Dardan's narrative was quite the opposite of Areti's narrative.

Areti, on the contrary, had experiences she would rather forget. Areti was very excited to share with me these experiences because she had only shared them with one other person – her teacher, mentor, and dear friend. Areti's family migrated to Greece when Areti was 8. Areti told me that while she learned to speak Greek

very quickly, her struggles were ones related to adjustment and adapting to her schooling environment. Areti spoke Greek like any other native Greek person and looked like any other Greek females would look; she was *not* a visible minority. Nevertheless, she was treated very negatively, and wanted me to relay her plight. When I first met Areti, she seemed quiet, but very determined to "tell me her story." "They need to hear it, Vicki... you need to tell them how awful it really is." "People are afraid to speak, and when we do, no one believes us." Areti brought me a journal entry, as part of the pre-interview activity. The entry was about the one teacher who reached out to her and helped her "survive school life in Greece," and is now present in her adult life whenever she is in need of a friend and confidant. The narrative Areti wrote was essentially a eulogy to the teacher who paid attention to her, and gave her the opportunity to become successful in her (religion) class. Areti was not treated kindly in her school, not from teachers, and not from peers. She was treated unkindly in the community, and faced abuse, racism, and discrimination on a daily basis. I was quite taken aback by one particular day-to-day- "incident" she shared, when her mother sent her to buy milk at the local supermarket.

> *I got the milk, and asked the cashier, "how much?" I remember I was holding 5 Euros in my hand. "Oh?" the lady said in a very patronizing tone... "Oh..., so you speak Greek?" "I'm sorry...?" I responded, shocked almost. "Can I please pay for the milk?" I gave her the 5 Euros and waited for her to give me change. But she was not giving me the change, so I asked her if I could please have the change, since I knew that the milk was around 2 Euros... "Are you talking back at me?" she said irritably. "No," I said, "I am not talking back at you; I would just like to get my change and go home." "We won't rob you of your change," said the woman...and threw the change at me... "You (immigrants) rob us," she said. "In what ways," I asked, "... my mother works very hard for a living." The women smirked and responded sarcastically: "Yes, we know what kind of 'jobs' you (foreigners) do..."*

Areti's experience in school was a difficult one to narrate, and even more difficult, on my part, to *hear*. She was brutally discriminated against and ruthlessly mocked. In the above quotation, what should have been a simple run to the store for milk, turned into a full-on xenoracist attack against a *child* who only wanted to buy some milk. It was like that at her school, Areti claimed. Areti felt that none of the teachers in her school helped her; many of her classmates shunned her, and she spent much time alone and scared, consequently skipping school on a regular basis

and failing in most of her classes. There was one teacher who out of "filotimo" and perhaps because of the nature of her specialization, as a theologian, reached out to her in a "Christian" and humanistic way. Her narrative reads as follows:

> *When I first came to Greece, I was 8 and was placed immediately in grade 1 because I spoke no Greek, and that was why (I though) many other children cussed at me and treated me badly. It didn't really bother me that they said those things; perhaps if I were in their shoes, I might have said the same things, or might have reacted similarly if foreign people "barged" into my country... When I entered junior high, nothing had changed; the swearing and abuse continued, even though, by this time, I was clearly fluent in the Greek language; in fact, I spoke better Greek than many of the Greek students my age... In junior high, I met that teacher, who became a second mother to me... she treated me like I was someone special; she accepted me, discretely, and in her own unique and gentle way. I told her everything, and she listened to my every word; she cared, and never judged me. She accepted me for who I was...*

Many teachers and principals continue to be prejudiced, even hostile, against immigrant students and their families. Areti's narrative exemplifies *intolerance* towards ethnic diversity. Triantafyllidou (2011) identifies ethnic and cultural diversity in school life as an important challenge that Greek schools, including teachers and administrators face. Furthermore, Triantafyllidou concludes that the predominant attitude towards student diversity in Greek state schools is one of *tolerance* which ultimately "goes hand in hand with the unquestioned acceptance of the majority religion, the majority language, the majority ethnicity in Greek school life" (p. 28), and is in line with the dominant discourses on national identity.

7.7 Immigrant parent involvement in their children's' schooling

There is a direct link between parent involvement in their childrens' learning and students' academic success (Topor, Keane, Shelton, & Calkins, 2010), so it becomes a matter of concern when immigrant parents, who claim to value their child's education, are *less* likely to be involved in their child's education and schooling processes. Both immigrant parents in this study revealed that they did *not*, in any way, feel "connected" to their children's schools, i.e., they did not interact with the teachers nor did they regularly inquire about their child's progress. In fact, they rarely, if ever, visited the school. Both immigrant parents in this study expressed that they felt uncertain, and oftentimes, afraid to go to their childrens' schools because they did not know in what ways they might be expected to be involved in their

childrens' schooling that would benefit their children, so they felt that it would behoove them to "stay away." One of the immigrant parents expressed feeling embarrassed to go to his child's school because he was always "dirty from work" and did not want to humiliate his child in front of his peers and teachers. Another parent stated that she feared embarrassing her child because the way she dressed was "different" from other "modern" Greek mothers. This particular parent wore a head scarf, which was indicative of her religious, Muslim orientation, and feared that she could create "unnecessary problems for her children" if she went to their school. When I asked her to define the "unnecessary" problems she imagined would be created with her involvement and presence in her child's school(ing), she said that it was difficult for her children to be Muslim in a Christian dominant schooling environment, which also, created problems at home. Her children were "moving away" from Islam because they wanted to "fit in" the dominant Christian paradigm.

Overall, both immigrant parents in this study expressed that the lack of interaction with their childrens' schools was mainly attributed to language barriers and the fact that they worked many hours and could not meet with the teachers. Nevertheless, both parents expressed that they valued education and made certain that their children completed their school work at home. Both immigrant parents in this study could not afford to send their children to "frontistirio" (private tutoring lessons) for the first few years, but did so when they were better able to afford private tutoring. One of the key issues that came through in the interviews, not only relates to the parents' frustrations in not being able to help their children with homework because of the language barrier, but also, in the parents' anguish in not being able to help with their childrens' emotional needs – their childrens' frustrations, anger, and feelings of exclusion – because their work schedules necessarily took precedence in the early encounters in their host country.

It is important to note, that while the North American model for parental involvement in education involves forms of parent participation in school-based activities and events (Guo, 2012; Delhi, 1994), this is *not* the case for Greek parents. The education system in Greece is not "set up" for all students in ways that *welcomes* parental involvement or parental input in school-based activities. For instance, a study by Koutrouba, Antonopoulou, Tsitsas, and Zenakou (2009) suggests that while

most teachers are in favor of an "active collaboration with parents" which will benefit schools, families and pupils, most teachers feel that poor parent-school relationships in Greece, are attributed to factors such as parental unwillingness to respond to school initiated partnership schemes, and to the parents' educational and social background. However, more recently, parental involvement in education has become a more important issue for discussion. In fact, a legal system of parental participation in education *does* exist, in Greece, but has not been changed since 1985 (Kakavoulis, 1994). While parent associations exert significant influence in education policy and school functioning through active participation in educational councils and committees, at all levels, aimed at promoting close links with the school and the teachers, such initiatives are a long way from actual "parental participation" in childrens' learning whereby teachers, parents, students, counselors, and school administrators are *actively* involved and contributing in positive ways to create close links and cooperation between the school and the family (Kakavoulis,1994). Greek parents are, as such, less involved in their childrens' schooling at the public school level, compared to parental involvement as perceived or understood in the North American context. However, Greek parents do inquire more about their childrens' progress when their children attend private tutoring institutions where parents run a rather hefty tab for their childrens' education.

Immigrant parents, nonetheless, have many more barriers to face, such as religion, class, and race, that play an important role in parent-school interactions and include teachers' cultural biases, and their generally low expectations of immigrant parents (Jones, 2003; Ramirez, 2003). Educators and policy actors in this study also confirmed that immigrant parents had little or no involvement in their students' schooling, in comparison to Greek parents.

7.8 Parapaideia/Παραπαιδεία: *Shadow Education and a System of Corruption*

Many participants in this study, including immigrant parents, immigrant students, educators, and policy actors made several references to the various forms of "corruption" embedded in the Greek education system. Immigrant parents, in particular, as well as immigrant students, expressed that they could not afford private tutoring, which is a privilege reserved for most Greek pupils who attend Greek state

schools, and who obviously have a competitive advantage over immigrant, and less economically advantaged students. There is heavy reliance upon the EU, not only for public school programming in Greece, but more so, there seems to be a greater need for *private* educational funding, simply because Greek state schools are perpetually underfunded and under-resourced. Even though the majority of Greek pupils are enrolled in the public education system (specifically, 93.64% in 2009-2010 school year, see Eurydice, 2009; 2010), Greece has long been operating in "out-of-school" educational programming and activities for students, which includes afternoon, evening, and generally, *after* "public school" *private* tutoring classes in areas that include math, science, history, writing composition, English as a Second Language and other second languages. This kind of "tutoring" can take place in the students' or teachers' homes, privately, or at a "frontistirio," or tutoring institution students attend in smaller numbers (5-10 students).

Many participants in this study alluded to, or specifically brought to *light* the "issue" of shadow education, which led to discussions relating to the "corruption" that exists within the Greek public school system through private tutoring, otherwise known as "shadow education," the "grey economy," or Greece's "guilty secret" (Verdis, 2002). The metaphor of "the shadow" is used to describe private, supplementary tutoring, which is seen as "mimicking the mainstream" – i.e., as the size and shape of the mainstream changes, so do the size and shape of the shadow (Bray & Lykins, 2012; Bray, 2011). Thus, if a new syllabus is introduced in the school system for, say, mathematics, then that new syllabus will soon be reflected in the work of tutors in "the shadow." Likewise, as the school system expands, so does the shadow. Many students feel alienated from such institutions particularly students from low income households, as well as immigrant students whose parents cannot afford this kind of "supplementary education" (see Agalianos, 2011). Policy makers should carefully examine the reasons why "shadow education" has expanded in some countries like Greece, and *not* in others, and perhaps ask why public education in Greece is systematically failing, while shadow industries are thriving.

Public or state education in Greece is free of cost and provides a basic level of education, or rather, guarantees a *minimum* education to all students, at no cost. Shadow education, on the other hand, reflects the tremendous shortcomings of the

public school system in Greece and most certainly diminishes the role of public education as "public good." Shadow education in Greece is widely known to Greeks as "parapaeidea" ("on-the-side" education), which has grown to become a vast enterprise in Greece that thrives because it offers, or at least *promises* to offer, "better care for students," especially to those who have learning difficulties, or different learning abilities and/or disabilities. In other words, the shadow education industry prospers because the public education system is, always, underperforming.

A survey of first-year university students in Greece found that "over 80% had attended preparatory schools of the 'cramming' type (*frontistirio*), 50% had received individual private tutoring, and one third had received both types" (Agalianos, 2011, p. 22). These numbers are quite startling. Indeed, Liodakis (2010: 5) states that: "today, almost all grade 12 high school students attend shadow education" (Liodakis, as cited in Agalianos, 2011, p. 22). Without private and intensive tutoring, grade 12 students in Greece stand little, to no chance, at passing the "Panellinies," or the nationwide Pan-Hellenic examinations. These examinations are incredibly intensive and extremely difficult to pass. Students are mainly "tested" on rote learning and memorization skills of materials, formulas, and problems. The results of these state examinations, in combination with the average marks from the previous years' oral/written examinations, essentially determine whether students are accepted into universities in Greece, or not. The Ministry of Education is responsible for the central organization of these exams (Country Module – Greece, Nuffic, January 2011).

An estimated €952.6 million Euros were consumed in 2008, alone, on private tutoring, which represents 18.6% of all household expenditures on education (Agalianos, 2011, p. 105). This actually means that nearly 20 percent of household expenditures go to tutoring or private tutoring industries. While Verdis (2002) describes shadow education as "the guilty secret" of the Greek education system that "represents a network of vested interests" (p. 323), I find that a better description (because shadow education it is not a "secret" – at least not for the Greeks) that would be better suited might be "black market education," because of the outrageous out-of-pocket costs parents must pay (mainly under the table, and not properly declared wages) to secure a better education for their children in a competitive

market. Shadow education in Greece makes public education extremely undervalued, unnecessary which may eventually lead to its demise. Verdis (2002) also describes shadow education as "a parasite" – a term which might be echoed in other countries. However, if the Greek government were to "kill" the parasite by instantly closing all the tutorial centres, it would face major social upheaval. "Frontistiria" or tutoring institutions in Greece generate substantial incomes and employment, and thus have become a significant component of the social fabric – of "black market" education. What makes this "system" more corrupt, relayed a student participant in this study, is that people who are employed in the public education sector, namely, teachers and school administrators, actually tutor their *own* students (or send their student to a family member) – on-the-side – after school, for profit, and the implications related to nepotism and corruption run rampant in such cases.

Of course, aside from the "tutoring institutions" which most Greeks have access to, regardless of their income, wealthier Greeks have greater gamut of choices and elite private schools to send their children, should they *not* wish their children to "mingle" with the less privileged children. Wealthier Greek parents opt to send their children to private schools. In fact, two participants in this study stated that public education in Greece is "so bad" that politicians within the Ministry of Education, itself, have opted to "send their own children to private schools." Principals and administrators in this study have also confirmed that many Greek parents often *remove* their children from schools with higher immigrant student populations, because they do not wish their *own* children to be amongst "too many foreign kids." Anna Triantafyllidou (2011) reports that

> Greek majority parents, children and teachers argue that migrant children have a negative impact on the quality of education provided at a school. Migrant parents are aware of the stereotype and also sometimes deplore the poor quality of the school that their child attends, blaming it on the fact that the school has too many migrant children and that teachers are indifferent about their children's education. Overall they also express a feeling of being tolerated not accepted in Greek society (p. 5).

And while social inequalities with regard to socio-economic, geographical region, and gender inequalities are also quite prevalent in the Greek state school system – and the gap will only widen as a result of the economic crisis – educational disadvantages with respect to religious, linguistic, and ethnic minorities seem to be

thriving, most, in Greece's state schools today. Immigrant students may perhaps, be the most vulnerable and disadvantaged minority group in comparison to any other minority group, because even though affordability, availability, and access to anything private can be seen as structural barriers for many immigrant families, just as they are for disadvantaged families, more generally, immigrant students and their families must also deal with language barriers, bureaucratic inadequacies of the host country, and distrust of government programs that never seem to be carried out in ways that could benefit them.

7.9 Teacher Education

As verified consistently throughout this document, the public, or state school system in Greece is ill equipped to deal with the learning particularities of its mainstream Greek student population, let alone deal with difficulties, complexities, and adjustment struggles related to physical, cognitive, psychological, cultural, and social differences immigrant and special needs students bring with them. School curricula of the respective level of education are, at best, applied and *adapted* to immigrant students and to students with special needs (Stylianidou, Bagakis, & Stamovlasis, 2004). In this study, policy actors and educators, alike, confirmed that teachers are "not clear" of what it is they are expected or required to do with immigrant students who enter their classrooms. Stylianidou, Bagakis, and Stamovlasis (2004) confirm that the problems that arise from the increasing number of foreign students in Greek classrooms are directly related to the inadequacy of teacher training, both at a pedagogical and didactic level – results from initial teacher education (in their university training) which, in most cases, remains primarily restricted to the subject of their specialization, i.e. language, mathematics, physics, etc. – and with respect to multicultural or intercultural education. Consequently, teachers are not able to adequately deal with special needs students, or students with diverse and culturally different backgrounds. Research conducted in 2002 on behalf of the Greek Section of UNICEF for the Discrimination, Racism and Xenophobia in the Greek Education System, showed that an alarming 7 out of 10 teachers consider themselves "inadequately trained to teach foreign or immigrant students" (Stylianidou, et al., 2004, p. 37). These shortcomings are mostly attributed to deficits

in teacher training programs at a university level. In addition, teacher in-service training is monolithic, and in desperate need of reform to meet the *new* demands placed on teachers.

By and large, there appears to be lack of adequate teacher preparedness for the challenges that accompany contemporary educational, multiculturalism, and social justice issues (Georgiadis & Zisimos, 2012) in Greek state schools. In other words, Greek public school teachers are not adequately trained to combat issues of racism, xenophobia, and discrimination and to promote social justice in classrooms. In fact, many times, educators are not *aware* of their racism, and if this is the case, how will they possibly be able to identify aspects of racism in their schools and in amongst their students? Teachers in Greece have difficulty relating cultural awareness with course content taught in the classroom. As such, the curriculum necessarily needs to be infused by principles of intercultural awareness (Sakka, 2010). According to Georgiadis and Zisimos (2012), most of the teacher training programs in Greece, even newer ones, have a top-down structure, and are sporadically or inconsistently organised and have neither clear task objectives, nor proper regime. To make matters worse, teacher training programs are "weighted down" by the bureaucratic mechanisms of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, which gives the involved parts no option for cooperation or collaboration.

While there are always policy and reform alternatives proposed, they seem to be ignored or overlooked, and can't seem to *quite* materialize. The Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs has launched several policy initiatives aimed at improving the status of education in Greece, including immigrant education, intercultural education, and special education – few of which have been consistently delivered (if at all), with leading the example of "mother tongue," which I discuss below.

7.10 Policy inconsistencies: *The disconnect between policy and practice*

A clear example of how policy defies practice, and vice-versa, is the policy provision (that has *not* been realized) of "mother tongue." Language policy in Greece, today, basically ignores non-Greek mother tongue(s), making the Greek language the dominant, and *only*, language of instruction in Greek state schools. As

was clear in the participants' narratives as well as in the literature, immigrant or minority students in Greece (mainly referring to the Muslim minority in Thrace), are not given adequate opportunities to be taught in their mother tongue, or in the language they bring with them from their countries of origin, even though "mother tongue," as a right, is supposedly "guaranteed" in Greece, and supported in numerous policy documents, and most importantly, it is under international law, embodied in the Treaty of Lausanne. As discussed earlier, and as confirmed by Damanakis, (2005) (also see Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007), the Greek-Turkish Protocols of 1954 and 1968 and Law 19 of 1972 set the framework for bilingual education for the Muslim minority in Thrace, yet, even though funds were invested, and personnel and programmes for improving the standards and methods of minority students' education were in place, even textbooks – (as a policy actor in this study revealed), were carefully crafted and ready for use, only to remain forever housed in a warehouse – minority students in Thrace continue to lack adequate opportunities to receive instruction in either Greek or Turkish languages, respectively, and thus, the Treaty of Lausanne is not, nor has been (thus far), *honoured* – not by the Turkish side, and not by the Greek side.

There is very little, if any, value in an immigrant student's mother tongue, unless the mother tongue is *English*, and even then, English would not be the main language of instruction in Greek state schools; rather, English has been offered as a compulsory *second* language since 1991. Not only is mother tongue not guaranteed or supported in Greek state schools, but on the contrary, immigrant students are almost coerced, it seems, into learning the Greek language as soon as possible following their arrival to Greece. And even though all immigrant students in this study expressed, either directly or indirectly, that they did *not* wish to uphold their mother tongue, they were not so much as given the option, or choice, to have instruction in their mother tongue, even for the early transitional phase. Moreover, immigrants are not often encouraged to speak in their mother tongue and feel shame when they do so. All immigrant students in this study confirmed that they were interested and eager in learning the Greek language as quickly and as efficiently as possible, so that they were not identified as being "foreigners," and thus, become stigmatized. Many participants in this study expressed feeling "ashamed" and "embarrassed" when they

had to speak in their mother tongue, or when they could not efficiently and fluently speak Greek. Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2007) confirm that "the subject of teaching the mother-tongue language or the culture of origin to foreign pupils, has not been considered to be a priority since learning Greek is considered as the key vehicle to integration" (p. 15). Educators (teachers and principals) interviewed in this study were split on the "mother-tongue" issue. While some participants supported the idea of immigrant students being taught in their mother tongue, others were quite disturbed by the very thought of the Greek language being "second" in command. A policy actor recalls:

> *When I dared to suggest that the Greek language be considered as a second language, I was confronted with frightening hostility: "The Greek language become a second language? How can the Greek language possibly be second? The Greek is always first! The Greek language is always first!"*

Another participant remarked:

> *How is it possible to allow for foreign students to be taught in their "mother tongue" in our schools? When they come to Canada, does your school system provide instruction in all the immigrants' mother tongues? How is that even possible?*

To this comment I responded that immigrant students in Canada are, more or less, expected to learn English (or French in Quebec) in their schools. The schools then have in place the necessary interventions and supports for immigrant students so that they can learn how to speak English as soon as possible (English Language Learning, or ELL acquisition). However, I inquired further about participants' understanding of the Treaty of Lausanne and the implications thereof with relation to "mother tongue." Most participants in this study were not fully aware of what the Treaty means or should mean today.

More policy inconsistencies emerged when it came to understanding when exactly "reception classes" started to "pop up" in schools, and what these classes served to accomplish. For some schools, mainly in rural areas, reception classes began very late in the school year 2011/2012 (February, 2012). The principal interviewed in this study maintained that no reception classes were running in her school prior to 2012, even though she confirmed that the number of immigrant students attending her school was quite large (over 20) and was on the rise, as new

immigrant students frequently registered throughout the school year. When asked why the classes began so late in the school year (February), the principal suspected that the "delay" was a clear example of lack of policy design and planning on the part of the Ministry. Principals were receiving mixed messages or no messages at all. In policy (on paper), both reception and support classes form part of public schools, i.e., once there is a significant number of immigrant students, a reception class is formed. The organization of reception classes is well spelled out in the Act, which is the same Act that creates the initiative to organize mother-tongue classes (Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007). Specifically, reception and tutorial, or otherwise known as "support classes," were reformed by a Ministerial Act (Ministry of Education) and organized in schools when there are at least 9 pupils,7 with no or a limited knowledge of the Greek language (Triantafyllidou, 2011). These classes operate during normal school hours and are divided into two levels. Level 1 is for children with no knowledge of Greek and can last up to 1 year and Level 2 is for children with some knowledge of Greek and may last for up to 2 years (Triantafyllidou, 2011).

