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Language Diversity in Greece

Local Challenges with International Implications

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To
Jim Cummins
For the inspiration, the legacy, and the
friendship

Foreword

As I wrote this chapter in June 2018, media outlets throughout the world were reporting on the thousands of migrant babies, children, and adolescents who were seized from their parents at the southern United States border and held in cages or "tender age shelters" in various locations throughout the country. Reports document how staff at some of these centers routinely administer psychotropic drugs (typically used for conditions such as depression and schizophrenia) without parental consent in order to sedate traumatized children (e.g., Planas 2018). Other reports highlight the extreme physical and psychological abuse experienced by some incarcerated migrant adolescents: "Immigrant children as young as 14 housed at a juvenile detention center in Virginia say they were beaten while handcuffed and locked up for long periods in solitary confinement, left nude and shivering in concrete cells" (Biesecker et al. 2018). This dehumanization of immigrant communities has been fueled by extreme rhetoric from the United States President who has labeled Mexican and Latin American immigrants "rapists" and "animals" who are "infesting" the United States.

Extreme rhetoric from government officials is not confined to the United States. In late June 2018, Italy's far-right deputy prime minister, Matteo Salvini, called for a census and deportation of Roma, and his views on Roma, and migrants generally, were captured in the following quote: "We need a mass cleansing street by street, neighborhood by neighborhood, piazza by piazza. We need to be tough because there are entire parts of our cities, entire parts of Italy, that are out of control" (Embury-Dennis 2018).

The research findings and educational innovations documented in this volume need to be viewed within this global context, where xenophobia has been increasingly normalized. During the past decade, buffeted by economic meltdown, Greece has also experienced a rise of support for the extreme nationalist Golden Dawn party (Dragonas 2015). However, this support remains far behind that of more mainstream conservative and progressive political parties and thus far has not significantly influenced government policies. During this period, Greece has received

and attempted to educate and care for thousands of refugees, many fleeing the civil war in Syria[1].

As documented in this volume, Greek educators have pioneered innovative approaches to integrating immigrant students into the education system and the wider society. A major breakthrough has also been achieved in the education of Muslim minority students in Thrace, near the Turkish border. The 20-year project, led by Thalia Dragonas and Anna Frangoudaki, succeeded in bringing Greek and Muslim teachers, and their respective communities, into constructive dialogue regarding ways of improving the education of minority children. As documented in the chapters in Part B of this volume, students' school achievement has risen very significantly and collaboration between the communities has replaced distrust and suspicion.

In Part C of this volume, there are reports about innovative research and pedagogical projects undertaken for and with Roma students and communities in Greece. This research shows that social stereotypes *can* be challenged through interpersonal contact between educators and both children and community members, but obstacles remain in fully engaging the community's funds of knowledge for educational purposes. I was introduced to this project by Eleni Skourtou, who is scientifically responsible for its implementation in the Aegean islands. The collaborative philosophy underlying this ongoing research is illustrated by the suggested involvement of three Roma high school students as research assistants. Knowledge and insight are being generated *in collaboration with* the Roma community who are full participants in this process. As with the project on the education of the Muslim minority, the social justice goals of the research are reflected in the research methodologies adopted to explore potentially effective educational strategies.

The focus of analysis changes with the chapters in Part D that address the processes of language learning and maintenance among students and families in the Greek diaspora. The learning of Greek in the diaspora has long been supported by the Greek government through the provision of both textbooks and teachers, but the challenges of maintaining Greek as a minority language across generations are immense in light of the pervasiveness of dominant languages (particularly English) in schools and the media. However, as demonstrated in the different projects initiated by Vasilia Kourtis-Kazoullis and Themistoklis Aravossitas, new technologies can also be harnessed creatively to support the learning and maintenance of heritage languages.

Collectively, these chapters convey a message of hope—they highlight the potential power of educators to transform the broader society in a fractured world. Education systems are, in principle, capable of working with marginalized communities to generate social, cognitive, and academic power, and in the process repudiating their traditional role of reproducing societal power relations. In an era of increasing xenophobia, the moral imperative of education and the moral choices faced by educators and embedded in classroom pedagogy have never been clearer.

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[1] According to the World Bank, 46,381 refugees were being settled in Greece in 2016. (https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SM.POP.REFG)

It is instructive to examine the deep pedagogical structure underlying the educational initiatives documented in these pages. The specific programs and pedagogical approaches implemented in any particular context may not be transferable from one social context to the next, but the theoretical principles underlying these initiatives are, by definition, transferable. Any theoretical hypothesis, construct, or framework must be capable of accounting for all the relevant empirical data; if not, it requires modification to accommodate phenomena that do not fit within the current model. Since the beginnings of humanity, this is how we have constructed models of our world (e.g., knowledge of our solar system). In the next section, I highlight some of the major theoretical constructs that are illustrated in the research discussed in this volume, drawing on my own collaboration with the editors and several authors, which has helped shape and refine these constructs.

Evolving Theoretical Dialogues

My first involvement with educational issues in Greece came as a result of an invitation in 1997 from Eleni Skourtou at the University of the Aegean to spend some time in Rhodes working with university faculty, educators, and parents who were engaged with various bilingual and multilingual issues both in families and schools. This collaboration has continued both in Greece and Canada over the past 20 years. Eleni also arranged translation into Greek and wrote a Foreword for my book *Negotiating Identities* (Cummins 1999), which has been used extensively in university courses in Greece. I was also privileged to serve as an external member of Vasilia Kourtis-Kazoullis' Ph.D. dissertation and collaborated with Eleni and Vasilia in a number of publications (e.g., Skourtou et al. 2006).

I also had the opportunity to participate in two conferences organized by Thalia Dragonas and Anna Frangoudaki focused on their long-term project *Education of Muslim Minority Children* discussed at some length in the present volume. Again, ongoing discussions about issues of societal power relations, identity negotiation, and education contributed to my own understanding of these issues (see Cummins 2000).

Below, I sketch some of the theoretical ideas that either evolved from my collaboration with educators and colleagues in Greece or were refined and shaped as a result of this collaboration. These constructs can be seen as a visual lens through which many of the projects discussed in the chapters that follow can be viewed.

Linguistic Interdependence

One of the themes that emerged frequently in discussions with parents of bilingual students in Rhodes and with educators who were teaching immigrant-background students (e.g., from Albania) was the extent to which parents and teachers should

encourage children to maintain their home languages (L1) in order to develop active bilingualism or, alternatively, whether promotion of L1 would interfere with children's academic development in Greek, the language of schooling. Parents of children who spoke Greek and another language at home as a result of a cross-national marriage reported that teachers frequently advised them to use only Greek at home if they wanted their children to succeed in school.

Parents were reassured to hear from both Eleni Skourtou and me that the research on this issue is unequivocal: bilingualism is a positive force in children's cognitive and academic development and children's L1 represents a foundation or stepping stone to stronger academic performance in L2, the school language. Cross-linguistic transfer of concepts and skills is the norm among bilingual students and this process is enhanced when classroom instruction actively promotes this form of transfer. This message has been consistently reinforced during the past 20 years by Eleni Skourtou and Vasilia Kourtis-Kazoulli in their teacher education and professional development work with teachers as well as in their professional and academic publications. As a result, teachers in Greece are probably more aware of research on bilingual development among students than most of their colleagues in other parts of Europe.

Pedagogical Orientations

Eleni, Vasilia, and I spoke extensively about the limitations of teacher-centered transmission orientations to instruction where teachers see their role as simply transmitting curriculum content to students, whose role is then to internalize this content and reproduce it on high-stakes tests or examinations. Eleni and Vasilia were highly critical of the centralized Greek curriculum that effectively required teachers to focus only on the content that was likely to be tested on national examinations.

In *Negotiating Identities* (1996, 2001) and in previous publications, I had distinguished between transmission, social constructivist, and transformative orientations to pedagogy[2]. Influenced by the work of Paulo Freire, who contrasted "banking" education with more critical pedagogical approaches, these dimensions were presented by me and others in a relatively static way as competing alternatives. The three pedagogical orientations formed part of the theoretical framework for Vasilia's doctoral dissertation research (Kourtis-Kazoullis 2002), which was carried out over two years with grade 4, 5, and 6 students. This research demonstrated the feasibility of using technology in the form of Internet-based sister class connections to go beyond transmission approaches in the teaching of English and engage students in social constructivist and transformative learning activities. I remember one of the

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[2] In different publications, variations on this terminology have been used. For example, in *Negotiating Identities* (2001), I used the terms *traditional*, *constructivist*, and *transformative*. Similar distinctions have been made by numerous other researchers.

teachers in the project in the "debriefing" meeting at its conclusion saying that initially he was extremely concerned about how he was going to cover the mandated English curriculum when he was giving up one of his three weekly periods to the project. However, despite one-third less formal English instruction, the students did well, and their parents were happy about their progress.

Inspired by Vasilia's research, over the course of many hours of discussion, a more useful and dynamic conception of the relationships between these three pedagogical orientations emerged. Rather than viewing the three pedagogical orientations as separate and isolated from each other, we envisaged them as nested within each other. Using a concentric circles diagram, we described this conception as follows (Skourtou et al. 2006, pp. 448–449).

> Transmission-oriented pedagogy is represented in the inner circle with the narrowest focus; the goal is to transmit information and skills articulated in the curriculum directly to students. Social constructivist pedagogy, occupying the middle pedagogical space, incorporates the curriculum focus of transmission approaches but broadens it to include the development among students of higher-order thinking abilities based on teachers and students co-constructing knowledge and understanding. Finally, transformative approaches to pedagogy broaden the focus still further by emphasizing the relevance not only of transmitting the curriculum and constructing knowledge but also of promoting critical literacy among students to enable them to analyze societal discourses and conceptualize forms of action to affect these discourses.

The dialogue between theory and instructional practice that we engaged in highlighted the importance for teachers of minority and immigrant-background students to move beyond simple transmission of a static curriculum towards instructional practice that connected instruction with students' lives, supported them through scaffolding of academic content across the curriculum, and affirmed their identities as confident and competent bilinguals rather than simply as learners of the school language.

Teacher–Student Identity Negotiation in the Context of Societal Power Relations

In the book *Negotiating Identities*, and in previous publications (e.g., Cummins 1986), I had argued that the ways in which teachers negotiate identities with students can exert a significant impact on the extent to which students will engage academically or withdraw from academic effort. The framework elaborated in that book proposed that relations of power in the wider society, ranging from coercive to collaborative in varying degrees, influence both the ways in which educators define their roles and the types of structures that are established in the educational system. Educational structures (e.g., curriculum, assessment), together with educator role definitions, determine the patterns of interactions between educators, students, and communities. These interactions form an interpersonal space within which the acquisition of knowledge and formation of identity is negotiated. Teacher–student

interactions within this interpersonal space, where minds and identities meet, can either expand or constrict students' personal, cognitive, and academic horizons. As such, these teacher–student interactions constitute the most immediate determinant of student academic success or failure. An implication of the framework is that educators who aspire to truly educate students from socially marginalized groups must be willing to challenge the operation of coercive power relations in the wider society (e.g., xenophobic discourse and discriminatory policies).

This framework provided a lens for me to observe and think about the major challenges facing educators, policymakers, and researchers involved in the *Education of Muslim Minority Children* project. In turn, the outcomes of the project lend legitimacy to the claim that education *can* challenge the operation of societal power relations and help reverse historical patterns of exclusion and discrimination. Based on the historical perspective elaborated by Anna Frangoudaki and Thalia Dragonas at the initial conference focused on the project in Komotini, Greece, in October 1999, I reflected on the challenges facing the project as follows (Cummins 2000).

> Many Greek teachers have approached their duty of "teaching the enemy" with a feeling of hostility to the language, culture, and traditions that children bring to school. Their expectations for student success have been extremely low and thus it was not difficult to rationalize the minimal literacy skills attained by the Muslim children in Greek (and even Turkish) as being due to their inherent inferiority. (p. 9)

The project was based on the optimistic conviction that educators, working with communities and with colleagues from the other linguistic, cultural, and religious group, could reverse these historical antagonisms within the school and local society so that a safe space could be created for students' personal, cognitive, and academic development. I reflected that for this to happen,

> Change in the deep structure will come only when educators walk into their classrooms burdened not by the anger of the past and the disdain of the present, but with their own identities focused on transforming the social futures towards which their students are travelling. (p. 11)

Although social and educational challenges remain, as documented by the chapters in this book, the project is highly significant internationally in illustrating the power of education to create a future by rupturing the past. The project demonstrates that with sufficient commitment, imagination, and persistence, educators can change social and educational realities and open up life chances that were previously unattainable for marginalized group students.

Identity Texts

The theoretical construct of *identity texts* emerged in 2004 in the context of discussions between Eleni Skourtou, Vasilia Kourtis-Kazoullis, and me. We were discussing the pedagogical significance of student-created dual language books written by

minority group students in the context of the Canadian "Multiliteracies" project led by Margaret Early and me (Cummins and Early 2011). Specifically, we focused on the fact that these student creations reflected not just cognitive, academic, and linguistic accomplishments but also reflected and shaped students' emerging identities. Cummins and Early subsequently described identity texts as follows:

> We used the term identity texts to describe the products of students' creative work or performances carried out within the pedagogical space orchestrated by the classroom teacher. Students invest their identities in the creation of these texts which can be written, spoken, signed, visual, musical, dramatic, or combinations in multimodal form. The identity text then holds a mirror up to students in which their identities are reflected back in a positive light. When students share identity texts with multiple audiences (peers, teachers, parents, grandparents, sister classes, the media, etc.) they are likely to receive positive feedback and affirmation of self in interaction with these audiences. Although not always an essential component, technology acts as an amplifier to enhance the process of identity text production and dissemination. (p. 7)

The term incorporated aspects of the three theoretical ideas already discussed. Dual language identity texts highlighted biliteracy as a positive force in students' academic development; they illustrated the potential to move beyond transmission approaches to pedagogy into instructional spaces that positioned minority and marginalized group students as capable of creating literature and art; and they challenged the societal and educational power relations that have frequently positioned students from socially marginalized groups as academically inferior and disengaged from learning. Powerful examples of identity texts are outlined by Kourtis-Kazoullis (2011), drawing on her teaching and research with high school students from socially disadvantaged minority groups in Rhodes.

Conclusion

The chapters in this volume provide rich details about ongoing educational initiatives and research in the Greek context. These initiatives and research have not been well known outside of Greece, and thus, the book brings the Greek experience regarding multilingualism and minority group education into dialogue with educational experiences in other parts of Europe and internationally. The chapters also illustrate the relevance of theory for understanding and initiating educational initiatives and the importance of ongoing empirical research to inform policy and pedagogical decisions. Most fundamentally, however, the researchers and educators who have contributed to this volume demonstrate that schools *can* challenge xenophobic policies and discourses and that research itself, collaboratively undertaken with communities and educators, can serve as a potent force for social justice.

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Introduction: Language Diversity in Greece

Eleni Skourtou, Vasilia Kourtis-Kazoullis, Themistoklis Aravossitas, and Peter Pericles Trifonas

Greece and the Greek diaspora represent very dynamic contexts for language diversity in society and education. In a relatively short period of time, Greek society has been transformed by ongoing emigration and immigration waves to and from Greece. Currently, various culturally and linguistically diverse groups, such as immigrants, repatriates, Muslims, Roma and refugees constitute dynamic research fields and at the same time significant educational challenges. In the last decades, there has been an accumulated expertise in regard to these groups (mainly in reference to the Greek language) which remains to be discovered by an international audience.

Greek is the official language of Greece, spoken by almost the entire population. Although Greece may be viewed as a monolingual country, in fact, it has a long-standing history of diglossia, bilingualism and translanguaging (Tsokalidou 2017). Indeed, Fergusson (1959) described the heteroglossic landscape of Greece and used a Greek word to label the dichotomic and political fragile relationship between the scholastic (Katharevousa) and vernacular (Dimotiki) language use and its implications for language teaching. Nowadays, the sharp diglossic dichotomy has been replaced by a continuum, and diglossia refers to several Greek language varieties

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and dialects as well as to the distinction between home language and school (academic) language.

At the same time, Greece is home of a plethora of other languages. This language diversity in the country consists of languages of immigrants, repatriates, refugees, Roma, Muslim minorities, Pomaks, etc. Practically, the country is a field of extended translanguaging practices (Garcia 2017) between the official Greek, other languages and their varieties, as well as local Greek varieties. There are periods in modern and contemporary times, though, where Greek society seemed to be rather homogenous. In the 1990s, this fragile homogeneity was challenged by massive flows of newcomers. As Dragona (in this volume) states, since the end of the second world war and until the 1990s, Greek society has been relatively homogeneous. Karantzola and Galantomos (in this volume) refer to Greece as a traditional labor-exporting country with a long history of migration to other countries. On the other hand, they refer to the political, economic and social developments, such as the collapse of communism and the border opening in Eastern Europe, which have transformed Greece into a major migrant receiver. In the beginnings of the 1990s most of the migrants came from the neighboring Balkan countries and mainly from Albania, Bulgaria and Romania (Karantzola and Galantomos in this volume).

This influx of migrants brought drastic changes to the Greek social structure, economy and education. Greeks had to face a totally unfamiliar situation, since this migrant influx 'threatened' the national balance. Furthermore, Greek schools were totally unprepared to cope with students of migrant background (Karantzola and Galantomos in this volume).

In light of all of these changes, the Greek state, in collaboration with the European Union, designed and implemented various national-scale programs for specific groups. It seems that this influx of immigrants forced the Greek state to also consider other forms of diversity in Greek society and in Greek schools, which until that point was relatively *invisible* in Greek education. Target groups were: immigrant and/or repatriate students, Muslim students, Roma students and students of Greek origin in the diaspora**.**

The major aim of the projects was to reduce the dropout rate of students from compulsory education, to develop an intercultural dimension within the educational system and to provide students with the opportunity to benefit from education and to enhance their social inclusion while maintaining their cultural characteristics. While all these programs were being put into effect in Greek schools (or in schools abroad), multiculturalism emerged on the public agenda. According to Dragona (in this volume), this stimulated debates on difference and identities and often lead to racist and nationalist discourses and practices.

Although most of the above-mentioned programs were funded to solve what was considered to be a *problem*, the program involving the Greek diaspora was considered an *asset*, as it provided a means to join the community of Greeks living outside Greece's borders and to strengthen the concept that individuals of Greek heritage living in other countries should maintain the Greek language and identity. These nation-wide programs produced educational material and research results, but also led to a growing research interest in several disciplines (e.g. Education, Sociology,

Psychology, International Relations, etc.) and to an expertise on issues of multilingualism and multiculturalism in the country. The research also highlights the central role of the Greek Orthodox Church and the communities that were formed around it in cultivating Greek as a heritage language in the diaspora.

This volume attempts to illustrate a sample of research carried out about language and cultural diversity in Greece. We believe that such local challenges may have international implications. We focus on a country, which during a major economic crisis, must deal with an unprecedented influx of refugees. What remains to be seen is whether Greece will use the expertise it has acquired with other groups to deal with this new challenge.

The present volume is separated into five sections, each one focusing on a distinct target group.

In part A, the focus is placed on immigrant students in the Greek educational system. Dionysia Kontogianni and Vassilios Oikonomidis refer to bilingual children in the Greek Kindergarten. In their chapter, *Bilingual Infants and their Treatment in the Greek Kindergarten,* they make reference to the integration of immigrant children into the education systems of various countries, stating that it is closely related to the education policies for immigrants and the general principles underlying the educational, social, economic and cultural context of each country. In their study, they explore the linguistic background of immigrant children entering the Greek kindergarten and the methods and practices adopted by their teachers, so that these children can be supported in school and in social integration. By examining the research data that was collected using a questionnaire, which was distributed to kindergarten teachers, they provide interesting information on the linguistic behavior of bilingual infants and refer to relevant practices regarding the linguistic integration of these children into the Greek education system.

In the chapter *Bilingual Students in the Public Primary Education Context in Greece: A Deterrent for the Greek Educational Landscape or a Chance for Improvement,* Evangelia Papalexatou and Vassilios Zorbas provide an overview of bilingualism and its role in the teaching and learning of English as a third language (L3) in the public primary education context in Greece. They report on the findings of a qualitative study (case study) regarding two Albanian fourth graders in a Greek primary school. Through their study, they aim to identify the bilingual learners' scope, expectations and constraints, as well as to understand the underlying reasons for specific attitudes and performance when it comes to learning English as a third language. The results of the study show that although both monolingual and bilingual learners show a high disposition to learn English, the latter display increased cognitive engagement and enhanced metacognitive as well as communicative skills. At the same time, the study reveals that positive drives such as praise or rewards, psychological as well as social factors are conducive to using the target language (L3) more frequently on the part of bilingual learners.

In their chapter, George Androulakis, Anastasia Gkaintartzi, Roula Kitsiou, Zoi Liveranou and Evi Markou (*Interviewing as Understanding: Principles and Modalities for Transforming a Qualitative Research Instrument into a Stage of Integration Process for Immigrants*) report on qualitative research within the

MATH.E.ME. project undertaken by the GreekLangLab of the University of Thessaly. The project provided lessons in the Greek Language, History and Culture for socially sensitive groups of immigrants, such as single mothers, unemployed, disabled or with limited educational backgound. They outline the initial stages of this project, i.e. investigation of the needs of immigrants as learners in the scope of their empowerment and integration.

In the chapter, *Identities under Negotiation in a Second Language Academic Literacies Course, Christina* Takouda and Dimitrios Koutsogiannis outline action research carried out at The School of Modern Greek Language in Thessaloniki, where Greek is being taught as a second language to adults. Their research describes the negotiation of identities between these students, their investment in academic literacies and the imagined communities they see themselves in, considering the target language. The qualitative analysis of ethnographic data is based on a four-axis educational model that reveals the interaction of different imagined and existing ethno-cultural identities of the social actors. Thus, the educational process is regarded as a co-construction of social variables, among which lie the instructors' as well as the learners' negotiating of identities.

In the following chapter, *School and Family Cooperation: Strengthening Parents' Knowledge of Greek,* Eleni Karantzola and Ioannis Galantomos provide a picture of the positive impact of immigrant parents' involvement in their children's schooling. Their paper presents the rationale, the structure and the specific features of Greek language classes directed to migrant parents of school age students, in the framework of the national scale project "Education for Foreign and Repatriated Students". The language classes were designed to enhance migrant parents' knowledge of Greek as a second language so as to improve their communication with the school and invite them to participate more actively in their children's schooling. For this reason, the focus of teaching was familiarization of the participating parents with everyday school domains, such as school administration, curricula and language textbooks. The results and implications of this intervention are discussed in detail.

The chapter *Greek-Spanish Community: The Maintenance of the Spanish Language in Mixed Families* focuses on the language maintenance of Spanish in the context of Greek-Spanish families. Anastasia-Olga Tzirides explores the thoughts, perceptions and attitudes of Spanish parents of Greek-Spanish families regarding their language and bilingualism, the language ability and use of Spanish in the family, and the reinforcement practices they use. Qualitative research was conducted using semi-structured interviews from seven Greek-Spanish families in Thessaloniki. Tzirides claims that a tendency towards language shift to Greek was observed, due to the fact that the practices and efforts to reinforce Spanish became weaker over the years.

Part B focuses on a minority group which has a historic presence in Greece. It focuses on Muslim students and minority schools in northern Greece and specifically in the area of Thrace.

Thalia Dragonas and Anna Frangoudaki present their long-term educational intervention, which aimed at increasing the social inclusion of Muslim minority children in the Greek province of Thrace in the chapter: *Project on the Education of*

Muslim Minority Children in Thrace, Greece: Stimulating the Educational Process and Enhancing Collaborative Practices. They discuss how they reversed trends of massive underachievement and high dropout levels from the 9-year compulsory education. Their approach was aimed at: the successful teaching of Greek as a second language; the development of educational materials; the training of teachers; the introduction of transformative pedagogy principles; the creation of informal education structures such as community centres and mobile units; the provision of Greek classes for parents; and working with the community as a whole. Dragona and Frangoudaki discuss the historical and socio-political context within which the intervention took place, the difficulties encountered and the changes achieved.

The following three chapters provide examples of how specific subjects were taught as part of the above project. Vasilis Tsafos' chapter, *Reforming History for School and History for Education: A Pilot Study for History-Teaching for the Muslim Minority in Thrace* refers to a pilot application in teaching history, which sought to experimentally test the material that was produced within the framework of the project in the Junior High Schools of Thrace. The chapter by Venetia Apostolidou, Christos Daniil and Eleni Hontolidou, *Pilot Literature Teaching in Thrace Muslim Minority* presents the findings of a pilot study involving six teachers in public high schools in Thrace, Greece and their use of new books and educational materials for teaching literature. Vasilis Tselfes presents *A Pilot Application of Educational Materials for the Natural Sciences in the Programme for the Education of Muslim Minority Children in Thrace.* He discusses whether the implementation of the educational materials enriches the creative abilities of educators, affects their teaching approaches, and improves students' involvement and the learning outcomes.

Part C focuses on the education of Roma Students.

In part C, Eleni Skourtou discusses *Investigating Literacy Issues on Roma Education* and presents three cases of literacy supporting activities in different contexts. All three interventions involve working creatively with students' knowledge funds and deal with the ways in which educators reflect on their teaching practices as they negotiate issues of identity with their Roma students.

The chapter, *Expanded Pedagogical Spaces: Enhancing Roma Students' Involvement in School,* written by Eleni Gana, Charoula Stathopoulou and Christos Govaris deals with the inclusion of Roma children in preschool education via a bottom-up project in which cultural and communicative resources from local communities entered in dialogue with the discursive practices of standard school practices. They use a collaborative reflection framework and ethnographic strategies which identify experiences, texts, and artifacts from Roma children's lives, which were subsequently used in the design of the classroom practices. This method enabled the children to utilize all of their communicative resources (Romani, Greek, nonlinguistic modalities) in order to create multiple texts which were oral, written and digital.