The answer with regard to *when* reception classes were established in Greek schools varies significantly amongst the participants' experiences in this study. The nature of reception, or support classes is mostly *transitional*, i.e., for children with linguistic difficulties; namely, cultural minorities or immigrant students. The Greek educational system in the framework of "cross-cultural education" was more or less established in the early 1980s; so these policies have been in place for quite some time, and have operated ever since with "differentiations" introduced by ministerial decisions (Mitakidou, Tressou, & Daniilidou, 2009). An added difficulty, note Mitakidou et al., is that there is a distinct tendency, both official and unofficial, that the immigrant students remain in the reception classes the *least* amount of time possible. An overarching explanation for this quick turnaround lies in the fact that there remains considerable confusion among teachers as to the level and quality of language proficiency that is required for the students' smooth transition into mainstream classes, which brings us right back to teacher qualifications. All educators in this study confirmed that they did *not* know what to do with their immigrant

students; many times, it was either "sink, or swim" for those immigrant students. Many of them *sank*.

The principal interviewed in this study only recently had reception classes in her elementary school, despite the large and growing numbers of immigrant students attending her school, which confirms that reception classes have operated on an erroneous basis for over twenty years. And since there is no specific curriculum for reception or support classes, teachers are usually left to their own devices and resources and free to experiment with programs and materials as they see fit, as well as on their inherent "caregiving" dispositions that foster a sense of compassion, altruism, and care based on the Greek virtue embodied in the essence of *philotimo*.

Again, it is confirmed, both in the literature and in the participant narratives that current educational practices in Greek state schools vis-à-vis reception and support classes for new immigrant students seem to be far from reflecting policy *intentions* – i.e., those reflected in official policy documents that come directly from the Ministry of Education. Educators and policy actors in this study were not only confused with regard to *when* reception classes were to be established, but were unclear as to *what* exactly teachers were required to do in such classes. A closer look into the implementation of educational policies reveals inconsistencies between policy and practices that most often negate any attempt of equity creation. Perhaps one of the greatest challenges observed in this study has been the lack of connection between desired educational practices as espoused in policy –"on paper"– and the *actual* education practices "on the ground." It is important to note that none of the immigrant students interviewed in this study were placed in reception classes when they arrived to their new schools in Greece; in fact, some had not even heard of reception classes or "help" classes. Alarmingly, the disconnect between the two dichotomies is also quite evident in the educator and policy actor narratives, which brings into question the sorts of practices that schools are *supposed* to engender, but are clearly *not*.

7.11 Resistance to change

Over the last 30 years, immigrants have been making Greece their permanent home, thus, Greece has been transforming more and more into an immigrant-*receiving*

nation. Immigrants attend the Greek Orthodox Church and take part in Greek ethnic celebrations, they contribute to Greece's economy, they learn the Greek language, and they attend Greek state schools; yet, immigrant peoples' experiences, images, narratives are absent in Greek literature and in school textbooks, even though immigrants in Greece, today, constitute a large part of Greek society and are significant contributors to the diversity of Greek society. Dimitrakopoulos (2004) maintains that there are still no provisions in place for encouraging, effectively, the promotion of diversity in education. As previously confirmed, the language, history, and culture of immigrant ethnic minorities is *still* not taught in any school, while very limited language support is offered to pupils whose mother tongue is *not* Greek; the curricula and textbooks developed are *not* used by schools, not with Muslim minority students, and not with Roma students. And finally, there are no concrete provisions for teacher training in diversity management.

Although policy changes and reforms, such as the proposed reform of law 2413/1996 with a view to expand and complement the scope and means of intercultural education in Greece (Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007) have been proposed, few such reforms have actually materialized. Aside from the strong anti-immigrant sentiment that pervades Greek society as a whole, there is a tremendous resistance to any sort of change or accommodation that could remotely benefit immigrants, minority people, or in general, people who do *not* exemplify this "essential Greekness," which is directly linked to the nationalist narrative Greeks wish to uphold, tooth and nail, and at any given cost. Maria Repousi's proposed history textbook is an example that keeps resurfacing in my mind, as a matter of serious concern in what appears to be an ongoing and unrelenting controversy that taps deeply into the heart and soul of Greek nationhood. Any kind of *suggestion* for change, or any suggestion that remotely proposes the mere possibility of *another* narrative in textbooks is threatening, prone to suspicion, or entirely "out of the question."

Nikos Dimou (2004) articulates the "Greek condition" superbly, and (I feel) more generally perhaps, taps into some of the reasons Greeks struggle with citizenship and identity issues. Dimou describes Greece as "a small country with an immense ego" "burdened with history and myth" (Dimou, 2004, para. 4). Indeed,

Greeks, as a society, refuse to look "outside the box" they have trapped themselves into, in the name of "Greekness." This "splendid isolation," remarks Dimou, makes Greeks a "brotherless people" living in a world of enemies. With the Turks to the right, the Macedonians above, and the Albanians to the left, and making their way *in* and *about* the country, Greeks are always overly suspicious, even paranoid, at allowing the "stranger" to come in and make themselves comfortable, let alone allowing the stranger to keep her or his own *identity* – it is no wonder Greeks become trapped in nationalistic solipsism.

Greeks are, perhaps, too emotional; perhaps the reason behind lack of policy credibility and continuity, is because most things in Greece are approached in an entirely emotional manner, whereby, at the end of the day, no one can really come to a *logical* or *rational* consensus. Indeed, many public policy decisions in Greece are emotionally driven, whether they be about "arguing" over the significance and ownership of a name (Macedonia), a historical event or two (grade 6 proposed textbook), or, everyday life. There is never a dull moment in the life of a Greek. And while Greeks are still a long way from recovery, both financially, and in establishing an immigration and citizenship policy that is worthy of being called "democratic," there is that one thing that is *untranslatable* and that distinguishes and exonerates the Greek psyche, and that is Greek peoples' tremendous, awe-inspiring sense of *filotimo*.

7.12 The Untranslatables

I could not ignore the notion of "Philotimo" which was introduced above, because it surfaced again and again in all the narratives. I must admit that *philotimo* is what drives Greeks to help those around them who are in need. In the absence of policy, and when a teacher does not know what "the program" entails, many educators have taken it upon themselves to help students who require assistance on their own initiative, which is most quite inspiring considering the lack of policies and programs that could potentially make their instruction easier. I was reminded at this point when I visited my hometown one year, only to find my parents' small guest house, occupied by a strange looking man. I asked them who the person living there was, and if he was a boarder. My mother responded that Alexi was living there because he

had nowhere else to go. My parents helped Alexi, by giving him food and shelter (and my 10 speed bike for transportation). I was tremendously touched by my parents' *philotimo* and stunned that they could trust a drifter from Albania enough to let him stay at their property *unconditionally*. Alexi, of course, always returned their kindness, and continued to do so for a long time, until he eventually moved away. My parents were both *philoxenoi* (hospitable) and *philotimoi* (love for honour). Alexi was one of the first Albanian immigrants to arrive to my family's small town. As such, I understand the sense of "philotimo" quite intimately; I have seen how those around me have cared for the less privileged and were always very generous and kind to them.

But regardless of how "unconditional" philotimo appears to be, there is also an inherent ultra individualism that characterizes Greeks. The two often clash, which calls into question the extent to which *philotimo* is unconditional, especially in *today's* Greece. Perhaps the lack of trust in immigrants has created suspicion and fear in Greeks, themselves, who are forever, *jaded*. My mother said to me, recently, that she locks all her doors now, and that she would never trust an immigrant like she had trusted Alexi. "Those were different times," she said. "Things are not the same anymore; and there are no more *Alexides*[90]"

7.13 Are Greeks racists?

Most Greeks do not see themselves as racists, and after listening to all the participants, both immigrants and non-immigrants, I want to believe that Greeks are *not* racists. The most spontaneous response I received when I asked Greeks whether they thought Greeks was a definitive "NO! Greeks are NOT racists!" When I asked immigrants whether or not they thought Greeks were racists, they too, responded with "No" and went on to qualify their answers. Perhaps the overwhelming media attention on Golden Dawn may be somewhat misleading, and there is no doubt that such stories play up the sensationalism in the media.

Although it is evident that racism is institutionalized through the actions of the Greek state vis-à-vis restrictive citizenship policies and current politicians' anti-immigrant sentiment expressions, Iannis Carras (2012) argues that Greek nineteenth

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[90] Alexi (singular) Alexides (plural)

century historians maintain that continuities in Greek history were not racial but *cultural*. "It is no coincidence that one of the main libraries in downtown Athens bears Isocrates' aphorism on the pedestal over its main entrance: 'Greeks are those who share our common education,' which alternatively translated as 'culture'" (Iannis Carras, 2012, para. 29). For Carras, citizenship through shared language and education is *sine qua non* for Greeks claiming connections to Byzantium *and* the ancient world (Carras, 2012). Immigrants are seen as both a threat, and simultaneously, serve as an embodiment of a foundational narrative, of Greeks' outward migration in the early half of the twentieth century. As such, both state and society oscillate between welcome and hostility. Carras further explains that, similarly, the state remained both "theirs" and "alien," for Greeks who newly arrived in Athens from their regional homelands (rural areas). This duality, therefore, accounts in part for the discrepancies between *informal* practices and *formal* laws (alternatively known as corruption) (Carras, 2012), or, the "disconnect" between policy and practice which basically characterizes the Greek polity as a whole. If there is anything new in this equation, notes Carras, it is "the import of strictly racial criteria as somehow diagnostic of 'Hellenism' as seen in challenges to the citizenship law of 2010," (Carras, 2012, para. 44), which I discuss in detail, in the following chapter.

That said, the problem of racism, particularly, xenoracism, is a complex and multifaceted one, while the absence of relevant studies on racism in Greece make it all the more difficult to articulate. Many aspects of institutional discrimination persist and may in the future lead to conflict fuelled by racist prejudice and intolerance. The social integration and coexistence of both ethnic Greek and foreign migrant pupils is an issue of concern, as existing provisions and practices for intercultural education seem to be inadequate and oriented more towards assimilation rather than integration. Educational policy in Greece is not really looked at in terms of non-discrimination, justice, and equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, religion or nationality. This prevailing negativism towards immigration though quite profound, to say the least, is nevertheless, not understood within the discourses of racism. As mentioned in the *Literature Review* chapter, the greatest obstacles in attempting to address the challenges of xenophobia, racism, and human rights violations in the

Greek educational system is primarily due to the fact that Greeks do not quite understand, or they are not fully cognizant of their xenophobic attitudes and become defensive when they are called "racists," as one of the participants in this study did. The educator participants in this study did not seem to understand how their expressions of racial stereotypes could be tremendously damaging to the particular groups of people they were aimed at. Perhaps it is time to start thinking seriously about defining racism and its implications in Greek schools and in the wider Greek context.

Lastly, and in the Greeks' defense, I must agree with Carra's point that it is also important to look around us and learn, by example, from other nations. However, other EU countries, at this time, are not necessarily leading by example. As long as other countries remain unwilling to make fundamental changes to the framework for migration into the EU, any articles accusing the Greek state of institutional racism will continue to miss the point (Carras, 2012). Because ultimately, institutional racism is *not* exclusively a Greek "problem" per se; rather, it is "a consequence of European policies towards peripheral states and migrant (Carras, 2012, para. 50). It is, therefore, every country's responsibility to subvert racism, and the EU as a whole should share in the opprobrium (Carras, 2012).

7.14 Conclusion

Differentiated instruction, inclusive education, and integrated schooling are concepts that continue to be very difficult for Greeks to come to comprehend. As such, any attempt to implement instruction that could potentially aid students who require differentiated instruction and/or inclusive learning environments, has proven to be *futile*. Lack of policy implementation has been confirmed much too often by all participants and in the literature, and has been systematically attributed to political instability, poor leadership, bad policy design, social resistance and/or internal party politics, political mistrust, the inability of government to track down problems and provide viable solutions, and of course, the Greek economic crisis and subsequent austerity measures. There are numerous explanations and even more excuses about why failure in policy implementation is a problem in Greece. But in the end, it is the

Greeks who do not wish to change their set ways to accommodate new emerging paradigms.

Despite the legal framework discussed earlier in this chapter with regard to the education of immigrant children in Greece, the promotion of Greek cultural identity through the advancement of the Greek language amongst other things, remains dominant in Greek schools today, while the advancement of multiculturalism or intercultural education is still not quite clearly understood in Greek society, and in Greek state schools. Law 2413 of 199653 that supposedly regulates issues of Intercultural Education (aim, content, teaching staff, designation and administration of schools), has *not,* yet, been implemented (Dimitrakopoulos, 2004). Therefore, intercultural, or multicultural education of sorts, in Greece, does *not* in any way regard immigrant students. Furthermore, and as revealed in the student narratives, the actual aim of Greek state schools is to develop citizens who internalize national values, venerate national heroes, and accept glorified versions of national histories (Banks, 2012). These goals are also embedded in the idea(l) notion of "Greek citizenship." The implications with regard to citizenship education are very weak, because ethnic nationalism in Greece today still remains very strong.

The inclusion process of students with disabilities in Greece also faces many practical problems despite the existence of the corresponding regulations and policy. Until recently, there were only a few "special needs classes" in few mainstream schools throughout the country that were aimed at promoting the inclusion of a broad range of children with "learning disabilities" in mainstream primary schools. Students with learning disabilities have limited access to the "general classroom" (Avramidis & Kalyva 2007). Greek educators seem to be lacking a degree of reflexivity, as well as criticality, which ultimately ties back to the lack of reflexive inquiry in teacher (university) training programs. Rather than being reflexive, Greek teachers are often reactive, and attribute the problems in education to "the system" and to their students – viewing student and classroom circumstances as "beyond their control" and seeing themselves as victims of circumstance. In addition, Greek educators seem to be taking teaching materials and textbook narratives for granted, without questioning, without exploring *alternatives* and enforce predetermined, monolithic, and dated standards of operation without a sense of criticality.

Throughout the chapter I have attempted to provide an interpretation of the texts through my own historically and culturally situated lens. The participants' narratives, complemented by scholarly literature and my own insights have lent to the significance of the findings. In addition, I have provided explanations and description to select findings that contributed to new insights that have emerged, and that have allowed me to answer the research questions in this study. In the following chapter, I engage in an in-depth discussion of the various theories of nationalism, followed by an analysis of the dynamics of immigration and the origins of nationalist intolerance and devaluation of *others*.

Chapter 8

Meta-Theoretical Analysis

8.1 Introduction

In an effort to constructively advance the field of educational research, policy, and practice and contribute to the growing body of knowledge aimed at improving the schooling and social experiences of immigrant children in Greek state schools, my study has, thus far, sought to establish a framework for exploring immigrant students' schooling and social experiences, as they are recounted and interpreted in the students' own voices, and through the voices of those (including educators, parents, policy actors, native Greek students) who have borne witness to their struggle for recognition and acceptance (amongst other struggles) within the dominant social and cultural milieu. This dissertation, therefore, attempts to provide deeper insights into the highly complex nature of immigration in(to) Greece, and its impact on the social, educational, economic, and cultural structures that exert a strong influence on policymaking and reform prospects. In an effort to unearth, analyse, and strive for a coherent *exegesis* of the intricacies that have surfaced in the participants' multi-vocal and multivalent narratives in the *Findings* and *Analysis* Chapters, it is important to, in addition, generate the necessary theoretical understandings and methodological advances, by interweaving the contributions of eminent scholars in the field, that may perhaps, support, if not *authenticate*, the empirical evaluations made throughout this dissertation. As such, I draw on the valuable insights of scholars in areas of migration and on contemporary discourses of ethnicity and nationalism, colonialism, and post-colonialism that will contribute, further, to the understanding of how distinctive historical foundations of a sovereign nation can affect the identities and identity formation of immigrants and natives, alike, not only at an individual level, per se, but at the nation-building level. Specifically, I look at how social, cultural, and *historical* contexts can directly affect the current laws, policies, and cultural ideals of a host country – and particularly, Greece, as host country.

So far, the previous chapters have sought to lay out the socio-economic and political context of modern day Greece as a key determinant that allows for a better

understanding of the dynamics of immigration and identity politics involved at all levels of policy-making in Greece. The literature review has identified research gaps and aspects within Greek society that have not, yet, been explored, and this is mainly due to tremendous difficulty for anyone who wishes to study immigration *to* Greece, to access adequate and detailed data. For example, it has been over twenty years since the first significant wave of immigration into Greece in the early 1990s, and to this day, no one exactly knows the number of documented immigrants, let alone, the number of undocumented immigrants in the country, while the lack of adequate and detailed data allows for many generalizations or assumptions to be made on the basis of "casual observations" regarding various issues (without establishing any sort of proof or disapproval of the general statements made). In other words, it would make sense to apply findings of empirical research toward improving the educational, schooling, and social experiences of immigrant, marginalized and/or disadvantaged students, if in fact, such data existed, or was made available. For instance, it is still debated, according to Lianos, Petralias, and Boussoulas (2004), whether immigration to Greece has actually caused unemployment of native workers, and if so, to what extent? An obvious gap in the literature, with reference to this study, has been the profound underrepresentation, or absence, of immigrant and marginalized students' voices and narratives in the ways *they* understand their schooling experiences, which may, perhaps, be one of the most powerful levers available in gaining insight into improving aspects of immigrant student learning in schools. Another apparent gap is the depreciation, or lack of policy and practice reflected in Greek education and schooling that takes into account immigrant students' as well as other minority student groups' learning and social needs.

This chapter, then, provides the underlying philosophical assumption that reflects my own views vis-à-vis the human world and the social life within that world. That said, the (meta)theoretical discussion outlined in this chapter reflects my philosophical orientation, with relation to the *Theroetical Framework* laid out in chapter 4, and offers partial explanations on the complexities of the "immigrant experience" in Greece, and ultimately, the learning and social experiences of students in Greek state schools. Coming from a constructivist epistemology, as delineated in the *Methods Chapter* and taking into account the purpose of the research and the research

questions posed in this study, the theoretical perspectives underlying this study align with interpretivism and within a broader historical perspective of migration theory that encompasses theories of the nation and under a more broadly conceived social theory framework. Understanding migration and the resistances to inward migration in "non-traditional[91]" immigrant-receiving countries, such as Greece, necessitates a rigorous examination of the social, economic, political, and historical forces and, as well, drawing on theoretical models that emanate from many disciplines. To quote Douglas Massey et al. (1993), "a full understanding of contemporary migration processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis. Rather, their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels, and assumptions" (p. 19). As such, I draw on a broader range of theoretical perspectives and extant research from disciplines including history, political science, sociology, cultural studies, languages, geography, literature, and related fields. Neither the theoretical arguments, nor the empirical findings presented, herein, aim to be conclusive or to provide generalised answers to the research questions; rather, this chapter aims to elaborate the contours of a theoretical framework for investigating the unique characteristics that underpin the *peculiar* case of Greece within a broader social theory perspective, and my own interpretations and analyses thereof.

8.2 The Greek Exceptionalism

I thus begin with an exploration and critical interrogation concerning Greece's unique ethnic composition, or *exceptionalism* (Beaton, 2009), that basically denotes a long-standing (historical) uniqueness in Greece's nation-(re)building process (since 1821), within a historically comparative and theoretical framework, inspired by developments in the theory of nationalism, and through an analysis of collective identities, as interpreted by leaders in the field such as Benedict Anderson(1989), John Breuilly (1982), Ernest Gellner (1983), John Hutchinson (1996), and Anthony Smith (2001), who have made important contributions to Greece's national imaginary. I draw mainly on Greek scholars, though not exclusively

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[91] The United States, Canada, and Australia are considered "traditional" immigrant-receiving countries.

so, to discuss the challenges facing immigrant students in Greek state schools. Of course, this "Greek exceptionalism" they speak of, or perhaps, *allude* to, seems to be an overarching paradigm in Modern Greek Studies and Greek culture (at a domestic level), and discussed extensively in Roderick Beaton and David Ricks's book *The Making of Modern Greece*, which brings together the multidisciplinary contributions of scholars like Paschalis Kitromilides, Suzanne Marchand, Marios Hatzopoulos, Effi Gazi, and Yanna Delivoria, to name a few, who explore nineteenth-century European modes of thought and how such modes relate to the making, and re-making, of Greece as a modern nation-state. At an international level, however, this idea of "Greek exceptionalism" varies, from relying heavily on the classical undertones of Greece's unique position within world history, mythology, philosophy, archaeology, all the way to colonialism, and post-colonial approaches – even though Greece has not quite (formally at least) been considered a "colonized" country – whereby colonialism (in popular discourse), mainly, implies a Western governmentality; i.e., it descends from control that has emerged from the colonial dialectic of western governmentality imposed on non-Western peoples and nations. The extent to which a colonial paradigm has been explored in relation to a Western colonization of Greece, has focused specifically on philhellenism (an intellectual "fashion" or "admiration of the Greeks" or an *allure* of Hellenism, if you will, from Europeans like Lord Byron or Charles Nicolas Fabvier, who advocated for Greece's independence from the Ottoman Empire) and led, eventually, to the war of independence. As such, a "post-colonial approach," vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire, appears to have *rarely* taken notice of the Greek case in a comparative and/or theoretical context.

This dissertation cannot thoroughly engage in current debates about definitions of "colonialism" and "post-colonialism," as they are beyond the scope of this study; nevertheless, the study *does* seek to embrace the analytical presuppositions that are present within such discourses and bring them to the table for future consideration. Be that as it may, one can make a pretty substantive argument in support of Greek colonization by the Ottomans, but must keep in mind the aspects of Ottoman rule in Greece that were not *quite* "colonial" in nature (colonial, in the sense that, at times, *Western*, as well as Ottoman value systems, were established and

promoted and normalized as the dominant ideology). Of course, evaluations depend on *how* one defines colonialism. My sense is that the Ottoman *Empire* sheds light on how we can, perhaps, begin to broach colonialism in Southeast Europe and the Balkans.

Although the mechanisms of domination and oppression have remained very much the same throughout the ages, the legitimisation of domination and the nature of oppression are perceived in very divergent ways, depending on the concept of state authority prevailing in a particular period of history (Detrez, 2001). Detrez further asserts that "there exists a close relationship between colonialism and orientalism, between being colonized and being perceived as Oriental. The Balkans – as an object of Western colonization – having been but semicolonised, is perceived consistently as semi-oriental" (Detrez, 2001). What Detrez's means by "semicolonized," is that this sense of "freedom" of the independent Balkan nations was, ultimately, a fiction that aimed to disguise a reality of economic extortion, oppression, and manipulation, when, in reality, nations like Greece were systematically dragged into the Western Great Powers' spheres of influence (Detrez, 2001). This "semi-colonialism," then, ties well into the general, albeit rather simplistic picture of the Balkans as a political and cultural transitional zone, a "semi"-area, if you will, between Europe and Asia (Detrez, 2001). It was Bulgarian scholar, Maria Todorova (1996), who first proposed the term "Balkanism" to denote the biased image of the Balkans. "Balkanism" can be, in many ways, compared to "Orientalism," although we cannot ignore the profound differences between the two. One of the main differences is precisely the *absence* of a colonial legacy (Detrez, 2001), or rather, a *legitimized* colonial legacy. In *Imagining the Balkans*, Todorova (2009) writes

> The Balkans' predominantly Christian character, moreover, fed for a long time the crusading potential of Christianity against Islam. Despite many attempts to depict its (Orthodox) Christianity as simply a subspecies of oriental despotism and thus as inherently non-European or non-Western, still the boundary between Islam and Christianity in general continued to be perceived as the principal one. Finally, the construction of an idiosyncratic Balkan self-identity, or rather of several Balkan self-identities, constitutes a significant distinction: they were invariably erected against an oriental other (p. 20)

Along with Western colonization, Todorova (1996), in L. Carl Brown's edited book *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint in the Balkans and the Middle East* also raises the question of Turkish or Turkic colonization, and sustains that the history of the Ottoman Empire could be re-interpreted as the conscious and planned colonization of the Balkans by the Ottomans (Todorova, 1996). And while Balkan historiography has attempted to refute, or rather, *revitalize* (italics mine) the essential significance of the Ottoman colonization, there is, indeed, little doubt (according to Todorova) that Muslim colonization, as well as mass conversions (a key feature of colonialism) in the Balkans, "concentrated on areas strategically vulnerable to the potential attacks of the anti-Ottoman coalitions" (Todorova, 1996, p. 64). Ruzinow (1996) also argues that colonization and conversion during the first centuries of Ottoman rule added two numerically and culturally significant non-Christian religious communities (Jews and Muslims) both already present, but in previously insignificant numbers to the Balkan regions' mosaic (Ruzinow, 1996; Inalcik, 1991). Perhaps the inglorious coverage of colonial and post-colonial discourses that have (more recently) emerged from the Balkan periphery merits a closer investigation and further analysis, but that is perhaps another, *future* study.

While Greece has seldom been featured in post-colonial discourses, the recent works of Calotychos, Gourgouris, and Tziovas, amongst others, have demonstrated a rather commendable attempt in situating Greece within the discourse(s) of post-colonial studies (Hamilakis, 2008), thus emphasizing Greece's exceptional character from within the margins of colonialism. Stathis Gourgouris (1996) discusses the role of Orientalism vis-à-vis Greece in his study *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece*, while Vangelis Calotychos (2013), places Greece at the intersection of the West and the Balkans, which constitutes a *liminal* space, and maintains that there are affinities between "'liminal colonization' and 'self-colonization' at the heart of Greek modernity" (p. 32). This sense of Greece's "liminality" is brilliantly and eloquently captured in Álvaro García Marín's (2014) (Re)Ciphering Nations: *Greece as a Constructed Illegibility in Odysseas Elytis's Poetry,* who asserts that

> Greeks can only conceive themselves as poor reflections of a more authentic self that they need to project before the Europeans' eyes in order to become someone, either the Ancient predecessor of classicism or the exotic Other of

orientalism. Their colonial mimicry, then, looks not only onto the colonizer's identity, but also, and primarily, to an ideal, ahistorical and unattainable self (p. 28).

Greece is, consequently, a product of infinite reinscriptions and erasures that deeply infiltrate the political and conceptual body of Europe, as a *liminal* element. So, even though Greece has *not* been under colonial rule in the (Western, empirical) "traditional" political sense, we cannot ignore the "colonial difference" by reproducing the popular belief that whatever "happened" in Greece, "belongs to a European legacy that was built during and after the Renaissance – that is at the inception of the Atlantic circuit and the modern/colonial world" (Mignolo, 2002, p. 89). Emerging scholarship in Modern Greek Studies, places, or better yet, *identifies* Greece as a postcolonial nation, and must be, at the very least, considered along these lines when thinking about Greek exceptionalism.

Geographically, Greece is located in south-eastern Europe, on the southern end of the Balkan Peninsula, which locates the country at the crossroads between east and west – Homi Bhabha (1990, p. 4) defines such space as an "in-between" space – geographically, metaphorically, and discursively, in relation to Europe and the rest of the Balkan countries. Greece has been infused with elements of the Balkan-Europe-West Asian (Oriental) *trichotomy*, which actually raises the question whether Greece is a Balkan state in Europe, or whether Greece is a European state in the Balkans.

But, what about the *Asian* influence, or the Turkish, Anatolian, "Orientalist[92]" elements that are strongly imbued and ever present in Greece's cultural identity today? Clearly, the "Oriental element" reveals itself in the Byzantine tradition, which is very much *alive* in modern day Greece through the Orthodox Church. Indeed, the Oriental character of modern day Greeks cannot be ignored, since it is directly linked to Greece's Byzantine culture. Yet, when the Orient is

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[92] Orientalism, today, refers to a mode of thinking based on the difference in ontology and epistemology between the Orient and the Occident, as well as a way of dominance of the *powerful* West over the *weak*, according to Edward Said (1978). However, in this chapter, I deploy "Oriental" and "Orientalism" within the framework of Greece's nation-building process, to articulate the historical relationship between Greece and Turkey through the lens of scholars and writers who are writing specifically about Greece, within a particular historical period. I am not generalizing about the "Orient" as a whole, but merely specifying it as a historical phenomenon in the shifting cultural boundaries between Greece and Anatolia (central Turkey).

mentioned, vis-à-vis the Greek context, it is often taken as being *offensive*. Thus, while occidental Hellenism has become the cultural "ideal" to be sought, the oriental/Byzantine element... *not* so much. So, where *does* Greece actually belong? Or "fit"? Greeks often see themselves as being "Greeks," a people (or *λαός* laos), whose uniqueness and longevity has successfully been maintained, despite cycles of freedom, oppression, acceptance, and rebellion (Bien, 2010). Greece's uniqueness is ultimately its *endurance* – the opposite of defeatism or resignation – in spite of all the trials and tribulations the country has faced, historically.

The geopolitical placing of Greece between the Balkans and Europe, and the Balkans between the Occidental and Oriental, has been historically produced and reproduced, constructed and reconstructed, scripted and reinscripted, with the Greeks always trying to somehow "fit in" to this European "ideal," when in fact, they are not *"quite* European," or not "European *enough*"; but they are not quite Balkan, either. Rather, it seems "Greece is caught within a Balkan paradigm, located *through* but also *against* in relation to Europe" (Calotychos, 2013, p. 29). Thus, Greece's "liminality" or "in-betweeness" – a term I have borrowed (see Bhabha, 1990; Corcuff, 2012), not only to describe an in-between, transitional position in Greece's geography, political economy, and historical legacy, i.e., the multi-temporal sequence of Greece's history from pre-classical, classical, Hellenistic-Roman, Byzantine, onward – but to include this historical past to create a canvas on which geopolitical complexities have progressively developed, thus creating a cultural *persona*, or a cultural archetype, that amplifies the scope of reconstructing and reinscribing Greece's cultural identity through temporal and spatial rhythms.

Dimitris Tziovas (1994) suggests that Modern Europe has fashioned itself upon "light" "reason" "democracy" and "law," based on the Hellenic "ideal," which is a supranational, universal ideal; one that transcends the particularities of "culture." And while Greeks, perpetually, try to live up to this "ultimate ideal" that has been, more or less, carved out for them (mainly by the Europeans), they are struggling to somehow reinscribe, and/or reconcile the Eastern/Oriental cultural elements with Byzantium, that today, infiltrate their Christian Orthodox ethos, and resonate in the continuing importance of Greek Orthodoxy in defining "Greekness," and the emotional link with Byzantium and Constantinople (today's Istanbul) (Smith, 2000).

At the same time, Greeks often deny their Balkan, European, Asian/Oriental past, characterizing it as "stagnant," "backward," "irrational," and "despotical," wherein they disavow, in a sense, the very core of Greek identity, and thus, put themselves at risk of becoming *ahistorical.*

And while they tend to identify as *quintessentially* European (Ichijo & Spohn, 2005; Zacharia, 2008), Greeks, by and large, manifest cultural features that differentiate them from other Europeans. Perhaps the most ambivalent characteristic of Greece, which I discuss extensively throughout this chapter, lies in the fact that Greece was (until quite recently, when Cyprus [2004], Romania [2007], and Bulgaria [2007] entered the EU) the *only* Orthodox Christian member state of the European Union. But if we look outside the EU we might include the Eurasian Slavs (Ukraine, Russia, and Belorussia) and of course Balkan Orthodox countries like Serbia. Other features of Greece's unique identity that Peter Mackridge (2008), Professor of Modern Greek at the University of Oxford succinctly details are as follows: 1) Greek is the only language in the region to have such an old and continuous literary culture, once considered to be the most prestigious language of the Balkans and was used in church, administration, commerce and high culture. 2) Greece is the only EU member state to have formerly been a part of the Ottoman Empire (again, followed by Cyprus, Bulgaria, and Romania). 3) Greece was one of the poorest countries (until 2004) in the EU, although its GDP equals the combined GDP of all the former communist Balkan countries. 4) Greece has never been ruled by communist regime, and lastly, other important and, unique to Greece, characteristics are Greece's Byzantine heritage and classical Greek heritage *infused* and manifested in literature, art, architecture, philosophy, science, democracy and Alexander's (Alexander the Great) legacy and "civilizing mission" in the East, whom Greeks claim as "their own," as they have more recently done with the name *Macedonia.*

I have briefly summarized some of the characteristics that define Greek exceptionalism. It is difficult to overlook the tremendous contribution and influence Greeks have had on Europe and the world, for it is *this* exceptionalism, or uniqueness, that gives Greeks a sense of pride, and sometimes, a sense of superiority that might, at times, appear to be *hubristic.* It is this sense of historical "ownership" that drives Greeks to go so far as to strain relations with their neighbouring, *Skopje,*

FYROM, or the Republic of Macedonia, over a name dispute. Because, after all, you might ask: what *is* in a name? To the Greeks, *everything* is in a name...

When it comes to "holding on" to their classical Hellenistic identity, Greeks are often caught in a double bind: damned if they assert Hellenism as a global culture – which is most often interpreted as being arrogant and overreaching – and damned if they try to claim Greek civilisation as their own, which makes them parochial (Calotychos, 2013). As such, classical Hellenism is *reinscribed* into Modern Greece "as an inside/outside limit that generates a temporal and semantic scission and erases its Byzantine and Ottoman history, and Byzantinism and Orientalism are reinscribed into the Hellenic pole of the disemia attempting at the same time to erase and to correct the Classical Ideal" (Marín, 2014, p. 29). In other words, this romanticization of Christianity in Byzantium has essentially led to abandoning Hellenism – even though Hellenism was revived in and through Byzantium, but nevertheless, becomes perilous and threatening in a Christian (Orthodox) society. These reinscriptions continue to this day; they make up the very fibre that constitutes the heavy fabric of Greek identity; essential Greekness; heroic Hellenism. These reinscriptions have ensured, and continue to ensure Greece's ability to survive as a nation, as an ethnos, as a culture, as a religion, through an ongoing (self)reproduction, without *telos* in sight; unable to hypostasize in a definite and static identity, be it Western, Balkan, Oriental, Byzantine, or *otherwise.*

Modern Greek culture has not been studied enough from an international comparative perspective that could lend in making more precise and possibly confirm this exceptional character many speak of, over the last two decades (if not more) of Greece's ongoing *crisis.* Indeed, what is required is a critical re-examination that goes beyond taking "unreflective exceptionalisms" as "a given" in Greece's ethnic composition. Rather, an ethnic and civic approach might better place Greece and "Greekness" in a historic context, combined with the analyses of nationalism with a revisionist gaze, may, perhaps, contribute to better understanding what this "Greek exceptionalism" is, *really*, all about.

8.3 What's in a name?

In the political life of the country, the "grip" of exceptionalism in Greece's collective imagination was reasserted strongly in the protests that erupted in 1992 over the naming of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) (Beaton, 2009), a loss – so it seemed – of a historically significant name. Nobel Prize (1979) winning poet Odysseas Elytis, in a letter he wrote and signed addressed to European heads of state concerning Macedonia reminds the Greek people and the world that: "Our name, dear Sir, is the immediate jewel of our soul" (Merrill, 1999, p. 218). The recognition of Macedonia by *that* name was equivalent to declaring war against Greece, affirms Merrill (Merrill, 1999). As stated by Anthony Smith (2001), "the Greeks afford a good example of this revival and reidentification through continuity of names, language, and landscapes" (p. 91). As such, turmoil erupted when FYROM staked its claim to the Macedonian name. In fact, the (tremendous) loss of the name was so significant, it troubled the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so much so, that on their website they write

> The issue of the name of the *Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia* is not just a dispute over historical facts or symbols. It concerns the conduct of a UN member state, the *Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*, which contravenes the fundamental principles of international law and order; specifically, respect for good neighbourly relations, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The name issue is thus a problem with regional and international dimensions, consisting in the promotion of irredentist and territorial ambitions on the part of the *Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*, mainly through the counterfeiting of history and usurpation of Greece's national and historical heritage (Hellenic Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, para.1-2, 2014).

But what appeared to be a seemingly important, seventeen year dispute between Greece and FYROM (known today as the Republic of Macedonia) has gone relatively unnoticed over the last few years, especially by international observers. Greece's refusal to recognize the new state as the "Republic of Macedonia," has created a sensitive and politically charged climate that bears serious implications on the interethnic relations between Greeks and the existing Macedonian minority of northern Greece. Questions of citizenship, nationalism, and xenophobia have surfaced and pose serious concerns not only for the unrecognized Macedonian minority in Greece, but for the large number of Albanians and other minority groups (Muslims and Roma) who live in Greece. Furthermore, denying the existence of

minorities undermines the country's democratic structure, a structure the Greeks have so passionately been struggling to uphold through 400 years of Ottoman domination and up to 1974, after the fall of the Junta[93] dictatorship and beyond. In response to a letter that the Prime Minister of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Nikola Gruevski sent to Greece's Prime Minister Kostas Karamanlis (in an attempt to bring up the Macedonian issue in Greece), Karamanlis responded that:

> There is no "Macedonian" minority in Greece. There never has been.
> In this respect, any allegations regarding the existence of such a
> minority are totally unfounded, politically motivated and disrespectful of
> the historic realities of the region (Hellenic Republic, July 19, 2008, para.
> 1).

In 1998, foreign minister at the time, Theodoros Pangalos, expressed the official Greek position regarding the "Macedonian Issue" as follows:

> For Greece, there is no Slavic Minority in Greek Macedonia... There might be
> fifty or a hundred people scattered throughout Greece (who are free) to set up
> offices, circulate newspapers, learn their language, dance and sing their songs,
> and run the elections... If they think that their rights are violated... there is the
> Court of Human Rights that condemns those who violate human rights
> (Kostopoulos, 2000: 351, as cited in Roudometof, 2002, p. 136-137).

It appears, then, that historic and cultural semantics are embodied not only in national symbols, but also, in the case of names or naming, which has led the Greeks to regard the recognition of the new Republic of Macedonia as a violation of their national identity. Triantafyllidou, Calloni, and Mikrakis (1997) suggest that the Greek nationalist movement has, thus, acquired a defensive character seeking to protect anything perceived as national heritage. Essentially, the Greek government views the term "Macedonian" as a geographic term that describes all Greek citizens living in the Macedonian region in northern Greece and denies the assertions of the ethnic

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[93]The military Junta in Greece was imposed on 21 April 1967 when army officers, led by Colonel George Papadopoulos, Stylianos Pattakos and Colonel Nikolaos Makarezos seized power in a coup d'état. The Junta lasted until November 17th, 1973 when students occupied the National Technical University of Athens and in an "act of citizenship," or protest overthrew the Junta. The students used their bodies as barricades when tanks crushed the gates of the Athens Polytechneion and killed many students. This act ruptured, if not shattered the climate of fear. The fall of the Junta brought about the restoration of liberal democracy in Greece.

Macedonians in Greece as being a "minority group"; officials refer to them as "Slavophone Greeks" or "bilinguals" (Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, 1996).

As outlined in chapter 7 of this dissertation, the Greek government officially acknowledges only *one* minority in Greece: the Muslim (Turkish) minority in Western Thrace, whose existence was confirmed in the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, which established the rights of the Muslim minority in Greece and of the Greek minority in Turkey (Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, 1994). As further recorded by the Human Rights Watch/Helsinki (1996), an organization that investigates human rights abuses in over seventy countries around the world, members of the Macedonian minority who live in Greece, are routinely subject to harassment by the state, on the job, in the military, and, of course, in schools. Such harassment has led to a widespread climate of fear. A significant number of people interviewed by the mission (the Human Rights Watch is also referred to as "the fact-finding mission") stated, specifically, that they did not want their names used, for fear of losing jobs or suffering from the kind of harassment experienced by human rights activists, i.e., being followed, threatened, and/or harassed. I sensed fear in many prospective participants' (3 participants in total), in the moments before they backed out of this study, even though I assured them that their true identities would never be revealed. Many of these people feared deportation, or losing their jobs, even becoming stigmatized as being "traitors" of their host country. While I cannot defend any of the politicians' sentiments expressed above, especially when they degenerate into xenophobia and intolerance, it is important to perhaps better understand Greek peoples' reactive and/or defensive stance, historically, that has given rise to nationalist sentiments with regard to the name "Macedonia." Greece's response toward the naming of Macedonia is most often criticized as incomprehensible, trivial, or overly emotional, even irrational and absurd (Zahariadis, 1994). Yet to the Greeks, it is paramount.

So, what's in a name? Well, there is no "clear cut" answer to this question. It is rather, *ineffable*, in that it lies beyond the limits of language, thought, even reality. It is a legacy; a past; it is about identity preservation and survival; it is a *religion...* Indeed, "such congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times, overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves" (Geertz, 1973, p. 259). Perhaps understanding the unique case of Greek nationalism might allow us to

better grapple with it in the sense of being Greek, as well as identifying the practiced logic behind nationhood.

8.4 The Uniqueness of Nationalism in Greece

Roderick Beaton (2009) asserts, that over the last 25 years, or so, several studies have discussed the dominance of nationalist discourse in Greece, that has been systematically challenged on theoretical grounds. And while initiatives from outside of Greece have sought to theoretically and historically ground the uniqueness of nationalism in Greece, the onslaught of immigration, followed by Greece's recession and subsequent austerity policies have, more or less, triggered a wave of ethnically charged nationalist sentiments and movements, that are in many ways defensive, even reactionary, in nature and that cut across all political party ideologies in Greece (and *not* only Golden Dawn's far-right, coercive, ethno-nationalist and populist ideology). As outlined in the *Literature Review* chapter, Greece's current Prime Minister, and New Democracy leader Antonis Samaras, (former Politiki Anixi leader, and hard right-winger), has made frequent references to the Greek Orthodox faith and other patriotic themes and sentiments, alike, in his speeches to the Greek people. In his first public address as Prime Minister of the country, Samaras asked the Greek people for (their) "patriotism and strong national unity and trust, [so] that with the help of God, we'll do whatever we can for the people to come out of this crisis" (BBC News World June 20, 2012, para. 9). And following, of course, in his tenure as Prime Minister, are the anti-immigrant sentiments he expressed with reference to undocumented immigrants and refugees, as well as, his desire to cancel the citizenship law that was passed in 2010, which allows second generation immigrants to apply for Greek citizenship (see Chapter 3). Even more disturbing, however, were suggestions made by Minister of Public Order, Michalis Chrysochoidis's – who is surprisingly a "socialist" representing the centre-left party, PASOK (Ekathimerini; EUobserver) – to house immigrants in "reception centers" around the city to ease the pressure on the big cities. Many immigrants, in the meantime, would be awaiting deportation in containers, fenced off with barbed wire (Detention, alternatives to detention and deportation review; Council of Europe, September, 2013). These examples are representative of a wider nationalist ideology

that pervades a better part of Greek society with the Greek Orthodox Church at the epicentre.

Even when attempting to consider the usually secularist *leftist* ideologies, in Greece one finds another exceptionality. Even for the left, Modern Greek *nationhood* relies upon the Greek Orthodox Church, almost entirely! And it goes without saying that, while there seems to be "good chemistry" between the church and right-wing political parties in Greece, right-wing politicians "ostentatiously exhibit their religiousness and populist support for the church" (Roudometof & Makrides, 2010, p. 75), intellectuals, academics, and left wing politicians struggle tremendously to carve out a distinct political space to house their ideology. Even the slightest secularizing measures, ultimately necessary for the protection of basic human rights, including the rights of immigrant people with different religious backgrounds and orientations, have been perceived by the Church as direct threats to its position, vis-à-vis linking religion intimately with Greek politics and Greek identity.

The tensions that exist between the Greek Orthodox Church and the parties of the left are ongoing to this day (Chrysoloras, 2002). Historically, in the nationalist discourse of the Greek government, Greek communists or leftists were said to have engaged in a "monstrous... plot to strike Greece through her children" (Royal Greek Embassy 1950, as cited in Danforth & Van Boeschoten, 2012, p. 37). As such, Orthodoxy is perceived as automatically implying a commitment to the protection of the Greek traditions. What is most interesting and worth noting, however, is that unlike other European countries, being a communist, atheist, or agnostic in Greece does not preclude someone from attending Church celebrations, because "Orthodoxy in Greece is mostly experienced as a 'way of life' rather as an attachment to metaphysical beliefs" (Chrysoloras, 2002, p. 3). This relationship between Greek people and the Orthodox faith is perfectly encapsulated in the words of a Greek dentist who affirms: "Personally I am an atheist; but because I am Greek, I am of course a member of the Orthodox Church" (Ware, 1983, p. 208, as cited in Stavrakakis, 2002, p. 9). Consequently, being a "communist" or "leftist," let alone an "atheist" in Greece, is nearly blasphemous, and implies a sense of de-nationalization and de-Hellenization.