Following this, Dimitrios Kassis discusses the *Underachievement of Roma Children in Greece.* This chapter focuses on the current pedagogical issues which constitute pressing factors for the availability of primary education for Roma

children in Greece. He outlines the actual educational approaches and policy-making which have been adopted by the Greek state and goes on to emphasize the possible interpretations of frequent school failure of Roma children. Finally, he proposes roles for language teachers, as reflective practitioners, who should adapt to their students' continuous educational needs.

The final section of the volume, part D, refers to education in the Greek diaspora. Efthymia Papalexopoulou discusses *Narratives of Greekness in the Diaspora.* Her study analyzes the ethno-cultural identity of Greek expatriates. She refers to diverse types of diaspora with different historic circumstances that lead to different types of interconnections between diasporic populations of Greek and the national centre. Focusing on three different contexts of diaspora, and more specifically on Greek-origin students in Germany, the United States of America and the countries of the former Soviet Union, the study attempts to analyze their ethno-cultural identity. The basic axis of her investigation is the semantic field of *Greekness*.

Eleni Sella-Mazi and Maria Rompopoulou refer to *The Future of the Bilingual Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul: New Data*. The chapter focuses on the current sociolinguistic situation of the Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul/Turkey, in order to predict, to the maximum possible extent, the linguistic behavior of the new generation of this minority, based on the observation of the use of Greek and Turkish by informants aged 10 to 18. They refer to the children of the Greek Orthodox Minority which have grown up in a language community characterized by individual bilingualism and societal diglossia. They claim that the limited use of the minority mother tongue leads to limited exposure to that language, resulting in the decrease of linguistic competence, a lack of confidence in using the language and an increase of reliance on the dominant language. They present this dynamic phenomenon, stating that it leads to the limited use of the minority language.

Nikos Gogonas' chapter *Family Language Policies among Greek Migrants in Luxemburg: Results from a Comparative Study* explores the language ideologies, practices and strategies of migrant Greek families in Luxembourg. Gogonas reports on a comparative case study between an 'established' Greek family and a 'new' crisis-led migrant family. He refers to differences in the families, migration trajectory and settlement patterns in Luxembourg, as well as to similarities with regard to language ideologies and family language policies. They are primarily shaped by parents' aspirations and their market orientated, utilitarian attitudes to language learning as well as by expectations for their children's future.

Finally, Themistoklis Aravossitas and Marianthi Oikonomakou discuss *New Directions for Greek Education in the Diaspora: Teaching Heritage Language Learners in Canada.* They refer to the teaching of Modern Greek as a heritage language (HL) in Canada, through a semi-official education system that involves both public school boards and immigrant communities. They highlight the organizational and educational challenges and present the findings of a study which follows a community-based research (CBR) approach to investigating aspects of Greek heritage language education (HLE) in Ontario. Based on the findings of a series of research projects that took place between 2014 and 2017 with the collaboration of researchers, educators and community stakeholders, the chapter examines various

aspects of teaching and learning the Greek language at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels and suggests new directions for HLE in Canada and the Hellenic diaspora at large.

In the foreword to this book, Jim Cummins underlines the dehumanization of many immigrant communities around the world. He states that xenophobia has being increasingly normalized, rather than being eradicated. Greece, like other countries, is no exception. On one hand, the economic crisis has *tried* and *tired* the Greek people; on the other hand, Greece is the point of entry for thousands of refugees fleeing the civil war in Syria and wars in other countries. In this context, Greece has received and attempted to educate and care for thousands of refugees.

When most of the studies in this volume were carried out, Greece was still in a state of economic stability. The material in this book presents an example of research that was carried out and implementations that took place in the field of education. As Jim Cummins states in the foreword, "Greek educators have pioneered innovative approaches to integrating immigrant students into the education system and the wider society". Many of these implementations were funded by the European Union and National funds. It remains to be seen whether Greek society will be able to use this accumulated experience and materials to provide education for the newest arrivals on Greek soil, i.e. refugees and new immigrants.

Additionally, this complex field of languages, communities, cultures, and power relations in society and in education (Cummins 2000) in Greece represents a fertile soil for extending concepts of bilingualism to include translanguaging (Tsokalidou 2017) and raciolinguistic theories in education (Rosa 2019).

In summary, "collectively, these chapters convey a message of hope" (Jim Cummins, in this volume). In an era of increasing xenophobia, economic crises, political unrest, wars, etc., it is imperative that we learn from our experiences and improve the lives of people, through the only tool we have at our disposal as educators: Education.

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Part I
Immigrant Students in the Greek Educational System

Bilingual Infants and Their Treatment in the Greek Kindergarten

Dionysia Kontogianni and Vassilios Oikonomidis

Abstract The integration of immigrant children into the education systems of various countries is closely related to the education policies for immigrants and the general principles underlying the educational, social, economic and cultural context of each country. From this starting point, we explore the linguistic background of immigrant children entering the Greek kindergarten and the methods and practices adopted by their teachers, so that these children can be assisted with school and social integration. The research data was collected using a questionnaire with open and closed questions which was distributed to kindergarten teachers. Analysis of the data provided important information on the linguistic behavior of bilingual infants throughout a school year as well as on the applicable relevant practices regarding the linguistic integration of these children into the Greek education system.

Keywords Bilingual infants · Greek language · Immigrat children · Early childhood education · Teachers' perceptions · Linguistic integration

1 Introduction

In the context of contemporary immigration, governments aim for the integration of the children of immigrants into the mainstream education system. The main parameter for the successful educational and social integration of bilingual children, i.e. those who experience bilingual and bicultural socialization (Tsokalidou 2005:39), is the mastering of the dominant language of the country in which their families settled, a prerequisite for these children's favorable school performance (August et al. 2005; Goldenberg et al. 2006; Chlapana et al. 2012). For this reason, governments have adopted several educational policies closely connected to the educational, social, economic and cultural principles of each country.

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On a theoretical level, these policies range between "the hypothesis of deficiency" and "the hypothesis of diversity" (Damanakis 1997:77–78). According to the "hypothesis of deficiency", compensatory educational policies of assimilation are recorded in which the linguistic and cultural background of bilingual students in the public school is considered to constitute "a problem" in the acquisition of the dominant language and culture (Markou 2004: 218–223). The "hypothesis of diversity" is recorded in intercultural educational policies in the public school, and the recognition of the linguistic and cultural otherness is considered a component of education for all pupils. Indeed, bilingual children's first language is considered significant for the acquisition of the dominant language and generally for their satisfactory school progress (Tsioumis 2003; Toratori and Masali 2006; Stravakou and Hatzidimou 2006; Pearson 2002).

However, even in countries in which the management of the immigrant children's background is closer to the hypothesis of deficiency, the transition of educational policy into educational practice by educators varies. This means that the method each educator chooses to help immigrant children in the acquisition of the dominant language is influenced by the sociolinguistic context in which the educators formulate their opinion about the role that the students' first language plays in the educational process (Young 2011:136).

In Greece, preparatory classes for migrant students (Ministerial Decision No F.10/20/G1/708/7-9-1999, Government Gazette FEK 1789, issue B´) operate in primary school, but not in kindergarten. Therefore, bilingual kindergarten children enter mainstream kindergarten classes, which are the first compulsory level of education in Greece. Thus, kindergarten teachers are the first to be responsible for students' integration into Greek school. The practices which kindergarten teachers adopt to support bilingual children are the focus of our investigation in this chapter.

2 School Language Learning Context

Bilingual children enter the Greek school system with a substantial variety of starting points, not only compared to native students but also amongst themselves. The main goal of school is supposed to be the development of operational skills and qualifications, which will help all children to integrate successfully in the school and the society. Therefore school, which is considered a social good by all citizens, *"acts by definition as a considerable homogenizer, not so much in the sense of removing all cultural codes, except for the school code, but in the sense of being the composition of a general and unified cultural code which includes the national language"* (Gotovos 2002: 39).

This 'unified cultural code', which the school must convey to all students to overcome the inequality of their starting points, includes one particular dimension of the Greek language, i.e. the "academic" dimension. The academic form of the language, which is the "language of the school" – from the text book language to the means of instruction in all school subjects – demands high order intellectual skills

in order for them to understand and produce a composite linguistic and intellectual oral and written language (Skourtou 2011:110). It is a form of language, which is in fact learned in the context of a coordinated and structured learning process, as it is directly linked to the cognitive and intellectual cultivation and the development of the individual. This is the difference between the "academic" and "conversational" form of the language, which we can characterize as the "language of recess", because it refers to face to face conversation which uses simple grammatical and syntactic structures and speech without specific cognitive and intellectual requirements supplemented by auxiliary communication support (Cummins 2005:104–105). According to the studies by Cummins (2005), Collier (1987 in Cummins 2005:110–116), bilingual students master the conversational form of a second language to a level which is similar to their native speaker peers in a short time (1–2 years); however, in order to master the academic form, they need a much longer period (i.e. 5 years or more) of systematic development of academic language proficiency in all academic disciplines. This point is crucial for the language development of bilingual children as often the acquisition of simple communication skills is perceived by teachers as an acquisition of academic skills, resulting in children's poor performance, which is attributable to other factors and not to incomplete linguistic development (Cummins 1999: 94, 2005:101). Therefore, the development of academic language in bilingual students should be a key goal of education (Valdes 2004; Stritikus and Varghese 2007).

According to Cummins (1999: 103), there are two factors which should be characteristic of teaching to assist students in the acquisition of the academic form of language: (a) intellectual challenge and (b) contextual support. On the one hand, the intellectual challenge in teaching is what motivates students to master knowledge. Otherwise, they remain stagnant, both cognitively and linguistically. On the other hand, contextual support gives students the necessary means to meet the intellectual challenges of the new knowledge and to master it. In summary, in order for students to be able to master, not only the language of school itself successfully, but also to develop cognitively, they must be intellectually challenged and at the same time given the appropriate contextual support known as "scaffolding" (Stritikus and Varghese 2007).

The shaping of a positive educational climate in the classroom is an essential factor in promoting social and school integration and language development (Trilianos 2013) and even more so, for those from diverse cultural backgrounds (Tsioumis 2003; Douvli 2004). In this context, mixed activity groups are formed. In these groups projects are assigned, while recognizing the different cultural backgrounds and while trying to give strong messages to students about the value of the development of their mother tongue and strengthening the interaction between them (Cummins 1999: 199). In a rich stimulating school environment, the teacher encourages students to communicate with each other and with him/her, not only in matters of everyday school life, but also to develop dialogues with the vocabulary in the subject of the day and to look for information, etc. (Schleppegrell et al. 2004).

3   Research Methodology

Presented below is a small section of a broader research project whose target is to examine the views and practices of kindergarten teachers in Greece for the management of ethno-cultural diversity in their classes. In this research, questionnaires with closed and open-ended questions were used as tools to explore the support of bilingual kindergarten children in their acquisition/learning of the Greek language among other issues. The answers given to the closed questions were processed with the SPSS statistical package and those of the open-ended questions with the content analysis method (Neuendorf 2002), whereby the relative kindergarten teachers' opinions were ranked into thematic categories and subcategories.

The analysis provided information about:

- The representations which the teachers have concerning the linguistic behavior of bilingual infants, namely the degree of use of Greek in various communicative situations and with different speakers at the beginning and the end of the school year, and
- The pedagogical - didactic methods and practices adopted by the teachers to support bilingual children in learning Greek.

Through the analysis of the data obtained, we will attempt to show how the bicultural/ bilingual background of the children affects their role in kindergarten.

3.1   Sample

The survey population consists of all kindergarten teachers employed in the 2011–2012 school year in public kindergartens on the island of Crete. Our research sample is random and is composed of 105 kindergarten teachers from different prefectures.

Our sample is split into three age groups: 23–34 years (29%), 35–44 years (32%), 45 years and over (36%). We could say that all age groups are represented to an almost equal degree. As for years of service, half of the teachers have up to 10 years of experience: 1–10 years (47%), 11–20 years (24%) and 21 years and over (27%).

In addition, in a question given to the teachers on how informed they were on diversity management issues, only 26% said they had attended relevant courses at university level and only 28% said they had attended relevant seminars.

Regarding the percentage of immigrant students in the classes, the majority of teachers (83%) stated that more than 25% of students in their class are of immigrant background. The language spoken by bilingual students indicating their origin are Albanian, (66%), Bulgarian (19%) and in much smaller percentages, languages of the Middle East, Slavic and Western European languages, Russian and Hindi.

4   Research Findings

4.1   The Use of Greek Only by Bilingual Kindergarten Students

Of particular interest was (a) the investigation of the language which, according to the teachers' opinions and observations, the immigrant students used to communicate in various situations, and (b) the investigation of the change in the language of communication from the beginning to the end of the school year. Table 1 presents the teachers' answers regarding the use of Greek only by immigrant students various communication situations at the beginning and at the end of the school year.

In the communication situations described above (Table 1), we observe that according to the teachers, these children use Greek only to communicate with the above-mentioned speakers much more at the end of the school year than at the beginning. It is characteristic that all the differences in the frequency of Greek usage between these two-time limits are statistically significant for all communication situations. It is worth noting that the use of statistical criteria x^2 and Phi also revealed that there is a high affinity ratio between the teachers who detected the use of Greek at the beginning and those who detected it at the end of the school year. This means that the teachers find that, children who speak it at the beginning continue to do so at the end, evidence which shows that the school environment strengthens the capacity of bilingual students to use Greek.

A more careful look at Table 1, identifies some expected differences in the use of Greek in relation to the person with whom the bilingual students communicate. Although the teachers largely state that at the end of the school year bilingual students use only Greek, both with teachers and their native peers in various situations, there is also a large proportion (about 50%) of teachers who say that the bilingual students still do not use Greek only with their fellow classmates at the end of the school year. This means that the bilingual pupils use Greek alongside their first

Table 1 Teachers' observations regarding the use of Greek by bilingual students in various communication situations in kindergarten at the beginning and at the end of the school year

Communication Situations	Beginning of school year		End of school year		x^2
	N	%	N	%	
(a) With the kindergarten teachers in organized activities	52	53,6	80	82,5	55,82∗∗∗
(b) With local peers in organized activities	51	52,6	75	77,3	33,86∗∗∗
(c) With fellow peers in organized activities	41	42,3	55	56,7	8,23∗∗
(d) with the kindergarten teachers in the break and free in activities	61	62,9	82	84,5	34,78∗∗∗
(e) with local peers in the break and in free activities	50	51,5	78	80,4	51,31∗∗∗
(f) with fellow peers in the break and in free activities	32	33,0	49	50,5	11,92∗∗∗
(g) with their parents at school	16	16,5	26	26,8	5,25∗

∗p < .05 ∗∗p < .01 ∗∗∗p < .001 με df(1)

language with their fellow peers. This finding, i.e. the non-exclusive use of Greek in the school environment, appears to an even greater extent when bilingual students communicate with their parents.

4.2 Kindergarten Teachers' Actions to Support Bilingual Students in Learning Greek

Kindergarten teachers were asked to answer an open-ended question about the actions undertaken to support bilingual pupils in the acquisition of Greek. Table 2 presents references drawn from the responses, categorized according to the content analysis method.

Out of the total number of teachers, 14% (15 teachers) did not reply to the question regarding the effects of teacher actions designed to help support children learn Greek.

From the replies, 9 teachers consider that it is unnecessary for the teacher to take any particular action as they believe that the bilingual students' participation in the class and their interaction with other infants is sufficient to master Greek. They stated that "*auditory stimuli in the class and the daily contact of these children with Greek children helped them achieve rapid knowledge of the Greek language*" (T7)[1] and that "*children learn Greek easily and it does not require any special effort*" (T23).

The remaining 81 teachers seem to have the opposite view and cite some specific actions which the teacher is obliged to take. These actions are emotional, social and pedagogical.

Table 2 Kindergarten teachers' actions to assist bilingual infants to learn Greek to a satisfactory level depending on their age

Kindergarten teachers' actions	Number of references
A. no action	9 references
B. Actions with emotional and social targeting	
Boosting the confidence of bilingual pupils	17 references
Encouragement for social engagement	13 references
Cooperation of all children	12 references
Exhortation and incentive towards the indigenous population to accept the bilingual pupils	10 references
Actions with intercultural and bilingual targeting	25 references
C. Actions with pedagogical and didactic targeting	
Teaching methodology	61 references
Techniques in communication achievement, everyday language expressions and grammar and syntactic correctness	51 references

[1] T7 means the kindergarten teacher's questionnaire reference, number 7.

In the first category, teachers refer more specifically to actions which target the emotional and social empowerment of the bilingual children themselves, seeking to create an inclusive climate of trust and confidence, especially for the initial period of the child's attendance. In this context, some teachers stated that they addressed the bilingual children directly, boosting their self-confidence, encouraging them to become socially involved with their peers and suggest: *"first the teacher must make them feel comfortable"* (T26), *"to reward effort and have unlimited patience!"* (T58), *"encourage them to speak Greek as much as possible and reward them"* (T64).

To promote the social integration of bilingual students into the class, some teachers felt the need to encourage bilingual and native students to collaborate in various activities: *"to promote group activities where Greek children engage with immigrant children ensuring positive results both on a relationship and friendship level as well as a linguistic level"* (T93).

Additionally, some other teachers reported that they immediately and directly address the native school population using exhortation and inducement verbs to achieve the acceptance of bilingual students by their peers. They typically said: *"ask the native students to 'teach' the foreign students Greek"* (T39), *"to convince the children to accept the foreign children into their team in their games"* (T10).

We incorporate the teachers' statements related to actions with intercultural and bilingual targeting into the actions aimed at social and emotional stimulation. In such a context they say: *"Initially I think that a kindergarten teacher needs to learn a few words of the bilingual children's mother tongue, in this way, encouraging their positive self-image"* (T83*) "In the first three months using cultivation practices of speaking, simple stories and songs common to many languages, we find what people have in common*" (T48), *"to enrich the classroom with elements of their own culture, words in their own language for example 'good morning', 'good afternoon"* (T105) *"to ask them how they say the same word in their language"* (T9). It is about actions that invest in the initial smooth integration of bilingual students into the kindergarten.

Teachers with intercultural and bilingual educational knowledge such as T97, who states that the teacher must *"encourage the parents of foreign students to read stories and speak to them in their mother tongue"* are rare.

The second category includes statements that show teachers progress to educational and instructive practices targeting either the language material or teaching styles and techniques. On the one hand there are references to teaching methodology such as *"individualized instruction"* (T25) *"active-experiential participation in all activities"* (T37) or related to means of instruction or work methods such as *"short and easy fairy tales"* (T57) *"language games"* (T81) *"songs"* (T60) *"role play, pantomime"* (T75), *"puppet theatre"* (T47) etc. On the other hand, teachers refer to techniques that aim to achieve both communication and the learning of everyday Greek language. They suggest *"slow and clear use of Greek"* (25 references), *"the use of visual material"* (15 references), "*expressions / body movements*" (T68), *"short sentences*" (T22), *"repetition"* (T6), *"short commands"* (T60) and also seek grammar and syntactic correctness stating that *"we work indirectly on the syntax and we insist on the correct use of articles and suffixes"* (T48).

5 Discussion

While investigating the linguistic behavior of bilingual children it is worth noting that there seems to be no serious linguistic communication problem between native and bilingual students throughout the year (Zisimopoulou and Koutroumpa 2006). The discovery that children who speak Greek at the beginning of the school year increase their use throughout the year is positive and to be expected, as it shows that attendance at kindergarten assists bilingual children to gradually master Greek, the knowledge of which is a basic requirement for communication at school, their academic progress and their integration into Greek society. Therefore, the use of the dominant language with the teacher and the native peers increases and to a greater extent towards the end of the school year, apparently because it is perceived by the students that this is the only language in which they can communicate. So, if they have achieved a certain degree of competence they already use it (Hammer et al. 2009).

At the same time, it is evident that kindergarten leaves room for the use of the immigrant children's mother tongues. As shown in the teachers' comments, throughout the year bilingual students communicate in their native language as well as in Greek, which is also supported by other studies (Triarhi-Herrmann 2006). The fact that school allows bilingual students to communicate in their mother tongue, is considered both a very important condition for the formation of a sense of recognition and acceptance of the child in the school context (social dimension) and also as a facilitator in learning the mainstream language (linguistic dimension) (Tsioumis 2003; Triarhi-Herrmann 2006). The hypotheses of "common underlying proficiency" and "interdependence of languages" by Cummins (1999, 2005) and the "model of biliteracy continua" by Hornberger (1989, 2003 in Skourtou 2011:78), highlight the correlation between the first language and the learning of the second and the impact of bilingualism on the cognitive and mental development of the individual.

In addition, the fact that bilingual children choose to use their native language as an alternative to Greek (in a monolingual environment) does not indicate that they do it out of ignorance of Greek, as they communicate in Greek with native speakers. On the contrary, it means that the children feel comfortable disclosing their identity, which they consider a dynamic synthesis of linguistic and cultural elements of the community of origin and the dominant community (Skourtou 2011: 62–63). This is because bilingual children do not perceive the two linguistic and cultural systems within which they operate as being in opposition or competition - as school may perceive the different linguistic and cultural backgrounds of bilingual children - but rather as supplementary and synthetic. When conditions allow, this complementarity and composition is expressed by the children through the alternation of linguistic and cultural codes, a phenomenon which emerges in other studies carried out on the linguistic behavior of bilingual infants in infant classes (De Houwer 2007; Hatzidaki and Sitareniou 2009; Chlapana et al. 2012).

Regarding communication situations, we could argue that both conversational communication in Greek, which dominates recess and free activities, and academic

communication, cultivated mainly in organized activities, develop proportionally throughout the school year. It was important therefore, to investigate the actions which teachers use to support bilingual students' communication in Greek.

It seems that teachers are mainly motivated by their experience and by their general pedagogical knowledge. Most of them have neither attended special classes nor training courses for bilingual and intercultural education. As an important parameter, teachers highlight the emotional and social empowerment of bilingual students, by encouraging their active participation in the education and general schooling process and their interaction with other children. Besides, it has been highlighted in related studies that kindergarten teachers believe that the coexistence of immigrant and Greek students fosters the learning process and especially the socialization of immigrant students (Govaris and Mpatsouta 2014). In our research, there are frequent comments such as, *"through interaction (bilingual infants) learn Greek easily"* (T8), making even many teachers' own direct involvement unnecessary.

This view is consistent with many reports in the literature which mention the influence of meaningful interaction activities with peers on learning a second language (Edwards 2009:92–96) and practice the language in an indirect and natural way (Norden 2001).

However, the actions of kindergarten teachers with intercultural and bilingual targeting seem to be aimed primarily at the emotional stimulation of bilingual children, their acceptance by other students and to help them make a smoother transition from the family to the school environment (Fthenakis 1998). The majority of teachers' references puts no emphasis on actions that consciously and methodically serve didactic implementation targets of the overall linguistic and cultural background of bilingual students, not in order to cultivate the first language of these students, but to help them to a faster and more effective learning of the academic form of Greek (Skourtou 2011:94).

The majority of the actions which, we could say, are within the "tourist approach" (Vandenbroeck 2004:127–130; Derman-Sparks 1989), are distinguished by fragmentation and are usually limited to the first period of kindergarten attendance. It is a framework of actions for the initial integration of bilingual students into the infant classes which is especially useful, but would be of great value to all children, not only the bilingual ones, if the target was the development of "multilingual/plurilingual and intercultural competence" (Cavalli et al. 2009:8).

Interpreting Table 2 as a whole, one finds that kindergarten teachers undertake, to a great extent, pedagogical and teaching endeavors to assist bilingual children learn Greek and resort to a number of efforts ranging from social support to methodological - didactic support for the conquest of the dominant language. However, by focusing more on the practices adopted, there is fragmentation, an absence of an organized program, an effort to manage their bilingual and bicultural students empirically, using anything heard of or read, or through experimentation, often verbalizing how uncertain they are about their actions: *"Unfortunately I have still not managed to find the way I can really help these children. Empirically I urge them to make sentences, to speak in full sentences, name objects, leave them time to be able to find the words to express themselves and urge them to watch TV (children's programs) in Greek"* (T89).

6 Conclusions

Summing up our findings, we would say the following:

Kindergarten teachers find that the degree of use of Greek by bilingual infants, from the beginning to the end of the school year, increases in all communication situations investigated, especially when Greek speaking peers are involved. At the same time, the opportunity to use their mother tongue with their compatriots is not lost, meaning that kindergarten is a place that leaves room for the use of the infants' mother tongues as well.

The vast majority of kindergarten teachers, in order to help the bilingual children learn Greek, develop actions which fall into two main groups: (a) those designed to promote better social integration and emotional acceptance in kindergarten and society and (b) those which include education and teaching practices which assist in the mastering and use of Greek. Both actions are based on the personal sensitivity, information, knowledge and inspiration of the teacher and do not constitute a comprehensive, targeted and systematic framework or intervention program for the specific target.

The findings of our research, despite coinciding with other similar studies, are subject to some restrictions:

The participants in our study came from one geographical region of Greece and had specific characteristics in terms of their teaching experience and the knowledge of Intercultural Pedagogy they had acquired from studies and training. A group of kindergarten teachers with different characteristics with respect to the above, may lead to different research results.

The research tool used in this study was a questionnaire with closed and open-ended questions. Perhaps the use of other methodological tools such as interview, observation and/or a diary would lead to different classifications of the teachers' responses and to different documentation of the use of Greek.