An example that solidifies the aforementioned position is reflected in a statement left-wing SYRIZA party chief Alexis Tsipras made about being an atheist, which has led to "a war of words from political opponents and a flurry of comments on social media." (Tsiliopoulos, January 20, newgreek, para. 1). Indeed, following his statement, announcements and comments from all sides, including the opposition of course, poured in. New Democracy's (ND) MP, Fevronia Patrianakou, immediately linked the issue with the church, asking "how Mr. Tsipras' beliefs would affect church – state relations if he were to become leader" (Tsiliopoulos, January 20, newgreek, para. 4). The ND party insisted that the Greek people and voters have a right to know *what* Mr. Tsipras "believes in," urging the main opposition party to confirm or deny the statement. Of course the row has sparked off commentary with many wondering if the leftist party even has a bureau for religious affairs, while others decry the seeming *dislike* of Christians shown by the party, but who otherwise, show support of religious minorities, even radical Islamists (Tsiliopoulos, January 20, newgreek). In the meantime, photos of Tsipras taking part in a "blessing of waters," or *agiasmo*, by Orthodox Archbishop Ieronymos during a swearing ceremony at parliament, is testimony that Orthodoxy is an inescapable force that pervades the very fibre of Greek life, in all facets. While emphasis on mystery and ritual may be difficult to understand for those unfamiliar with Orthodoxy and the Orthodox Church, what makes matters more confusing, is when such mystery and ritual become embedded or *infused* (in) with the political sphere. Thus, the question remains, can one fully be "Greek" and *not* be Christian Orthodox? Mavrogordatos (2003) maintains that while many would accept this in principle, or prove it in practice in their daily lives, per se, the vast majority of the (Greek) nation would still respond negatively, if not flat out reject the question, in and of itself, as being an *impossible* one to ask, let alone, provide an answer for.

Thus, Greece's nationalist character is not merely a defense of the ancient Greek spirit and ideals, alone. Rather, the uniqueness and distinctiveness of Greek nationalism lies in the "re-birth" of Greece as a nation that re-emerged in the 1820s. At this time, Greece began to gain legitimacy as a nation-state, after four hundred and some odd years of Ottoman occupation, domination, colonization. Understanding Greece's nation-building processes since Ottoman times ought to be

of greater importance than it has been to scholarship over the last few years, thus obscuring the formative role of the Greek experience in the creation of today's Europe of sovereign nation states and the worldwide phenomenon of nationalism (Beaton & Ricks, 2009). Surprisingly, Greece holds a rather marginal space in nationalist discourse, even though Greece was the *first* of the newly formed nation states of Europe to win full sovereignty in the 19th century (Beaton & Ricks, 2009). The "immigrant condition" and the multiple resistances toward immigration in Greece, offers the opportunity to discuss Greece's unique state formation, while the case of Greek nationalism, as it emerged in the 1820s, can offer valuable insights into *why* and *how* national belonging and national past are important, albeit, very much contested.

The influence of nationalism on politics is paramount, and in spite of the many predictions of its demise in the past decades, nationalism has remained a strong social and political driving force for collectivities, internationally. For the Balkans, the complex socio-economic and historical circumstances have necessarily contributed to the dominance of the state over society, which set the parameters for a highly centralized public administration that continues to define Modern Greece today. According to Anthony Smith (1998), the dominance of the state over society means ethnic nationalism, rather than a civic nationalism is prevalent in modern Greece (Kokosalakis & Psimmenos, 2002; Smith, 1998). What does this mean? According to Anthony Smith (2009), "ethnic nationalisms emphasised the importance of genealogical ties for national belonging, vernacular culture such as languages, customs and cults, a nativist ethno-history and shared folk memories, and popular mobilisation – the appeal to 'the people' as the 'authentic' voice of the nation" (p. 67). Greece exemplifies all of the above. Nevertheless, Greek nationalism has shifted, changed, and mutated numerous times, and these changes have been highly dependent on social, economic, and political circumstances since the 1820s.

Indeed, Greece's political history is a turbulent one, while its dialectic with modernity and the West has constituted the basic framework of representation of Greek identity and Greek nationalism (Kokosalakis & Psimmenos, 2002). Yet, at the heart of Greek nationhood, lies religion, embodied in the Orthodox Christian Church and a strong ethnic nationalism that is founded on membership based on

descent or heredity, and articulated in terms of common blood or kinship – *jus sanguinis*.

George Mavrogordatos (2003) invokes Benedict Anderson's argumentative style to affirm that "people may be prepared to fight and die for the 'true' religion long before (if ever) they are prepared to do so for the 'correct' language, especially as long as they remain illiterate (p. 117). As Anderson himself reveals, "nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being" (Anderson, 1983, p. 19). Anderson identifies the religious community as a "for granted" frame of reference, very much as nationality is today. Greek nationalism was initially born as a civic and individualistic movement with a focus on "freedom" and "independence" which ultimately became the moving force for the Greek revolution of 1821 and the independence of the Peloponnese. In the 19th century, Greek nationalism shifted, again, and this time to an ethnic-collectivistic nationalism that remained as such until the 1950s, and was followed by the dictatorship of the Colonels (1967-1974).

It is important to mention that emigration from Greece increased dramatically (see Tziovas, 2009). Greece became a migrant-*sending* country. What remains consistent, in every phase of Greece's nation building process, is the Greek Orthodox Church's pivotal role in the preservation of national identity, especially when it comes to the Greeks of the Diaspora; in fact, the most significant agent that "sustained" them, was the Greek Orthodox Church *outside* Greece. For diasporic Greeks, the Orthodox Church provides the principal and, increasingly, the *only* vehicle for the preservation of their ethnic identity outside Greece. A Greek cannot be a Protestant or a Muslim in, say, Australia, Canada, the UK or elsewhere, just as much as a Greek in Greece cannot be considered a "real" Greek if she or he is *not* Greek Orthodox. Moreover, for the Greek diaspora this relationship is significantly amplified, bringing diasporic Greeks closer to the church. The Greek state expects diasporic Greeks to maintain manifold ties with the mother country, and to serve as "pressure groups" for Greek national interests (Mavrokordatos, 2009). In fact, Greeks of the diaspora often consider themselves to be "more Greek than Greeks from Greece" (I have heard this on several occasions from my parents and other

diasporic Greeks) because they have kept Greek customs, traditions, rituals, Orthodoxy *alive*. Meanwhile, back in the "motherland," many Greeks actually consider Greeks of the diaspora quite anachronistic, even "backward," to say the least, in their sentimentalist and defense of constitution ways.

To recap, identification of the "Nation" with "Orthodoxy" is almost synonymous. Orthodoxy, as a homogeneous entity, undeniably stands at the centre of Greek national identity. And since the foundation of the independent state (recognized in May, 1932), the church has been prepared to compromise with the state on several issues. Prime examples of such compromise were when the Greek government introduced legislative change towards equality of the sexes, decriminalisation of adultery, and end of the dowry system (Fokas, 2008). One example of a proposed and subsequently executed change that caused intense struggle between the church and state was the process of making civil marriage a requirement. Prior to this *proposal*, Greeks could *only* marry within the Greek Orthodox Church (Fokas, 2008), (in a long, ritualistic, religious ceremony). When the state proposed the civic ceremony, the Church retaliated, and the state *compromised* (italics mine) under pressure. Civil marriage was, thus, made an option and became legally equal to the Orthodox marriage (Fokas, 2008).

The most potent church-state related conflict, however, was that over the identity cards, referred to as "The identity card crisis" (Molokotos-Liederman, 2003). Basically, there was a policy that originated in 1945 aimed at recording one's religious affiliation on state ID cards, which was essentially created to distinguish atheists (who at the time were usually Communists), and Orthodox Christians (who were moderate or pro-government citizens) (Molokotos-Liederman, 2003). This policy of registering one's religious affiliation on ID cards, remained unquestioned, and in effect until 1985, when the issue became a political and partisan power game (Molokotos-Liederman, 2003). Archbishop Christodoulos, the protagonist in this matter, criticized the state for making such (an important) policy decision *without* consulting the church – since the church ought to be consulted on a policy protecting private data, which would be in line with a European Union directive (Fokas, 2008). The archbishop eventually lost the identity-card battle with the state,

and "religious affiliation" (as a category) was removed from the new identity cards being printed.

So, while several compromises have been made between the Church and the State on relatively important issues, there is *one* compromise that will *not* be entertained, and that is the separation of the Greek Orthodox Church from the Greek State and, thus, from education. Greek national consciousness has been, and continues to be, shaped by Orthodoxy, and what remains unique to Orthodoxy that has ensured its continuity, is a traumatic and defensive historical consciousness that reaches into a far and distant Byzantine past. What makes Orthodoxy even more unique, however, is its ongoing continuity in Greece that seems to go beyond the dichotomy between tradition and modernity.

To provide a perspective on ways to think about immigrant peoples' experiences in Greece necessitates a recapitulation and elucidation of historical empirical understandings of Greece (as a host country); for it is Greece's history and political theology[94] that have substantially impacted and contributed to the hardening of the boundaries of Greek ethnic identity; it is this *fusion* of religion (Greek Orthodoxy), ethnicity, and power that have served as a shield against external threatening forces, but, at the same time, have allowed the nation to survive and carry forward (Kolosalakis & Psimmenos, 2002).

Thus far, and throughout this dissertation, I have discussed how immigration into Greece has been seen as a threat to Greek national identity, thus creating a major identity crisis for the Greeks. Over the last twenty years, Greece has become home to a rising number of immigrants. The National Statistical Service of Greece stopped collecting data on migration flows in 1977; hence, roughly, the country's foreign-born/immigrant population has risen from below 1 percent, to over 11 percent since 1991 (Cholezas & Tsakloglou, 2008). In addition, I have detailed how the Greek state has, historically, grounded national belonging on ethnicity, which has consequently excluded people who did not exhibit Greek ethnic traits (see Smith, 2009). Immigration has challenged Greece's nationalist model of ethnically

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[94] Although the concept "political theology" was initially introduced by Carl Schmitt (1922), I allude to Pantelis Kalaitzidis's (2013) *Orthodoxy and Political Theology* as Orthodoxy's inability to develop a "political theology" in the liberating and radical sense of the term.

homogeneous belonging, while this dominant nationalist ideology seems to perpetuate and reproduce social and cultural inequalities through institutions like the Greek Orthodox Church and the state and their representatives, which threatens to undermine Greece's democratic character. Although Louis Althusser was mainly referring to the pre-capitalist historical period – and his perspective was specifically drawn from a French context – when he identified the *church* as the dominant state apparatus. Specifically, in the case of Greece, the dominant ideological state apparatus, continues to be the Church, and concentrates not only within it religious functions, per se, but *educational* functions, since Greek state schools are directly linked to the Orthodox Church. The Greek Orthodox Church, as such, is one of the most important institutions by which the state establishes and maintains its hegemony.

What is most intriguing in the case of Greece, however, is the unrelenting persistence of the Greeks to let go of ghosts of the past, and allow them to "crossover," so that they could finally embrace the excluded, "undocumented immigrants, the unemployed, [and] the poor" (Douzinas, 2013, p. 114). But the lack of trust in the Greek governments has instilled a sense of insecurity in the Greeks, making the defense of national identity the ultimate value and duty of every Greek citizen. Greek society writes, Kalanzti (2007) "is going through a typical phase of fears and steps that a society goes through when facing the immigration and cultural diversity issues" (Kalantzi, 2007, p. 1). However, my sense is that what Greece is going through lies beyond a "typical phase." While the notion of "multiculturalism" is a relatively new phenomenon for Greeks, Greek society is struggling tremendously to grapple with the notion, let alone, find a balance in how to deal with their immigrant population. If, indeed, 11 percent of the population residing in Greece are immigrants – that means people who are *not* Greek nationals and *not* Greek Orthodox – Greece must see this as a sign for demographic renewal, or the dawn of a new social reality, Greece has been transformed from a labour exporting country to a labour importing country, until the economic crisis, that it. But what are the implications of this new social reality for the new generation of "Greeks" who enter Greek state schools? If the state and the church are, as I have indicated, *infused*, what does this mean for immigrant students who enter the school system and bring with

them a religious orientation that is *not* Orthodox, and consequently according to nationalist logic, not Greek?

8.5 How "Public" *are* Greek Public Schools?

State, or most commonly referred to as "public" (*δημόσια*, "public") schools in Greece, are linked strongly to the state, but also, to the Greek Orthodox Church – which, in turn, is heavily interlinked to the state[95] – and constitutes a central ingredient of Greek ethno-cultural identity. In Greece, there are enduring, and seemingly ongoing deficiencies in the public education system, which most often translates in the state's inability to fulfill the educational needs of its Greek citizens, let alone, the basic educational needs of its immigrants and foreigners. The Greek state has demonstrated over the years, that it has *not* been adequately equipped to "receive" nor to "take care" of its immigrant population in what appears to be a very exclusionist, internalist, and ultimately, *racist* society, despite the brazen rhetoric and poetics that set out to exalt the concepts of "philotimo" and "philoxenia," that to this day, persistently pervade mainstream public discourse; traits that (stereo)typically define the "essence of being a Greek." There is evidently a large gap between the rhetoric over hospitality/philoxenia and what actually *happens*, in reality, to immigrants, visible minorities, even people with disabilities or special needs in Greece; indeed, there is a tremendous gap between rhetoric and reality, on the ground.

The ongoing challenges of attempting to somehow integrate minorities with diverse religious and cultural backgrounds into Greek society, without "disrupting" or "interrupting" the flow of "Greekness," per se, is observed on a daily basis, which brings into question, what *is* the actual link between citizenship and religion (Orthodoxy) in Greece, and what are the implications of what appears to be a highly elusive notion of "citizenship"? Furthermore, it somehow verifies the assumption that "being Greek" or "Greekness" is synonymous to Orthodoxy. In other words, to *be* Orthodox in modern Greece is not only a matter of religious affiliation; rather, it is

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[95] The relationship between the Church and the State is one of co-dependency. The Church expects State protection through the Constitution and other legal and financial means. The State, in turn, depends on the Church as a homogenizing and unifying force (Kokosalakis, 1996).

a cultural characteristic that belongs to the generic sense of "Greekness" (Makrides, date). The connection between Orthodoxy and the civic dimensions of state and education have significant implications in understanding immigrant students' sense of identity and belonging in the Greek public education system. Thus, it is important to understand the characteristics that make Greece distinct from other countries in the EU, even neighbouring Turkey. For instance, in countries like France and Turkey, there is a clear distinction made between religion and citizenship – this means that the state does not exercise religious power and no religion in the state exercises political power (Williams, Hinge, & Persson, 2008), because in such states, religion is a private matter, while society is a public sphere where the individual is simply a citizen. This, however, is not the case in Greece.

The overwhelming array of literature, as I have indicated, both supports and confirms that Greek Orthodoxy is, in fact, a marker of "Greekness" (Pollis 1999, p. 187). That said, the Church exercises considerable political power, particularly when it perceives that its institutional interests are challenged or when state policy is detrimental or threatening to Orthodoxy. Although steps have been taken to distance the state from the church, this oddly symbiotic, co-dependent relationship, indeed, hinders, or better yet, allows little room for flexibility in the interpretation, as well as the implementation of "public" policy without involving the church in some way or other. And since this *is* the case, how does "a foreigner" in Greece who wants to live permanently in Greece, become a Greek citizen when she or he is *not* a Greek Orthodox Christian?

Any attempt to sever the strong umbilical connection between Church and State is virtually impossible, because such "break" would summon the inevitable separation of Hellenism (Greekness) from Orthodoxy, which would be detrimental to Greek society and Greek cultural identity. Helleno-Orthodoxy, or Greek Orthodoxy is deeply and historically embedded in many aspects of contemporary Greek public life, and daily experiences of "private" ritual, Church-State relations, state celebrations, popular religiosity, rites of passage and, of course, in the education system (Roussou, 2011). So when one makes reference to "public" schooling in Greece, the "public" always incorporates the interpretation of the Greek Orthodox Christian faith; in other words all aspects of Greek public life are imbued with

Christian Orthodox values that inform, as well as *form*, the "DNA" of Greek society. Furthermore, Greek text-books continue to stress the uniformity and continuity of Hellenism across centuries (Frangoudaki-Dragona 1997), which is why any "new" narrative, or textbook such as Maria Repousi's grade 6 history textbook, have been heavily contested.

It seems historically, and at the present time, confirmed in the literature and through the participants' narratives, that this relationship between Church and State has never actually benefitted the modernization or liberalization of education in any profound way. In fact, state or public education in Greece has always faced, and continues to face tremendous shortages in buildings, equipment, adequately trained teaching personnel, resources, and so on. Meanwhile, the Greek Orthodox Church owns property worth approximately €700 billion, if not more, which is more than double the country's national debt. Alain Salles (2011) of *The Guardian* writes that "The Church" is the second-largest landowner in Greece, after the state, and holds a 1.5% share in the National Bank of Greece, with a seat on the board. The Church vehemently opposes an increase in church taxes, refusing "to foot the bill for other people's mistakes." As such, property taxes levied across Greece have not (thus far) applied to the church, (Salles, Tuesday 4 October 2011).

While some may argue that the reforms of 1976 have seemingly "patched up" some of the holes in public education, they have most certainly *not* mended them; not even close. Essentially, the 1976 reforms are often evoked because, surprisingly, these reforms had brought about certain positive changes that were desperately needed in Greek education – a period of rehabilitation, reconstruction, and reconciliation for Greece, after the fall of the military Junta, and that basically included: 1) the liberalization of certain important facets of the Greek educational system, like the adoption of the *Dimotiki*,[96] the modern vernacular form of the Greek language, and the modernization contents of textbooks; 2) the increase of the years of compulsory schooling from six to nine; and 3) the establishment of a dual educational structure through the creation of a technical or vocational education

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[96] Dimotiki, δημοτική γλῶσσα or "[language] of the people"), is the modern vernacular form of the Greek language; a form that has evolved naturally from ancient Greek, in opposition to the artificially archaic *Katharevousa*, which was the official standard language until 1976.

sector, ultimately intended to accommodate the majority of the school population (Frangoudakis, 1981). In a broader sense, maintains Frangoudakis (1981), "liberalization was a 'political debt' of post-dictatorship governments and an indispensable step toward a new political equilibrium in the country" (Frangoudakis, 1981, p. 16). In addition, it was made possible by cash subsidies from Northern Europe as an insurance policy.

The manner in which these reforms were *enacted* however, is steeped in inefficiency, while the current, and incessantly rigid conditions that prevail within the Greek state school system are reminiscent of the ever-present shortcomings in educational policy and reform implementation – or *practice*. The ambivalent nature of the "Greek governmental machinery" (Frangoudakis, 1981, p. 17), of course, raises serious doubts with regard to what the chances of ultimate success for any kind of educational reform *might be* in the case of Greece, since lack of adequate delivery of policy and reform is attributed to political instability, or to the constant breakdown and corruption (related to the self-interest of politicians) of the governmental machinery. In the late 1970s, Anna Frangoudakis predicted that the traditional characteristics of the Greek educational system would survive, and attrition would take care of a large proportion of economically disadvantaged students. Frangoudakis was right, in retrospect, but in addition to economically disadvantaged youth, attrition is now "taking care" of culturally disadvantaged youth, like immigrants, which means that other social or cultural factors, including differences in religious faith, in addition to economic disadvantage come into play. Frangoudakis concludes that while the reforms did take place in 1976, in *practice* "they did *not*" (Frangoudakis, 1981, p. 8). Similarly, today, while policy looks great on paper, without action, praxis, or delivery, without tangible and viable results, the value of a policy document is subject to conjecture, and in the end, remains unrealized.

What actually happened during the reforms of 1976 was that Western logic was adapted to the traditional traits of the Greek educational system, thus creating the fear that some of the negative features of Western education would join the existing negative characteristics of traditional Greek education – another, perhaps, angle of xenophobia. Greeks "love to hate" so-called "Americanization" or "xenism" (foreignism) in general, which implies more or less, allowing unwelcome foreign

elements to seep into Greek culture, particularly when it interferes with tradition and deeply ingrained social norms and cultural values. Many Greeks feel that being exposed to, or "culturally opened" to aspects of a foreign culture that are not "in line" or that might potentially "corrupt" Greek cultural identity, should not be allowed in the school system.

Such is the case with attempting to adapt multicultural or intercultural educational endeavors in Greece. The country is basically, at this moment, not capable of adequately comprehending, let alone, addressing issues of plurality and multiculturalism. I would even go so far as to assert that Greeks, perhaps, do not *want* plurality or multiculturalism; rather they want to preserve traditional, or *essential* notions of *Greekness* and Orthodoxy that have been and continue to be constitutive elements in Greek identity. In fact, the primacy of religion, notes Barker, as the criterion of Greek identity is noteworthy (p. 140). As such, a way out of this dilemma does not lie in simple manipulations or adaptations of elements of foreign models, like embracing a model such as Canada's multiculturalism model, per se, but "in a genuine attempt to invent a Greek educational system suited to the peculiarities of the country and responding to the political will of its people" (Frangoudaki, 1981, p. 18). However, attempting to "invent" such system is less than straightforward, because when it comes to Orthodoxy, "there is little 'de facto' separation of church and state" (p. 18) and this is what makes Greece's case a peculiar one.

The peculiarity of Greece is paradigmatic on many levels, but when it comes to the Greek Orthodox Church's influence vis-à-vis the larger national contexts of religious and political interaction, many things become a non-negotiable. It seems that modernity, reason, and secularism states Safran (2004), have largely bypassed modern Greece. National identity has been constructed and became coterminous with ethnic identity in which religion, namely Eastern Orthodoxy, took precedence. While the symbiosis, between the state and the church are always under scrutiny, many traditional characteristics of the Greek educational system continue to be prevalent in Greek state schools, and this can be attributed, mainly, to the Greek Orthodox Church, that continues to be omnipresent, as much in Greek society and public spaces, as in the public school system.

In primary and secondary schools, classes in religious education, aside from being mandatory, are taught according to the doctrine and the tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and while non-Orthodox pupils may *not* be obliged to follow the classes (as outlined by my interview Dardan the immigrant student from Albania, when he stated that his Jewish classmate was exempt from religion class), they are not excluded from *observing*. In all the schools of general education in Greece, or Greek state schools, religion, is taught always in accordance with the creed of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and is compulsory for all grade-schoolers who are Orthodox Christians. In junior high schools and high schools, religion is taught by graduates of a university Faculty of Theology, which means they are *not* actually teacher pedagogues; rather, they are theologians (this is similar to other specializations, for instance, physics teachers are not pedagogues, they are considered to be physicists).

To make the significance of the above point clear, in 1949, the Ministry of National Education and Cults (as it was then called), fired a teacher because he had joined the religion of Jehovah's Witnesses. The teacher appealed to the Council of State (the highest administrative court), which rejected his appeal on grounds that the qualification of Christian Orthodox constitutes a necessary element for the fulfillment of a teacher's duties, which include, for example, the teaching of religion, teaching the students in general, and being a churchgoer (Papastathis, 1996). Following this decision, the Ministry no longer appointed teachers in primary education, and in extension, kindergarten teachers, if they were *not* Orthodox. This system, the exception of schools of religious minorities or private schools, was in force up to 1988, when it was abolished. Accordingly, a non-Orthodox teacher may now be appointed in a school.

Article 199 of the Greek Penal Code states that "one who publicly and maliciously and by any means blasphemes the Greek Orthodox Church or any other religion tolerable in Greece shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than two years" (Council of Europe, 2010, p. 270). Similarly, the country outlaws any speech or act that "insults public sentiment" or "offends people's religious sentiments" (CFI, 2013, p. 9). Religious symbols, mainly icons of Jesus Christ, are used in the court halls and behind the judges' chair at all jurisdictions; they are also

found in hospitals, and icons of Jesus Christ also hang on the walls of Greek state school classrooms, mainly, behind the teacher's desk. Byzantine icons, in fact, pervade many public spaces in Greece. Greece, today, continues to be a predominantly Greek Orthodox society (98% in 2001), and the Church refuses to withdraw from the political and social (public) sphere. I would go so far as to say that there are co-dependent tendencies, between church leaders and state leaders. Ultimately, Christian Orthodoxy is a rather obscured presence on the European religious scene (Fokas, 2008) unique and particular to Greece. Greek Orthodoxy runs deep, permeating every facet of culture, history, society, and public life. It is important to underscore this factor as it often hampers discussion of education reform and its implications on policy development and potential implementation. The Greek Orthodox Church is engulfed by nationalism and pragmatism, and rarely allows any critical reflection to gain precedence in Greek society.

8.6 Religious Minorities

Religious minorities in Greece encounter tremendous obstacles in exercising their religious freedom. In fact, Adamnatia Pollis (1999) maintains that, no non-Orthodox religious establishment in Greece has a legal status, which restricts people with different religious backgrounds to practice their religion. Religious minorities, on the contrary, at the instigation of the Orthodox Church, have been subject to state surveillance, and have consequently resorted to the European Court of Human Rights (Greece: Status of Minorities Report, October, 2012). Needless to say that, any move towards secularization, or even toward recasting the parameters of Greek identity, are not in the horizon, or at least, visible to the "naked eye." There are numerous examples, both in the literature, and in the participant narratives that confirm that Albanians who migrate to Greece, and to other predominantly Christian countries like Italy, for example, make tremendous efforts to "cover up," or downright, obliterate their Albanian identity in the hope of "passing" for Orthodox Christians or Greek-Albanians or Roman Catholics in Italy. This re-identification, re-socialization, reorientation, and reintegration of Albanian identity into Greek society and culture – that necessarily presupposes the abandonment of a previous identity for a new, "Grecified" identity – is, without a doubt, a strategy that seeks to advocate

comforting for the local society's inattention to the stigmatized origin (Kokkali, 2011). In addition, and in the case of many "less-desirable" immigrants who live in Greece, identity abandonment, which is quite common, can also be seen as a process of dissimulation of a stigmatized peoples, evident in practices like name changing and change in religious affiliation (Kokkali, 2011), i.e., converting to the Greek Orthodox faith.

What is perhaps most interesting is that a religious revival of sorts and the de-privatization of religion have been observed in most developed or still-developing countries (Roudometof & Makrides, 2010), and Greece is not isolated from this. Evaggelos Karagiannis (2009) maintains that Greece's peculiarity lies in the "extent of the complex of regulations concerning the relations between church and state, and which as a whole, is unique in Europe" (Fountedaki 2000, p. 660, italics in text; cf. Fountedaki 2002, p. 192). Indeed, the Greek Orthodox Church is an extremely powerful political and economic entity in Greece, and while rumors about its privatization have been circulating, privatization of the Church does not appear to be on anyone's agenda, thus far. On the contrary, the Church is trying harder than ever to affirm its presence in the public domain in order to re-assert its traditional privileged legal, social, and cultural status (Roudometof & Makrides, 2010), which could be quite problematic, to say the least, especially when "in the era of globalisation, state protectionism, complacent isolationism, tenacious ostrich-like behaviour and flight backward can be formulas of failure" (Sotirelis, 1999, p. 78-79).

With the Greek Orthodox Church still very strongly immersed in the so-called public sphere, the barriers of educational policy, delivery, and implementation are especially compounded in the post-conflict country that is burdened with such "heavy history" such as Greece. Of course, there are numerous contingencies, including the historically developed relationship between religion and national identity in the Greek case; the particular relationship between church and state that developed (and was constitutionalized) in Greece on the basis of the latter; and the role of agency and, in particular, church leadership (Fokas, 2008). Other dimensions that need to be taken into consideration are context, in terms of external developments (national or international) that may influence the church's trajectory, and most importantly, public opinion, in these particular contexts. In other words, a

range of factors influence the place of religion in the public sphere, each of which requires individual analysis.

Clearly, immigrants with a non-Orthodox background are ostracized and are not able to actively and freely engage in public life in Greece. Greece's 2012 Religious Freedom Report, reports numerous instances of societal abuses or discrimination based on religious affiliation, belief, or practice (International Religious Freedom Report, 2012). Non-Orthodox citizens complained of being treated with suspicion or being told they were not truly Greek when they revealed their religious affiliations to other Greek citizens (Report on International Religious Freedom - Greece, 20 May 2013). Members of non-Orthodox religious groups reported incidents of societal discrimination; members of the Muslim minority in Thrace were underrepresented in public sector employment, and no Muslim military personnel advanced to officer ranks (Larkin, 2001). The International Religious Freedom Report indicates that there have been reports of harassment and increasingly violent physical attacks against individuals perceived to be immigrants and refugees, many of whom were Muslim. Expressions of anti-Semitism increased after voters elected members of Golden Dawn to parliament. There were reports of harassment and increasingly violent physical attacks against individuals perceived to be immigrants and refugees, many of whom were Muslim (Greece 2012, International Religious Freedom Report). Expressions of anti-Semitism also increased after voters elected members of Golden Dawn to parliament.

Non Orthodox immigrants, therefore, have much more to deal with than Orthodox Christian immigrants. While all of the participants in this study claimed to be Orthodox Christians, I would be curious to find out about the struggles non-Orthodox immigrants have encountered. One of the policy actors in this study clearly pointed out that her own initiative in trying to help members of the Muslim minority in Thrace and how she was physically attacked and harassed because for being a Greek woman advocating for Muslim/Turkish people. She has been called a "traitor," a "Turkophile," and other derogatory epithets.

8.7 Understanding Greek *Citizenship*

Perhaps two very important questions one might ask at this point in this dissertation would be: *what* (then) constitutes "Greek Citizenship," and who can *become* a Greek citizen, after all? Comprehensive and straightforward answers to these questions are quite difficult to provide, simply because citizenship matters have always been extremely blurry for non-Greeks and very difficult to decipher in the Greek context (which is why I have saved this discussion for this last section). There are no pamphlets, or "step-by-step guidelines," online or otherwise, on *how* to apply for citizenship in Greece; there is no "test," or "eligibility requirements," or a "help center" available for those who may have questions pertaining to an "application" that simply does *not* exist. Greek society has never been overly concerned with citizenship matters because one is either "Greek" (which automatically makes them a citizen) or non-Greek (*not* a citizen).

Greek citizenship seems to have preoccupied the policies and literature of *other* countries in the European Union (Tsitselikis 2004), but has not necessarily preoccupied *Greece*. The concept of "citizenship" in Greece, as understood in North America is by no means analogous – Greeks do *not* understand North American constructs of "citizenship." Specifically, liberal constructs of citizenship that are dominant in most Western countries are not applicable in the Greek context. Nevertheless, there is a rationalization, albeit *not* an easy one, to decode, from a North American perspective, at least.

In an effort to understand Greek citizenship, I have reviewed the literature in search of a comprehensive typology of modes of acquisition of citizenship in Greece. After numerous, and painstaking efforts, I have concluded that Dimitris Christopoulos's (2013) outline of Greek Citizenship, best encapsulates the notion of Greek "citizenship." Understanding citizenship in Greece can be very confusing to anyone who may not be familiar with the history of citizenship in Greece; as such, I wish to provide, through Christopoulos (2013), a conceptual clarification about the implications of citizenship; how such concepts are understood, conceptualized, and reflected in policy, which might serve as a platform to better understand why immigrant students and immigrant peoples' in general, are not freely and openly *given* citizenship in Greece. According to Christopoulos (2013), the term *ithageneia*

(*ιθαγένεια*) is a very important one, and deeply entrenched in Greek history because it refers to the character of the Orthodox *genos*, which can be defined as the religious community of the rebel Orthodox population within the Ottoman Empire that was gradually transformed into the Greek nation during the nineteenth century. Like *ithageneia*, the term *ypikootita* (which are synonyomous), refers to the legal bond between the individual and the state. However, since *ypikootita* literally reflects the quality of a royal subject, its official use became somewhat obsolete – though people in Greece refer to it to this day. Christopoulos claims that, ironically enough, the language that gave birth to the term "citizen" (*politis*) does not include in its official forms used by the Greek authorities, a term that translates "citizenship" as the bond between the citizen and the state (Christopoulos, 2013). The exact translation of "citizenship" is actually *idhiotita tou politi* (*ιδιότητα του πολίτη* or "status of the citizen"). However, in Greek legal vocabulary, this term does not have a concrete normative meaning. *Ithageneia* is the term reflecting, par excellence, the ethnic connotations of Greek nationality. A distinction is made in Greek citizenship law, (in addition to a distinction between nationals and foreigners), even between individuals of Greek Orthodox *genos* or descent; namely, the *homogenis* (only Christian orthodox people may be homogenis), while individuals of other descent, are *allogenis*. This distinction has been the subject of constant historical and political debate, which in itself, is the most compelling aspect of Greek citizenship history. In Greece, all combinations of the above-mentioned nationality statuses are possible, and are referred to on different occasions and under different circumstances. The terms *homogenis* and *allogenis* are not defined as strict legal categories; rather, they are defined as flexible ideological concepts (Baltsiotis 2004b, as cited in Christopoulos, 2013) susceptible to change according to the political priorities of the time (Baltsiotis 2004b: 88, as cited in Christopoulos, 2013).

What is perhaps most startling to understand is the *new* Nationality Code which was adopted by the Greek Parliament at the end of 2004. This new Nationality Code does not even *slightly* move in the direction of adopting specific rules for citizenship acquisition by foreign individuals born and living in Greece; on the contrary, this "Nationality Code" complicates matters more (i.e., it does not make first and second generation immigrants' categorization easy by any means). As a

result, potential immigrant peoples' naturalisation procedures are subject to the same, if not (in practice) *stricter*, rules as the generally applicable ones, which are in and of themselves, difficult to make sense of to begin with.

The new Code was passed, en bloc, without any prior public consultation with relevant bodies, with an absolute majority of votes by the two big political parties (PASOK and New Democracy). Furthermore, the Code was elaborated by the Ministry of the Interior during the previous socialist government (PASOK) and was brought into Parliament and passed, without the slightest amendment, by the new conservative government (Christopoulos, 2010), which brings us to 2010 and to the most controversial citizenship law, yet. It was *not* 2010 when Greece officially plunged into the greatest debt crisis of her modern history, claims Christopoulos (2013), however, the "year's headline" would also refer to the amendments of the Greek Citizenship Code through law 3838/2010.

Until 2010, Greek citizenship law provided for the following five ways of acquiring Greek citizenship (Greek Citizenship Code, Chapter A):

> By birth from Greek parents (Article 1, paragraph 1), or by birth on Greek soil, in the event that the child has no right to acquire any other foreign citizenship or her citizenship is unknown at the time of birth (Article 1, paragraph 2); 2 by recognition of fatherhood, if at the time of recognition the child is a minor (Article 2); 3 by adoption (Article 3); 4 by enlistment in the armed forces38 (Article 4); and 5by naturalisation (Article 5) (p. #).

The legislative reform of 2010 caused drastic changes with regard to the acquisition of citizenship by birth and by naturalisation. Also known as "Ragousis Law," named after former Interior Minister Yiannis Ragousis, the citizenship law essentially allowed those who had been born to immigrant parents legally living in Greece for at least five years to be granted Greek citizenship provided they had studied at a Greek school for a minimum of six years. This new provision is a major novelty in Greek citizenship law because it issues the principle of double jus soli (unconditional basis of citizenship), providing for the automatic acquisition of citizenship by foreign citizens that belong to the so-called "third generation." Therefore, and as stated in the preamble, "given the fact that these persons have strong links to our country and that their parents were born in Greece and have integrated into the Greek society, there is no doubt that they too will integrate" (Christopoulos, 2013, p. 11).

The rule of automatic acquisition of citizenship by the "third generation" has been criticized as "illiberal" by the conservative (Nea Dimokratia) and far right wing (LA.O.S.). Members of parliament have argued that this law automatically makes one a Greek citizen, which might be beyond one's wish: "malgré lui." The acquisition of Greek Citizenship "by declaration and application" is, perhaps, the most significant novelty introduced by the new law. Basically, Greek citizenship is granted to immigrants' children born in Greece – provided that both parents have lawfully, and permanently, resided in Greece for at least five continuous years (Article 1A, paragraph 1). However, there are implications with regard to what constitutes "lawful" and "permanent" residence in Greece. Nevertheless, a child born *before* her parents complete the five-year period of lawful and permanent residence in the country acquires citizenship by her parents' declaration, *only* after the completion of the *fifth* year. Parents are required to submit the said declaration within "three years after the birth of their child" (Christopoulos, 2013, p. 12). Unfortunately, in the event that no declaration is submitted within the three year time limit, the right to submit declaration expires. So, if the child wishes to acquire citizenship, she or he may be granted it by using other "relevant provisions."

At the outset of this century, the Greek state was highly defensive and phobic towards migration, which has obviously had an impact on Greek policy on citizenship loss and acquisition. As of the first year of its operation, the Greek Ombudsman has stressed that 'as in other European countries, the insistence of Greek law on *ius sanguinis* (the so-called blood principle) generates many problems [...], "not only for foreigners of non-Greek descent who settle permanently in Greece with the intention of integrating into Greek society or acquire Greek citizenship, but also for individuals of Greek descent seeking to acquire Greek citizenship or to have their citizenship recognised, as well as for stateless persons and persons of indeterminate citizenship" (The Greek Ombudsman 1999: 28, as cited in Christopoulos, 2013, p. 16). Citizenship matters in Greece, are therefore, extremely complex and not in the least as straight-forward as they are in Canada, for instance. I hope to have provided a relatively comprehensive summary pertaining to Greek citizenship acquisition, I sense that the implications are quite deep given the "Byzantine" characteristics of Greek naturalization, and there is no easy to

understand the dynamics. In order to speak meaningfully about the membership of immigrants living in such social spaces, we have to speak beyond a generic discourse of the nation-states and ethnic nationalism. However, it can be said that, by opting for a policy of "ethnic preferences," the Greek state necessarily puts citizenship beyond the reach of immigrants who wish to permanently reside in Greece (Triandafyllidou & Veikou, 2002). The Greek state is, thus, "still unclear how it wishes to deal with immigration" (Baldwin Edwards & Fakiolas, 1998).

8.8 Conclusion

Despite the many difficulties in the naturalization and citizenship acquisition process, it seems that constitutive elements of the 2010 Citizenship Law might be summoning a change, though ongoing threats from the current Greek government to repeal the Law make matters unstable and unsound. However, it remains to be seen to what extent the Greek state will prove capable of implementing long term strategies for migrants' integration, among which citizenship acquisition plays an integral role. So far, citizenship laws in Greece remain very restrictive, and convoluted in theory and exclusionary, in *reality*. So, even though the 2010 legislative changes have extended citizenship acquisition to second generation Greeks (immigrants) based on *ius soli*, the decision from the Council of State (CoF) deems *ius soli* acquisition, as well as *this kind of* "citizens' right" to vote in local elections, as contrary to the Greek Constitution. In particular, the court (or CoF, which is Greece's highest court in administrative matters), is critical of the naturalisation of non-ethnic Greeks or "non-Greek" immigrants because their status as non-Greeks is simply incompatible with the Greek constitution (Anagnostou, 2011). Perhaps it is time to revisit the Greek Constitution and propose realignment procedures that take into account the new global order, or the new realities that shape our world today.

Throughout the chapter, I have delineated key theoretical analyses that reflect my philosophical orientation in an attempt to provide explanations of the complexities inherent in the "immigrant experience" in Greece. I began by outlining some of the obstacles that stand in the way of policy formation and reform efforts within a broader historical perspective of migration theory that encompasses theories of the nation. I then engaged in a thorough exploration and critical interrogation

concerning Greece's unique ethnic composition, or *exceptionalism* that basically sought to explore the uniqueness in Greece's nation-(re)building process, by subsequently attempting to elucidate how State or "public" (*δημόσια*, "public") schools in Greece, are linked to the state vis-à-vis the Greek Orthodox Church. I concluded that religious minorities in Greece encounter tremendous obstacles in exercising their religious freedom and often resort to renouncing their religious identities. Finally, I turn to the question of citizenship in Greece, which is perhaps, the most difficult one to unpack and hope to have provided some useful insights that might facilitate in gaining a better understanding of how citizenship and naturalization processes *work* in Greece. Clarifying notions of citizenship and the implications for Greece, allows us to better understand the participants' frustrations and why immigrant students are so eager to assimilate into Greek culture. They are basically willing to forgo their previous identities for that *elusive* "Greekness."

Examining the resistances to migration in "non-traditional" destination countries, such as Greece, requires a rigorous examination of various dynamics that include drawing on multiple theoretical models and disciplines. In the final chapter that follows, I briefly highlight the themes that emerged from the study and touch on additional avenues of possibility and research this study has opened up, and suggest a few options for educational policy and practice that might open new discussions regarding citizenship projects not imported from the USA, the UK or France, but emerging from the historical exceptionality of the Greek "character" and potential for rethinking the Greek "nation."

Chapter 9

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

9.1 Introduction: *The never citizen*

In November 2012, there was an official bid to *repeal* Greece's citizenship law and *replace* it with a new legislation that would be more *compatible* with the decision of the Council of State (Greece's highest administrative court). Greek Prime Minister Antonis Samaras and his party have been intensely "flirting" with the possibility to proceed with a string of amendments that would repeal citizenship rights for first and second-generation migrants. Citizenship in Greece, as I have outlined in the previous chapter, has been, and continues to be a rather ambivalent terrain to navigate, particularly when it comes to granting citizenship rights to "non Greek" people, mainly because Greek descent and national consciousness exist *prior* to the acquisition of Greek nationality (Triantafyllidou & Kokkali, 2010). However, imminent threats of law 3838/10's repeal are prescient, and the implications are profound and wide-ranging.

Immigrant people in Greece have always lived in a state of uncertainty; in a state of limbo, with no rights or "say" into what *they* imagine might be a *better* world for them and for their families; for their future. And just when they got a glimpse into what it might be like to *become* a citizen, the rug may be pulled from beneath their feet. As both a Canadian and Greek (EU) citizen, I have never *once* had to question my status as a "citizen" in either countries, or the privilege that comes with that sense of belongingness, that citizenship acquisition secures. The space of the "never citizen" (my concept) is the space that requires more interrogation because it is the vulnerable space, first, and second generation immigrant youth *might* be occupying if their potential to attain full citizenship rights is revoked. Removal of law 3838/10 would make Greece the *only* EU state *without* regulation or legal provision for immigrants' children born in Greece. It is this deliberate monolithic and anachronistic "mentality" of social exclusion of the *Other* and what I sense as an unwarrantable resistance to critically reconsider the 1856 nationality law at a greater extent, that has impelled me to explore, more closely, the challenges and disparities that both directly and indirectly affect immigrant students in Greek state schools.

Immigrant students' and peoples' marginalization has ignited my passion for social justice, and has been the driving force behind this dissertation.

9.2 Reflections

From the very beginning of my graduate studies, I have been largely driven by the immigrant as "other" discourses, whereby "other" is presented as a "disruption" of the social order and social organization. My own experiences with otherness and strangeness (as outlined in Chapter 1) have allowed me to make the connection between my own *sense* of otherness and also, to better understand the otherness of the *other*. Throughout this study, I discovered how closely my own experiences relate to the immigrant students' experiences in this study, through the *invisible immigrant* narrative. Specifically, I began this project because I wanted to learn more about immigrant students' experiences in Greek state schools. I wanted to learn more about their school and social interactions with their teachers, with their peers, even with their families at home; I wanted to learn about their sense of belonging in a country, school, and classroom that does not *easily* allow "the stranger" in, *completely* – I am referring *not* to "the stranger" (see Georg Simmel, 1950; 1971a) who comes today and goes tomorrow, rather, I am referring to the person who comes today and *stays* tomorrow. Finally, I wanted to explore how school level policies in Greece were created, and with *whom* in mind, and what the policies actually *mean*, how they are carried out to meet, or not meet, the learning and social needs of immigrant students, specifically. Throughout the course of this study, I met many people, both formally (vis-à-vis this study) and informally, who have dedicated their hearts and souls, indeed, their *lives*, to helping immigrant, refugee, and Roma children, children with special needs, children who have fallen through the system's (large) cracks, and who with their *philotimo* have helped these students learn to navigate the often hostile landscape that exists and that hinders them from fully participating in a world (it seems) that is reserved *only* for "Greek privilege" – whereby being Greek is a privilege, and a privilege to be Greek.