From the research findings, we can formulate some research and pedagogical proposals. On a research level, we consider that the conduct of such studies with a larger number of kindergarten teachers who serve throughout the country is necessary. Exploring the issue of the use of Greek by bilingual infants from the point of view of other population groups (e.g. parents, native and bilingual children) will provide important information on the subject.

On a pedagogical level, we consider that the investigation highlighted the lack of central planning to strengthen the mastering and use of Greek by the bilingual kindergarten children. The need for the effective training of kindergarten teachers in the management of bilingual student populations and their families, which is a basic obligation of the State and the teachers' personal responsibility, is also highlighted. Teachers need to create a positive educational environment in the school, to use learner-centered approaches, rich stimuli, modified teaching and "challenge" students to participate in the "academic" language debate (Schleppegrell et al. 2004). The writing and publication, by the Ministry of Education, of a relevant guide with suggestions for teaching applications and guidelines for selecting suitable language

materials in kindergartens with bilingual students, could constitute strong support for teachers in addressing relevant issues.

What we should certainly bear in mind is, that the effective training of bilingual students requires a broader supportive educational and social environment (Stritikus and Varghese 2007) and is not an approach in itself, but relies on broader approaches such as the institutional management of migrants, the empowering of students etc. (Cahnmann and Varghese 2006).

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Bilingual Students in the Public Primary Education Context in Greece: A Deterrent for the Greek Educational Landscape or a Chance for Improvement?

Evangelia Papalexatou and Vasilios Zorbas

Abstract This chapter provides an overview of *bilingualism* and its role in the teaching and learning of English as a third language (L3) in the public primary education context in Greece. In particular, it reports on the findings of a qualitative study (case study) regarding two Albanian fourth graders in a Greek primary school. This study aimed to identify the bilingual learners' scope, expectations and constraints, as well as understand the underlying reasons for specific attitudes and performance of theirs when it comes to learning and acquiring English as a third language. Apart from the direct observational notes in a personal log, questionnaires as well as personal journals were also employed for the collection of the qualitative data of the current research. The results of the study show that although both monolingual and bilingual learners show a high disposition to learn English, the latter display increased thinking ability and enhanced metacognitive as well as communicative skills. At the same time, the study reveals that positive drives such as praise or rewards, psychological as well as social factors are conducive to using the target language (L3) more frequently on the part of bilingual learners.

Keywords Bilingualism · English as a third language · Personal logs · Journals · Bilingual learners · Multilingualism

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1 Introduction

Our era has witnessed the expansion of the European Union (EU) which led various people to move to different EU countries in search of new opportunities. As a result of this migration process, there has been an increase in foreign students registering in Greek schools, something which profoundly affected not only the academic institutions, but the entire societal structure as well. The influx of migrants and refugees has transformed the Greek society into a multicultural one. Hence, *cultural pluralism* as well as *multilingualism* is now a reality among all nations and issues of multilingual phenomena are becoming more and more relevant to the Greek and international social and educational contexts.

Language is the means which individuals who share common codes of communication use as a vehicle to express perceptions, values and their own social identity. The spread of English in Europe, as the most important language of wider communication, has attracted great attention over the last few years and served as a promoter of both societal and individual bilingualism, as well as trilingualism. The Eurydice (Key data on teaching languages at school in Europe 2012) and Eurostat networks, which provide information on and analyses of European education systems and policies in cooperation with the European Union, issued a report (citing 2010–11 as the reference year) which confirmed that English, being the *lingua franca*, is the most widely taught foreign language in nearly all European countries. In recent years, the value of *English* has been highly praised and there has been a tendency towards learning it from a surprisingly young age in Greek primary schools. Since the traditionally monolingual and monocultural schools in Greece have become multicultural, a great concern has emerged regarding the proper education of classes which consist of both monolingual and bilingual learners.

This emerging multicultural educational landscape has inspired a great deal of EFL researchers and practitioners in Greece (Gotovos 2002; Nikolaou 2000; Damanakis 1997a, b, 2000; Hatzidaki 2000; Tsokalidou 2005; Georgogiannis 2008; Papalexatou 2013) to explore the diversity of the Greek educational context in order to offer suggestions that could help policy makers promote the implementation of bilingualism in the school context successfully.

Additionally, on an international level, the abounding number of surveys and the growing body of research about *bilingualism* and *multilingualism* (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 1984; Romaine 1995; Mac Namara 1967; Cambell and Sais 1995; Mac Neil 1994; Hakuta and Garcia 1989; Wong Fillmore 1991; Krashen and Biber 1987; Spinthourakis et al. n.d.) has created an urgent need for vigilant research into bilingualism and its effect on the teaching of English *as a third language*.

Based on the aforementioned, the study under discussion is grounded in the interpretavist research paradigm and provides an in-depth account of the events, relationships and processes (Denscombe 2007: 31) through actual observations of bilingual students for a certain time span, journals kept by all students (as well as by

the observer) and questionnaires that complemented the data from the observation. More analytically, this study has mainly taken into account the scarcity of bilingual matters' research in the Greek context and aimed to investigate bilingualism in Greece and its 'latent' connection to third language learning through the educational process and achievments of two distinct students.

2   Theoretical Background of the Study

2.1   *Theoretical Landscape*

The study of 'bilingualism' in research, has a long tradition with respect to *multiculturalism*, which is treated as an extension of *bilingualism*. *Bilingualism* is given a plurality of definitions, the majority of which tend to focus on the extent to which one thinks or operates in another language. Important variables of bilingualism contain descriptors which refer to the degree of bilingualism, the context and age of bilingual acquisition as well as use and social orientation.

Additionally, theories about how second languages are learned (Krashen's Theory 1982; Gardner's Monitor Theory 1985a; Lambert's Socio-Educational Model of SLA 1974; Schumann's Model of Second Language Learning 1978; theories of language acquisition and acculturation and Brown's principles of 'English as a Foreign Language' (EFL) pedagogy 2001) have proliferated over the last decades. All these theories that relate to second language acquisition- abbreviated SLA- dilineate the contextual and individual conditions for effective second language learning.

On the other hand, research on *trilingualism* has come to the fore quite recently (Andreou and Anastasiou, n.d.; Bleyle 2001). Regarding third language acquisition theories (henceforth TLA), much attention has been given to Cummin's *Interdependence Hypothesis,* according to which all language systems of the plurilingual learner are interdependent and thus their multiple language systems should be taken into account. Regarding the research on the effect of bilingualism on third language acquisition, most studies on the monolingual – bilingual distinction confirm the idea that trilingual learners have more advantages over monolingual learners (Cenoz 2001 quoted in Mesaros n.d.). With respect to the relationship between different language systems, it is necessary to mention that the knowledge of several language systems and the ability to *learn how to learn,* gives trilingual children an advantage over monolinguals or even bilinguals. According to Baker and Jones (1998), *metalinguistic awareness* refers to the ability to reflect upon spoken or written languages which along with other cognitive advantages of multilinguals (such as a wider linguistic repertoire, general cognitive flexibility or even improved learning strategies) leads to effective trilingual learners.

2.2   The Current Educational Context

In today's world, the importance of learning foreign languages has been highly acknowledged. Even the European Commission issued a document which was finalized in 2004 that emphasized the importance of promoting the linguistic and cultural diversity of its people by learning one – and ideally two – languages in addition to their mother tongue.[1]

In the case of the *Greek* educational context, this idea is apparent in the *New School Project* -a plan, which mainly focuses on the certification of a foreign language, the digital school and the amendment of teaching procedures and teacher training in general education. The ultimate aim of the Ministry for all learners without exception – related to foreign language learning – is to graduate from primary school with an A2 or B1 level of language proficiency certification, following the principles of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001) adopted by the State Certificate.

English is learnt as the principal foreign language and according to the Cross Thematic Curriculum Framework, which is the cornerstone of the Greek educational system, special emphasis is given to *foreign language literacy, multilingualism* and *multiculturalism* being the principal aims when teaching modern foreign languages.

3   Research Design

3.1   Purpose and Significance of the Study

Generally, there has been an upsurge of attention devoted to bilingual education which can be attributed to various factors; the most important one is that nowadays because of the boost in multiculturalism, bilingual or even trilingual acquisition is considered the norm rather than the exception. In Greece the field of 'trilingualism' is a relatively young discipline in the field of Applied Linguistics and a great number of English teachers experience recurrent phenomena of bilingual learners acquiring English as an additional language in various contexts every year. To this end, the research questions were oriented towards investigating:

1. The notion of 'bilingualism' in the teaching and learning of English as a third language (L3) in the public primary education context in Greece.
2. How well children from ethnic minority backgrounds are actually doing when put in mixed classes, by commenting on their performance regarding all four skills (i.e., listening, speaking, reading, writing) and generally drawing on their

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[1] http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/key_data_series/143EN.pdf

own experiences from specific teaching situations, expectations, constraints and attitudes of theirs.

3.2   Selecting the Site and Study Participants

The study centers on two bilingual learners (Santiago and Olga) who are a part of a wider learning community in a Greek state primary school which is located in an area populated mostly by farmers and Roma people or low-income families. These two bilingual learners (of different gender) are considered second generation immigrants, since they were born in Greece whereas their parents were born in Albania. Both children had acquired their L1 and L2 while their L3 acquisition was in progress both in school and at a private language school. Those young learners were chosen *purposefully* (Patton 2002 quoted in Glesne 2010:44) and constitute a homogeneous sampling (Clark 1999 quoted in Glesne 2010:45) since they both attended D class and were of the same age.

3.3   Selecting the Research Instruments

Regarding the techniques employed to gather data, the study relied on fieldwork carried out by the researcher taking on the role of the *research instrument*, in order to present a detailed description of the variables. Although the sample was small, the strength of the study lay mainly on *observations* and *direct observational notes* written down in a *personal log* as well as *questionnaires* and *personal journals / self-reflected data* created by the students themselves.

The researcher incorporated a wide range of methods in order to approach the case study in depth and all of these data collection tools led to *triangulation* or *crystallization* which is defined as "the multiple methods for collecting data" (Glesne 2010:47). The multiple data gathering and the sense of authenticity along with the prolonged engagement and the persistent observation increase the validity, reliability and trustworthiness or credibility of the study itself (Glesne 2010: 49).

3.3.1   The Personal Field Log: The Students' Journals

The main research tools employed were observation and the researcher's personal field log of either reflective or analytical comments and emotional responses. These thoughts –when jotted down- were accompanied by the recording of any special / daily events or possible learners' gestures. Student journals (Moon 2006) were also used as source on how the learners made sense of this learning experience.

3.3.2 The Questionnaires

In addition to this, a needs analysis questionnaire was administered in the very beginning in order to yield *factual* and *attitudinal* data related to background information, general attitude of the learners towards the English language, their interests and preferences as well as their needs (subjective and objective).

4 Presentation and Discussion of Results

4.1 Bilingual Learners' Experiences and Perceptions

4.1.1 The Learners' Questionnaires

Findings from questionnaires served only as a tool to gain deeper insights into the learners' worlds. Regarding *motivation*, both students acknowledge the importance of learning as many foreign languages as they can, as a medium for professional advancement in the future, interaction with foreigners, travelling or even studying abroad. The general feeling was that they could feel the vibes of our era and attribute the integrative motivation (which has to do with mere interest in the language) to their parents which was verified by their parents themselves who think highly of school success and success in foreign language acquisition. Concerning *their beliefs and attitudes towards their L3,* they view it as a linguistic system which needs hard work and intellectual effort The more they learn, the higher their self-confidence is raised.

The majority of the learners, though, had some kind of bad experiences in the past with teachers which might account for their predisposition of low achievement in the L3.

What could also be inferred is that there is a significant difference between natives' and immigrant students' self-concept regarding *self-esteem* and *school performance*. This might be related to the academic difficulties and constraints bilinguals have encountered. Bilingual learners find it extremely demanding to put their thoughts on paper or express themselves fluently. Limitations in reading skills are easier to conceal and most of the learners are not aware of their reading weaknesses until they encounter comprehension as well as pronunciation problems in more difficult texts. The greatest difficulty lies in grammar which remains a headache for most learners. Indeed, all learners disapproved of being taught grammar more than being tested on grammar. Also, students seek out learning opportunities that are not directly linked to a clearly structured or sequential approach to language study. Moreover, all students are keen on cooperation, close interaction, group work as well as communicative learning activities that break away from the conventional teaching methods (i.e., they favor the use of media, construction of things, role playing). Generally speaking, adapting Willing's (1988) grouping of students, the spe-

cific learners could be defined as *concrete* (they react creatively in practical situations) and *communicative* (they see the target language as something live) for the most part.

4.2 General Comments Gleaned from the Students' Journals

As far as their *production* is concerned, the samples were strong evidence that bilinguals do indeed lack the mastery of grammar. The same lies with their grasp of English sounds whose writing at times was not secure (mostly for the boy). They also built on their literacy knowledge in other languages to support their writings. Both learners were well along in the process of mastering the mechanical skills of writing but each at a different stage in the process of writing development.

In particular, *Santiago* made much use of drawings, experimented with phonetic spelling, made use of conventional forms and also related sounds to letters in an attempt to prove he was quite capable of composing correct sentences. His writings from the very beginning (see Fig. 1) show that he is aware of correct letter strings of words including many familiar ones and some recognizable phrases. He also attempted to express meaning through writing words which drew on his understanding of visual patterns in English (see Figs. 2 and 3). Despite some uncertainties with grammar errors, he attempted to construct longer yet correct sentences (see Figs. 4 and 5), conveyed ideas more easily to the reader and seemed to be enjoying developing his writing skills much more easily without our support in the last observations. He may be considered as a typical example of a learner whose writing showed rapid progress.
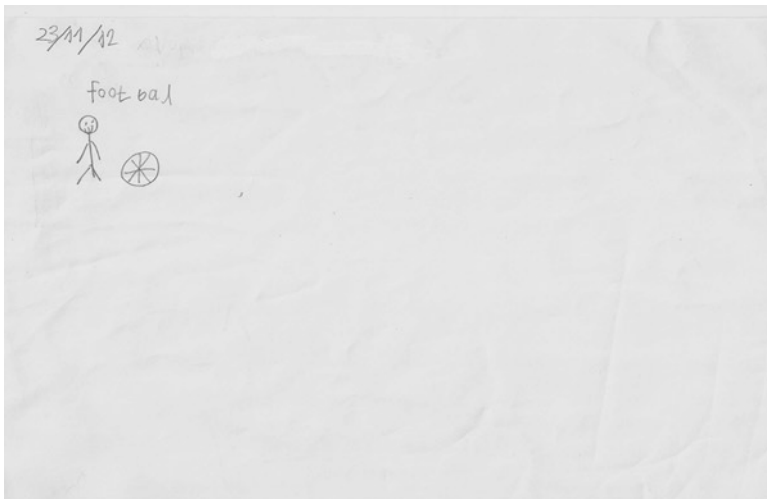
Fig. 1 Santiago's drawing 1
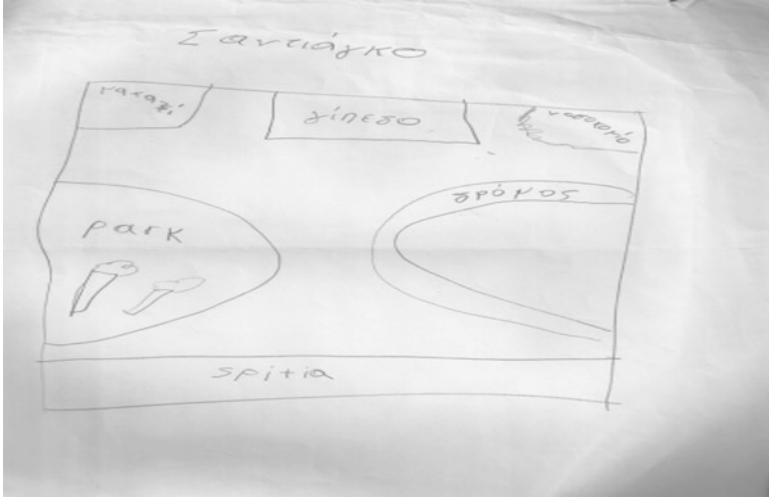
Fig. 2 Santiago's drawing 2
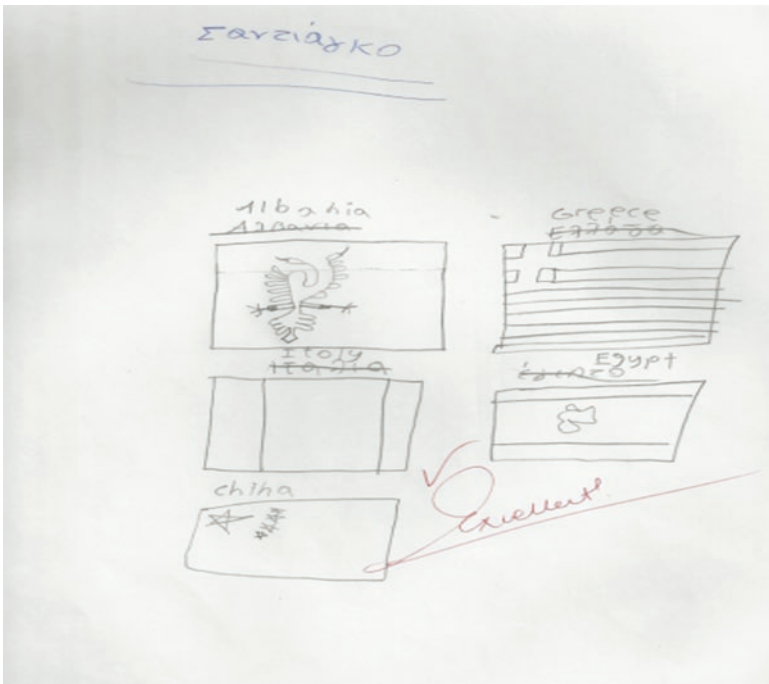
Fig. 3 Santiago's drawing 3
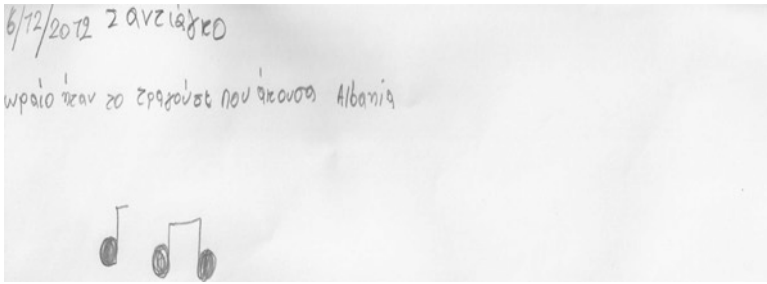
Fig. 4 Santiago's drawing 4
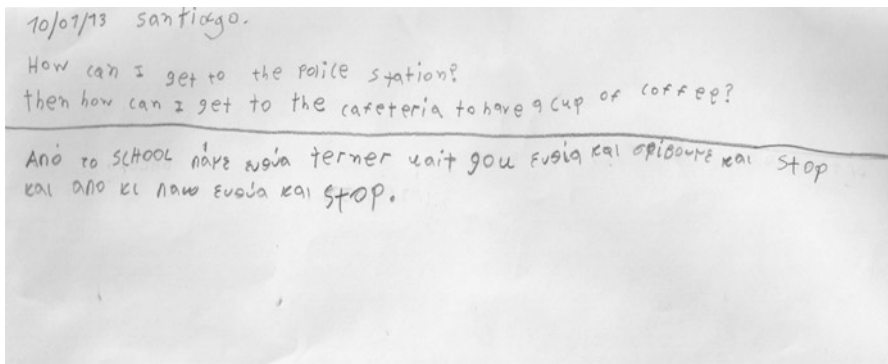
Fig. 5 Santiago's drawing 5

Olga's work, on the other hand, indicates a more confident learner. From the very beginning, she also expressed her ideas supported by drawings but showed more knowledge of sound and letter patterns in English (see Fig. 6). In contrast to her bilingual classmate, she scarcely reverted to her L2 (see Fig. 7) and although her work included some inconsistencies in spelling or irregular grammatical patterns, the sentences produced were clearly sequenced. The samples also indicate a good grasp of a range of sentence patterns and structures. The final pieces of writing indicate progress in her writing mostly regarding the length of the written pieces (see Figs. 8 and 9).

4.3   General Comments Gleaned from the Observations

Throughout the observational process both students showed understanding of the transition through activities although they were some breakdowns. They were also able to socialize and work cooperatively by accepting the diversity of their class-
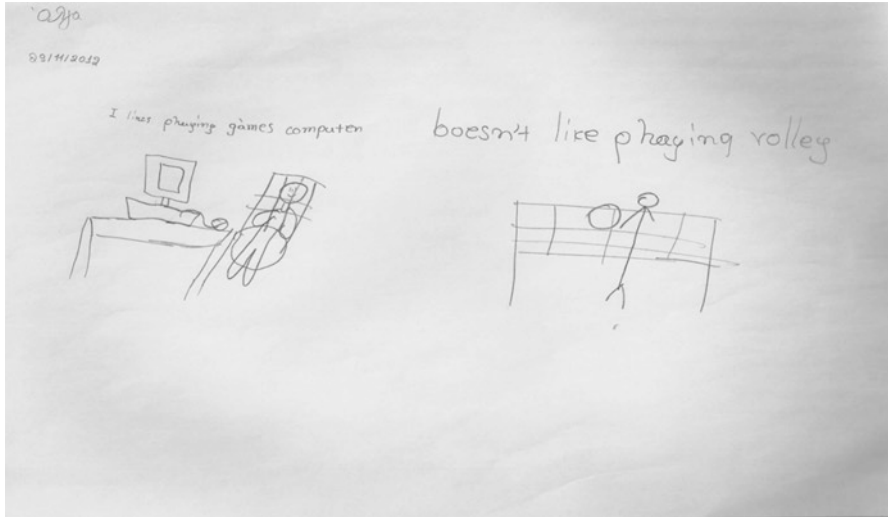
Fig. 6 Olga's drawing 1
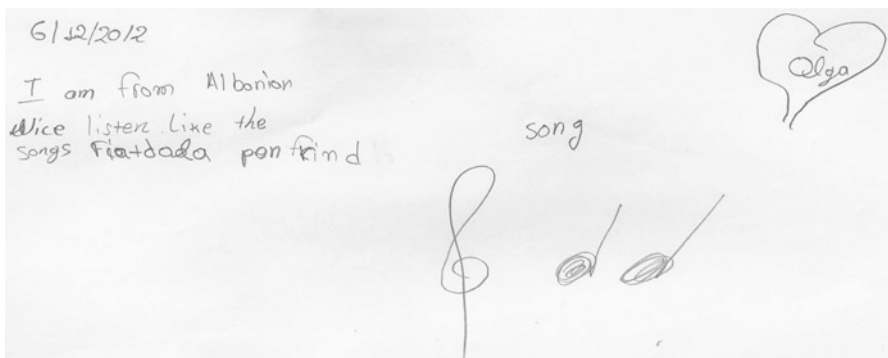
Fig. 7 Olga's drawing 2

mates. With regard to *oral skills*, *language development and communicative skills,* both children responded to gestures, followed instructions and responded appropriately to what they heard by trying to make themselves understood (not always effectively though). The boy though, demonstrated a breakdown and non-effectiveness in communication, proving the lack of fluency as a speaker. At times, when it came to producing oral speech, their weakness was also apparent in their inability to pronounce the English words appropriately mostly due to their blending of their L2 with the L3 and resorting to their L2 (see observation 1 below).

Observation 1: *Most of his utterances were in Greek. He pronounced it just like it is pronounced in Greek.*
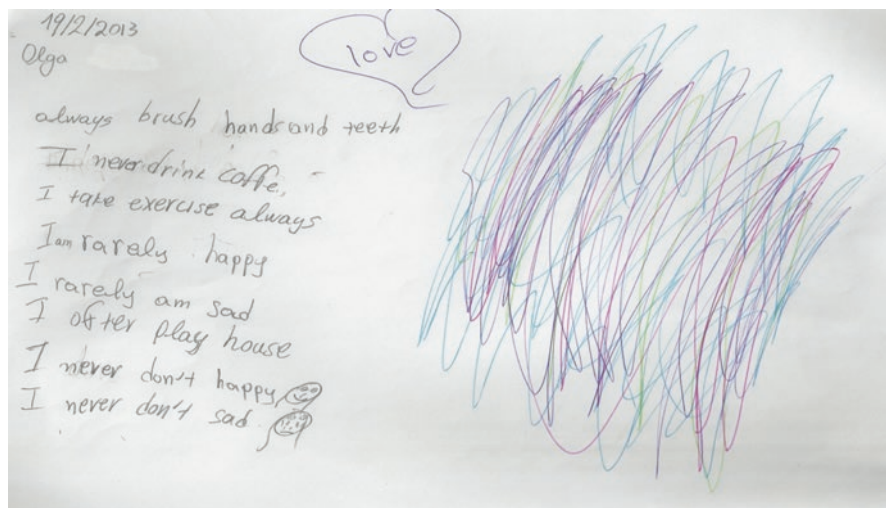
Fig. 8 Olga's drawing 3
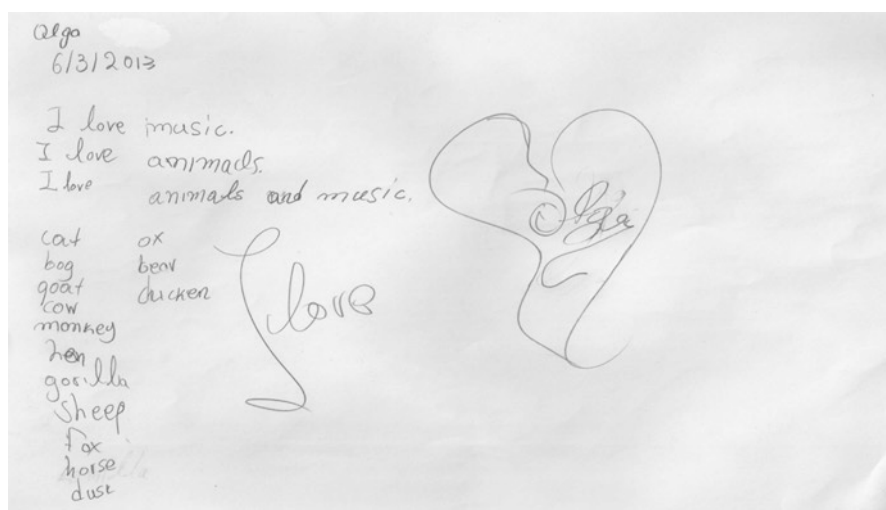
Fig. 9 Olga's drawing 4

They also pointed to the fact that their bilingualism is '*subtractive*' meaning that they did not show mastery in either their L1 or L2, following Schuman's 'accultura-tion model of SLA', whose basic premise is that "the degree to which a learner acculturates to the target language group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language" (Schumann 1978:34, quoted in Baker and Jones 1998:646). Moreover, being unable to produce records of written Albanian utterances, it can be

assumed that their first threshold had not been attained which in turn justified the deficiencies in both L2 and L3.