This research has mainly sought to addresses the *absences* or omissions in the literature; one such gap is a lack of research attention to immigrant students' or marginalized students' *voices* and how *they* negotiate and interpret their schooling and

social experiences. Perhaps my participants' voices, alone, could stand as tangible evidence that confirms that the Greek education system is in desperate and urgent need of reform efforts that would include input from immigrants, insights from educators who, up to this point, have been subdued, or undervalued in policy making and reform efforts, and policy makers who will play an active role in creating educational policy specifically targeted for the new generation of immigrant and minority youth – without trying to somehow fulfil political party "interests" or uphold loyalties; reform efforts that are specifically aimed at promoting cultural diversity and creating ethnic or cultural awareness, social justice, and religious tolerance – if not promote the right to religious freedom. Even though the Greek education system has made significant structural changes over the last 15 years in its effort "to adapt to the changing global reality" (OECD, 2010), the changes have *not* taken into account marginally affected subjectivities, and socially vulnerable groups like immigrants, ethnic minorities, and students with special needs. The multiethnic and multicultural "reality" of Greek education is still not adequately served by the existing educational structures (Dimitrakopoulos, 2004). Therefore, any efforts to combat discrimination, racism, xenophobia, xenoracism, and intolerance, with the effort to improve the living and schooling conditions of socially vulnerable groups, or any effort to facilitate communication between the different ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups in the education arena, will remain fruitless (Dimitrakopoulos, 2004).

What is most discouraging and what I learned throughout the study, is that while proposals for change aimed at improving immigrant education have been made, and while people through their own initiatives have tried to "push" such changes forward, these efforts are usually met with formidable resistance and a lack of desire by the Ministry and other political and ecclesiastical governing bodies that have the power contribute, or not, to immigrant education. The overriding purpose of this study has been to determine whether or not immigrants, minorities, or marginalized people are given the *opportunities* required to *live* a better life in their host country and to receive, at minimum, an education equivalent to that most native students receive. What I discovered, is that immigrant students experience social exclusion in both their social and learning environments. All immigrant students in

this study expressed having experienced racism and xenophobic attitudes and many instances of intolerance.

While this dissertation has not been about *me*, or my own struggles within the Greek public school system, I feel that my own experiences as a young student in the Greek state school system certainly sparked within me the *need* to investigate the lives of those who are less fortunate than I can ever claim to have been. I have extensively and critically thought through the embodied contexts within which my research information has been generated. I have reflected upon my role as a researcher and the interpretations that have emerged within the contexts of my investigations as I attempted to grapple with the messiness, complications, and complexities of "real life" contexts (see Longhurst et al. 2008). Along the way, I discovered the importance of embodiment, empathy, and emotion and learned valuable lessons in my own developmental process as a researcher, an educator, and most importantly, as a human being, as I became more intimately aware of the often cruel, many times degrading, and ultimately inhumane, treatment of other human beings. This work has forced me to confront the ghosts of my past, and *finally*, allow them to "cross-over," and focus on what is really at stake, and that is the "real lives" of real human beings who are denied a sense of belonging because they do not "fit" within a dominant paradigm. Ultimately, it was the participants' experiences and concerns I wished to bring to bear because their words have infused this dissertation with the deep concerns and problematization that they all, without exception, brought to this research through our meaningful interactions. If civil society exists today, it is because immigrant people exist. I know this because I live in a country composed of immigrants. My work has, as such, aimed to create a space in which immigrant peoples' contributions can find resonance in those who care enough to constructively engage with them and promote their rights and interests, as if they are promoting their *own* rights and interests.

Throughout this study, I have *heard* the participants' voices loudly and clearly, and perhaps, others too, can read about their struggles and how they see the world within the margins; through exclusion, isolation, and invisibility in dominant, culturally-normed and religion-driven schooling environments, and in greater society, or in life as lived in days, like a simple walk to the store to buy milk. This dissertation

has attempted to take a holistic approach by paying close and detailed attention to the care of students and immigrant peoples as human beings in an effort to discern the intent or meaning behind their expressions. In wanting to provide the participants the space to speak, I customized a research paradigm that could allow for openness and for their voices to emerge, uninterrupted and as much as possible, *unadulterated*. Finally, the secondary aim of this thesis has been to contribute, theoretically, to the literature on immigrant education and to educational policy.

9.3 Summary and Discussion of Key Findings

9.3.1 Invisibility

I begin this section by (re)introducing and summarizing some of the key themes and issues that emerged in the study beginning with immigrant students' sense and feelings of *invisibility*. Two of the three immigrant students interviewed in this study expressed having feelings of "invisibility," or being *overlooked* in their respective classroom and school environments. The overwhelming desire both explicit and implicit, expressed by all three immigrant students to be visible was the driving force behind their desire to learn the Greek language, and to settle as quickly as possible in their community. All students expressed the desire to "fit in" and "become Greek," and many of them tried to *not* look different by dressing in ways that would make them look more "Greek" because they did not wish to feel, let alone *be* invisible.

9.3.2 Country of Origin

Two of the three immigrant students reported feeling that their teachers and peers viewed them in unfavorable ways because they were "foreigners." Some participants expressed that they felt more disliked because they were immigrants from an "unfavourable" or "less desirable" country of origin. One participant remarked: "I am an Albanian, and this is why I am treated badly." In addition, the growing body of literature indicates that "country of origin" influences the role religion plays in the immigrant's life in her or his new host country (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001a; 2002b). In the case of Greece, 56 per cent of the immigrants come from

Albania, and are the most likely group to convert to Orthodox Christianity, and this was confirmed in the participants' narratives. Overall, the research confirms that "country of origin is a statistically significant predictor of citizenship acquisition for nine of ten immigrants" (Bueker, 2005, p. 103). While the insights and understandings were drawn from a small sample size, the findings were corroborated and supported by existing research and theoretical perspectives.

9.3.3 Age of Immigration

The participant narratives in this study also corroborate literature claims that suggest *age* at the time of arrival to the host country is a very important factor and relates, directly, to how well students adjust to their new schooling environments. Participants in this study who arrived to Greece at a younger age had an *easier* adjustment process, while those who arrived at a later age had a more difficult time adjusting and adapting both to their schooling and social environments. Empirical evidence identifies several factors that influence school performance and academic achievement of immigrant children, yet the *most* important factor that influences their school performance is their age upon arrival to their host country. In addition, research indicates that age at the time of immigration becomes the *most* important factor in determining future economic outcomes of immigrants, while children who immigrate at a younger age, are more likely to have better future economic prospects (Baum & Flores, 2011; Rumbaut, 2004).

9.3.4 Immigrant parent involvement in their childrens' schooling

Both immigrant parents in this study revealed that they did *not* feel "connected" to their children's schools, i.e., they did not interact with the teachers, nor did they regularly inquire about their child's progress. In fact, they rarely, if ever, visited the school. Both immigrant parents in this study expressed that they felt uncertain, and oftentimes, afraid to go to their childrens' schools because they did not know how to contribute to their child's education, so they felt that it would be best if they "stayed away." Immigrant parents in this study faced many barriers such

as religion, class, and race, which for them played an important role in their limited interactions with their childrens' schools.

9.3.5 *Παραπαιδεία* (Shadow Education) and A System of Corruption

Many participants in this study, including immigrant parents, immigrant students, educators, and policy actors made several references to the various forms of "corruption" embedded in the Greek education system. Immigrant students and their parents expressed feeling alienated from tutoring institutions because they could not afford to pay for "private" education, which they felt was a privilege reserved for most Greek pupils who attend Greek state schools, and who obviously have a competitive advantage over immigrant, and less economically advantaged students. Immigrant students are, perhaps, the most vulnerable and disadvantaged minority group in comparison to any other minority groups, because even though affordability, availability, and access to anything private can be seen as a structural barrier for many immigrant families, just as it can be for disadvantaged families, immigrant students and their families must also deal with language barriers, bureaucratic inadequacies of the host country, and distrust of government programs (public programs) that never seem to be carried out in ways that could be beneficial for them.

9.3.6 Teacher Education

As verified consistently in the literature and corroborated in the participant narratives, the public, or state school system in Greece is ill equipped to deal with the learning particularities of its mainstream Greek student population, let alone deal with difficulties, complexities, and adjustment struggles related to physical, cognitive, psychological, cultural, and social differences immigrant and special needs students bring with them. In addition, Greek teachers are not adequately prepared for the challenges that accompany contemporary educational, multiculturalism, and social justice issues (Georgiadis & Zisimos, 2012), nor are they adequately trained to combat issues of racism, xenophobia, and discrimination and to promote social justice in classrooms. One of the participants in this study was not even *aware* of her racism, while other educators expressed having difficulty relating cultural awareness

with course content taught in the classroom because they have not been trained to make this connection. Teacher training programs are, furthermore, "weighted down" by "top-down" bureaucratic mechanisms of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, which leaves educators with few opportunities for professional development in areas of multicultural education and social justice awareness education.

9.3.7 Policy inconsistencies: *The disconnect between policy and practice*

Perhaps one of the greatest challenges in this study has been the weak connection between desired educational practices as espoused in policy –"on paper"– and the *actual* education practices "on the ground." This "disconnect" was quite evident in all the participants' narratives, students, educator, policy actors and parents, which brings into question the sorts of practices that schools are *supposed* to engender, but are clearly *not*. The two main examples of inconsistency were reflected in "mother tongue" instruction and "reception classes." To this day, there are no active provisions in place that encourage diversity in education, whether in promoting mother tongue classes, or minority peoples' histories and culture.

9.3.8 Resistance to change

Over the last twenty and more years, immigrants have been making Greece their permanent home, thus, Greece has been transforming more and more into an immigrant-*receiving* nation. Although policy changes and reforms, such as the proposed reform of law 2413/1996 with a view to expand and complement the scope and means of intercultural education in Greece (Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007) have been proposed, few such reforms have actually materialized. A clear example of resistance to change is reflected in Maria Repousi's proposed history textbook that never came to fruition in the state school system. Any kind of *suggestion* for change, or alternative narrative in textbooks is considered to be threatening, prone to suspicion, or entirely "out of the question." Therefore, any proposed changes to textbooks and other instructional and curricular related materials not only take a long time to materialize, but must also be approved by the Greek Orthodox Church.

9.3.9 Philotimo

I could not ignore the notion of "Philotimo" because it surfaced again and again in all the narratives. I must admit that *philotimo* is the one saving grace for immigrant students in Greek state schools. It is the virtue that drives Greeks to help those around them who are in need. In the absence of policy, and when a teacher does not know what "the program" entails, many educators have taken it upon themselves to help students who require assistance on their own initiative, and cover costs from their own pockets, which has been quite inspiring considering the lack of policies and programs that could potentially make their jobs much easier and beneficial for their students. But regardless of how "unconditional" philotimo appears to be, there is also an inherent individualism that characterizes Greeks. The two often clash, which calls into question the extent to which *philotimo* is unconditional, especially in *today's* Greece.

9.3.10 Greece's Economy and Individualism

Greece's economic crisis and subsequent austerity measures have created "the perfect storm" to carry out the economic neoliberal agenda (even though restructuring in Greece was already in affect *before* the crisis). As such, liberalization, deregulation, and restructuring of Greece's economy began to take place with consequence and penalties, not only for Greeks, but mostly, for immigrants. Undocumented immigrants, who were initially considered to be "cheap labour," started to become a burden and object of populist anti-immigrant discourse. Neoliberal and socio-economic transformation in a society that already had tremendous levels of inequality to begin with, not only increased Greece's social problems, but contributed further to weakening an already weakened political system. Individualism, thus, began to influence the nature of peoples' relationships and their interactions with foreigners, and changed the way Greeks saw immigrants. Fear and distrust, coupled by increased crime blamed mainly on Albanian immigrants, fueled a socioeconomic transformation that played on the Greeks' deepest insecurities and uncertainties about the future. These insecurities emerged in the form of defensivness and created the opportunity for populist racist and anti-

immigrant politics and discourses to emerge, evident in right-wing extremist political ideologies like the Golden Dawn, which created immigration phobias, casting a dark shadow over the virtues of philotimo and philoxenia.

9.3.11 Racism

The problem of racism, particularly, xenoracism, is problematic, and the absence of relevant studies on racism in Greece make it all the more difficult to articulate and argue. Many aspects of institutional discrimination persist and may in the future lead to conflict fuelled by racist prejudice and intolerance. The social integration and coexistence of both ethnic Greeks and non-Greek immigrant pupils is a matter of concern, simply because existing provisions and practices for intercultural or multicultural education have proven to be inadequate and oriented more towards assimilation rather than integration. Educational policy in Greece is not really looked at in terms of non-discrimination, justice, and equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, religion or nationality.

9.4 Drawing Conclusions

The voices and lives of immigrant children and youth and those who contribute to their learning are the bridges and pillars of Greece's *new* emerging cultural fabric. The findings and themes in this study seek to challenge conventional notions of birthright and *jus sanguinis*, and critically interrogate present educational policy. Schools in Greece today serve to create rote uncritical learners who move through the system, while many others fall through the cracks and are never able to emerge. Educators in Greece cannot identify aspects of instructional practice that can contribute to minority youth education because they are not trained in such areas, and as such, are not able to create a school climate that could facilitate in creating safe and welcoming spaces for diverse student populations. How can school districts promote any sort of authentic school-family-community partnerships when they do not promote such things for *native* Greeks themselves? How can future generations of teachers prepare to intentionally engage and empower students whose life stories and histories are different from their own? How can a climate of change

be created when there exists tremendous resistance to the mere thought of a textbook that challenges "truths" that have existed for centuries?

The immigrant stories of children and youth awaken in us possibilities for profound personal transformations and social imagination in the school system, and create awareness on how certain structures like the church "work," but they also demand our critical vigilance as the experiences of immigrant families are inextricably tied to race, power, systems of oppression, and inequitable distribution of resources. Their stories in this dissertation examine broader contexts within which their lives are embedded and transformed. The implications for research, policy, and practice are important, but listening to the participants' stories is *most* important because their stories lend to a better understanding and verification that the composition of Greekness *is* changing and that the time has come for societies to accept these changes and create the conditions that will welcome these changes rather than resist them, or simply try to ignore them.

9.5 Policy Recommendations

In this section, I propose 7 key educational policy recommendations aimed at supporting immigrant student learning and social well-being in their learning environments and improving equity in education in Greek state schools. It is important for political figures, educators, parents, policymakers and community members to understand how immigrant students' learning and social needs can be supported through communication and deliberation, rather than on individual prejudices and cultural stereotyping attributed to particular immigrants groups. As such, I propose holistic approaches that will open the lines of communication between immigrant families and teachers, principals, and community members.

1. There should be more communication between immigrant families and school principals and teaching staff members. Greek state schools should proactively and systematically identify immigrant families who are not involved in their children's schooling and extend personalized invitations to them so that these families can become more comfortable in becoming involved in their child's learning processes – regardless of whether or not their child is performing well (or not performing well) in

school. Interaction between teachers and parents must be encouraged through explicit guidelines on how immigrant parents can contribute to their child's schooling, which would also include assisting with their childrens' homework, and how teachers, in turn, can keep open the lines of communication with immigrant parents regularly.

2. More attention must be paid to advocacy processes for immigrant people. Teachers, administrators, policy actors, and community members should serve as policy advocates for the interests and well being of immigrant people by creating the necessary policy foundations through advocacy that establish a new, humanizing discourse for immigrant people. This can be achieved through workshops and interactive information sessions intended to increase cultural sensitivity and awareness of immigrant peoples' needs with relation to local community members.

3. Teachers and school administrators must receive proper training to deal with the social, economic, even political factors that affect immigrant students' lives so that they are better equipped to implement successful strategies.

4. Greek state schools must prioritize the development and fostering of positive classroom climate by creating positive relationships between teachers and immigrant students that will, in turn, positively influence peer relationships between native Greek students and immigrant students.

5. Educational policymakers must ensure that counselling, mentoring, and transitional processes for immigrant pupils, like reception classes, are readily available and accessible to all immigrant students.

6. Rather than reflect only the culture of the dominant group, school textbooks and curricula must also recognize, affirm, and reflect the culture and language of the growing immigrant student populations. Curriculum materials and textbooks should also represent immigrant students' languages, histories and values of a more diverse range of peoples and perspectives.

7. Christan Orthodoxy plays a dominant role is public schooling in Greece. Perhaps a more "open" outlook on schooling, that would include secular ideologies, complmented by Christianity, might be considered as part of public schooling in Greece. Education as well as school practices are heavily shaped by Greek Orthodox religious values. Perhaps Greek state schools ought to expand their horizons to include children of all religions practices and faiths by providing a secular education option within the public education system. Secular public education should be a right for all students regardless of whether or not they espouse to the Greek Orthodox faith.

9.6 Limitations and Future Directions for Educational Practice and Policy

One of the limitations of this study is that it has been wide in scope and that it has perhaps left out significant factors that ought to be considered regarding the complex phenomenon of migration. Although my study had a small number of participants from with to draw possible generalizations, I feel I compensated for that by drawing on a substantial body of research and literature. I sense that there are limitations in both the data collected and the methods employed that should taken into consideration when interpreting the results and attempting to suggest policy recommendations. The case study method had its limitations; mainly limited by the sensitivity and integrity of the researcher. And while there are advantages to this, I many times felt lost in the plethora of the data and had to turn to my own judegments and abilities to decipher and select which data could be most important to select and finally present.

In the future, I would like to look more closely at the research practice of intersectionality and the relationships between ethnicity, language, nationality, and religion and how they intersect with race and gender. I would like to examine the challenges that ignore immigrant womens' voices and create discrimination on the grounds of their religion affiliation. While all women are in one way or other subject to gender discrimination, it is important to consider factors including race, skin color, age, ethnicity, language, ancestry, sexual orientation, religion, socio-economic class, ability, culture, geographic location, and status (migrant, indigenous person, refugee).

9.7 Future Considerations

Perhaps one of the most important factors that requires careful consideration and may impede policy is the institutionalization of Greek Orthodoxy, as the official state religion in Greece, which gives the church tremendous power in (political) policy making and in how Greek society is to be organized, and ultimately, run. It would seem, then, that the church might have a vested interest in *preventing* any kind of social reform that could potentially weaken the established social order, and blur the identification of "Greekness" with Orthodoxy (Coutsoukis, 2004). The Church's defense of traditional values has been especially influential on many aspects of Greek society, but more so, on the role of Greek women, as it seeks to reproduce and sustain the deep-rooted structures of domination that serve to perpetuate the ideology of patriarchy.

Clearly, the attitudes and values of Orthodox women are predominantly defined by patriarchal church doctrine. Indeed, the dominance of patriarchy in Greece runs deep, and while female voices have, historically, been marginalized in Greek society, marginalization continues, today, within the confines of the Church apparatus. Short of the recent arrest, prosecution, and imprisonment of feminist punk rock group, Pussy Riot – (in Russia) that ultimately serves as a stark reminder of the consequences that await dissidents who trigger such unrest – there have been no other "feminist movements" from within Orthodoxy that have sought to challenge Orthodox doctrine, and women's place within that doctrine, short of *apostacy*. And while The Pussy Riot, writes Katie Billotte (2012) from within an Orthodox Christian position, "might serve as a wake-up call to us about the oppressive forces at work within our faith, both abroad and at home, and encourage us to move forward with a tradition that has shaped us and that we have a responsibility to help shape for the future" (para. 4), any attempt to challenge, let alone, *change* Orthodoxy's traditional attitude towards women, is rather discouraging given the harsh consequences that followed the women who dared to challenge the Church in such a provocative way.

Orthodox Christian women in Modern Greece seem to be more or less dispassionate, or silent, or they "buy into" into the patriarchal structures, and consequently, their own oppression, in their defense of the Church. It is important

for Orthodox Christian women to question the subordinate status they hold within their religion, as well as their restricted participation in the liturgical, sacramental, mystical, and ritualistic processes that take place within the Orthodox Church. Although feminist literature with relation to Orthodoxy is quite scarce, to non-existent – since it would seem paradoxical to take a feminist position in an inherently anachronistic and patriarchal institution like the Greek Orthodox Church – an Orthodox woman theologian, Eva Catafygiotou Topping, author of Holy Mothers of Orthodoxy: Women and the Church, characterizes the Greek Church's attitudes toward Greek women as "a challenge that cannot be ignored" (Topping, 1987). In her book, she writes of the "mental anguish" and "spiritual crisis" that women of the Orthodox Church have endured because of the ancient traditions that marginalize them (Topping, 1987). Other women question the "gap" that separates the "theoretical" Orthodox Church from the "real" Orthodox Church, asking whether or not the Church really believes that women are created in the divine image (Topping, 1987). So, while the Scriptures and Orthodox theology answer their question with a "yes," when Orthodox women attend the Church (in practice), they experience a "no," which ultimately leads to pain and feelings of alienation, notes Topping (Topping, 1987). Orthodox Christianity has never been, by any stretch of the imagination, particularly progressive around gender issues, and as such, it has been very difficult to find much, if any literature, detailing women's experiences of and perspectives within the Greek Orthodox Church, which makes this a highly important area for future study and research.

Katie Billotte (2012) propagates an optimistic vision regarding traditional Orthodox practices surrounding gender, such as women's position in the "order of the deaconess and the pan-gendered notion of God," which she sees as a "tool in both combating reactionary efforts to hijack the tradition and even proactively promoting a progressive feminist agenda" (Billotte, para. 9). I am hesitant to partake in premature joculations of this nature, just yet, given that there have been few, if any, tangible efforts made from within, even beyond the Orthodox Church to openly discuss any possibility of promoting a progressive feminist agenda. Rather, any kind of attempt to merely suggest a feminist agenda might provoke formidable opposition and hostility, and certainly *not* dialogue on the part of the Church Fathers.

9.8 Concluding Remarks

As I have extensively outlined in this dissertation, there are numerous factors that contribute to immigrant students' successes and/or failures in their host country schools. In Greece, there are very few, if any, factors that contribute to immigrant students' successes. With shortcomings in policy and legislation that systematically fail to address the issue of immigration, coupled by the very ambiguous nature of citizenship and educational policies, I withhold any level of optimisim and trust in the possibility that any "changes" in policy could benefit immigrant and minority populations at this time. As revealed in this dissertation, while there are many policies on paper, few if any of these policies and reform initiatives ever materialize. Greek governments have demonstrated consistently that their commitments to the country's citizens are ephemeral.

This dissertation has outlined several factors that stand in the way of immigrant students' success in Greek state schools. Research from traditional immigrant receiving countries like Australia and Canada suggests that immigrant students tend to do better in countries and economies that rise to the challenge of diversity and who embrace notions of multiculturalism, interculturalism, and diversity; countries whose school systems are *flexible* and *open* enough to adapt to students with different strengths, cultural backgrounds, and needs. While Greece has been an immigrant receiving country for over 20 years, it has not stepped up to the task of embracing diversity and creating necessary changes for immigrant subjectivities. Although Greece can learn from the experience of those systems like Canada's or Australia's, Greece must also look at more homogeneous societies like Sweden and Norway, countries also confronted with the challenge of immigration who have been more successful at integrating immigrant students into their school systems. Greece is very far from accepting, let alone *embracing* changes when it comes to creating "policies of acceptance," rather than "policies of toleration" for minority populations, and this puts immigrant and minority students in Greece at a very disadvantaged position.

The study has attempted to bring out the "immigrant student voice" and to explore how immigrant students who attend Greek state schools, as well as policy actors, educators, immigrant parents, and Greek citizens articulate that voice. And

while the participants in this study have painted a reality that requires further scrutiny and deeper exploration, it has also revealed that immigrants and foreigners are, ultimately, viewed with suspicion and blamed for problems in today's schools as well as problems in today's society. The implications from the present study are numerous and have been clearly laid out, at length. Given the already negative approach towards specific foreign minorities and the inhospitable economic climate in Greece, it is important for governments and policy makers to create diverse policies by introducing aspects of other cultures in the Greek mainstream education. In addition, the need for specific and focused psychological support and counselling, as well as advocacy services for immigrant and minority students should also be addressed. The future is uncertain for immigrants in Greece; what is certain, however, is that immigration will *not* go away. It is a global reality and a harsh one for everyone involved when a country cannot provide *care* for its citizens and for the non-citizens who exist within its borders. Indeed, the scope of any policy undertaken should transcend the limits of "tolerance" and "formality" of the immigrant's status. Future policies should focus on the ethic of care, acceptance, and the *possibility* of membership.

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Table 1

The Participants

Total No. of participants = 12			
ID - CODE Pseudonyms	Description	**Country of Origin**	**Gender/ Age (where necessary)**
Participant 1 (PA1) Katerina	Policy Actor and Educator (Special Education)	NA	Female
Participant 2 (PA2) Ionanna	Policy Actor and Educator (Inclusive Education)	NA	Female
Participant 3 (E1) Georgia	Secondary teacher	NA	Female
Participant 4 (E2) Athanasia	Substitute teacher	NA	Female
Participant 5 (E3) Myropi	Principal	NA	Female
Participant 6 (E4) Dimitris	Retired Principal	NA	Male
Participant 7 (IS1) Oksana	Immigrant Student	(Russian)	Male (over 18)
Participant 8 (IS2) Areti	Immigrant Student	(Albanian)	Female (over 18)
Participant 9 (IS3) Dardan	Immigrant student	(Albanian)	Male (over 18)
Participant 10 (GS) Athena	Greek student	(Albanian)	Female (over 18)
Participant 11 (IP1) Agon	Immigrant Parent	(Albanian)	Male
Participant 12 (IP2) Daria	Immigrant Parent	(Syrian)	Female

APPENDIX A

PRE-INTERVIEW ACTIVITIES

Please choose **one** of the following drawing or diagrammatic activities

1. Draw two pictures to show what your life was like before you came to your new school in Greece and what your life is like now in your school in Greece.

2. Make a schedule of your day or week before you came to Greece and show how your schedule has changed or not changed now that you are in Greece.

3. Draw two pictures to represent what you anticipated your response would be to coming to a new school in Greece and what your actual response was.

4. Choose 3 symbols to create a drawing which represents what you believe to be the most significant changes that have occurred in your life in Greece.

5. Draw a diagram that would illustrate how being a student in Greece has changed or stayed the same?

6. Draw a diagram and label it to show the happy times/events in your new school.

7. Create a collage that depicts your relationships with students and teachers in your new school.

8. Create a diagram to show all the support systems (in the community, in the school, teachers, students etc.) you have in your life.

   Please complete **ONE** of these activities and bring it to me by next _____ **(date to be determined**)

ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ Α

ΠΡΟ-ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΥΞΙΑΚΕΣ ΔΡΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ

Παρακαλώ να επιλέξεις **ένα** από τα ακόλουθα σχέδια ή **μία** από τις διαγραμματικές δραστηριότητες:

1. Σχεδίασε δυο εικόνες, για να δείξεις πώς ήταν η ζωή σου πριν έρθεις στο καινούριο σου σχολείο στην Ελλάδα, και πώς είναι τώρα στο σχολείο σου στην Ελλάδα.

2. Κάνε μια λίστα με τις δραστηριότητές σου τη μέρα ή την εβδομάδα πριν έρθεις στην Ελλάδα, και δείξε πώς άλλαξε το πρόγραμμά σου τώρα που βρίσκεσαι στην Ελλάδα.

3. Σχεδίασε δυο εικόνες που δείχνουν ποια ανέμενες ότι θα είναι η αντίδρασή σου στο νέο σου σχολείο στην Ελλάδα, και ποια είναι πραγματικά τώρα.

4. Διάλεξε 3 σύμβολα για να δημιουργήσεις μια εικόνα που παριστάνει αυτά που νομίζεις ότι είναι οι πιο σημαντικές αλλαγές που συνέβησαν στη ζωή σου στην Ελλάδα.

5. Κάνε ένα διάγραμμα που δείχνει αν η ζωή σου ως μαθητή/μαθήτριας στην Ελλάδα έχει αλλάξει, ή αν έχει μείνει η ίδια.

6. Κάνε ένα σχέδιο για να δείξεις τις χαρούμενες στιγμές ή τα χαρούμενα γεγονότα στο καινούριο σου σχολείο. Βάλε τίτλο στο σχέδιό σου.

7. Κάνε ένα «κολάζ» που παριστάνει τις σχέσεις σου με μαθητές και δασκάλους στο καινούριο σου σχολείο.

8. Σ' ένα διάγραμμα καταχώρησε όλα τα συστήματα υποστήριξης (στην κοινωνία, στο σχολείο, δασκάλους, μαθητές κ.λ.) που υπάρχουν στη ζωή σου.

Να συμπληρώσεις **ΜΙΑ** από αυτές τις δραστηριότητες και να μου τη φέρεις μέχρι τις … (**_η ημερομηνία θα καθοριστεί_**

APPENDIX B
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Question: How does <u>the student</u> experience schooling in a Greek public school?

Student Interview Questions (Sample)*

1. Tell me about how you experience schooling?
2. Let's go back again to your life before arriving to Greece. Tell me about your schooling then.
3. How was schooling in your country different from schooling in Greece? In what ways?
4. If you were not fluent in Greek, who helped you communicate and understand so that you could communicate with other students at your school?
5. Tell me how your classmates helped you adjust to your new school; feel comfortable during your first two years at the school?
6. What was most the most positive experience for you in the first two years of schooling in Greece?
7. Do you feel that you are learning what you need to know?
8. Have your parents ever been to your school? If yes, why?
9. Tell me about your relationship between you and your teachers.
10. What are some factors that contribute to your success and challenges in the classroom?
11. How do you think most people in Greece view immigrants?
12. What advice would you offer to immigrant students arriving from another country to Greece?

Thank you

* The interview questions were constructed following the pre-interview activities. Here, I am providing some samples of open-ended questions I have utilized in my interview with students.

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ ΜΑΘΗΤΩΝ

ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ Β

Ερευνητικό Σχέδιο και Σκοπός: Στην έρευνα θα χρησιμοποιηθεί ένα επεξηγηματικό σχέδιο ερωτηματολογίου, για να βοηθήσει στην κατανόηση της σχολικής εμπειρίας των μεταναστόπουλων στα Ελληνικά δημόσια σχολεία. Σκοπός είναι η εφαρμογή και υποστήριξη προγραμμάτων που αποσκοπούν στην καλυτέρευση της εκπαίδευσης των μεταναστόπουλων.

Ερευνητικό Ερώτημα: Ποια είναι η <u>μαθητική</u> εμπειρία στο δημόσιο Ελληνικό σχολείο;

Ερωτήσεις για τις μαθητικές συνεντεύξεις:

1. Πώς βιώνεις το σχολείο; (Ποια είναι η σχολική σου εμπειρία;).

2. Ας γυρίσουμε πίσω στη ζωή σου πριν έρθεις στην Ελλάδα. Μίλησέ μου για το σχολείο σου εκείνο τον καιρό.

3. Με τι τρόπους ήταν το σχολείο στη χώρα σου διαφορετικό απ' ό,τι στην Ελλάδα;

4. Αν δεν ήξερες καλά τα Ελληνικά, ποιος σε βοήθησε για να συνεννοείσαι και να επικοινωνείς με τα άλλα παιδιά στο σχολείο;

5. Πώς σε βοήθησαν οι συμμαθητές σου να προσαρμοστείς στο καινούριο σου σχολείο, και πώς σε έκαναν να αισθάνεσαι άνετα κατά τη διάρκεια των πρώτων δυο χρόνων;

6. Ποια ήταν η μεγαλύτερη δυσκολία που αντιμετώπισες κατά τη διάρκεια των πρώτων δυο χρόνων στο σχολείο σου;

7. Οι περισσότεροι φίλοι σου είναι κι αυτοί μετανάστες (από τη χώρα σου); Γιατί ναι, ή γιατί όχι;

8. Αντιμετώπισες προβλήματα με τα άλλα παιδιά ή με τους δασκάλους σου επειδή είσαι μετανάστης;

9. Συμπεριφέρθηκαν (οι δάσκαλοι ή οι άλλοι μαθητές) σε σένα ή σε κάποιον που γνωρίζεις άδικα εξ αιτίας της γλώσσας σου ή της εθνικότητάς σου; Αν ναι, πόσο συχνά νομίζεις ότι συμβαίνει αυτό;

10. Πιστεύεις ότι μαθαίνεις αυτά που χρειάζεται να γνωρίζεις;

11. Έχουν έρθει οι γονείς σου ποτέ στο σχολείο; Αν ναι, για ποιο λόγο;

12. Μίλησέ μου για τη σχέση σου με τους δασκάλους σου.

13. Κατονόμασε μερικούς παράγοντες που συνεισφέρουν στην επιτυχία σου και στις προκλήσεις που αντιμετωπίζεις στο σχολείο.

14. Πώς νομίζεις ότι οι περισσότεροι Έλληνες αντιμετωπίζουν τους μετανάστες;

15. Τι συμβουλή θα έδινες σε μεταναστόπουλα που έρχονται στην Ελλάδα από άλλες χώρες;

Σας ευχαριστώ

*Οι ερωτήσεις μειώθηκαν σημαντικά από τις αρχικές 25 στις παρούσες 15. Οι ερωτήσεις θα συνεχίσουν να τροποποιούνται.

APPENDIX C
Parent Questionnaire
Research Question: How does (parent of immigrant youth) experience supporting her/his children's happiness and success in school after immigrating to Greece?

Parent Interview Questions
1. How long have you been in Greece?
2. Let's go back again to your life before arriving in Greece. Talk about your children's schooling then.
3. How was schooling in your country different from schooling in Greece? In what ways?
4. If you were not fluent in Greek, who helped you to communicate and understand so that you could communicate with your children's school?
5. Tell me about your children's first year in school here in Greece. What was it like for you as a parent?
6. Did anyone or anything help you and your children get adjusted, feel comfortable during your first two years?
7. What was most difficult for you about your children's schooling in the first two years?
8. How do you feel about your children's schooling now?
9. Are most of your children's friends also immigrants from your country? Why or why not?
10. Have your children had any problems with other students or teachers because they are immigrants?
11. Have you, your children, or someone you know, been treated unfairly by teachers or other students because of language or nationality? If yes, how common do you think this is?
12. Do you feel that your children are learning what they need to know?
13. Have you ever been to your children's school? If yes, why?
14. Does the school your children attend have classes that teach them about your native country and culture?
15. Have you ever been involved in any of your children's classes as an educational resource to teach other students about your culture or about the immigration experience?
16. What do you feel you have to teach to Greek students because of your experiences from another culture and as an immigrant?
17. How do you view your relationship between you and your children's teachers?
18. What are some factors that contribute to your children's success and challenges in the classroom?
19. How do you think most people in Greece view immigrants?
20. Are there things you do or new beliefs you have that upset you as a parent because they are different from your traditional ways?
21. What advice would you offer to immigrant parents arriving from another country to Greece?
22. Do you think about returning some day to your native country?
Thank you.

ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ Γ

Ερωτηματολόγιο προς τους Γονείς

Σκοπός και Σχεδιασμός Έρευνας:
Μια έρευνα ερμηνευτικου χαρακτήραθα θα χρησιμοποιηθεί με σκοπό την κατανόηση της σχολικής εμπειρίας παιδιών από μετανάστες γονείς σε ελληνικά δημόσια σχολεία, ώστε να να διαπιστωθεί (ή όχι) ότι οι πολιτικές/νόμοι σε επίπεδο σχολείου που αποσκοπούν στη βελτίωση της εκπαίδευσης των μεταναστών υλοποιούνται και υποστηρίζονται.

Ερώτηση Έρευνας: Πώς (γονιός νεαρού/μαθητή μετανάστη) αντιλαμβάνεται την εμπειρία υποστήριξη/ ευτυχία των παιδιών του και την επιτυχία τους στο σχολείο αφοτου μετανάστευσε στην Ελλάδα;

How does (parent of immigrant youth) experience supporting her/his children's happiness and success in school after immigrating to Greece?

Ερωτήσεις Συνέντευξης
1. Πόσο καιρό είστε στην Ελλάδα;

2. Ας πάμε πάλι πίσω στη ζωή σας πριν από την άφιξη σας στην Ελλάδα. Πείτε μου για την εκπαίδευση των παιδιών σας (στη χώρα σας) στη συνέχεια.

3. Πώς ήταν η σχολική εκπαίδευση του παιδιού σας στη χώρα σας διαφορετική από την εκπαίδευση της/του στην Ελλάδα (περιγράψετε); Με ποιους τρόπους ήταν διαφορετική ή (παρ)όμοια;

4. Εάν δεν μιλούσαν την Ελληνική γλώσσα (η κόρη ή ο γιος σας), ποίος σας βοήθησε να επικοινωνήσετε (και να κατανοήσετε) έτσι ώστε να μπορεσετε να επικοινωνήσετε με το σχολείο (αρμόδιες αρχιες, εκπαιδευτικούς, διευθυντές, διαχειριστές) των παιδιών σας στο σχολείο;

5. Πείτε μου για το πρώτο έτος των παιδιών σας στο σχολείο εδώ στην Ελλάδα. Πώς ήταν για εσάς ως γονέας η εμπειρία;

6. Σας βοήθησε κάποιος εσάς, ή και τα παιδιά σας να προσαρμοστείτε, ή να νιώσετε πιο άνετα κατά τα δύο πρώτα χρόνια της άφιξή σας στην Ελλάδα;

7. Τι ήταν πιο δύσκολο για σας όσον αφορά την εκπαίδευση των παιδιών σας κατά τα πρώτα δύο χρόνια σας/τους στην Ελλάδα;

8. Πώς αισθάνεστε για την εκπαίδευση/μάθηση των παιδιών σας τώρα;

9. Οι φίλοι των παιδιών είναι και οι ίδιοι οι μετανάστες από τη χώρα σας; Γιατί ή γιατί όχι;

10. Τα παιδιά σας έχουν οποιαδήποτε άλλα προβλήματα με άλλους Έλληνες μαθητές ή καθηγητές λόγο του ότι είναι μετανάστες;

11. Τα παιδιά σας, ή κάποιος που γνωρίζετε, έχουν αδικηθεί από εκπαιδευτικούς/καθηγητές ή άλλους μαθητές λόγω της γλώσσας ή της εθνικότητας τους; Εάν ναι, που νομίζετε ότι οφείλεται αυτό;

12. Νιώθετε ότι τα παιδιά σας μαθαίνουν αυτό που νομίζετε ότι πρέπει να μαθαίνουν ή να γνωρίζουν (στο σχολείο – παίρνουν/λαμβάνουν τις κατάλληλες γνώσεις);

13. Έχετε πάει ποτέ στο σχολείο των παιδιών σας; Εάν ναι, γιατί; για ποιο λόγο;

14. Το σχολείο που φοιτούν τα παιδιά σας παρέχει μαθήματα που διδάσκουν για την πατρίδα και τον πολιτισμό σας;

15. Έχετε ποτέ λάβει μέρος ως εκπαιδευτικός πόρος για να διδάξετε άλλους μαθητές, ενδεχομένως ακόμη και Έλληνες μαθητές, για τον πολιτισμό σας ή για την εμπειρία της μετανάστευσης σας;

16. Νομίζετε, ή πιστεύετε πως πρέπει να διδάσκουν τους μαθητές στην Ελλάδα για άλλους πολιτισμούς σε σχέση με τις χώρες των μεταναστών;

17. Πώς βλέπετε τη σχέση σας ανάμεσα σε εσάς και τους δασκάλους/ καθηγητές των παιδιών σας;

18. Ποιοι είναι μερικοί παράγοντες που συμβάλλουν στην επιτυχία (και στις προκλήσεις/δυσκολίες) των παιδιών σας στην τάξη;

19. Ποια γνώμη νομίζετε ότι έχουν οι περισσότεροι άνθρωποι στην Ελλάδα σχετικά με τους μετανάστες; Υπάρχει διαφορά από ποια χώρα μετανάστευσης προέρχεστε;

20. Είναι πράγματα που κάνετε ή νέες πεποιθήσεις/ νέα πιστεύω που σας έχουν ενοχλήσει, ως γονιός, επειδή είναι διαφορετικα από τους παραδοσιακούς τρόπους στη χώρα σας;

21. Ποια/τι συμβουλή θα προσφέρατε σε μετανάστες γονείς που έρχονται από άλλη χώρα στην Ελλάδα;

22. Πιστεύετε ότι θα επιστρέψετε στη χώρα σας/πατρίδα σας κάποια ημέρα (για μόνιμη διαμονή);

Σας ευχαριστώ.

APPENDIX D

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Questions for Educators and Policy Actors

1. Describe the processes by which immigrant students are greeted in public schools in Greece.

2. Are there types of orientation or induction programs provided to newly arrived immigrant students and/or their parents to facilitate enrolment and integration at school?

3. What types of policies are in place to adapt the curriculum and school organization to the needs of immigrant students?

4. What types of policies are in place to respond to the language needs of immigrant students?

5. Describe some of the current practices regarding the education of migrant children.

6. Do you have suggestions about policies that should be created or changed in order to support immigrant students?

7. Do you think that there are differences between immigrant students from EU countries and students from non-EU countries in the way these students are treated when they enter the Greek school system?

8. What are the expectations for classroom teachers in relation to the education of immigrant children?
(school leaders? policy makers?)

ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ Δ

Ημι-δομημένες Ερωτήσεις Συνέντευξης

(Εκπαιδευτικό Προσωπικό)

1. Περιγράψτε τις διαδικασίες με τις οποίες οι μετανάστες μαθητές υποδέχονται σε δημόσια σχολεία στην Ελλάδα.

(κυρίως ορατών μειονοτήτων από χώρες εκτός ΕΕ)

2. Υπάρχουν τύποι προσανατολισμού, ή εισαγωγής προγραμμάτων που παρέχονται στους πρόσφατα αφιχθέντες μετανάστες μαθητές ή/και στους γονείς τους για να διευκολύνουν την εγγραφή και την ολοκλήρωση, αφομοίωση, μετάβαση, ή προσαρμογή τους στο σχολείο;

3. Τι τύποι δίκαιο, νόμων και πολιτικής είναι σε θέση να προσαρμόσουν την οργάνωση σπουδών και του σχολείου στις ανάγκες των μεταναστών μαθητών;

4. Ποιους τύπους πολιτικών ή νόμων είναι σε θέση να ανταποκριθούν στις ανάγκες των μεταναστών, κυρίως στις γλωσσικές ανάγκες των μαθητών;

5. Περιγράψτε μερικές από τις τρέχουσες πρακτικές όσον αφορά την εκπαίδευση των παιδιών των μεταναστών.

6. Έχετε υποδείξεις σχετικά με τις πολιτικές/ νόμους που πρέπει να δημιουργηθούν ή να τροποποιηθούν προκειμένου να υποστηρίξει τους μετανάστες μαθητές;

7. Πιστεύετε ότι υπάρχουν διαφορές μεταξύ των μεταναστών φοιτητών από χώρες της ΕΕ και φοιτητές από χώρες εκτός ΕΕ με τον τρόπο που οι εν λόγω μαθητές αντιμετωπίζονται κατά την είσοδό τους στο ελληνικό σχολικό/ εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα;

8. Ποιες είναι οι προσδοκίες εκπαιδευτικών στην τάξη σε σχέση με την εκπαίδευση των παιδιών των μεταναστών; (διευθυντές των σχολείων; φορείς χάραξης πολιτικής;).

INFORMATION LETTER AND CONSENT FORM
(Student/Youth)

Dear **(Participant's Name)**:

Your parents have allowed me to talk to you about a project that I am working on with my supervisors at the university. The project is trying to understand how you experience learning at your school as an immigrant student. Your participation will help me learn about your experience as an immigrant student at school. First, I will spend a few minutes telling you about my project, and then I am going to ask you if you are interested in taking part in the project.

Who am I?

My name is Vicki Macris and I am a Ph.D Candidate at the University of Alberta. I have been a secondary school teacher for a very long time and I have worked with immigrant students in schools.

<u>Why am I meeting with you?</u>

I would like to tell you about a study that involves children and youth like yourself and I want to see if you would like to be in this study too.

<u>Why am I doing this study?</u>

I want to find out how you feel about your schooling environment. I also want to know how you think about your learning in your current school.

<u>What will happen to you if you are in the study?</u>

If you decide to take part in this study there are some different things I will ask you to do. First, I would like to talk to you for about 15 to 20 minutes, so that I can tell you about my study. I would also like to audio record our conversation. There are no right or wrong answers; it is what you think that matters. If you have tried your best and do not know what to say or do next, you can guess or say "I don't know." Later, I will give you a sheet with a list of pre-interview activities. I would like you to choose ONE activity that you can complete and bring back to me a few days later. Then, we will talk about your activity, which might be a diagram, a list, a drawing, a collage, etc.