According to the *Interdependence Hypothesis* (Cummins 1978), a child's competence in the second language is partly dependent on the level of competence developed in the first: the less competence in L1, the more difficult it will be to achieve proficiency in the second language. In this context, L2 competence is dependent on the level of competence in their L1. Therefore, proficiency in their L3 will be difficult to be fully developed.

What is more, following the *'linguistic typology'* and *'regency'* variables, bilinguals who have a language typologically closer to the target language, are prone to using and transferring vocabulary or grammar structures from their second rather than their first language, (Balke et al. 1982; Swain et al. 1990 quoted in Mesaros n.d.) or are likely to borrow structures from languages they actively use, rather than languages they may know but not use anymore. Here, the bilinguals made use of their L2 regarding structures, whereas phonologically speaking they actively used their L1 which resembles the target language L3. Yet, *metalinguistic awareness* as well as their *cognitive flexibility* could be identified as a plus in their evaluation. Last but not least, regarding their *cognitive development*, they both seem to be highly involved in their learning. They also developed their balancing, artistic as well as motor and gross skills, since they were competent in completing constructions, using time and space appropriately and adjusting their speed, direction and movements when undertaking different activities (see observation 2 below).

Observation 2: *Although both Olga and Santiago succeeded in understanding to take turns, waiting, naming goods and working together, they failed to act out a complete role play.*

They also made apparent their explicit or at times implicit need for help (see observations 3, 4 and 5 below).

Observation 3: *Teacher, how do we say "bark", being really impatient to get an answer.*

Observation 4: *I helped them by saying that they would start by saying some kind of greeting followed by a proper way of expressing a need of theirs, using the verbs like, need or want. It was an easy task to follow but Santiago, who interacted with Olga, kept asking me "what am I supposed to say right now" giving me the impression that he just wanted to repeat my own words.*

Observation 5: *Santiago asked me too many times to explain the question again because he did not understand what I was asking- irrespective of the fact that the questionnaire was written in Greek.*

This relates to the major theme of Vygotsky's theoretical framework, according to which social interaction plays a fundamental role in the development of *cognition* (Manolopoulou-Sergi 2004), while adults contribute to learners acquiring knowledge by offering help ('*scaffolding*'). Also, there was another outcome that resulted

from *assisted learning*: learners moved faster to more conscious understanding of matters, leading to the increase of their motivation.

Learners' favoritism towards group work and TPR activities was also evident. Group work promoted the sociability of the learners, whereas TPR activities provided them with comprehensible input and conversed learning into meaningful activities (see observation 6 below).

Observation 6: *They all formed a circle and let a boy draw the outline in pencil. Then, they all gathered around the desk and using their own crayon, they started drawing*.

Finally, following Brown's principles, there have been several activities relevant to the learners' interests that built on previous learning and contributed to *meaningful learning*, *anticipation of rewards*, *extrinsic motivation* referring to incentives to learning and *language – culture connection* (see observation 7 below).

Observation 7: *I borrowed a real clock from a teacher's classroom to have them tell me the time. In order to make them try harder – since I do know that they like rewards – I promised each student to get a lollipop each time they finished. All of them raised their hands at once*.

5 Implications of the Study

It was quite straight forward throughout the study that emphasis was given to the socio linguistic and socio-cultural framework within which the second language was learned and its superiority in contrast to the learners' L1, which seems to be restricted to certain domains. L2 has been the prevailing bilinguals' choice (*the dominant language*) when it comes to the acquisition of L3, revealing its prestigious role as the main contributing factor of succeeding in L3. What is more, in certain cases they resorted to their L1 based on the fact that their L1 resembles more the English alphabet and phonemic system; thus, the perceived typological distance between the three languages may also have been an important factor.

Moreover, in the given study, there has been a dramatic progress of both bilinguals dictated by two main things: *scaffolding and motivation*. According to Krashen's *Affective Filter Hypothesis*, in a classroom setting a variety of affective variables, such as motivation, anxiety and self-confidence can relate to success in second and therefore third language acquisition. What was clearly defined was that positive drives that influence behavior constructively and diminish the potential anxiety or distress, constituted major factors in L3 acquisition. In this case, it was not surprising at all to find that psychological, social factors as well as contextual elements, such as praise or rewards, were contributing factors in influencing the frequency of use of the target language (L3).

Regarding the more general implications, trilinguals' general competence was related to a broader experience in learning, which partially differentiates them from

monolinguals acquiring English as a foreign language. Bilinguals portrayed different learning processes as well as outcomes in L3 acquisition, namely metalinguistic awareness, cognitive development and communicative skills. Regarding their cognitive development, they displayed increased thinking ability and enhanced metacognitive skills of responding adequately. Yet, according to Bialystok (2001) bilinguals did not demonstrate advantages in all aspects of metalinguistic awareness, and this was certainly the case here, since the collective evidence suggested that bilingual experience enhanced the so called *executive functions*, as if they were more adept and faster only at solving specific kinds of tasks.

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Interviewing as Understanding: Principles and Modalities for Transforming a Qualitative Research Instrument into a Stage of the Integration Process for Immigrants

Check for updates

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Abstract This chapter reports on a qualitative research within the MATH.E.ME. project undertaken by the GreekLangLab of the University of Thessaly, aiming at providing lessons in Greek Language, History and Culture for immigrants who are unemployed, mothers, with disabilities and illiterate immigrants. An initial stage of this project was the investigation of the needs of immigrants as learners in the perspective of their empowerment and integration. The semi-structured interview was transformed into a critical instrument to understanding people. This transformation is only possible by adopting a new way (cf. Kaufmann, L'entretien compréhensif. Armand Colin, Paris, 2000, 39 seq.) of constructing the research questions and other interview parameters, such as the plan, the guide and the sample; it is with an open and evolving way of designing the interview. In conducting the interview, focus on understanding means breaking the hierarchy between researchers and participants, keeping people present in the research (Mears, Interviewing for education and social research. The gateway approach. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009), showing empathy and commitment.

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1 Introduction: The Project MATH.E.ME

The chapter rests on the research findings and experiences of the project 'MATH.E.ME.: Lessons in Greek Language, History and Culture for immigrants who are unemployed, mothers, with disabilities and illiterate immigrants'. The starting point of this project is the respect of the needs of immigrants as learners. The concept of "needs" includes – apart from language and communication – societal and integration needs. It presupposes the will to 'give voice' to immigrants and to take account of this voice before designing courses, learning materials and tasks. In this chapter, we discuss our research strategies in exploring these needs, while we search ways to establish the interview process as a stage towards the empowerment and integration of our immigrant participants. Offering an overview of the research aims and objectives, we present the process of designing the interview guide and a discussion on the interview modalities to serve our purposes. We then offer a glimpse of how a non-deficit, empowering view of the immigrants was travelled into the data analysis process; and, finally, we ponder upon the limitations in challenging the asymmetries of power in the research.

The 'MATH.E.ME' project was implemented by the Greek Language and Multilingualism Laboratory (thereafter GreekLangLab) of the University of Thessaly and consisted of the organizing of lessons in the Greek language, history and culture for third-country, 'official' immigrants that fall into four categories: those who are unemployed; mothers; immigrants with disabilities; and illiterate immigrants. It was administered by the Greek Ministry of Interior and funded under the 2013 Project of the European Fund of Integration of Third Countries (E.I.F.) with 150,000 €. The project expanded in seven Greek cities, namely Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki, Ioannina, Larissa, Patras, and Iraklion, where lessons were organized at three levels of Greek language proficiency (beginners, intermediate, advanced). Each level was taught 60–80 h in total, depending on the number of registered students per level at each city. The number of students attending the course was 414, who received a small allowance (ca 60€ after taxes). The project implementation had seven major stages, each coordinated by a different team:

- *Recording of the target groups (immigrants who are unemployed, mothers, with disabilities or illiterate) and making preliminary contacts*. By capitalizing on existing networks and collaborating with communities and organizations, the team recorded the national, linguistic and educational profile of the target groups, while registering prospective students.
- *Needs analysis*. This stage involved the research and analysis of the immigrants' communication and language needs, and their social expectations and integration strategies, a part of whose findings are reported in this chapter.
- *Course design*. Using the reported outcomes of the needs analysis, the respective team designed the learning goals to be achieved, compiled a syllabus for each target group and delivered training to teachers, communicating the course's agenda, content and methodology.

- *Design, development and adjustment of teaching material*. The team produced teaching material in print or multimedia format, as well as educational activities.
- *Course implementation*. This stage included the organizing and implementation of free lessons in Greek language, history and culture in appropriate learning spaces in the seven aforementioned cities. Intercultural 'mediators' (speakers of minority languages) worked together with the teachers.
- *Project evaluation*. Through various means (i.e. field research, teacher and mediator journals, etc.) as well as project meetings and a closing workshop, the assessment of and reflections on the implemented lessons were carried out. A resource pack was compiled to be used by future similar project.
- *Dissemination and exploitation of results*. This stage included events for the public and the press, publications, scientific meetings and a web portal.

2   The Research Agenda

The main aim of the needs analysis was to explore the integration and communication needs of the prospective immigrant students, in order to be utilized in the next two stages of the project, that is the designing and delivery of lessons in Greek language, history and culture. The research objectives were:

(a) To give space to the participants to express their worlds, so that their capitals (cultural, social, linguistic, etc.) could be acknowledged and implemented in the course design.
(b) To investigate the integration processes which are implicated in the participants' everyday living, so that practices of empowerment could be activated through the lessons.

The research questions were formulated as follows:

1. Which forms of capital do the participants negotiate through their narrations and how?
2. What are the experiences and expectations of the participants in relation to their integration processes?
3. What is the importance of the Greek language in their everyday lives?
4. What are the participants' expectations from the prospective lessons?

Our point of departure was that the needs of immigrants as learners stem from the particular social structures to which they have to accommodate themselves. This had a twofold meaning for our research. First, that immigrants were not neither to be seen as inferior 'others' nor through a 'deficit' lens. Second, that since those structures cast immigrants 'less powerful', we had to unpack these structures by positioning ourselves not as outsiders but as enactors and communicators of those structures. Therefore, we sustained that on the one hand a needs analysis should look into the immigrants' linguistic, communication, social and integration needs,

while building our understanding of those needs upon the various skills and qualities immigrants already possessed; and on the other hand, that we tackle the power asymmetries in the research process and minimize the researchers' hegemony. Theory, research methodology (questions, plan, methods, modalities) and analysis targeted the unpacking of discriminatory processes and the reinstating of power to immigrants through the implementation of the MATH.E.ME. project. Therefore, our research had an explicitly critical agenda that was shared among the research team and other teams through training workshops and meetings.

The concept of capital (Bourdieu 2004) was essential in conceptualizing the immigrant's integration process within a critical paradigm. According to Bourdieu (2004), capital has three main forms. The *economic capital,* which is to be understood in its literal sense (monetary value, assets, etc.); the *social capital*, which refers to one's network of family, friends and contacts; and the *cultural capital*, which describes cultural competences and skills (i.e. linguistic, educational, personal qualities, ethics and beliefs, etc.). In a nutshell, the capitals are a person's resources which can be used to maintain or advance her/his social positioning and, thus, acquire a symbolic value of one's social status (Bourdieu 2004).

The question of capitals guided us through the research to explore what resources our participants possessed, in what ways they used them, and how they negotiated them in the interviews. This was of utmost important, since it gave weight not to what we assumed their capitals were, but to what they voiced as being such. In addition, we were able to identify those resources which the programme could help them acquire or develop, and which could contribute to eventually gain equal civic participation.

2.1   The Research Outline

Regarding the research procedure, 12 semi-structured interviews were undertaken with prospective MATH.E.ME. students. The sampling process was based on the register sheet of immigrants, who had been enrolling for the course, compiled by the community 'mediators'. This register sheet contained information such as name, sex, age, country of origin, mother tongue, other languages, educational background, years in Greece, linguistic competency in Greek (written & oral speech), designated category (immigrant mother, unemployed, with disabilities or illiterate immigrant). The selected participants were also meant to be representative of the students' group as a whole. They were 9 men and 3 women. Most participants belonged to more than one project category, since the categories emerged as overlapping (i.e. mothers could also be unemployed, unemployed and illiterate, etc.) Thus there were 9 unemployed immigrants, 8 mothers and two illiterate immigrants. Although pursued, no participant with disabilities took part in the interviews eventually, which is however in correspondence with the extremely small representation of this category in the whole student group.

Regarding their nationalities, 5 participants were from Albania, 1 from the Ukraine, 1 from Georgia, 1 from Armenia, 1 from Nigeria, 1 from Congo, 1 from Pakistan and 1 from Serbia. They spoke a variety of languages (either as mother tongues or second languages), namely Ukrainian, Serbian, Albanian, Georgian, Italian, Lingala, Kikongo, Igbo, Urdu, English, French, Russian, German and Arabic. With reference to Greek, the majority (9) of them had an A0/A1 level in written Greek (lack of formal language learning) while their oral competence varied from beginner to advanced depending on the years of residence in Greece. The cities where the interviews took place were: Athens (2), Piraeus (2), Thessaloniki (4), Patras (2) and Larisa (2). 9 interviews were conducted in Greek, 2 in English and 1 in French. The researchers,[1] who conducted the interviews were six, all women, aged from 30 to 45, white with a background in linguistics or sociolinguistics.

The research work was team-based in all its stages. This arrangement had variable positive effects: literature review, interview guide and the analytical process were produced through multiple understandings and a collaborative process of meaning-making, established on shared critical intentions. Thus, acknowledging that no researcher came from the communities of our project to contest possible hegemonic understandings, working in teams challenged the control and hegemony of one researcher over the research process.

2.2   Modalities: Conducting the Interviews

In conducting the interviews, we shared the object of the research by informing the participants about the research aims and content in order to build mutual trust. Forming a connection with the participants based on empathy, honesty and breaking down barriers was one of our main modalities in conducting the interviews. Keeping people present in the research (Mears 2009: 48), by giving them space to narrate their own stories through their own voices, was an integral part of our interview procedure. We asked meaningful questions by hearing with more comprehension (Mears 2010) what the participants considered important to share about their lives. "Telling one's own story is an empowering experience that potentially restores a sense of continuity and wholeness" (Richman 2006 in Mears 2010:10). Showing empathy, commitment, genuine interest and active involved listening to the participants' narrations was crucial in achieving a connection with them. Responding to their narrations with encouragement, positive feedback and rewarding them by emphasizing their "strong" elements played an important role in empowering them through the interviews. Empowerment in the process of the interview moved beyond simple positive feedback towards allowing the participants to 'voice' their own realities, their own life narrations by deciding on their own what is relevant and

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[1] The researchers were the authors of the present article plus the colleagues Sofia Tsioli and Evi Kompiadou. George Androulakis was the coordinator of the project.

important to share. It is also achieved through creating a deeper understanding of their experiences and narrations via the connection in the interview with them (Cooper 2009).

Showing respect and sensitivity to issues that may affect participants negatively was also an important modality underpinning our interviews. Taking care of the participants' emotional well-being during the interviews without installing however a therapeutic relationship with them (Seidman 2006:107) played an important role in interviewing them. We also aimed at keeping the participant present by selecting the 'best question' for each participant and each interview, by being attentive to each profile and individuality, by 'seeing' and understanding the specific realities and lives narrated in the interviews.

3 Data Analysis: Keeping the Participants Present

As stated earlier, keeping the participants present at all stages of the research was essential in our agenda. This section presents our immigrant participants as they negotiate and reinstate their power by voicing their resources – their capitals (Bourdieu 2004). The participants utilize and draw from a rich pool of capitals, which they mobilize in flexible ways that showcases their agency. Apart from the *economic*, *social* and *cultural capital*, other countenances of capitals have emerged through the analysis to be working as the immigrants' resources. In the literature, these are usually referred to as specifications of the cultural capital. They included the *educational capital* (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), which describes a person's knowledge and skills deriving from formal or informal educational experiences; the *linguistic capital* (Reay 1999), which includes language skills and knowledge (i.e. reading, writing, etc.) and meta-linguistic abilities (i.e. talking about a language); the *familial capital* (Yosso 2005), which refers to values, beliefs, ethics and experiences that originate from one's participation in their family; and the *emotional capital* (Reay 2000), which refers to those emotional resources a person draws from to maintain or advance their position, such as self-confidence, determination, patience, etc. We have also used the concept of objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu 2004), that is resources which translate into objects, which in this research regarded immigration documents, passports and other official certificates.

Through their narrations the participants negotiate different forms of capitals, mostly in combination with one another, since different aspects of capital interact in multiple ways. One form of capital may facilitate the acquisition of another or it may be utilized by the participant to cover the lack of another (Bourdieu 2004). In the following excerpt, the linguistic capital is shown to interact with the economic, social and emotional capital of the participant.

Excerpt 1
Greek is the only hope because my husband always says "you have everything, you just need Greek" and I always tell him you think big of me but actually if it is like he

is saying, if I learn it, I will gain many things, I will go to work, I will have friends because right now my only friends are the friends of my husband, because I don't go out a lot, because I am not comfortable to go out and make friends, if I work I will have many colleagues, many friends and I will get self-esteem, right now I feel like I am useless and am not that kind of woman, who wants only her husband to work and stay at home, well I know cooking, I am cooking but I believe a woman has to work.

Armenian woman, 23 years old, 10 months in Greece.

(interview language: English)

Having one form of capital is used by the participants to cover the lack of another. For instance, as shown in the excerpt below, skills that have been acquired through family practices can compensate for the lack of the Greek linguistic capital. The extract also shows the challenge of power asymmetries (the Georgian woman appears more 'able' in doing household chores in a foreign country than the researcher):

Excerpt 2

Shopping I went to the supermarket, it is easy here, you mustn't …in Georgia now it is like that, in the past it wasn't, you have to say what you want, here wherever you want you get in, take it, pay at the cashier, you go. [the researcher shares the difficulties she met herself shopping at the supermarket abroad, when she had to pick out among different types of the same food product]. About these I have…I have worked, since I was young. I have been working since I was 8 years old […] because my mother worked 24 hours […] Generally I had taken on everything else, I was a little child but […] As I grew up, after I had done [these jobs], an 11–12 year-old child but ... […] I gained, this job is nothing for me […] And you need to be clever, with your mind, I can't remember a day that I didn't understand anything, let's say. I would go, I didn't know, for instance, "beef" [the word] I didn't know it, but I understood what beef was and what pork.

Georgian woman, 11 years in Greece, 35 years old.

(interview language: Greek – translated into English)

Our participants have also claimed a 'new' cultural capital, which contains not only the culture of the homeland but also the culture and values the participants embrace in the course of their lives in Greece. It is an emergent, hybrid, cultural capital evolving from the interaction between the past and the present, depicting the fluidity and complexity of the participants' identities as well as the transformation of their capitals.

Excerpt 3

Greece has now become a part of us… you might say… difficulties, but when we leave, this is what we do… we stay for a month in Albania and when we come here we say: aaah! We came home, oh how nice! How much we relax here. I don't know how it will be like to live there…In Albania there is my parents' house, I didn't have a house of my own there, here there is my own house, because I had, for instance, my first bed, I had a family, I had two children, there are so many things I did here in Greece. In Albania, I hadn't done so many things, do you understand? The only

thing I did was going to school and then since I was 17 years old, I got engaged and we stayed for three years… and then I came here.

Albanian woman, 12 years in Greece.

(interview language: Greek – translated into English)

Excerpt 4

I was young, we came so many years [ago], 16 years, now I have lost, we are more Greece here, we grew up in Greece, they are good guys, the Greeks are good guys, they gave me bread [work] and when I go back to our country, at Christmas, for two months, we will never lose Greece. I like Greece only, not any other country, I have been here for so many years, we will never lose, I like all of them, they are good guys, I ate bread from Greece [made a living], we will never lose, because all my life will be here, since I was small up to now I grew up here.

Pakistani man, 18 years in Greece, 32 years old.

(interview language: Greek – translated into English)

Through the above examples of interview moments we sought to let the immigrant participants voice themselves, to talk about their life stories, to tell us not only about their needs, but also their various strengths.

4   Limitations in Challenging Power Asymmetries

Before concluding our chapter, we should refer to the limitations we faced with our research approach. So far, we have described how the research aims, methodological tool and analysis aimed at understanding the integration and communication needs of the immigrant students participating in the MATH.E.ME. project. We have also discussed how we set out to do this through a critical lens, which questioned the social structures that create particular needs for them, but also question the research teams' own implication in enacting particular asymmetrical power positions. Even though we actively challenged them before, during and after the interviews, it had not been possible to overrule the deeply-rooted social hierarchies that we embodied.

Excerpt 5

Participant: -…This is what I told you [using plural to express politeness].

Researcher: Talk to me in singular, don't…

P:OK.

R:We have the same age. [both laugh].

P:Never mind, you have more than me…

R:What more?

P: Knowledge and everything, many things…

Georgian woman, 11 years in Greece, 35 years old.

(interview language: Greek – translated into English)

The researcher wishes to minimise the 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu et al. 1999) of the interview by eliminating the asymmetrical social positions expressed in the use of the plural of politeness deployed by the Georgian woman. Nonetheless,

even though the researcher's efforts were good-willed, they show that this attempt addresses only superficially the immigrant woman's social positioning. The 'reality check' comes from the Georgian woman herself, who names things as she experiences them, not only during the interview but also in her everyday life. This and other similar instances in our research remind us that deeply-rooted hierarchies and arbitrarily-won privileges are difficult to overcome. Nonetheless, by constantly making them obvious to ourselves and others, we can be more honest towards immigrants, and so reach collaboratively better understandings and ways forward.

5 Conclusions

In conclusion, this chapter focused on the principles and modalities followed in conducting a qualitative research, using the interview as a tool towards understanding the participants' narrations in all their complexity and multiple meanings (Mears 2009). The scope objective was to empower the participants through the research (design, modality, analysis) by giving them space and a 'voice' to share their experiences and realities. At the next stage of the project, this 'voice' was taken into account and utilized in designing the courses, the learning materials and tasks. Thus, the integration process of immigrants is crucial and integral to all stages of the project, from the needs analysis (presented in this chapter) to the implementation of the courses.

In the scope perspective of the participants' empowerment and integration, the modalities in designing and conducting the qualitative research were: sharing the object of the research with the participants, keeping them present in the research, giving the participants space to 'voice' themselves, showing active, involved listening, empathy and commitment, and avoiding 'deficit' understandings. The interview was designed and used as a tool for the empowerment of the participants by challenging the researcher's power throughout the research process in order to break down the researcher – participant hierarchy and build a connection. However, acknowledging the limitations of unresolved social hierarchies is a necessary step to gain more honest, and thus deeper insights.

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Identities under Negotiation in a Second Language Academic Literacies Course

Christina Takouda and Dimitrios Koutsogiannis

Abstract The School of Modern Greek Language is a multicultural academic environment, where for the last 40 years Modern Greek is being taught as a second language to variably originated and differently motivated adults. An action research which took place in August 2014 during an intensive academic (multi)literacies course attempts to describe the process of negotiating identities of these students, their investment in academic literacies and the imagined communities they see themselves in at the target language. The qualitative analysis of ethnographic data is based on a four-axis educational model that reveals the interaction of different imagined and existing ethno-cultural identities of the social actors. Thus, the educational process is regarded as co-construction of social variables, among which lie the instructors' as well as the learners' negotiating identities.

Keywords Academic literacies · Literate identities · Imagined identities · Investment · Negotiation · Modern Greek language

1 Introduction

Issues of identity have recently entered the field of language education within post-structuralist linguistic theories. Historically, the notion of identity as one of the contextual parameters that determine and are also affected by the type of teaching is connected to the Ethnography of Literacy which during the '80s focused on previously unnoticed literacy practices and set the basis of the discussion around multiple literate identities. A socially situated approach to identities was further

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offered by New Literacy Studies, whereas Critical Discourse Analysis connected the dynamic multiple identities to discourses as ways of representing various aspects of the world (Fairclough 2003).

As far as the Greek educational reality is concerned, although there has been much discussion about identities in L1,[1] there is limited research on the identities of adult learners of Modern Greek as an L2, compared to identity studies in multicultural North American countries. In this chapter we are interested in negotiating identities of the social actors in academic contexts of L2 education. We combine identity theories of Second Language Acquisition with genre pedagogy as it has been applied by Language for Specific Purposes, since our research refers to advanced students of the School of Modern Greek Language (SMGL). The latter is a well-known institute within the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, where for more than 40 years Modern Greek is being taught as an L2 to adults of various ethno-cultural origins and with different motives of learning. Motivation of our foreign students varies from language preparation for tertiary education and certification purposes, so as to strengthen one's professional status in Greece, to academic interest and love for the language and culture.