<u>Could there be any problems for you if you take part?</u>

I hope you will enjoy talking to me. A few people get upset or uncomfortable when talking about their lives, and if they want to stop, I stop. I can put them in touch with someone to help them, if they wish.

<u>Will you have to answer all questions and do everything you are asked to do?</u>

If I ask you questions that you do not want to answer, then tell me you do not want to answers those questions. If I ask you to do things you do not want to do then tell me that you do not want to do them, such as the pre-interview activities.

Who will know that you are in the study?

The things you say and any information I write about you will not have your name on it. I will change your name, so no one will know they are your answers or how you feel about some of the things that we will talk about. I will not let anyone see your answers or any other information about you. Your parents and brothers and/or sisters or friends will never see the answers you gave or the information I wrote about you.

Do you have to be in the study?

You do not have to be in the study. No one will get angry or upset with you if you don't want to do this. Just tell me if you don't want to be in the study. And remember, if you decide to be in the study but later you change your mind, then you can tell me you do not want to be in the study anymore.

Do you have any questions?

You can ask questions at any time. You can ask now or you can ask later. You can talk to me or you can talk to someone else at any time during the study. Here is the telephone number and email address that you can reach me at 22350-22026 or by email: (macris@ualberta.ca) or my supervisors, Dr. Lynette Shultz at (780) 492-4441 (lshultz@ualberta.ca) and/or Dr. Ali Abdi at (780) 492-6819 (aabdi@ualberta.ca).

Sincerely,

Vicki Macris

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____
 Name of Participant

_____   _____
 Signature of Participant   Date

SIGNATURE OF PERSON OBTAINING CONSENT

In my judgment the participant is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent and possesses the legal capacity to give informed consent to participate in this research study.

Name of Person Obtaining Consent	Contact Number

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent	Date

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ *και* ΣΥΝΑΙΝΕΣΗ

Συγκατάθεση μαθητή να λάβει μέρος σε μελέτη

Αγαπητέ/ή (Όνομα Συμμετέχοντος): _____

Οι γονείς σου μου επέτρεψαν να σου μιλήσω για μια ερευνητική μελέτη σχετικά με τις εποπτικές αρχές μου στο πανεπιστήμιο. Η ερευνητική μελέτη εξετάζει την εμπειρία μάθησης σου στο σχολείο σου ως μετανάστης μαθητής. Η συμμετοχή σου θα με βοηθήσει να μάθω περισσότερα πράγματα για την εμπειρία σου ως μετανάστης μαθητής στο σχολείο. Πρώτον, θα περάσουν μερικά λεπτά για να σου πω για την έρευνα μου, και τότε πρόκειται να σε ρωτήσω αν ενδιαφέρεσε να συμμετάσχεις στην έρευνα.

Ποια είμαι;

Το όνομά μου είναι Βίκυ Μακρή και είμαι υποψήφια διδάκτωρ στο Πανεπιστήμιο της Αλμπέρτα του Καναδά. Είμαι, επίσης, καθηγήτρια δευτεροβάθμιας και τριτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης εδώ και πολλά χρόνια και έχω δουλέψει με μετανάστες μαθητές σε δημόσια σχολεία του Καναδά.

Γιατί να συναντηθούμε;

Θα ήθελα να σου πω για τη μελέτη μου, που αφορά τα παιδιά και τους νέους, όπως και εσύ, και θέλω πάρα πολύ να μάθω εάν θα θέλατε να να συμμετάσχετε σε αυτή τη ερευνητική μελέτη.

Γιατί κάνω αυτή τη μελέτη;

Θέλω να μάθω πώς αισθάνεστε για το σχολίκο σας περιβάλλον. Θα ήθελα επίσης να μάθω πώς σκέφτεστε για την μάθηση σας στο σχολείο σας.

Τι θα συμβεί εάν συμμετάσχεις στη μελέτη;

Αν αποφασίσεις να πάρεις μέρος σε αυτή τη μελέτη, υπάρχουν μερικά διαφορετικά πράγματα που θα σου ζητήσω να κάνεις. Κατ 'αρχάς, θα ήθελα να σου μιλήσω για περίπου 15 έως 20 λεπτά, ώστε να μπορέσω να σου πω για τη μελέτη μου. Θα ήθελα επίσης να καταγράψω ήχο κατά τη διάρκεια της συνομιλία μας. Δεν υπάρχουν σωστές ή λάθος απαντήσεις και μπορείτε να μου πείτε αυτό που σκέφτεστε ή αυτό που νομίζετε άφοβα. Εάν δεν έχετε απάντηση, ή αν δεν ξέρετε, να μου πείτε απλά "δεν ξέρω." Αργότερα, θα σας δώσω μια λίστα με προ-συνεντευξιακές δραστηριότητες. Θα ήθελα να διαλέξετε ΜΙΑ δραστηριότητα που μπορείτε να συμπληρώσετε και να μου τη φέρετε πίσω μερικές ημέρες αργότερα. Στη συνέχεια, θα μιλήσουμε για τη δραστηριότητά σας, η οποίες μπορεί να είναι ένα διάγραμμα, μια λίστα, μια ζωγραφιά, ένα κολάζ, κλπ.

Θα υπάρξει πρόβλημα εάν πάρετε μέρος στη μελέτη;

Ελπίζω ότι θα θέλετε να μου μιλήσετε. Μερικοί άνθρωποι νιώθουν άβολα όταν μιλάμε για τις ζωές τους, και εάν θέλουν να σταματήσουν, τους λέω να σταματήσουν. Μπορώ να σας φέρω επίσης σε επαφή με κάποιον να σας βοηθήσει, αν και εφόσον το επιθυμείτε.

Θα πρέπει να απαντήσετε σε όλες τις ερωτήσεις που θα σας ζητηθούν;

Αν σας ζητώ ερωτήσεις που δεν θέλετε να απαντήσετε, να μου πείτε ότι δεν θέλετε να απαντήσετε στα ερωτήματα αυτά. Αν σας ζητήσω να κάνετε πράγματα που δεν θέλετε να κάνετε στη συνέχεια της μελέτης, όπως τις προ-συνέντευξιακες δραστηριότητες π.χ., να μου πείτε ότι δεν θέλετε να απαντήσετε,.

Ποιος θα ξέρει ότι είστε στη μελέτη;

Ό, τι και όσα μου πείτε, και επιπλέον, οι πληροφορίες που γράφω για εσάς δεν θα έχουν το όνομά σας. Το όνομά σας θα αλλάξει (ψευδώνυμο), οπότε κανείς δεν θα ξέρει ότι οι απαντήσεις είναι δικες σας, ή το πώς αισθάνεστε για μερικά από τα πράγματα που θα μιλήσουμε. Δεν θα αφήσω κανέναν να δει τις απαντήσεις σας ή οποιαδήποτε άλλη πληροφορία σχετικά με εσάς. Οι γονείς και τα αδέρφια σας, ή οι φίλοι σας δεν θα δουν ποτέ τις απαντήσεις που έδωσες ή τις πληροφορίες που έγραψα για σένα.

Πρέπει να συμμετάσχω στη μελέτη;

Δεν είναι απαραίτητο να συμμετάσχεις στη μελέτη. Κανείς δεν θα θυμώσει και κανείς δεν θα διαταραχθεί με σας αν δεν θέλετε να συμμετάσχετε στη μελέτη. Πέστε μου αν δεν θέλετε να συμμετάσχετε στη μελέτη. Εάν αποφασίσετε να συμμετάσχετε στη μελέτη, αλλά αργότερα αλλάξετε γνώμη, τότε μπορείτε να μου πείτε ότι δεν θέλετε να συμμετάσχετε στη μελέτη πια.

Έχετε απορίες;

Μπορείτε να κάνετε ερωτήσεις οποιαδήποτε στιγμή. Μπορείτε να κάνετε ερωτήσεις τώρα, ή μπορείτε να κάνετε ερωτήσεις αργότερα. Μπορείτε να μου μιλήσετε τώρα, ή μπορείτε να μιλήσετε με κάποιον άλλο οποιαδήποτε στιγμή κατά τη διάρκεια της μελέτης. Εδώ είναι ο αριθμός τηλεφώνου και διεύθυνση ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου που μπορείτε να καλέσετε

_____ ή μέσω e-mail: (macris@ualberta.ca) οι επόπτες μου: Δρ Lynette Shultz (780) 492-4441 (lshultz@ualberta.ca) ή Δρ Ali Abdi στο (780) 492-6819 (aabdi@ualberta.ca).

Με εκτίμηση,

Βίκυ Μακρή

Καταλαβαίνω τις διαδικασίες που περιγράφονται παραπάνω. Οι ερωτήσεις μου έχουν απαντηθεί ικανοποιητικά, και συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω σε αυτή τη μελέτη. Μου έχει δοθεί ένα αντίγραφο αυτού του εντύπου.

Όνομα Συμμετέχοντος:

_____

Υπογραφή/ Ημερομηνία Συμμετέχοντα:

_____

Υπογραφή συγκατάθεση (γονική συναίνεση)

_____

Στην κρίση μου, ο συμμετέχων έχει εθελοντικά και συνειδητά δώσει εν γνώση του συναίνεση και διαθέτει τη νομική ικανότητα να δώσει εν γνώση του συναίνεση για να συμμετάσχει σε αυτήν την ερευνητική μελέτη.

Όνομα του ατόμου που παίρνει τη συγκατάθεσή:

_____

Τηλέφωνο Επικοινωνίας:

_____

Υπογραφή του ατόμου που παίρνει τη συγκατάθεσή:

Ημερομηνία: _____

PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM FOR CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDY

Study Title: EXPLORING THE LEARNING EXPERIENCES OF IMMIGRANT YOUTH IN GREEK PUBLIC SCHOOLS: *IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PRACTICE*

Researcher: Vicki Macris

This is a parental permission form for research participation. It contains important information about this study and what to expect if you permit your child to participate.

Your child's participation is voluntary.

Please consider the information carefully. Feel free to ask questions before making your decision whether or not to permit your child to participate. If you permit your child to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and will receive a copy of the form.

Your child may leave the study at any time. If you or your child decides to stop participation in the study, there will be no penalty.

Your child's study-related information will be kept confidential.

If you and your child choose to participate in the study, you may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. By signing this form, you do not give up any personal legal rights your child may have as a participant in this study.

An Institutional Review Board responsible for human subjects research at The University of Alberta has reviewed this research project and found it to be acceptable, according to applicable regulations and University policies designed to protect the rights and welfare of participants in research.

For questions, concerns, or complaints about the study you may contact the Research Ethics Office at the University of Alberta (780) 492-2615, or via email at reoffice@ualberta.ca

Signing the parental permission form

I have read (or someone has read to me) this form and I am aware that I am being asked to provide permission for my child to participate in a research study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered to my satisfaction. I voluntarily agree to permit my child to participate in this study.

I am not giving up any legal rights by signing this form. I will be given a copy of this form**.**

_____
Printed name of subject

_____
Printed name of person authorized to provide permission for subject

_____
Signature of person authorized to provide permission for subject

AM/PM

_____
Relationship to the subject

_____
Date and time

<u>Investigator/Research Staff</u>

I have explained the research to the participant or his/her representative before requesting the signature(s) above. There are no blanks in this document. A copy of this form has been given to the participant or his/her representative.

_____
Printed name of person obtaining consent

_____
Signature of person obtaining consent

AM/PM

_____
Date and time

**ΓΟΝΙΚΗ ΑΔΕΙΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ ΑΝΗΛΙΚΟΥ ΣΕ ΜΕΛΕΤΗ/
ΕΡΕΥΝΑ**

Τίτλος Μελέτης: ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΣΙΑΚΩΝ ΕΜΠΕΙΡΙΩΝ
ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΤΩΝ ΣΕ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΣΧΟΛΕΙΑ:
ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΓΙΑ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΕΣ.

Ερευνητής: Βίκυ Μακρή

Γονική άδεια για τη συμμετοχή ανηλίκου σε έρευνα.
Αυτό το έγγραφο περιέχει σημαντικές πληροφορίες σχετικά με τη μελέτη αυτή και τι να
περιμένετε, αν επιτρέψετε στο παιδί σας να συμμετάσχει στη μελέτη.

Η συμμετοχή του παιδιού σας είναι εθελοντική.
Παρακαλώ να εξετάσετε προσεκτικά τις παρακάτω πληροφορίες. Μη διστάσετε να
κάνετε ερωτήσεις πριν τη λήψη της απόφασής σας, αν θα επιτραπεί, ή όχι, στο παιδί σας
να συμμετάσχει στη μελέτη.

Εάν επιτρέψετε στο παιδί σας να συμμετάσχει στη μελέτη, θα σας ζητηθεί να
υπογράψετε αυτό το έντυπο και θα λάβετε αντίγραφο αυτού του εντύπου. Το παιδί σας
μπορεί να αφήσει τη μελέτη ανά πάσα στιγμή. Εάν εσείς, ή το παιδί σας, αποφασίσει να
διακόψει τη συμμετοχή στη μελέτη, δεν θα υπάρξει καμία απολύτως ποινή.

**Η μελέτη σχετικά με τις πληροφορίες που θα συμβάλει το παιδί σας θα
παραμείνουν**
<u>απόλυτα εμπιστευτικές.</u>

Αν το παιδί σας επιλέξει να συμμετάσχει στη μελέτη, μπορεί να διακόψει τη συμμετοχή
της/ του οποιαδήποτε στιγμή, χωρίς καμία ποινή ή απώλεια. Με την υπογραφή αυτής
της μορφής, δεν εγκαταλείπει σε καμία περίπτωση τα προσωπικά νομικά δικαιώματα
της /του.

Το θεσμικό συμβούλιο επιθεώρησης υπεύθυνο για έρευνες με ανθρώπινα υποκείμενα
στο Πανεπιστήμιο της Αλμπέρτα έχει αξιολογήσει αυτό το έργο έρευνας και διαπίστωσε
ότι είναι αποδεκτό, σύμφωνα με τους ισχύοντες κανονισμούς και πολιτικές των
πανεπιστημίων με σκοπό την προστασία των δικαιωμάτων και της ευημερίας των
συμμετεχόντων στην έρευνα.
Για ερωτήσεις, ανησυχίες ή παράπονα σχετικά με τη μελέτη μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε
με το **Γραφείο Έρευνας Ηθικής** στο Πανεπιστήμιο της Αλμπέρτα (780) 492-2615, ή
μέσω email στο reoffice@ualberta.ca

Υπογραφή γονικής άδειας:

Έχω διαβάσει (ή κάποιος έχει διαβάσει για μένα) αυτό το έντυπο και γνωρίζω ότι
καλούμαι να παράσχω άδεια στο παιδί μου να συμμετάσχει σε μια ερευνητική μελέτη.

Είχα την ευκαιρία να κάνω ερωτήσεις και έχουν απαντηθεί ικανοποιητικά. Έχω εθελοντικά συμφωνήσει να επιτρέψω στο παιδί μου να συμμετάσχει σε αυτή τη μελέτη.

Δεν παραιτούμαι από κανένα νομικό δικαίωμα, με την υπογραφή αυτής της φόρμας.

Θα μου δοθεί ένα αντίγραφο αυτού του εντύπου.

_____

Τυπωμένο το όνομα του συμμετέχοντα ανηλίκου

_____

Τυπωμένο το όνομα γονέα ή κηδεμόνα που είναι εξουσιοδοτημένη/ος να παρέχει άδεια για ανήλικα.

_____

Υπογραφή γονέα ή κηδεμόνα που είναι εξουσιοδοτημένη/ος να παρέχει άδεια για ανήλικα

Σχέση με την/τον συμμετέχοντα ανήλικη/ο: _____
_____

Ημερομηνία και Ώρα: _____

Ερευνητής / Ερευνητικό Προσωπικό

Έχω εξηγήσει την έρευνα στον συμμετέχοντα πριν ζητηθεί υπογραφή. Δεν υπάρχουν κενά σε αυτό το έγγραφο. Αντίγραφο του εντύπου αυτού έχει δοθεί στον συμμετέχοντα.

_____

Τυπωμένο το όνομα του ατόμου που αποκτα συγκατάθεση

_____

Υπογραφή ατόμου που αποκτα συγκατάθεση

Ημερομηνία και Ώρα: _____

ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Study Title: EXPLORING THE LEARNING EXPERIENCES OF IMMIGRANT YOUTH IN GREEK PUBLIC SCHOOLS: *IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PRACTIC*

Hi. My name is Vicki Macris and I am a Doctoral Candidate and a teacher. Right now, I'm trying to learn about immigrant students' learning experiences in Greek schools. I would like to ask you to help me by being in a study, but before I do, I want to explain what will happen if you decide to help me.

I will ask you to tell me about your learning and social experiences in school. You can tell me as much or as little as you want about your experiences. There is no right or wrong answers and you can stop telling me about your experiences at any time. By being in the study, you will help me understand how you experience learning in your school environment in your new country.

Your parents, teachers and classmates will not know what you have said, written and sketched. When I tell other people about my study, I will not use your name, and no one will be able to tell who I'm talking about.

Your mom/dad says it is okay for you to be in my study. But if you don't want to be in the study, you don't have to be. What you decide won't make any difference with your grades, and about how people think about you. I won't be upset, and no one else will be upset, if you don't want to be in the study. If you want to be in the study now but change your mind later, that's okay. You can stop at any time. If there is anything you don't understand you should tell me so I can explain it to you

You can ask me questions about the study. If you have a question later that you don't think of now, you can call me or ask your mom/dad to call me or send me an email.

Do you have any questions for me now?

Would you like to be in my study and talk to me and make a diagram or sketch that we can talk about?

Name of Child: _____

Parental Permission on File: ☐ Yes ☐ No

(If "No," do not proceed with assent or research procedures.)

Child's Voluntary Response to Participation: ☐ Yes   ☐ No

Signature of Researcher: _____

Date: _____

Signature of Child: _____

ΣΥΜΦΩΝΗ ΓΝΩΜΗ ΓΙΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ ΣΕ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ

ΤΙΤΛΟΣ: ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΣΙΑΚΩΝ ΕΜΠΕΙΡΙΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΤΩΝ ΣΕ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΣΧΟΛΕΙΑ: *ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΓΙΑ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΕΣ.*

Γεια σας. Το όνομά μου είναι Βίκυ Μακρή και είμαι υποψήφια διδάκτορας και εκπαιδευτικός. Αυτή τη στιγμή, προσπαθώ να μάθω σχετικά με τις μαθησιακές εμπειρίες μεταναστών μαθητών στα ελληνικά σχολεία. Θα ήθελα να σας ζητήσω να με βοηθήσετε με το να συμμετάσχετε σ'αυτή τη μελέτη/έρευνα, αλλά πριν το κάνω αυτό, θέλω να σας εξηγήσω τι θα συμβεί αν αποφασίσετε να με βοηθήσετε.

Θα σας ζητήσω να μου πείτε για τη μαθησή σας, και την κοινωνική σας εμπειρία στο σχολείο. Μπορείτε να μου πείτε όσα πολλά, ή όσα λίγα θέλετε για τις εμπειρίες σας. Δεν υπάρχουν σωστές ή λάθος απαντήσεις και μπορείτε να σταματήσετε να μου λέτε για την εμπειρία σας ανά πάσα στιγμή. Η συμμετοχή σας στη μελέτη θα με βοηθήσει να καταλάβω την εμπειρία μάθησης σας στο περιβάλλον του σχολείου σας στη νέα χώρα στην οποία ζείτε.

Οι γονείς σας, οι δάσκαλοι σας και οι συμμαθητές σας δεν θα ξέρουν τι έχετε πει, τι έχετε γράψει και τι έχετε σχεδιάσει. Όταν μιλάω σε άλλα άτομα σχετικά με τη μελέτη μου, δεν θα χρησιμοποιήσω το όνομά σας, και κανείς δεν θα είναι σε θέση να εντοπίσει για ποιον θα μιλάμε.

Η μαμά / ο μπαμπάς σας λέει ότι είναι εντάξει να συμμετάσχετε στη μελέτη μου. Αλλά αν δεν θέλετε να συμμετάσχετε στη μελέτη, δεν είναι απαραίτητο να συμμετάσχετε. Το τι θα αποφασίσετε δεν θα κάνει διαφορά στους βαθμούς σας, και για το πώς άλλοι σκέφτονται για σας. Δεν θα διαταραχθώ, και κανείς άλλος δεν θα πρέπει να διαταραχθεί, εάν δεν θέλετε να συμμετάσχετε στη μελέτη. Αν θέλετε να συμμετάσχετε στη μελέτη τώρα, αλλά αργότερα αλλάξετε γνώμη, αυτό είναι εντάξει. Μπορείτε να σταματήσετε οποιαδήποτε στιγμή. Αν υπάρχει κάτι που δεν καταλαβαίνετε θα πρέπει να μου το πειτε, έτσι μπορώ να σας το εξηγήσω.

 Μπορείτε να μου κάνετε ερωτήσεις σχετικά με τη μελέτη. Εάν έχετε κάποια ερώτηση αργότερα πού δεν έχετε σκεφτεί ακόμη, μπορείτε να μου τηλεφωνήσετε ή να ζητήσετε από τη μαμά σας / μπαμπά σας να μου τηλεφωνήσει ή να μου στείλει ένα email στο εξής τηλέφωνο/ email:

_____ vmacris@shaw.ca or macris@ualberta.ca

Έχετε κάποιες απορίες για μένα τώρα; Θα θέλατε να είστε στη μελέτη μου και να μου μιλήσετε;

Αν ναι, μπορώ να σας ζητήσω, παρακαλώ, να υπογράψετε παρακάτω;

Όνομα παιδιού: _____

Γονική άδεια: Ναι / Όχι
(Αν "Όχι," μην προχωρήσετε με τη σύμφωνη γνώμη ή με την έρευνα των διαδικασιών.)

Εθελοντική Απάντηση παιδιού στη συμμετοχή: Ναι / Όχι

Υπογραφή του Ερευνητή: _____

Ημερομηνία: _____

Υπογραφή του Παιδιού: _____