2   Identities in L2 Academic Contexts

During the last decade, the notion of identity is stably present to studies of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) in multicultural and multilingual contexts (Kramsch 2009; Cummins and Early 2011; Norton 2013) as a result of the so-called "social turn in SLA" (Block 2003). In the field of applied linguistics identity is currently understood as historical, social and discursive construction rather than a set of fixed personal characteristics in psychological terms. Not only does it involve gender, age, ethnicity, religion, language etc. but it also involves the multiple roles that an individual plays as a student, family member, partner, professional etc. and generally, as a member of real or imagined communities in which discourses define groups of people in specific ways. Thus, when we refer to the term "identity", we mean the changing over time and social space multiple identities of subjects as social actors, who interact and negotiate with each other, rather than to a stable, one-dimensional notion of self.

Norton's (2000) pioneering research on the identities of five immigrant women who were struggling to learn English in Canada at the end of the '90s expanded the linguistic and cognitive dimensions in the field of SLA to cultural and affective fields. The proposed sociological construct of "investment" in the target language complements the psychological construct of motivation, as it connects learners' desire and commitment to learn a foreign language with the practices and the rela-

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[1] For recent contributions in Greek see: Archakis and Tsakona (2011) and Koutsogiannis (2012).

tions of power in the classroom and the target language community. The traditional binary distinction between motivated and unmotivated learners has gradually been replaced by the focus on the agency learners exercise as they "strive to become whoever they want to be" (Kramsch 2013:195) in real or imagined communities. Norton, following Anderson (1991), argued that for many learners the target language community is not only a construction of past communities and historical relationships, but also a desired community of imagination. In economic terms, learners "invest" in such communities trying to increase their "cultural capital" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) that is, the symbolic and material resources they attribute to the target language. Thus, imagined communities assume imagined identities which are socially constructed and liable to changes across time and space.

As for the academic discourse in L2 within the broad field of Language for Specific Purposes, we argue that identity theory is compatible with an academic literacies model (Lea and Street 1998) which encompasses and expands previous study skills and academic socialization models. According to Lea & Street's ideological model of literacy, the relation of students to the dominant discourses and literacy practices of the academy is more complex than the acculturating models of literacy would suggest (Lea 2004). Knowledge is negotiated and socially constructed whereas students are active participants in the process of meaning-making. Issues of culture, investment and imagined academic or professional identities lie central to this process. In particular, research on academic writing is influenced by Ivanič's (1998) conception of writer identity as a complex negotiation among three interrelated and overlapping aspects of self: an *autobiographical self* that people bring along to any act of writing, a *discoursal self*-created in the process of writing and an *authorial self*, that is the writer's more or less authoritative "voice" in the sense of personal stance, opinions and beliefs.

Ivanič's concluding argument of writer identity research that the most effective teaching encourages students to become "active participants in social struggles, not just passively receiving knowledge and advice" (p. 337) positions her work among critical approaches to academic discourse and second language teaching. At the same tradition one could place alternative suggestions to needs analysis (Benesch 1999) which take into consideration learners' rights and desires instead of pre-designed categories of needs and possible lacks-to-be-filled. Critical pedagogies call attention to learners' rights for negotiation and resistance in power relations inside and beyond the language classroom.

At the same context, Belcher and Lukkarila (2011:77) focused on students' multiple cultural identities in the center of a qualitative needs analysis model based on open discussions and literacy autobiographies. They offer a working definition of cultural identity as a "cohesive life story of a unified self, despite multiple subject positions, attempting to function successfully in life". Thus, they integrate modern conceptions of culture as a mosaic of "small cultures" (Atkinson 2004) with imagined identities and the sociological construct of learners' investment to literacy practices. In another option of critical pedagogy based on the social actors' identities, Cadman (2005) expanded the notion of investment beyond linguistic structures

and teaching practices to interpersonal relationships between instructors and students within a proposed "pedagogy of connection".

3   The Ethnographic Research: Description and Methodology

The research example that we chose in order to study identities under negotiation in the teaching practice is action research with a critical ethnographic perspective. Ethnography as methodology (Lillis 2008) allows for studying behavior in real than experimental contexts by gathering data from a range of sources. Data are qualitatively analyzed and analysis is not based on pre-decided categories or explicit hypotheses. Theoretical ideas and interpretations arise during research and analysis. As ethnographic research is usually small in scale focusing on a single setting or group and offering interpretations of human actions, it is considered appropriate for the study of identities and compatible with pedagogic models of multiple literacies, such as the academic literacies model applied in our teaching practice. Moreover, the two main characteristics of ethnography as methodology, locality and situatedness, can be combined, as Starfield (2011) argues, with the researcher's thick participation in a situated local setting that, informed by critical reflection, "would allow us to work across time and space [ ] and expand our understanding of context" (p. 190).

The present study took place in the SMGL from mid-August until mid-September 2014 at an intensive L2 academic (multi)literacies course (Takouda 2017). Eight (8) out of the twelve (12) foreign participants were graduate or post-graduate students in their home countries; three (3) were active professionals –two (2) of whom would continue their studies in Greek universities and one (1) was a retired teacher of classics who was attending the SMGL's summer course for the fourth time. Their objects of study were Modern Greek language and culture (5), Byzantine History (2), Theology (1), Finance (1), Law (1) and Medicine (1). Their countries of origin were Russia (4), Ukraine (2), Serbia (1), Turkey (1), Italy (1), France (1), Spain (1) and USA (1). Ages ranged between 20 and 68, with the majority of students being women in their twenties or early thirties.

Data collection was triangulated through various sources; observation by the teacher-researcher and two independent observers, audio and video recordings, literacy autobiographies for needs and desires analysis purposes, informal feed-back conversations and semi-structured interviews at the end of the course. The educational material designed for the course was analyzed complementarily to the oral, written and multimodal discourse produced by the students within their multiple assignments. Qualitative analysis is organized, for methodological reasons, in three interrelated levels of analysis (Koutsogiannis et al. 2014); a medium level focusing on the curriculum Macro-genre (Christie 2002) which is perceived as a chain of macro-genres and subordinate teaching events; a micro level focusing on the inter-

action in the teaching events, which are the basic units of analysis and finally, a macro-analytical level that addresses issues of L2 education beyond local contexts.

As the main model of our analysis, we chose the "rhombus of language teaching" (Koutsogiannis 2012) because it is a collective model of post-structuralist linguistic traditions where identities play an important role, such as Social Semiotics, the Ethnography of Literacy and Critical Discourse Analysis. The model attempts to respond to what Bernstein (1996) has described as the question "yet to be thought" of the pedagogical science, that is the connection of the teaching to the formative discourse, in other words, the 'what' and 'how' of the teaching practice. Central to Koutsogiannis' model are the identities of the social actors, which affect but are also affected by the choices in each of the four variables of the rhombus: (a) knowledge about the world, opinions, beliefs and values transmitted through teaching (b) aimed literacies (c) linguistic and/ or semiotic knowledge, that is knowledge about the system of language, the genres and the various modes of creating meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) and (d) implicit and explicit teaching practices. As a consequence, changes in each of the four variables presuppose and form different types of literate identities while, at the same time, particular types of student and teacher identities influence choices in each of the variables.

The focus on literate identities runs through all levels of the analysis mentioned afore. Since we are addressing a multilingual and multicultural audience, we are also interested in students' multiple ethno-cultural identities as described by Belcher and Lukkarila (2011) as well as their imagined academic and professional identities in the target language. According to the revisited identity theory in SLA (Norton 2013), we regard our students' imagined identities in Greek language as the projection of self to the academic community or future professional life, where knowledge of Greek among other symbolic investments, would increase their cultural capital. For example, a PhD candidate of Byzantine History from France at his mid-thirties is highly possible to invest to the conventions of the Greek academic discourse, because he believes that "if he speaks better Greek, Greek professors and the professors abroad will value more his research".[2] A different kind of imagined identities is attributed to less experienced graduate students of philology from Russia, who are going to work as translators or teachers of Greek as an L2 and whose investment consists mostly of knowledge about grammar rules and subtle semantic nuances.

Thus, our areas of interest while analyzing the data are the following; to what extent students' multiple national, cultural and literate identities interact and negotiate with each other and with the identities of the teacher-researcher at the phases of curriculum designing, teaching, evaluating and redesigning process; to what extend imagined identities influence students' investment to the teaching practices; to what extend investment is taken into consideration by the teacher-designer; and finally, the type of literate identities presupposed and reformed by curriculum design, literacy practices, explicit and implicit pedagogies.

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[2]The phrase comes from the student's autobiographical literacy narration in the beginning of the course.

4   Selected Findings from the Qualitative Analysis: Negotiation of the Curriculum Macro-genre, Literate and Imagined Identities

At the first level of analysis, we attempt to show how the curriculum is negotiated and redesigned after an evaluative event at the end of the course's first week, which is revealing of a certain type of literate identities among the students' population. The curriculum design was based on genre theory within Language for Specific Purposes pedagogy (Swales and Feak 2004; Hyland 2007) with additional influence by New Rhetoric (Devitt et al. 2004) and multimodal theory (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). Popular science and pure academic genres were organized in thematic colonies (Bhatia 2004), which represent the continuum of knowledge among 'hard' and 'soft' sciences. Social sciences were combined with selected domains from the two ends of the continuum; for example, medical research about heart attacks was viewed in a social prism of increased incidents due to the prolonged Greek economic crisis. Thematic genre colonies were socially situated, so that critical perspectives were facilitated and grounded to local contexts. Moreover, following a social-semiotic logic of design (Kress 2010), the curriculum Macro-genre starts with learners' available resources (e.g. popular science genres) aiming to enhance genre knowledge, to move to less familiar and more demanding genres with differentiation function across the academic community (Swales 1990) (e.g. research articles, conference abstracts and academic lectures).

In particular, during the first 3 weeks of the course, the following thematic units were originally designed as genre colonies (Fig. 1):

– "Health and economic crisis"
– "New types of family"
– "City and urban environment".

In terms of the four variables of the rhombus model, (a) knowledge about the world transmitted specific options about the country's present situation (b) literacy practices concerned multimodality in popular science and academic discourse (c) knowledge about the semiosis was more emphasized than knowledge about language itself and (d) teaching practices were rather explicit than implicit with the teacher posing the questions and offering the categories of analysis (Fig. 2).

At the end of the first week, Anastasia[3] (A), one of the Russian students of Humanities, became the protagonist of a spontaneous evaluative event of the previously described practices. At the micro level of discourse analysis, the following extract is revealing of the type of literate and imagined identities that she and her colleagues from eastern European universities had entered the class with. It is also indicative of the negotiation with the teacher's (T) identities as a designer and a self-reflective researcher and the negotiation of the curriculum Macro-genre itself.

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[3] Students' names are pseudonyms.
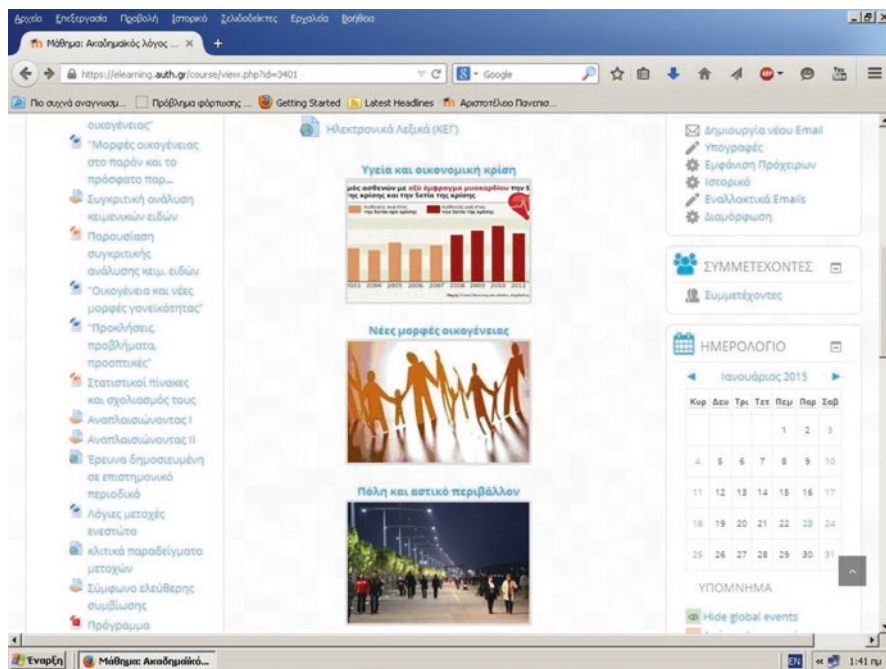
Fig. 1 Genre colonies appearing as grids at the course's Moodle platform
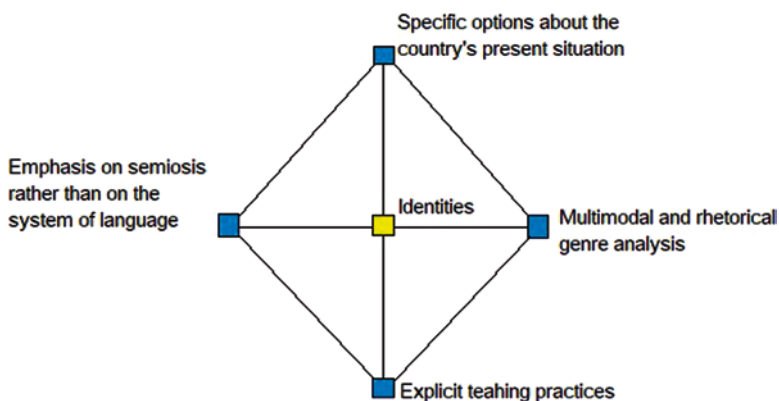
Fig. 2 Analysis in terms of the rhombus model

A. We short of discussed it among us and we decided that we would like you to give us a little bit more grammar, details of grammar, what they call "Use of Language" in the Greek Language Certificate Examinations. That kind of thing. I mean details. [] For example one and a half hour we do the program we are doing

*now, and one and a half hour we devote it to grammar, er to the content of the texts
and to this "Use of Language", since we discussed it and it would be very useful
[and/ T. Good.] Good.*
I. We should do dialogues, we [should discuss texts ((xx))
A Some dialogues.]
T. All right. [Anyway this/
I We should discuss] the content, yes.
T. In the next unit starting from today, we will anyway have the opportunity to dis-
   cuss more about the texts, because the content will not be as technical as in the
   previous unit.

According to politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987), Anastasia's discourse
threatens the teacher's negative face and directly questions relations of power in the
classroom. The discourse identities of the participants in the interaction (Zimmerman
1998) are indicative of the face threatening act and the temporary reversal of roles.
The role of course designer-evaluator is taken on by Anastasia, who is critical of the
literacy practices followed up to that point and indicates, in time accuracy, the con-
tinuation of the Macro-genre [*one and a half hour we do the program we are doing
now, and one and a half hour we devote it to grammar*]. She further explains what
she means by "details of grammar" with the term "Use of Language", borrowed from
the national Greek Language Certificate examinations. The aspects of her literacy
identities revealed by this incident are those of a student exposed to traditional, well
known literacy practices such as the overt teaching of grammar *per se* or for exami-
nation purposes. The latter matches with imagined identities of students trained to
succeed to examinations so as to become holders of certificates that would increase
their cultural capital in the target language[4] (Norton 2013).

Irina (I), the second student who takes short part in the interaction, is also a
graduate student of Greek philology from Russia. Although her discourse identity is
weaker compared to that of her colleague, her request is equally important, as she
proposes changes to the teaching, as well as the literacy practices [*We should do
dialogues, we should discuss texts ((xx))*]. Obviously, the classical teaching schema
"Interrogation – Response – Feedback/ Evaluation" (Cazden 2001) dominating the
first week of the course in order to familiarize students with the multimodal and
rhetorical analysis of genres –quite uncommon in classrooms of Greek as an L2, is
regarded as too teacher-centred even by students with traditional literate identities
as the ones above. Moreover, both students request more emphasis on the content of
texts, which subsided in favour of genre analysis, as the teacher admits at her face-
defending response [*we will anyway have the opportunity to discuss more about the
texts, because the content will not be as technical as in the previous unit*].

The teacher listens carefully to the students' requests without exerting power,
except only after a fair amount of time. She appears to apologize for the technicality
of the texts in the first unit and she promises more content-based discussion in the

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[4] Indeed, in her literacy narration, Anastasia takes pride in having recently obtained the C2 certifi-
cate in Greek language after "long and hard preparation" in Russia.

next thematic colony. Later in the same interaction, she defends the situated analysis of selective rhetorical and linguistic characteristics of the texts as part of their contextual scene (Devitt et al. 2004) instead of overt, in other words structural, grammar teaching and detailed vocabulary explanations. Obviously, her literate identities as designer and teacher of a pilot genre-based curriculum differ to what is expected by the particular students in an advanced language course. Although she aims not to abandon genre-based teaching, she understands that the evaluative event at the end of the first week is crucial for the rest of the course and the establishment of relations of confidence and connection with her students.

Thus, while the thematic colonies remained as originally designed, the genre samples from then on were not provided only by the teacher, but also by the students' key-word internet search. The fact that they themselves had chosen texts for analysis and team thematic presentations enhanced investment on their behalf and favoured learner-centred, dialogical and knowledge-negotiation practices (Kostouli 2000), which were positively evaluated at their final interviews. The following extract from Irina's interview provides proof of the change of climate and the students' investment, after the above and other such incidents of negotiation and redesign.

Oh, I liked it a lot that we did much team work and I also liked that we always changed teams, so as not to get used to the same people, to find ways of cooperation with many different people. I liked it very much. And what we did was very different, arguments, and power point presentations, yes, all these. [] And we did- we found arguments and some proof, examples, and the structure of the texts. I think it will help me a lot because this is my speciality. [] Since I teach too, I think I can use- I can borrow some of your methods.

What is interesting in Irina's judgment is the shift in her imagined professional identity. Her grammar and content-based literate identities as a student and language teacher are expanded by team work and situated learning practices, which are highly appreciated at the end, despite her previous reservations. In our opinion, the turning point for her to invest to multimodal and rhetorical genre analysis is the cooperative and discovery learning practices applied as a result of identities' negotiation in the classroom.

5 Further Discussion About L2 Education

The case studies of the two Russian students briefly analyzed above indicate a type of literate identities quite common in the lessons of Greek as an L2 in academic contexts. We refer to students coming mostly from Eastern Europe who are used to explicit pedagogies based on grammar rules and structural exercises about the system of language. At the advanced level, they particularly value "details of grammar", according to Anastasia's words, that is subtle syntactic, morphologic and semantic differences of the words. The genres they are mainly exposed to belong to authoritative written discourse, such as high literature genres, essays and opinion articles

transmitting "safe" knowledge about the world. As for the teaching practices, these are in accordance with the study skills model of literacy (Lea & Street 1998) which adheres to conventions of "correct" usage (Center for Intercultural Education 2003). The following extract from Mina's interview –an Italian student, who had happened to attend a similar summer course of Russian as an L2– provides additional insight into the type of literate identities discussed so far at the macro level of L2 education in global contexts.

In Russia it was very different (laugh). The teachers were very, I don't know, strict and we can't talk so much and say whatever we think. [] The lessons for Russians in Russia ((I don't know them well)). I know the lessons for foreigners and they have a very: (.) yes, very strict method. (.) Things are like this and we will do the exercises and: this this this, and: (.) yes.

The repetition of the word "strict" in Mina's discourse as an evaluative comment on L2 teachers' identities and methods is indicative of her own literate identities which are in contrast with the type of identities discussed above. As she said elsewhere in her interview, she has "free spirit" and she always does what she wants. So, it is not surprising that her critique of traditional teaching methods doesn't concern surface matters such as rules of grammar, vocabulary or emphasis on the exact content of the texts, but the lack of offering options of knowledge and curriculum negotiation [*Things are like this and we will do the exercises and: this this this*].

We have reasons to believe that even if the academic literacies model applied at the SMGL didn't quite match the expectations of specific types of students, the possibility to redesign, after negotiation, aspects of the pedagogic discourse, such as the teaching practices and the ideology transmitted by texts and classroom discussions was appreciated by the majority of students, regardless of their already formed multiple identities. Moreover, because teaching is a dynamic procedure, there is evidence of shift in at least some students' literate and imagined identities. Irina's interview, for example, is indicating such shift of her imagined identities as a language teacher towards identification with knowledge discovery and teamwork practices. On the other hand, Anastasia exerted her agency during the whole course in a much stronger way that prevented mobility within her valued literate and imagined identities.

We conclude our argument about the fluid notion of identity and its role at the co-construction of the teaching process with an interview extract coming from another Russian student.

My general opinion is that this course helped me to: (.) improve:: my ability to think in Greek a::nd I saw another aspect of teaching the Greek language, which I had never seen before, and this impressed me, e::, yes.

The "ability to think" in a second language is, in our opinion, an ever-returning goal of teaching which encompasses all kinds of "competences" addressed in different historical periods by the theory of SLA; communicative, sociocultural, intercultural, semiotic and most recently, symbolic competence (Kramsch 2006). According to an ecological perspective in foreign language education which we tried to incorporate in our approach of teaching academic discourse, learners must learn to "operate between languages" (Kramsch 2008: 403), in other words to read and use

multiple codes and semiotic systems. Moreover, teachers are called to become teachers of meaning beyond teachers of a plain linguistic code. We hope that this "other aspect of teaching the Greek language" that the last student refers to in her comment, performing a particular type of literate identity, is a small contribution of this research to the "ecology" of language education.

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School and Family Cooperation: Strengthening Parents' Knowledge of Greek

Eleni Karantzola and Ioannis Galantomos

Abstract The positive impact of parent's involvement in their children's schooling is widely accepted. This chapter aims at presenting the rationale, the structure and the specific features of the Greek language classes organized during 2012 and 2013 and directed to migrant parents of school age students, in the framework of a national scale project. The main idea lying behind these classes was to enhance migrant parents' knowledge of Greek as a second language so as to better communicate with school and participate more actively in their children's schooling. For this reason, the focus of teaching has been the familiarization of the participating parents with everyday school domains, such as school governance, curricula and the language textbooks. Results and implications of the intervention are discussed.

Keywords Parental involvement · Immigrant parents · Greek as a second language · Language material · Language textbooks · School and family cooperation

1 Introduction

During the last three decades there is a growing consensus among researchers and educators that both the quality and degree of relations between schools and family and parental involvement have a positive impact on children's academic achievement (e.g. Barnard 2004; Jeyenes 2003; Karantzola 2003; Pomerantz et al. 2005). Furthermore, this relationship has been proven to be beneficial for all involved.

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Parents can gain a better understanding of the school's curriculum and engage in various activities (e.g. Swap 1993), students can develop high motivation towards school (e.g. Berger 2000), and teachers benefit from parental participation in school activities by sharing their aspirations and expectations (Henderson 1987).

Parental involvement can be defined as the parents' or caregivers' active engagement in the education of their children at home or at school. This engagement can take the following forms: volunteering at school, helping children with their homework, participating in school activities, visiting the child's classroom, sharing knowledge or experience with the class through guest speaking and participating in school decision-making processes (LaRocque et al. 2011).

At this point it is essential to make a distinction between the terms "parental engagement" and "parental participation". Parental engagement refers to procedures which allow parents to have a predetermined role in what is happening in the school. In most cases, parents are spectators of school events or activities (Davies and Johnson 1996). On the other hand, parental participation presupposes procedures that allow parents to take an active part in school governance and decision-making at all educational levels (Soliman 1995).

McNeal (2001) claims that the positive impact of parental involvement on children' socialization and academic success can be attributed to theories of social and cultural capital. Social capital is mainly manifested through two processes, firstly, parents' participation in the governance of their child's school, in that they are expected to engage actively with the organizational and social aspects of school life and secondly parents' engagement in monitoring of their children's school attainment (Berthelsen and Walker 2008). Cultural capital refers to the amount of parental involvement in the educational process. Parents with increased cultural capital as a result of better education are more likely to engage more actively in their children's schooling (Lareau 1987).

2 Immigrant Parents' School Engagement

Researchers have documented that parents of immigrant origin face complex issues of adaptation which involve both their home culture and the culture of the new country (e.g. Berry 1997). In other words, these parents face the demanding task of structuring new lives for themselves and the members of their families in a community and a culture in general, unknown to them (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). This task is demanding by nature because immigrant parents hold values, beliefs and educational expectations which may be different from those advocated in school (Ogbu and Mature-Bianchi 1986). Therefore, immigrant parents in order to be successful in their roles as parents, must develop new ways of world understanding, establish new social networks, new forms of cultural capital (e.g. learning the language of the host country) and learn new ways to function (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001).

It is widely accepted that immigrant parents put an emphasis on their children's education (e.g. Trueba 1999). Nevertheless, in their effort to improve the schooling of their children's, these parents often realize that the space for involvement is not equitable. They find that their beliefs and actions are positioned lower than those of other school actors (Olmedo 2003). The obstacles that put them in the lower places of the school hierarchy are language, cultural capital and social networks (Trueba 2004). Similarly, Tinkler (2002) argues that the barriers most often confronted by parents of immigrant background with regard to their participation in their children's schooling are school-based barriers, lack of English language proficiency, parental educational level, discontinuities between school and home culture and finally, logistical issues (i.e. immigrant parents often have labor-intensive work schedules with limited flexibility which affect their ability to attend teacher-parents meetings and communicate with other parents and school actors (e.g. Scribner et al. 1999).

On the other hand, migrant parents often express their anxiety regarding issues, such as their children's language maintenance and shift and their children' literacy in the minority language (Gaintartzi and Tsokalidou 2012). Research data suggest that when migrant children enter the official educational system of the hosting country they tend to alter their language repertoire by using more and more the dominant language (Fillmore 1991; Lambert 1974).

3   Research on Parental Engagement in Greece

In Greece, parental engagement is mentioned in the Laws 1566/1985 and 2621/1998 (Government Gazette 167A, article 53 and Government Gazette 136A, article 2 respectively) where the emphasis is mainly put on the elections held by the parents so as to participate in the school governance. Nevertheless, research data investigating parental engagement and especially migrant parental engagement are little and focus mainly on primary education (Antonopoulou et al. 2011). Even fewer are the surveys which investigate teachers' beliefs about the necessity and the nature of this involvement (Koutrouba et al. 2009).

To name a few, Chatzidaki (2007) investigated migrant parental involvement and teachers' beliefs regarding this involvement. She found that migrant parents hold positive attitudes towards their engagement in their children's education. On the other hand, teachers claimed that migrant parents do not participate in their children's education for various reasons. Chatzidaki (op.cit.) concludes that teachers should become more sensitive to parents' needs and expectations and adopt more democratic and empowering forms of collaboration. Poulou and Matsagouras (2007) found that there is a clear-cut differentiation between educators and parents' roles, with the teachers being responsible only for the academic aspects of their students' school attainment and the parents being responsible for their children's emotional and social growth. Pnevmatikos et al. (2008) concluded that Greek parents relate their children's performance with their active involvement in the school activities and with their collaboration with the teachers. However, they (i.e. the

parents) evaluate their engagement in their children's homework less effective compared to the children's overall academic achievements. Bonia et al. (2008) showed that Greek primary education teachers consider factors, such as lack of time for communication, diverse parents' language and cultural background and parents in insufficiency to help effectively their children with their homework can stand as barriers to teacher-parent communication and collaboration. Antonopoulou et al. (2011) showed that home-school collaboration is poor although the parents themselves believe that this kind of collaboration is beneficial for students' academic and emotional development, teachers are deemed to be friendly and caring and the Greek secondary school offers some instances of constructive parental engagement. The researchers attribute these three paradoxes to the structure, the way of functioning and the engraved beliefs that run the Greek educational system. Finally, Charavitzidis (2013) presents the results of a study which showed that the interaction between school and family through migrant parents' active participation in decision-making procedures and school governance was beneficial for the members of a school community in Athens, Greece.

4 The Study

4.1 Background

For a long period of time, Greece has been a traditional labor-exporting country. However, political, economic and social developments, such as the collapse of communism and the border opening in Eastern Europe have transformed Greece into a major migrant receiver. According to Eurostat,[1] in Greece, in January 2014, there were 836.900 (7,7% of the total population) foreigners. 188.300 (1,7%) come from EU countries and 648.600 (5,9%) are non-EU citizens. The vast majority of the migrants comes from the neighboring Balkan countries (Cavounidis 2004; Rovolis and Tragaki 2006). In particular, according to the 2011 Population Census,[2] migrants from Albania number 480.851, from Bulgaria 75.917 and from Romania (46.524). Other major migrant communities in Greece are those from Egypt (10.455), Ukraine (17.008), Georgia (27.407), Afghanistan (6.911) and Pakistan (34.178).

This influx of migrants at the beginnings of the 1990s has brought many changes to the social structure, economy and education of Greece. In fact, the Greek people had to face a totally unfamiliar situation, since this migrant influx unsettled the national balance. Similarly, this influx disorganized the Greek educational system, in the sense that the Greek schools were totally unprepared to cope with students of migrant background (Tsokalidou 2008).

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[1] http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/images/1/14/Non-national_population_by_group_of_citizenship%2C_1_January_2014_%28%C2%B9%29_YB15.png

[2] Data extracted from Table 04 (www.statistics.gr/demographic-data).

4.2 The Project "Education for Foreign and Repatriated Students"

In light of the above, the Greek state in collaboration with the European Union authorities designed and implemented in 2010 the national scale project "Education for Foreign and Repatriated Students", under the auspices of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The project consisted of nine (9) actions[3] and stopped functioning in 2013 (although some dissemination activities took place in 2014).

More specifically, the action 7 *"Connecting School and Community"* evolved around two sub actions, namely, sub action 7.1. *"Strengthening Family"* and sub action 7.2. *"Developing cooperation among School, Migrant Communities, NGO and Social Workers"*. Given the importance of parental participation and the linguistic and cultural diversity of migrant parents, short-term language classes were organized, and specific language material was designed aiming at parents whose children were attending various levels of the Greek educational system (with an emphasis on primary and secondary education).

For the implementation of the language classes a call of interest was launched looking for more or less experienced language instructors in teaching Greek as a foreign/second language. The aim of the call was to form a registry of instructors and from this registry to use them on demand. Before the start of the classes, the selected language instructors went through a 2-day training seminar on various issues.

More specifically, this training seminar was organized around general (related to foreign/second language teaching theory and practice) and more focused topics. For instance, the general topics included the presentation of the foreign/second language teaching methods, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR, Council of Europe) and the world's major language families with a special emphasis on migrants' most used languages in Greece. The suggested teaching methodology was the Communicative Approach which is nowadays the most widely used teaching method (Bella 2007). This particular instructional methodology was selected because it addresses all four language skills (i.e. reading, speaking, writing and listening), it presupposes learners' active role, teacher acts as an advisor and facilitator and puts an emphasis on the production of linguistically and culturally appropriate language so as certain functions to be carried out (Mackey 2006). On the other hand, the more focused topics in the training seminar covered the goals and expected outcomes of the language classes at both individual and societal level, the detailed presentation of the language material content (see below) and finally the duties of the language instructors.

The total number of language instructors was 187 (61 trained and 126 non-trained). The vast majority of them was part of Attica region registry (72, 21 trained

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[3]For a detailed presentation of the actions of the project, visit http://www.diapolis.auth.gr. Unfortunately, schools which took part in one of the actions were not able to participate in another action, so there was no school which took advantage of the whole design and the interaction of the activities.

Table 1 Data about the Greek language classes in 2012 and 2013

No	Region	School units		Parents (approx.)		Language strand	
		2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013
1	Central Macedonia	2	6	7	85	20	20
2	Thessaly	1		4		40	
3	Epirus & Ionian islands	3		19		20	
4	Western Greece	2		39		40	
5	Eastern Macedonia & Thrace	3		26		20	
6	Peloponnese	2		15		40 & 20	
7	Attica	20	8	192	153	20 & 40	20
8	North Aegean islands		4		44		20
9	South Aegean Islands		5		49		20

and 51 non-trained), whereas the regions with the less instructors were the South Aegean Islands (9), Continental Greece (5) and the Ionian Islands (1).

The language classes run from 2012 to 2013 and were implemented in two strands, namely 20-hour Greek classes and 40-hour Greek classes. The difference between the two strands was that in the 40-hour one, the explicit teaching of the Greek alphabetical writing system was introduced.

In 2012 these language classes were offered in seven (7) (of the 13) Greek regions, namely, Central Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus & Ionian Islands, Western Greece, Eastern Macedonia & Thrace, Peloponnese and Attica. On the other hand, in 2013, the language classes took place in four (4) Greek regions, namely, Central Macedonia, North Aegean Islands, South Aegean Islands and Attica (cf. Table 1).

The language material came from two sources. Firstly, it was based on existing material used in language classes run by the Institute of Continuing Adult Education (Gr. *IDEKE*) within the framework of the project *ODYSSEAS*. At this point it should be mentioned that the authors were members of the expert group who wrote in 2011 the ODYSSEAS students' book and teachers' guidelines for levels A1 and A2 (see Agathos et al. 2011).

More specifically, this material covers levels A1 (125 h) and A2 (150 h +25 h of history classes)[4] (according to CEFR) and relies on various genres and texts. Each language level consists of eight units. These units reflect the tenets of Literacy and Multiliteracies and evolve around three sections, namely "to engage" (Gr. *Εμπλέκομαι*) (i.e. exploitation of previous experience and knowledge), "to elaborate and analyze" (Gr. *Επεξεργάζομαι και αναλύω*) (i.e. full teaching of the new topic) and "to extend" (Gr. *Επεκτείνω*) (i.e. learners apply new knowledge to a typical communicative instance (Agathos et al. 2011) (sample material is available upon request).

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[4] Recently, two more language levels were added, namely B1 (185 h) and B1 (195 h) with an emphasis on oral speech production and comprehension (cf. *http://www.inedivim.gr/προγράμματα/odysseas*).

The alphabet section was also taken from ODYSSEAS language material; its originality lies in the fact that it is based on letter grouping according to similarities/differences of the Greek letters compared to the ones of the Latin alphabet, which is more or less familiar to the immigrants. Therefore, teaching is there organized around four groups. The first group consists of letters that present the greater proximity with those of Latin alphabet, in their capital form[5]: <A, α>, <E, ε>, <I, ι>, <O, o>, <Z, ζ>, <K, κ>, <M, μ>, <N, ν>, <T, τ>. The second group includes the letters <Λ, λ>, <Π, π>, <P, ρ>, <Σ, σ/ς > and < Φ, φ>, that represent in a different way the sounds [l, p, r, s, f], as well as different graphemes for the sound [i] and [o] (<H, η>, <Oι, oι>, <EI, ει> / <Ω, ω>. The third group consists of letter combination for sounds as [b] (Gr. <ΜΠ, μπ>), [g] (Gr. <ΓΚ, γκ>, <ΓΓ, γγ>), [d] (Gr. <ΝΤ, ντ>); moreover, this group includes <Y, υ > (= [i]) and the combination <Oυ, oυ > (= [u]). Lastly, the fourth group consists of the sounds [θ], [χ] "ξ" [ks] and "ψ" [ps]; in addition, it includes the combinations <EY, ευ>, <AY, αυ > that correspond to the sounds [ef / ev and af / av] (Agathos et al. 2011).

Secondly, and for the new material was designed. In particular, a Glossary of the most common school terms (Gr. *Γλωσσάρι Σχολικής Ζωής*) was developed in order to familiarize parents with the administration terms and procedures of the Greek educational system. This Glossary covered all types of schools, from kindergarten (Gr. *Νηπιαγωγείο*) to senior high school (Gr. *Λύκειο*) at two language levels, that is, beginners (Level A) and intermediate (Level B) (cf. Appendices 1, 2). Added to this, a corpus of the most common authentic administration documents (cf. Appendix 3) and a description of the Greek educational system in the form of FAQ were designed (cf. Appendix 4).

4.3   Method

The aim of our analysis was twofold. Firstly, to evaluate the short-term effectiveness of theses fast track Greek language classes and the impact they had on the quality of migrant parental participation in their children's schooling and secondly, to evaluate the mid−/long-term effectiveness of these classes (i.e. 2 years after the end of the Action 7). Although a questionnaire aiming at parents' views was designed, it was not feasible to process it due to certain limitations, namely parent's unwillingness to fill it. Thus, we examined the short evaluation reports written by the language instructors at the end of the Greek language classes, which reflect indirectly migrant parents' positions. On the other hand, we conducted a focus group discussion with educators who had participated in the intervention in April 2015.

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[5] According to the usual notational conventions, [] represents sounds, a narrow phonetic transcription, while < > encloses graphemes.

4.4   Results

In the indicative extracts to follow, the views of language instructors are documented regarding the overall effectiveness of the Greek classes and the degree of satisfaction of migrant parents:

Extract 1[6]
The atmosphere between me (i.e. the language instructor) and the parents was very warm and friendly. During the course of the classes, a climate of trust was developed, and the parents were able to express their questions and clarifications. According to their statements, they were satisfied, they were assisted (i.e. in improving their fluency in Greek), covered gaps and were disappointed with the completion of the classes *(Evaluation report from a school in Attica-2012)*.

Extract 2
Evaluating generally the project, I would say that it was successful, while no complaints or problems came up. The trainees showed great interest and learned useful stuff not only for themselves, but also for their children's school life. For example, the Greek educational system was unfamiliar to them and they didn't know basic aspects of it. Also, they learned to fill in forms, which until then was an obstacle to them. They expressed their satisfaction with the stuff they learned and with their overall experience form the project *(Evaluation report from a school in Epirus-2012)*.

Extract 3
They showed special interest by making constantly questions, correlations with what is in force in their countries. Also, they showed interest in the Greek grammar and syntax so as to help, as they were saying, their children. Based on words from the Glossary (i.e. *Γλωσσάρι Σχολικής Ζωής*) a long discussion was in progress regarding their children's school success-failure and mainly their difficulties in their integration into school *(Evaluation report from a school in Central Macedonia-2013)*.

Extract 4
The language classes to parents of diverse language background were completed successfully. The everyday vocabulary of those who participated was enriched so as to help more their children in their preparation for school *(Evaluation report from a school in the South Aegean region-2013)*.

At a second level, in April 2015 we organized a focus group discussion with six (6) participants who took part in sub action 7.1. These were four (4) primary school teachers and two (2) external collaborators (one (1) adult educator and one (1) sociologist). This semi-structured interview lasted 1,3 h and took place in Athens under the coordination of one of the two authors.

Two major tendencies/patterns were identified. The first one regards schools that integrated the language classes of the sub action 7.1. into the regular school function

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[6] The extracts in English were translated by the authors. The translation is the closest one to the original Greek text.

alongside with other activities, such as migrants' native languages teaching. The second one regards school units that implemented the language classes without any connection with the school function and sometimes the location of these classes was far away from the school itself.

4.5 Discussion

The extracts taken from the evaluation reports document the positive attitudes of both language instructors and (indirectly) the migrant parents towards the language classes that aimed at the enhancement of migrant parents' Greek fluency. This satisfaction is shown in migrant parents' willingness to participate in similar forthcoming activities. Additionally, the primary goal of these language classes was achieved, since migrant parents were familiarized with aspects of the Greek educational system, they learned how to fill in applications and improved their level in the Greek language so as to better communicate with the school and even assist their children in their homework with more confidence.

On the other hand, a closer look at the semi structured interview manifested two totally different approaches towards immigration, parental participation and migrant children' schooling.

In particular, there are some Greek schools[7] that started early on organizing language classes and took advantage of national and E.U. funded research projects, such as "Olympic Education" (Gr. *Ολυμπιακή Παιδεία*) so as to promote parental participation in their children' schooling and assist migrants at maintaining their native languages through language classes in various L1 s (e.g. Albanian, Russian). These schools enhanced school-family collaboration ("parents are interested in the closer relationships with the teachers, the contact", "those parents who participated actively in schools' actions were benefited from these", "these classes were the key to unlock school function") and it has been shown that they motivated neighboring schools to take part in similar actions ("due to the project, neighboring schools took part"). Furthermore, these schools did not stop such activities when the public funding reached an end; in fact, they continued on a volunteer basis ("when the action ended, volunteerism was activated, and the action's material was used in this context").

On the other hand, there were schools that implemented the language classes and when the funding stopped, these classes ended too. These schools never actively integrated the language classes into their function; in fact, there were cases where the classes did not take place in the school but outside the school building ("in …

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[7]A school which actively promotes school-family collaboration is 132nd Athens Elementary School. In this school 85% of the total student population comes from 12 different nationalities. Since 1999 various activities and language classes aiming at migrant parents took place in order to enhance collaboration among students, parents and teachers (Protonotarios and Charavitzidis 2012).

name of the school… the classes took place in another place outside of the school"). In these schools, parents participated, but the lack of cooperation between the school and the family had either a negative or an indifferent impact on the overall outcome of these classes and the general expectations held by both parents and the sub action governance.

Other major findings which can be drawn from this focus group discussion are the following ones.

Firstly, participating migrant parents did not constitute a homogenous group. As school factors stated on the one hand there were the migrants from the Balkans and on the other hand migrant parents from Afghanistan, Syria and other countries from the same region. Parents from the Balkans due to their longer stay in Greece had already gained a good command of Greek and they desired to get familiarized with the more academic aspects of the language in order to certify their qualifications ("they are interested in enhancing their knowledge of Greek"). Migrants from Middle East and Asia had totally different characteristics due to their different background and expectations. They had little understanding of the value of education and they wanted to leave Greece and move to the more developed countries of the Western Europe ("they are difficult because they want to leave", "they have other qualities compared to the Balkans. Balkans are aware of the value of education").

Secondly, all participants stated that these language classes had an expiration date ("the action had an expiration date"), the total duration was limited ("the duration of the classes was little") and no provision was made for the next day ("it should be taken into consideration the management of the end of these classes"). In fact, the language classes generated expectations on the side of the migrant parents and when they ended it was difficult to explain them the reasons for it ("the project generated expectations and upon its end caused problems", "why-questions arose", "migrants do not consider as an adequate answer the lack of funding").

Lastly, the need for specialized language material and different teaching approaches came up. For instance, the transition from kindergarten to primary school and to the secondary education calls for differentiated material because the relationship between the school and the family and the language needs alter and vary ("as the school level progress, what is called school-family cooperation lays "somewhere else"). At this point it is useful to mention that the participants expressed their positive views towards the teaching of the Greek alphabet based on the similarities/differences between the Greek and the Latin alphabet ("Now I know how to read/pronounce the letters correctly"). In addition, new topics arise, such as the management of teenage worries and expectations ("if the school wanted to keep in touch with the parents, it should deal with the major topic of students in their teens", "students in their teens trouble classroom, frustrate parents"). Furthermore, there is a need to adapt language teaching and material to migrants' everyday language practice and topics that are meaningful to them. It was stressed by all participants that parents should actively engage in language class design, so as these classes to meet their expectations and take into consideration any cultural, language and religious issues.

4.6 Limitations

A number of limitations of the present study are noteworthy. Firstly, the fact that we did not investigate directly the views of migrant parents prevented us from reaching safer conclusions and secondly, the small sample of the school actors who participated in the focus group discussion did not enable us to gain more insights regarding the role and beliefs of educators.

5 Conclusions

To sum up, our analysis aimed at demonstrating the beneficial role of migrant parental involvement in their children academic performance. Toward this goal, we analysed the evaluation reports that indirectly manifested parents' views and carried out a focus group discussion with educators who have worked with migrant parents. Our results indicate the positive beliefs hold by migrant parents and the positive effect of Greek language classes on migrant parents' ability to familiarize themselves with the Greek school function. Nevertheless, certain limitations apply, mainly the indirect way to document migrant parents' positioning with regard to their participation in their children's schooling.

Appendicies

Appendix 1: Glossary for the Kindergarten (Sample)

B		
Entry	level	explanations
Medical booklet	A	The medical booklet is an official small-sized book which is given to the doctor in order to document any illness and to prescribe any drugs taken
	B	The medical booklet is the official small-sized book which is given to the doctor in order to document the illness a patient is suffering from and to prescribe the medical treatment which should be followed

Appendix 2: Glossary for the Senior High School (Sample)

E		
Entry	Level	Explanations
Specialty of the vocational senior high school	A	In the vocational senior high schools, students choose a specialty they are fond of. In other words, they choose if they will become electricians, plumbers or if they will follow any other occupation
	B	In the vocational senior high schools, students are obliged to choose the specialty they wish to follow. In other words, students express their interest in a specific occupation

Appendix 3: Corpus of Administrative Documents (Sample)

HELLENIC REPUBLIC
MINISTRY   OF   NATIONAL
EDUCATION   AND   RELIGIOUS
AFFAIRS
NORTH   AEGEAN   REGIONAL
DIRECTORATE OF PRIMARY AND
SECONDARY EDUCATION
CHIOS DIRECTORATE
OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

_____/Seats PRIMARY
SCHOOL
Postal   Address

_____
Information: _____
Telephone : _____

200__
Registry No: _____

To the Principal of the …….../Seats Primary
School

_____

Street_____No_____
Postal Box _____ Town/City
: _____

Service Note

I hereby request the registration in your School of the student……………………… attending the
………….. grade of our School. Via inter service route we will forward the Transfer Document,
his/her Grades Document and his/her Individual Medical Report.

The Principal

Appendix 4: FAQ Regarding the Greek Educational System (Sample)

- Is education in Greece compulsory?

It is essential to know that education in Greece is divided into compulsory (from Kindergarten to Junior High School) and non-compulsory one (all forms of education from Junior High School onwards). This practically means that all children between 5 and 15 years old attend school.

- Is there an education alternative for children below the age of 5 years old?

There are education alternatives for the pre-school age. Nursery schools can register children from the age of 2,5 years old. These schools can be private (where parents pay the tuition fees), public (run by the State) and municipal (run by the City Authorities).

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Greek-Spanish Community: The Maintenance of the Spanish Language in Mixed Families

Anastasia-Olga Tzirides

Abstract The present chapter focuses on the language maintenance of Spanish in the context of Greek-Spanish families. It explores the thoughts, perceptions and attitudes of Spanish parents of Greek-Spanish families, regarding their language and their bilingualism, the language ability and use of Spanish in the family, as well as the use of any reinforcement practices of Spanish. To study these issues, qualitative research was conducted, using semi-structured interviews that were administered to seven Greek-Spanish families living in Thessaloniki, Greece. In general, language shift towards Greek was observed, due to the fact that the practices and efforts to reinforce Spanish become weaker over the years.

Keywords Language maintenance · Family language policy · Greek-Spanish families · Language communities · Bilingualism

1   Introduction

This chapter focuses on the maintenance of the Spanish language in mixed marriage families in the Greek-Spanish community in the city of Thessaloniki, Greece. Due to increased immigration and, consequently, the dissemination of multilingualism, the study of mixed families (i.e. consisting of couples with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds) is a question that not only concerns the social sciences, but also public opinion. In addition, it is generally known that Spanish is a prestigious language and spread worldwide, since it ranks as the second most spoken native language in the world, after Chinese mandarin (Fernandez Vitores 2014: 5). Also, if we include speakers who use Spanish as a foreign language then the number of Spanish speakers worldwide exceeds 548 million (Fernandez Vitores 2014: 5). It is, therefore, easily understood why this language is being studied. The different

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approach to the language in our research is that we have studied it in a context where the Greek language is dominant and Spanish has no direct utilitarian value. Thus, it is interesting to study this language as a mother tongue in such an environment.

Consequently, in this research, we aim to explore the thoughts, perceptions and attitudes of parents in Greek-Spanish families, regarding their language and bilingualism, linguistic competences and the use of Spanish in the family. Additionally, we examine whether parents use any practices to reinforce Spanish within the family and what these practices are. Through all this, we intend to point out the general tendency of maintenance or shift of the Spanish language in Greek-Spanish families in Greece.

2   Theoretical Framework

In order to conduct the research, it was necessary to study a series of concepts that constitute its basis. Thus, we examined the pluralistic definition of bilingualism/multilingualism (see Table 3, at the end of this chapter) and its different types. We also define the terms of bilingualism and diglossia (see Table 1).

We also focus on the definition of the two languages of the individual (strong and weak language, first and second language, foreign language) (Table 2).

Furthermore, we analyzed the issue of language maintenance or shift and the factors that influence it. According to Myers-Scotton (2002, as cited in Tsokalidou 2012: 70), language maintenance can be defined as maintenance of the ethnic language from generation to generation. Similarly, Pauwels (2004: 719) and Sella-Mazi (2001: 95) state that it is the condition in which a speaker, a group of speakers or a community of speakers continues to use his/her language in some or all areas of life, despite competition with the dominant language, which tends to be the main or only language.

Finally, we focus on language policies and, especially, the family language policies, which are associated with linguistic practices, ideologies and beliefs about language and planning or management of a language (Spolsky 2004: 5) by the members of a family.

Moreover, it was important to examine the context of our research. Particularly, we studied the diachronic relations (political, economic, cultural, etc.) between the two countries (Greece, Spain), the dissemination of Spanish in today's world and

Table 1 Definition of Bilingualism versus Diglossia

Bilingualism vs Diglossia	
Bilingualism	Diglossia
The person's ability to use more than one language (Baker 2001: 89)	The coexistence and use of different varieties of the same language (Ferguson, 1959 as cited in Baker 2001: 89; Calvet 1999: 43–44; Papapavlou 1997: 35; Sella-Mazi 2001: 85; Tsokalidou 2012: 31)

Table 2 Definitions of the two languages of the individual

The two languages of the individual	
Strong language	Weak language
It has numerical, political, and economic superiority over other languages in the wider context or the family context (Tsokalidou 2012: 69).	It is used by the numerical and socio-politically weak groups of a country, and it does not have any official power (Tsokalidou 2012: 69).
First language	Second language
We learn it first or we use it more or it is more powerful (Baker 2001: 62)	The one that we learn when the development of the first language has already started or the one that is used less (Tsokalidou 2012: 26; Baker 2001: 62)
Foreign language	
The one that we learn without being a part of our daily communication or of our wider environment (Mpella, 2007, as cited in Tsokalidou 2012: 27).	

Table 3 Definitions of Bilingualism

Definitions of Bilingualism	
Bloomfield (1933)	Speaking two or more languages at a "perfect" level; the bilingual person is like native speaker (as cited in Tsokalidou 2012: 20–21; Skourtou 2011: 79; Baker 2001: 50)
Weinreich (1953)	The alternate use of two languages by a single person (as cited in Skourtou 2011: 80)
Haugen (1956)	The person's ability to produce well-formed meaningful utterances in two or more languages (as cited in Tsokalidou 2012: 21)
Diebold (1964)	Originally bilingual: each person who uses a second language, even with minimal adequacy (as cited in Baker 2001: 50)
Macnamara (1970)	The ability, even limited, in one of the four language skills (i.e. listening, speaking, reading, writing) in two or more languages (as cited in Tsokalidou 2012: 21)
Brutt-Griffler & Varghese (2004)	The intermediate continuous linguistic area, consisting of languages, but also a mixture of cultures and perspectives (as cited in Tsokalidou 2012: 22)

especially in Greece and, finally, the relations between the Greek and Spanish language, featuring their proximity (Table 3).

3   Methodological Context

The main and broad question of this research is if Spanish is maintained over the years – from one generation to another – in non-Spanish language environments. Thus, through this study we aim to indicate the tendency of maintenance or the shift

Chart 1 Sample of the research in comparison with the target population of the region
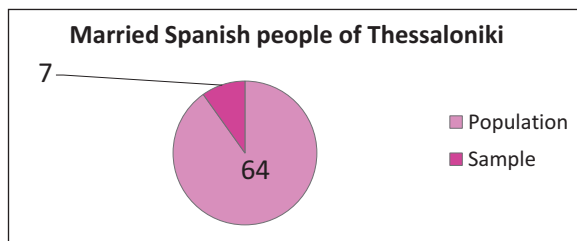
of the Spanish language towards Greek. To meet this aim, we examined the following questions which formed the basis of our research:

- Is the Spanish language maintained within the family in a Greek language environment?
- Do the relations with the country of origin (Spain) remain strong?
- At which level are the Spanish language skills of the children developed?
- Which are the fields of language use?
- Do the relations between the two countries and the two languages affect the maintenance of Spanish?
- What attitudes do parents have towards the Spanish language and its maintenance?
- What are the parents' attitudes toward bilingualism?
- What practices do parents use to reinforce and, therefore, maintain Spanish within the family?

To conduct our survey, we chose the qualitative method and, as a research tool, we used semi-structured interviews (Nils and Rime 2003: 173). The interviews that we conducted were recorded and then transcribed, so that we could analyze them. Regarding the sample, our survey included 7 Greek-Spanish families residing in the city of Thessaloniki (see Chart 1).

This number is considered satisfactory (nearly 11% of the married Spanish in the region), because according to the Hellenic Statistical Authority,[1] in the region of Central Macedonia, the population of Spanish residents in 2011 is only 155, of which 64 are married, 42 are women and 22 are men.

4   Data Analysis

Thematic content analysis was conducted by using the data collected from the interviews. As a result, the data was grouped into various categories, using the common theme (thematic axis) Thus, the thematic points of our research are the following:

A. Selection and use of Spanish – Fields of language use
B. Children's language skills in Spanish

[1] http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/PAGE-cencus2011tables

C. Reinforcement practices of Spanish in the family
D. Existence and maintenance of the relations with the country of origin and its culture
E. Importance and value of Spanish
F. Attitudes toward the relations between Greece and Spain
G. Attitudes toward bilingualism

As a consequence, we created thematic categories for each axis based on the interview data in order to answer the questions of the research and meet its objectives. It is important to mention that the categories emerged from the data itself; they were not determined in advance by the author (Guardado 2002: 351). Similarly, the significant elements were classified allowing us to export general conclusions on the subject of our research.

5 Findings

Subsequently, the findings of the research are presented briefly according to the aforementioned thematic points. The extracts used to justify the results are translations of the same extracts of the interviews in Greek.

5.1 Selection and Use of Spanish: Fields of Language Use

5.1.1 Dominant Language of the Family

Most families (5 out of 7) choose Greek as main language of communication at home. Two families used Spanish as their main language when the children were younger. Then, one of them chose Greek as main language and the other one used both. Finally, one single family used both languages since the birth of their children until this date (see Charts 2 and 3).

Chart 2 Dominant language between family members. Before refers to the time when the children were toddlers

Dominant language of the family - <u>Before</u>

Both 14%

Spanish 29%

Greek 57%

**Dominant language of the
family - Now**
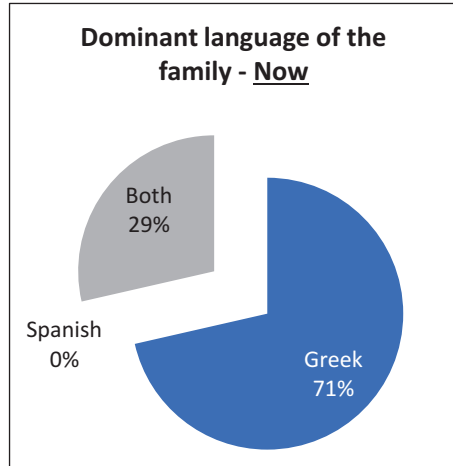
Both
29%

Spanish
0%

Greek
71%

Language of the spouses

Both
29%
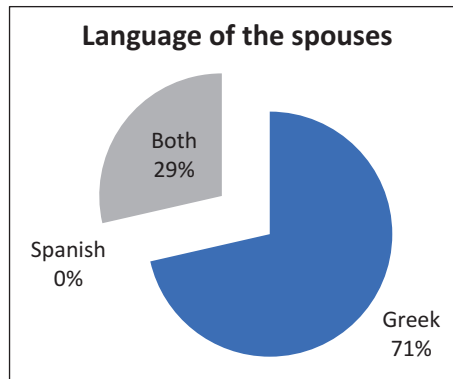
Spanish
0%

Greek
71%

5.1.2 Language of the Spouses

The language chosen by the couple is Greek at the rate of 71% (5 of 7 families). The
other two couples use both languages (Greek and Spanish) (see Chart 4).

5.1.3 Language Between Parents and Children

Most parents speak with their children in their native language until the children
develop a sufficient level in each language (see Chart 5). Thus, as the children grow
either they use both languages or, more often, they tend to use Greek (see Chart 6).
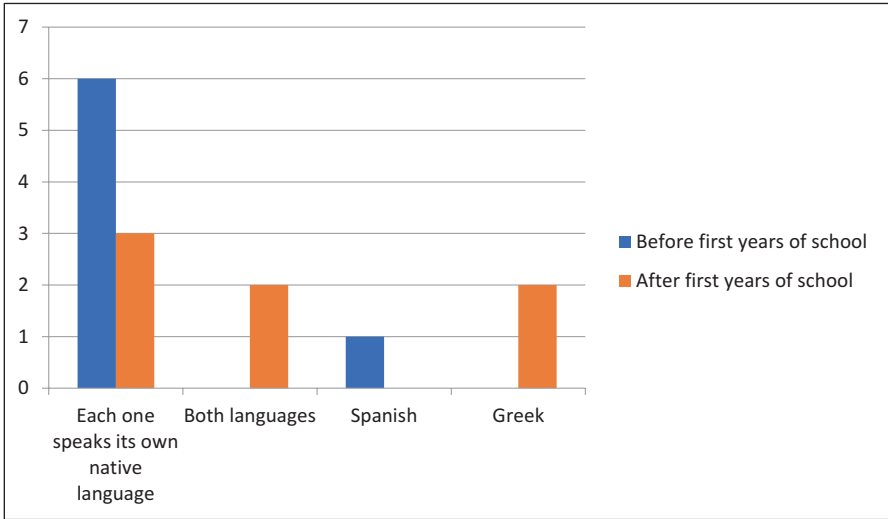
Chart 5 Language used by parents to communicate with their children. There is a distinction between language use before and after the first school years
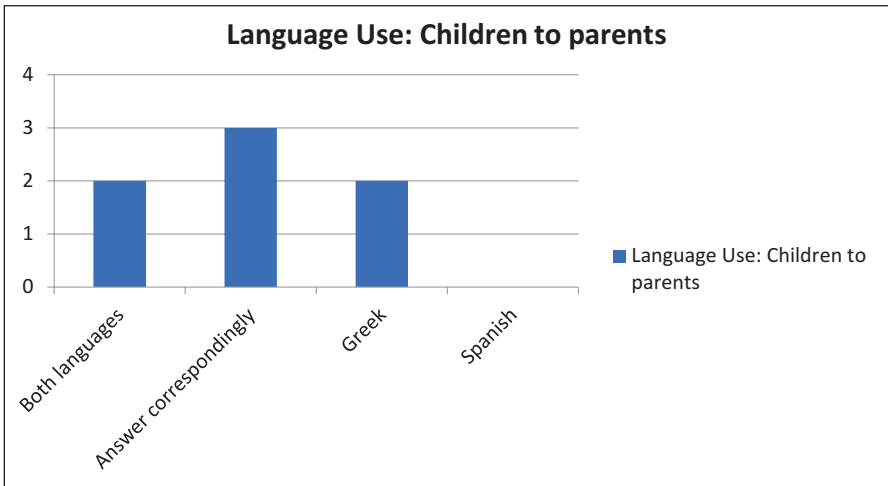
Chart 6 Language used by children to communicate with their parents

5.1.4   Language Among Children

In most cases, the choice of language depends on the country where the children are, so generally, they follow the language of the environment (see Chart 7).

Language use among children
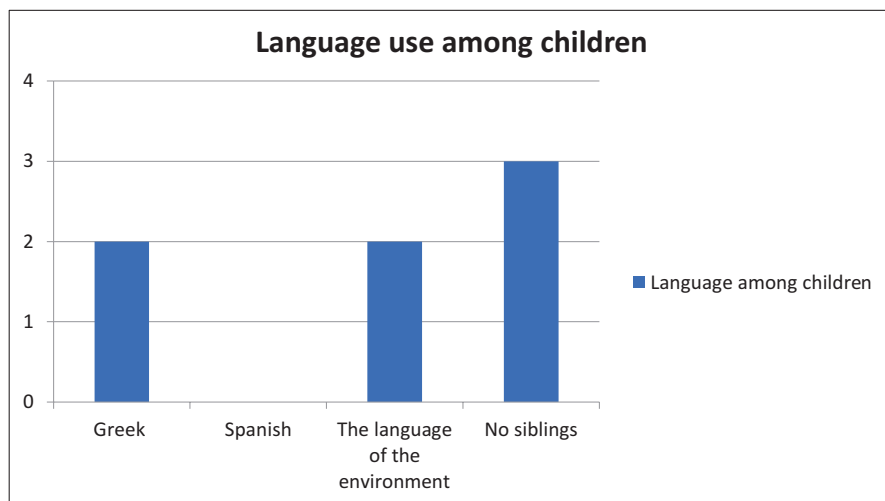
Chart 7 Language used by children to communicate among them

5.1.5 Other Fields of Use of Spanish

Spanish is often used when parents or children do not want to be understood by those around them, such as a mother says: *"(...) but when they did not want to be understood by others, they used Spanish and the same thing was also happening in Spain, they were speaking in Spanish and when they did not want to be understood, they spoke in Greek"*. In all families, the Spanish language is used at work, provided that it is a basic tool of the profession either of the parents or their children. In addition, Spanish is the language used with the family members and friends abroad, but also with the Spanish-speaking friends in Greece.

5.2 Language Skills of the Children in Spanish

According to parents, Greek is the most developed language by their children. However, the older children and adults in 3 out of 7 families develop Spanish at a high level. They use both languages almost at the same level, with a slight weakness in Spanish vocabulary. On the other hand, the younger children use Spanish at a sufficient level, but they are rather weak at writing (production and comprehension).

Below we give two examples of what parents said:

- *"(...) They have a normal development in grammar, that is to say they now use passive voice, subjunctive. I correct them when they speak, but there is a lack of vocabulary. (...) at this moment, they cannot discuss issues with the same ease as in Greek "*

- *"(...) She began with both languages, I think. (...). The truth is that the first words are common in both languages, mom, 'baba', papa. (...) Spanish is on an oral level, because I have not taught her to write in Spanish, Greek is on a better level, as it's written and oral and certainly it is on a higher level in vocabulary"*

5.3   Reinforcement Practices of Spanish in the Family

Firstly, it is important to mention that most parents try to reinforce Spanish as long as their children are still in kindergarten or at the beginning of the primary school. Then, as their children acquire a satisfactory level in the language, *"they relax",* as a mother told us. Nevertheless, the practices, which the parents used or still use in order to reinforce Spanish in the family, are various:

- *Visiting Spain so that the children practice Spanish in its natural context.*
- *Contact with family and friends living in Spain (or Greece) using various means of communication (phone, facebook, whatsapp, etc.)*
- *Insistence on the use of language*: All Spanish mothers stated that they, themselves, but also their spouses in two cases, spoke Spanish constantly with their children when they were little, so that they learn and develop the language naturally, as a mother tongue.*"(...) So, I use the Spanish language in a very natural way, as my mother used it with me"*
- *Reading books and fairy tales in Spanish*
- *Watching films (at home or at the cinema), television and theater* are other practices that all parents use to reinforce the target language
- *Spanish music and songs*
- *Spanish language courses:* Only 3 out of 7 families chose the language courses as a practice to reinforce Spanish, provided that they had this opportunity offered by the Greek-Spanish union, as one of the mothers said: *"then we started the union, we offered the courses, but the children already spoke Spanish. "*
- *Educational games in Spanish:* "I had games with letters, with which children were learning words and their handwriting in Spanish, like puzzles. They had several things with a Spanish element"
- *Groups of children of the Greek-Spanish families for the improvement of the language:* An interesting practice is the creation of a "baby group", as they call it. The mothers of preschool and school age children gather, so that their children can meet and interact with each other, but, above all, the goal of the group is to practice Spanish.

5.4   Existence and Maintenance of the Relations with the Country of Origin (Spain) and Its Culture

All the participants of our research expressed their intention to maintain relations with Spain and also maintaining the Spanish element in Greece and in their families. To achieve this, they used several methods.

Firstly, in order to maintain bonds with their country, the main ways are the relations with Spanish-speaking friends and family (in Spain or in Greece), but also the trips to Spain. One mother told us that: *"the contact is not lost and thanks to the trips which they made when they were young, they are very attached to their cousins there and to the family in general, so they talk with them every day or very often».* Regarding the relations with Spanish-speaking friends, it is remarkable that the situation was a little more complicated because over the years it was quite difficult for the participants to keep in touch with their friends in Spain. For example, this is what another mother stated: *"I cannot say that I've kept a lot of contacts, especially, because they were lost before. When I arrived because, I think, there was no internet, the phones (the phone calls) were expensive, so the only thing left was to write a letter by hand. And gradually, because of the work, because of the distance, I don't know, we lost contact since the beginning".* However, there are many participants who still have friends in Spain, which helps them maintain bonds with their country: *"Yes, I keep a friendship; with my best friend, we are friends 45 years and with my colleagues from the Ministry I still maintain friendships, so this is a door that is not closed and it will never be shut (…)".*

Secondly, concerning the maintenance of the Spanish presence in Greece, the Spanish community of Thessaloniki has weakened. During the 1990s and until 2007, it was more organized. As a participant says: *"We did a lot of things. Even our own children had attended Spanish lessons, we continued our celebrations, we met regularly, we had a big library, with books mainly in Spanish, some in Greek, a library to lend books, there was, therefore, a very lively existence of the Spanish element (…). A dynamic community with our food, our dances, we had dance classes, seminars, with the language, the culture, with exhibitions, conferences, there was too much – too much work, and we had very good results. ".*

Nowadays, there there has been an attempt to revive the Spanish element in the city, thanks to the cooperation of 2–3 community clubs. However, participation is not very large, because, as the younger participants of our study (4 out of 7 families) told us, they are not interested in clubs and the Spanish community, for various reasons, although they have contacts with Spanish-speaking people in Thessaloniki: *"I know that there is a club, at the beginning I went there, it didn't happen to go again and I don't have many contacts (…) I have a good relationship with the Spanish who are here, but I have no relationship with the Spanish community in Thessaloniki".*

5.5   Importance and Value of Spanish

This thematic axis is divided into three categories: (1). Attitudes toward the *maintenance* of the Spanish language, (2). Attitudes toward *the Spanish language*, (3). Attitudes toward the Spanish language *in the Greek environment*.

5.5.1   Attitudes Toward the Maintenance of Spanish

The maintenance of Spanish is the main objective for the participants. It is considered as something positive, because it offers them a lot: *"certainly, I think that having a second language in home is a treasure»*, as something natural, given that it is their native language: *"it seems very normal, very familiar"*, but at the same time, as something essential for the family: *"(…) it was a family need"*, *"(…) the child must learn the language of the grandparents. I think that it is needed"*. That is why a number of participants (2 mothers) say they want to continue the maintenance of the language to future generations.

5.5.2   Attitudes Toward Spanish

For the Spanish participants of our research, Spanish is *"their own language"*, as almost all of them told us, indicating the emotional value that the language has for them. Spanish is considered to be *a part of themselves*, *the main way of expression* and also *what unites them with their country*: *"These are my roots and I want to keep these roots"*, *"For me, it is something given, it is my language, the end (…) I can express myself much better in Spanish, something that satisfies me a lot "*.

Moreover, according to participants, Spanish has a utilitarian value because it is a primary *communication tool globally*, since it is one of the most spoken languages in the world: *"I can communicate with millions of people, about 420, who officially speak Spanish, so it's a very good tool "*. Furthermore, they think that Spanish is useful as a *fundamental professional tool*: *"Currently in Greece, for several years, it helps me to work, so, again, if we take a look at the economic aspect, it is a great tool for me and my family "*.

5.5.3   Attitudes Toward Spanish in Greece

Concerning the value, the position and the vision of the Spanish language and culture in Greece, according to our participants, two completely different views were noticed. On one hand, the majority (5 out of 7 families) believes that the Spanish language and culture and in general Spain, as a country, are treated in a very positive way by Greek people: *"It is a very endearing language. When the Greeks hear Spanish, they rejoice, because for them it is like Italian. Perhaps because they are considered Mediterranean people, and it's a little closer. Spanish is nice for them"*. On the other hand, the other part of the sample (3 families out of 7) thinks that it is an uninteresting language, without any utility for the Greeks, which is confirmed by the position of Spanish in Greek schools, where it is almost non-existent: *"The Spanish language in Greece has no great value, at first it does not exist in schools, although there were attempts, they are not fundamental"*.

5.6   Attitudes Toward the Relations Between Greece and Spain

In this thematic axis, we can distinguish two categories: (1). Attitudes concerning the similarities between cultures and languages of both countries, (2). Relations between the two countries (language-culture similarities) as a factor of language maintenance.

5.6.1   Attitudes Concerning the Similarities Between Cultures and Languages of Both Countries

Almost all participants admitted that there are similarities between the people, cultures and languages of the two countries (Spain and Greece): *"We should not forget that in Spain the Greeks were present for several years, we have many monuments there. We are therefore bound, art and many Greek authors deal with Spain (…), so we have many common elements that bring us together. Not only the language"*, *"I think we have the same approach (*regarding the languages*) in principle. About grammatical tenses, and for many things, pronunciation is the same and this helps a lot"*, *"As we're both people of Mediterranean, we have much in common, for everything, in humor, in our relationships with friends, relations with family, the perception of various things. I think that we have many things in common"*.

However, Greece and Spain are two different countries, so differences also exist, as a Greek participant said: *"There is no connection between Greece and Spain as people (…) only the marriage of Sophie with the king (…) that is to say, in fact, that even if we are very close, this relationship is not developed (…) While the relationship with other people who are here have been developed.. with the Italians and Germans one can say"*.

5.6.2   The Relations Between the Two Countries (Language-Culture Similarities) as a Factor of Language Maintenance

The opinions of our sample for this category are divided into two. On the one hand, the majority of our participants (4 out of 7 families – 57%) believe that the similarities between the two countries are a factor which does not influence the maintenance of Spanish and, in some cases, it is considered a negative element: *" I do not know if this (the relations) helped, but if I lived in Germany for example, I think that I would speak Spanish with my child. It did not play a role"*, *"For my children, I can say that it was an obstacle (…) Yes, because they are very similar to the point that you do not understand what you say"*. On the other hand, there are two participants who believe that the relations between the two countries can play a role in the maintenance of the language, as it can make them feel comfortable and the language can be reinforced: *"This is to say that a Greek who goes to Spain feels very comfortable and a Spanish in Greece feels very familiar (…) Of course – of course, it helps (…) I believe that these similarities play a role"*.

5.7   Attitudes Toward Bilingualism

The participants of the research are positive toward bilingualism. When they think of their own case of bilingualism and their children's, the provoked feelings are joy, pleasure and contentment. In particular, they admit that this is a very important privilege, which can offer only advantages: *"whatever the language, even if you think it is the most useless language in the world, it will always offer you something, it will open you a "door", I think that language is everything"*.

Regarding the advantages of bilingualism that our participants noted, it is possible to divide them into four subcategories. First, there are the cognitive benefits, which concern the knowledge of the children and their way of learning either a foreign language or in general, which is easier for bilingual children, as their parents stated: *"I do not know if my children were born very smart or the fact that they are bilingual has helped them to have a different perception, since they do not struggle a lot to understand the courses and do their homework for school", "privileged children. Because I think their brain works differently after (...) Firstly, the third language comes too easily to them, and when you have such an ease with languages, you are at least privileged "*.

Further, parents find that bilingualism is an asset for their children, since it offers them an additional and significant feature for their professional profile without effort. At the same time, bilingualism can also be an essential tool to find a job, to acquire better remuneration and, therefore, a better standard of living: *"Today, foreign languages play a very important role. They (the children) have an extra language in their CVs, without schools, without suffering, without exercises"*.

Moreover, there are the cultural benefits. According to parents, bilingualism offers the knowledge of another language, but also the knowledge of a different culture, of a different mentality, which expands minds and provides skills to communicate with more people around the world: *"On the other hand, it opens the horizons of people. Because via Spanish, they know a culture », «(...) They can communicate with 500 million people, I think that this is a very important heritage"*.

Finally, it is important to note that bilingualism contributes to the development of character and broadens the mind. Precisely, it is believed that it makes the person able to confront reality in a different way: *"She/he learns two ways of thinking, two modes of behavior, two modes of confronting life, things (...) this allows living, experiencing two cultures and it can perhaps help to be more open in accepting what is different"*.

6   Conclusion

In conclusion, this research has shown that parents are positive about bilingualism, something that is in line with the research findings of (a) Lutz (2008: 37, 58) and of Pease-Alvarez (1993: 16), who agree that bilingualism is considered as ideal and as something positive by parents, and (b) Guardado (2002: 360) who highlights the

economic benefits of bilingualism. Thus, parents defend the maintenance of Spanish, considering it natural and essential for their families (Guardado (2002: 360).

Therefore, parents apply various practices so as to promote bilingualism in their family. These practices do not differ a lot from the strategies that have already been mentioned in the survey of Bayley et al. (1996: 389, 405) such as the use of the Spanish language in family interactions and the insistence of parents that this is carried out, the close links with monolingual Spanish-speaking relatives and the visits to the country of origin. In addition to these, in our study parents point out strongly the use of various tools, like Spanish books and fairy tales, Spanish songs, games and movies, especially with the preschool and school age children, but also they mention that taking some Spanish language courses is beneficial for their children.

Furthermore, the Spanish language is considered by our participants as part of their identity and as an important means of expression and communication, which is consistent with the results of the research of Sanchez-Castro and Gil (2009: 44), while it is also highlights the historical significance and value of the language for people who leave their country of origin.

Regarding the relations between the two countries, Spain and Greece and how they contribute to the language maintenance, it is evident from the findings that the majority of participants support the existence of similarities between the cultural and linguistic elements of those two countries. However, considering whether these similarities promote the maintenance of Spanish within the family, most participants believe that there is no influence. Moreover, some state that linguistic and cultural similarities may affect language maintenance negatively, confirming Clyne's view (1991, as cited by Sella-Mazi 2001: 97), according to which language shift is more frequent on similar languages. On the other hand, a small proportion (28.5%) of our sample supports the view that the similarities work as a positive factor, stating that the effect takes place subconsciously. In general, these aspects confirm what it is mentioned by Conklin & Lourie (1983, as cited by Sella-Mazi 2001: 97) according to which the degree of similarity of the two languages affects language maintenance or shift.

As far as our study is considered as a whole, at the moment that the research was conducted (2014), a partial maintenance of the Spanish language is observed, especially in families having older children. Nevertheless, we observe an overall tendency of language shift toward the Greek language, since practices and efforts aiming at reinforcing Spanish get weaker over the years, despite the general willingness of parents to support and maintain the target language.

To achieve the desired result, it is suggested that parents do not abandon the efforts and practices to reinforce Spanish in the family when they notice that the children develop, according to them, a basic competence in the target language. A basic level is not a criterion that a language will be maintained, nor evidence that the children will continue to use it as well or even better. Another proposal to contribute to the objective is the maintenance of contacts with the Spanish community in the place of residence, in order to cultivate a love for the Spanish language and culture in the children. At the same time, through contacts and relations with Spanish-speaking people, the language acquires a utilitarian value. Consequently, from an

early age, children notice that Spanish is a tool to communicate and build relationships with other children who have the same country of origin and, as a result, the desire to learn and preserve this language is cultivated.

Finally, through our research, several new questions have emerged concerning the maintenance of Spanish and it would be good to study them in the future. Below we are presenting some suggestions for further research on this subject:

• Research of similar issues, but by using a combination of methodological tools (interviews and observation), mainly for the study of language skills of children and parents in Spanish and Greek, in order to examine precisely and in depth whether the language is maintained and to what extent.
• Research of similar issues, but with a sample from another region of Greece or abroad, for example Athens, or Cyprus or the Balkans in order to compare results.
• Research on the attitudes of the second-generation Spanish people towards language maintenance.
• Following up research on the maintenance of the Spanish language in the Greek-Spanish community of Thessaloniki a few years in order to observe language maintenance in the future generations and to compare results.
• Research on the preservation of the Spanish element in Greece by the Spanish consulate.

By studying these questions, we aim at continuing our research and also understanding and exploring the field of language maintenance more and in depth. As a result, we hope to contribute to the dissemination of multilingualism at a national and a global level.

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Part II
Muslim Students and Minority Schools

The Project on the Education of Muslim Minority Children in Thrace, Greece: Stimulating the Educational Process and Enhancing Collaborative Practices

Thalia Dragonas and Anna Frangoudaki

Abstract The present chapter presents a long-term educational intervention, aimed at increasing the social inclusion of Muslim minority children in the Greek province of Thrace, by reversing trends in massive underachievement and high dropout levels from 9-year compulsory education. It is a systemic approach, targeting teaching of Greek as a second language, the development of education materials, training of teachers, introduction of transformative pedagogy principles, creation of informal education structures, such as community centres and mobile units, Greek classes for parents, and work with the community as a whole. The historical and socio-political context within which the intervention takes place is presented, in view of highlighting how the conflicts of the past pervade the classrooms of the present. Difficulties encountered are discussed, and changes achieved are indicated in quantitative and qualitative terms.

Keywords Muslim minority · Educational intervention · Community centres · Empowerment of identities

1 Introduction

Greek society has been, since the end of WW2 and until the 1990s, relatively homogeneous. After forced exchanges of populations, the Nazi's extermination of the entire Jewish population of Northern Greece, and the persecution of minorities during the cold war,[1] the relatively high homogeneity provided rich soil for the

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[1] The wars between Greece and the Ottoman Empire, and then Turkey and the neighboring Balkan countries were followed by a forced exchange of populations in the 1920s and 1930s which moved much of the Turkish and Slav population beyond the Greek borders. Similarly, the Chams (Muslim Albanian-speaking populations), and, in 1949, the Slavo-Macedonians, were subject to persecution.

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establishment of the myth that Greece is a culturally uniform society. The Greek educational system has, accordingly, been mono-cultural, extremely centralized and uniform, highly ethnocentric and geared towards the development of national consciousness rather than the cultivation of critical thinking.

The large influx of immigrants into Greece in the 1990's, increasing the population by 10%, came as a shock both to the society and to the Greek school. Multiculturalism was placed on the public agenda, stimulating growing debates on difference and identities, while fueling racist and nationalist discourses and practices. This is by no means an exclusively Greek phenomenon. Racism, intolerance, anti-Semitism and xenophobia persist, at both personal and institutional levels, in more or less virulent forms, in every single country in Europe.

It is the mid-1990s that mark a shift, as regards the concern over accommodation of ethno-cultural diversity in the Greek school. The rapid increase of students of non-Greek mother tongue, the intensification of Europeanization processes, and the implicit pressure of international organizations towards minority protection challenged pressingly the educational system. Among the various institutional measures introduced, some proved to be more successful than others. In 1997, three large-scale educational projects were launched, funded largely by the European Social Fund, catering for the educational needs of three different groups of students: repatriated and foreigners, Roma, and those belonging to the Muslim minority in Thrace. The overall aim, for all three projects, was to reduce dropout from compulsory education; develop an intercultural dimension within the educational system; provide students with the opportunity to benefit from education, and enhance their social inclusion while maintaining their cultural characteristics.

The present chapter will tell the story of the project that is responsible for the education of the Muslim minority children in Thrace. We will first provide the socio-historical context within which the intervention takes place; we will continue by describing the various dimensions of the intervention as such; and we will end by discussing the difficulties encountered, and the changes achieved by providing quantitative and qualitative data.

2   The Socio-historical Context

In order to appreciate the complexity of the intervention, one has to understand how the Muslim minority came about, the historical and political background responsible for the clash between the majority and the minority, the underlying matrix of Greek-Turkish relations, and the articulation of religious identity with ethnic and national affiliation (Tsitselikis 2012). We will attempt to sketch briefly the above intricate nexus of these problems.

The Muslims of Thrace are a historical minority resulting from a Convention and a Protocol signed at the Lausanne Peace Conference in 1923, following the 1919–22 Greek-Turkish War. The Treaty of Lausanne stipulated the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, whereby Greek Orthodox living in Turkish territories were exchanged with the Muslims living on Greek soil. For reasons that are not the scope of the present chapter, the same Treaty catered for an exception and defined those to be excluded from the exchange: 130,000 Orthodox Greeks established in Istanbul, and about the same number of Muslims living in the Greek province of Western Thrace. Both population groups found themselves to be 'foreigners' in a re-defined homeland. There are still today Muslims in Thrace who lament that nobody asked them whether they wanted to leave along with their brothers or stay in Thrace.

It is owing to the millet system, categorizing the various population groups of the Ottoman Empire according to their religion, that the non-exchanged populations were defined according to their religious and not their ethnic identity. Hence religion can be freely practiced, while Turkish ethnic identity is not recognized. Moreover, the Treaty lumped together diverse Muslim groups living in Thrace – Turks, Pomaks and Roma. All they had in common was their faith, but they spoke different languages, had different traditions, customs and allegiances. This diversity within the Muslim minority is a controversial issue that is being used in political manoeuvrings, by all stakeholders.

In the years that elapsed from the Lausanne Treaty, the fate of both minorities was sealed by the historical Greco-Turkish conflict, and the nationalist ideals epitomizing the nation-building processes that followed the break-up of the Ottoman Empire. Up until very recently, Greece and Turkey have shared the ideal of a homogeneous nation-state, in which minorities have no place. The dominant paradigm has been undermining the concept of citizenship.

The Treaty oversaw the protection of the rights of these two minorities based on a reciprocity principle.[2] Yet, neither the principle of protection, nor that of reciprocity proved to be viable. The two minorities were caught in the clash between Greece and Turkey, and were used as means of pressure, or directly victims of reprisals. Both were exposed to considerable duress, such as restrictive and discriminatory policies, coercive emigration or, even worse in the case of Greeks in Turkey, large-scale deportation (Alexandris 1992; Oran 2003). As Tsitselikis phrases it, "reciprocal maltreatment began as soon as legal protection was set up" (2008: 75). We do not wish to delve into the considerable historiography relevant to this complex matter, nor account for the abuses that took place in varying degrees in both countries. What we are interested in is to show how the conflicts of the past have pervaded the classroom of the present.

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[2] Articles 37 to 45, http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne

2.1 Social and Economic Marginalization

Historical developments and political pressures prevented the minority from participating in the socio-economic changes of the Greek society, which were particularly rapid in the 1970s and 1980s. They were excluded from the benefits of development and remained in a disadvantageous, marginal position.

The most significant consequence of socio-economic deprivation is mirrored by the social structure of the minority. As revealed from a survey conducted at the onset of the project presented here, 42% of the economically active minority are manual workers, and 47% are agricultural labourers, while the national mean is of 18%. In other words, almost 90% of the minority belongs to the two lower social strata (Askouni 2006). In sum, compared to the rest of the Greek population, the minority suffers profound inequalities: it is far more economically deprived, and far less educated than the former.

The greater part of the minority lives in segregated communities. Out of the almost 500 settlements in Thrace, only 12% have a mixed population, while the rest are divided almost equally into homogenous majority and minority geographical units.

The minority, being agrarian and poor, has remained deeply traditional, mainly based on patriarchy and religious practice. Society in Thrace has, thus, been divided into first and second-class citizens, for a very long time; a dominant group that could freely exercise power, and a subordinate one, socially, economically and educationally marginalized. The reasons for this sharp division and disregard of human rights are the product of a complex causal nexus. The perception of the minority as Turkey's 'Trojan horse', to quote Heraclides (2001: 300), justifies patriotic rhetoric on the protection of 'national interests', expressing either fear for the threat to the fabric of the Greek nation, or concealing blatant economic exploitation, made possible through lawlessness. Furthermore, as everywhere else in the world, the co-existence of first and second-class citizens has nurtured authoritarian attitudes, has driven the hegemonic group to fiercely defend its status, and fight to maintain the privileges associated with it. It is thus obvious that education is the most important vehicle for fighting social exclusion.

2.2 Education: A Neglected Human Right

Muslim minority children have suffered from poor education for many decades. At the onset of the project in 1997, although there were neither reliable statistics on school attendance or on dropout rates, nor any educational or language competence assessment, it was common knowledge that children were coming out of primary school illiterate in Greek, and functionally illiterate in Turkish, while the dropout rate from 9-year compulsory education was nine times higher to that of children belonging to the majority population. The reasons for this massive underachievement are greatly social and political.

It is the Treaty of Lausanne that regulates education and constitutes the basic charter that gives both the Muslim minority in Thrace and the Greek Orthodox Christian minority in Istanbul the right to establish, manage and control schools at their own expense, in which they may use their own language and freely practice their own religion. In the name of reciprocity once more, education became the battlefield of choice for the two countries.[3]

The way education is designed and delivered is to a great extent related to the trials and tribulations the Muslim minority has experienced. The authoritarian nature of post-civil war Greece, the mounting difficulties between Greece and Turkey, and the Greek dictatorship from 1967 until 1974, have all had a great impact on minority education developments (Iliadis 2004; Aarbakke 2000). For a very long time, the tacit message was that there is no need to educate the minority, since it is better controlled when it remains illiterate.

On the basis of the Treaty of Lausanne and Greco-Turkish Cultural Protocols, minority schools have bilingual curricula and are attended solely by children of the minority. The Turkish language and the supposedly ideologically free mathematics, physics, chemistry, art, physical education, are taught in Turkish (and the Qur'an in Arabic), by teachers who are members of the minority. On the contrary, Greek language and the ideologically laden subjects, such as history, geography, environmental studies and civic education are taught in Greek, by teachers who belong to the majority. Since the Treaty of Lausanne lumped together linguistically diverse subgroups on the basis of their Muslim religion, the Turkish language is taught to all minority children, whether their mother tongue is Turkish or not.

Although bilingual, the minority primary schools are obsolete, segregated institutions, and none of the issues pertaining to current debates on bilingual education seem to interest education policy makers on either side. The school may be bilingual, but in reality, it operates as two parallel monolingual curricula. As Cummins noted, while sitting at a conference on minority education we had organized in Thrace: "Ironically, the Muslim children in Thrace have received bilingual education for the past 70 years, illustrating the fact that language of instruction itself is only surface structure. Coercive power relations can be expressed as effectively through two languages, as through one" (2004: 10).

Greek is the sole language used by the authorities for school administration, and, the inspectors supervising minority education are not expected to know Turkish. The same is true for the teachers who are in charge of the Greek part of the curriculum. Local male teachers have been preferred to female ones for a long time, because they were considered more appropriate for the implementation of this 'delicate and important mission' (Baltsiotis 1997: 344).

Up until 1997, the Greek textbooks used were the same as the ones used all over the country, for native Greek speakers. The educational authorities never thought of this as being a problem capable of impeding children's learning. The Turkish textbooks were, and still are, to be imported from Turkey.

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[3] Articles 40 and 41.

School facilities are quite rudimentary. Greek administration had not implemented any comprehensive policy. The schools have, therefore, long suffered from a lack of standardized education; 46% of the 140 minority primary schools operate with fewer than 20 students each, and in 68% of schools are grouped into two classes, where different age groups are taught together.[4]

Children attend at great percentage these minority primary schools, despite the fact that there is a gradual trend for parents to opt for the state monolingual school. As regards secondary education, they can choose between the only two existing minority secondary schools, and the two religious schools (*medresse*), or the state schools, where again there is no teaching of their mother tongue. Since at the time the Lausanne Treaty there was no preschool, no such provision was secured up until a few years ago and, even then, it was offered only in Greek. Bilingual education at the preschool level is a bone of contention for the minority.

In the eyes of the majority, minority schools have always had negative connotations, whereas for the minority, these are "their schools", where their language and culture can be secured and assimilation can be averted. The gradual trend toward state schools is dreaded by the minority leaders, who fear the loss of the minority's Turkishness. The more the minority supports its own ethnic schools nourishing an identity denied by the greater society, the more the majority calls for their depreciation, fuelling assimilationist aspirations. This creates what Watzlawick et al. (1967) have described as a pathological pattern of escalating complementarity that precludes change.

2.3   Wind of Change

In the early 1990s, Europe witnessed important political transformations as regards minority rights. International standards for the protection of members of minority groups were developed by the Council of Europe, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Greece found itself accused by international organizations for violating minority human rights (Anagnostou 2005). At that time, important transformations took place. After many long years of economic hardship and authoritarian governing, Greece envisaged the end of an extensive and difficult journey towards becoming a democratic European society.

These developments set in motion new policies concerning the Muslim minority, and economic revitalization measures for Western Thrace. Respect for human rights, political equality and substantial legal equality, educational policies against social exclusion, were gradually becoming part of the new agenda. Tolerance towards access to Turkish mass media was adopted; restrictions of movement in zones along the Greek-Bulgarian border, established during the cold war period,

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[4]These figures were much higher up until 2011, when half of the 221 minority primary schools were operating with fewer than 20 students each and 80% of the schools had only two classes.

were lifted. The Greek state began to realize that overt discriminatory measures against the minority were achieving the opposite of the desired effect. They only led to the strengthening of the ties between the minority and its kin-state Turkey.

The wind of change had direct implications for the education of minority children. An important affirmative action measure was taken in 1996, allowing a special 0.5% minority quota to enrol in Greek universities, thus readjusting and absorbing inequalities in the fields of language and social participation *de facto*. Ten years later, another measure was introduced: pilot instruction of Turkish at the secondary level.[5]

The latest development introduced by law in 2013 was the instruction of the Holy Qur'an by Muslim preachers, employed by the state. Minority children in the state school were until then exempted from the religion class for Christian students. The Koranic class is thus delivered separately to minority students in primary and secondary state school. While this measure is towards the direction of respect of students' religious identity, unfortunately is not followed by the instruction of mother tongue.

The educational project, presented here, was also part of this radically new policy against social exclusion and protection of minority cultural rights. As mentioned in the introduction, it was an initiative of the Greek Ministry of Education, funded mainly by the European Social Fund.[6] It started out as a 3-year plan, that was renewed three more times,[7] under nine different Ministers of Education, in five consecutive governments, showing, thus, a long-standing intent of the Greek polity.

3   The Project on the Education of Muslim Minority Children in Thrace

Known by its Greek acronym as PEM, the project, spanning over 18 years, aimed at increasing the social inclusion of minority children, by reversing trends in massive underachievement and high dropout levels from 9-year compulsory education. PEM

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[5] This was a very important measure that did not bear fruit. It was resisted from almost all involved parties. On the one hand, it was implemented very hastily and did not involve the minority neither in the planning phase nor in the implementation. On the other hand, minority hard liners read it as a measure that would jeopardize minority schools. Nationalists, on the majority side, were also resisting it as contaminating the Greek national school. Finally, the Ministry of Education that introduced the measure made no effort to implement it. These policy ambivalences are described later in this chapter.

[6] The Project on the Reform of the Education of Muslim Minority Children was directed by Professors Anna Frangoudaki and Thalia Dragonas; Greek Ministry of Education, Life Long Learning and Religious Affairs; Operational Program in Education and Initial Vocational Training I (1997–2000); II (2002–2004); III (2005–2008); IV (2010–2015) financed by the Greek Ministry of Education and the European Social Fund.

[7] Despite the fact the project is continuing since 1997, in reality, it has been in the field for 13 years since for bureaucratic reasons in-between the three open calls there were long intervals.

is a comprehensive intervention inside and outside the classroom, comprising teaching Greek as a second language, the development of educational materials, extensive teacher training and work with the community. This intervention can be placed in the tradition of action research, challenging discriminations, bridging research and activism in the field of educational policy and pedagogy, ultimately aiming at achieving social change (Abraham and Purkayastha 2012). Rooted in this tradition, that extends the *foci* beyond academia, we aimed at digging deeper in the connection between theory and practice, at expanding participation and collaboration, and at exploring ways to challenge unequal relations of power.

The situation was at great odds, when we first entered the field. A significant shortcoming in the design of the project was the Ministry of Education mandate for changes in only the Greek program of the minority school. This created an asymmetry, that affected both the reform as such, and the attitude of the minority towards the changes. However, the transformation of the minority school as a whole is a much more complex endeavour, involving reconsidering the principles guiding protection of the respective minorities, as well as the pending ratification of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. These developments are not there yet.

Limited access to education has led the minority to social and psychological deprivation, and hence to inability to impact social processes and build autonomy and self-determination. It has also created feelings of incompetence and powerlessness.

To reverse this situation, our intervention was informed by the concept of empowerment, as a process that takes place within the individuals themselves, in relation to others, and as an outcome measured against expected accomplishments (Hur 2006). Empowerment does not involve the minority group exclusively, but the majority one as well, and entails dissociating from the notion of zero-sum dynamics. We were guided by the basic principles that have been associated with empowerment theory, such as the willingness of each member to contribute collectively towards a common goal; development of relationships to promote mutual respect; enhanced communication and collaboration to achieve common objectives; investment in decision making and sharing a sense of responsibility for individual and collective outcomes (Larkin et al. 2008). In the area of education and pedagogy, it was Cummins' (1996) definition of empowerment that influenced us most, in terms of negotiating identities in the classroom, and the establishment of collaborative relations of power that enable students to achieve more. Subordinated group students, according to Cummins, will succeed academically to the extent that the patterns of interaction in the school challenge and reverse the ones prevailing in the society at large.

The entire intervention is geared towards reconciling unity with diversity, cultivating inclusion without being assimilationist, promoting a common sense of belonging, while respecting cultural differences, and valuing plural identities without diminishing shared citizenship. Hence the logo of the project: "Addition *not* Subtraction, Multiplication *not* Division".

An 18-year old intervention is difficult to summarize.[8] We limit ourselves to a brief outline of the various activities of the project and the fields covered.

3.1 Research[9]

In 1997, there was a glaring paucity of any kind of reliable population statistics, or any other kind of data concerning the Muslim minority and its education.[10] Thus, we started out by a number of surveys and qualitative studies, that were carried out on students', teachers' and parents' profiles; language use and language assessment; dropout rates; parents' attitudes towards education; and representations of ethnic identity. Collection of data in an environment where each group defends its own interests was far from being an easy task.

3.2 Classroom Materials[11]

Forty new textbooks following an integrated learning approach were produced, for use in the primary school, on Greek as a second language, history, geography, the environment and civic education. At secondary level new materials were developed to be used in conjunction with existing ones, covering the instruction of Greek as a second language, literature, history, mathematics, physics and geography (for the pilot use of the materials of history, literature and natural sciences see in the present volume Apostolidou et al., Tsafos, and Tselfes). Other educational materials for learning Greek were also developed, both conventional and electronic, such as a 6000 entries Greco-Turkish dictionary for children aged 6–12, a three-languages dictionary (Greek, Turkish and English) for students in secondary schools, as well as a comprehensive Greek grammar for adolescents whose maternal language is other than Greek. Interactive educational applications were designed, and lyrics set to music were produced. The new materials promote self-expression and help develop children's conversational competencies before introducing the official

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[8] Interested readers can look up more information in www.museduc.gr and Dragonas and Frangoudaki (eds.), 2008.

[9] Coordinated by N. Askouni (Sociology of Education).

[10] With regard to the size of the minority group, there is a notable lack of reliable, official statistics. It is worth noting that the last figures published by the Greek Statistical Service concerning language and religion date back to the 1951 census. All the subsequent information regarding population statistics of the minority has been considered classified material. According to various estimates the minority in Thrace ranges from 115,000 to 130,000 and constitutes 30 percent of the total population of Thrace (Dragonas 2004).

[11] Coordinated by G. Kouzelis (sociology); A. Iordanidou, S. Moschonas, and M. Tzevelekou (linguistics); Ch. Sakonides (mathematics); V. Tselfes (physics); E. Avdela (history); V. Apostololidou (literature); E. Hondolidou (education); N. Lambrinos (geography).

school language; they view both language and literacy as context-embedded, emerging from children's particular experiences; they respect pupils' mother tongue and enhance their sense of identity.

An important novelty in developing the educational materials was that they were built gradually, and at every stage they were tried out by the teachers in the classroom. Thus, instead of being a top down process, whereby 'experts' would develop textbooks that subsequently would be sent to schools, it was a back and forth, collaborative act between teachers, who know their students' needs best, and textbook specialists.

The development of teaching methods for Greek as a second language is invaluable since, unlike the teaching methods as a foreign language for other languages, and mainly English, there existed no material for Greek as a foreign language, addressing children. The new history books are another significant contribution.[12] They do not reproduce the historical narrative of the nineteenth century, as the mainstream textbooks do. They try to teach students how to think historically and to familiarize them with the method of historical research. Moreover, their scope is not to evaluate the past, but to incite its understanding–the only means for the comprehension of conflicts, wars and violence without reproducing hatred between neighboring countries. They create the necessary historical distance that helps students appreciate that the past was different, because different values pervaded, different goals mobilized human groups, and different principles governed societies.[13]

Given the fact that the Greek educational system is extremely centralized (the curriculum is very rigid, and there is only one textbook per subject, prepared under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, and distributed nation-wide) the educational materials, prepared for the needs of the project, constitute the very first diversion from the rule, introducing a crack in the rigid homogeneity of the educational system.

3.3   In Service Teacher Training[14]

No matter how good it may be in itself, no teaching material can ever bear fruit, without being backed up by effective teacher training. Extensive human and financial resources have therefore been allotted to the in-service training of hundreds of teachers. Teachers had no prior knowledge in instructing bilingual children, while many among them had been hired years earlier, at a time when their duties were designed to meet nationalistic goals rather than academic ones. Borrowing once

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[12] This is important since there is an ongoing public controversy in Greece on school history.

[13] It is not only the educational materials for history, but also the materials for all other subjects that are characterized by an innovative approach. For materials of literature and physics see in the present volume Apostolidou et al., and Tselfes.

[14] Coordinated by A. Androussou (educational psychology).

more Cummins' words on the occasion of his visit to Thrace: "Change in the deep structure will come, only when educators walk into their classrooms burdened, not by the anger of the past and the disdain of the present, but with their own identities focused on transforming the social futures towards which their children are travelling" (2004: 11).

For the very first time in the history of minority education in Greece, teachers from the majority and the minority were trained side by side. Training has focused on the use of the new materials, on classroom dynamics, on the development of self-reflective practices, and on identities and negotiation of differences. Teaching practices is not a neutral enterprise: they either reinforce coercive relations of power or promote collaborative relations of power. In order to be able to affirm their students' identity, teachers first had to adopt a self-reflexive position, and re-examine their own feelings and representations of the alien 'other' they were to teach. Teacher training proved to be in a way the most difficult of all activities, since it required deep transformations in self and other representations, in values and in teaching styles.

Teachers in remote villages have also been systematically visited on the school premises. A team of trainers has been calling on villages in the heart of winter, where no visitor had set foot for weeks. Extensive teacher training material was developed, and themes relevant pertaining to the education of minorities were broken down into 34 booklets, that are also available in e-learning format.[15] A documentary, examining the dialectics of identity in Western Thrace was also produced to be used as teacher training material.

3.4   Compensatory Classes[16]

Compensatory classes, as another way of fighting social exclusion, were offered to thousands of lower and upper secondary students for 7 years.[17] They took place on the school premises in the afternoon or during the weekend, and were taught by trained teachers using the new materials. Instruction principles were very different to those in traditional classrooms of the mainstream school, where learning is largely memorization and 'one size fits all'. Compensatory classes were informed by inquiry-based pedagogy, whereby students are active learners; they learn by doing; language is used for meaningful communication, either in oral or written forms; learning is meaningful rather than institutionally imposed; process of learn-

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[15] www. kleidiakaiantikleidia.net

[16] Coordinated by professors H. Dafermou and M. Sfyroera (education); Ch. Sakonides (mathematics).

[17] Compensatory classes stopped being offered when the Ministry of Education decided to implement a nation-wide scheme of remedial education. Unfortunately, minority students did not benefit from this provision which was implemented for only a couple of months.

ing is more important than the content. The number of students taking compensatory classes reached per year 2122 for secondary and 1570 for primary school.[18]

3.5   Community Centres: Opening Up to the Community[19]

During the first 5 years, the intervention was geared towards changes within the minority schools. Yet, it soon became clear that minority schools, operating as ghetto structures, are rigid, homeostatic systems providing very little room for morphogenetic transformation. Officially recognized bilingualism takes place only in minority structures, while the state school is monolingual, mono-cultural and blind to minority children's identities.

Since little room was left for radical changes in the formal education system, efforts were directed towards the development of new, parallel structures that would bypass the rigidities of the past, and would operate as open systems, sensitive to the social environment, and aware of what the outside does to the inside. Such efforts focused on new values and new rules that would reinforce collaborative rather than competitive and coercive interaction. A new kind of 'space' was deemed necessary, wherein the above assumptions would be tested. It is well documented that important worldwide reforms are often held back, due to the inertia inherent in the educational system (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970) and that structures bypassing formal schooling may prove to feedback positively to the official system (Derouet 2000).

As Giampapa (2004) aptly puts it, the act of claiming identities and claiming the spaces of identity is a political act. Thus, a new 'real', 'imagined' and 'symbolic' space was born. A new space that would rupture those rigid boundaries the majority has set to exclude the minority, and the ones the minority has raised in order to protect itself. Ten Community Centres have been gradually set up: three in the three large towns and seven in smaller villages.[20] The Centres are staffed by equal numbers of minority and majority personnel, contributing, thus, actively to the discourse of identity politics. It is for the first time that members of the majority and minority found themselves striving for a common goal.

The Centres are open 7 days a week, eleven and a half months a year. They offer to almost 2000 children creative activities for pre-schoolers, afternoon and summer

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[18] Due to drastic budget cuts, the number of primary school students has fallen to 126, while compensatory classes for secondary education are currently offered within the Community Centre.

[19] Community Centers are currently coordinated by H. Karavia (anthropology) and M. Konstandinidou (literature). Overall supervision by M. Zografaki (literature)

[20] Since 1993 when the first Centers were set up there have been changes as regards location and the Center in Alexndroupoli (prefecture of Evros) was closed down Currently the Centers are located in Xanthi, Evlalo, Selero, Ehinos, Drosero (prefecture of Xanthi), Komotini, Iasmos, Sapes, Organi (prefecture of Rodopi).

classes to primary and secondary school students[21]; the use of computers; Greek classes for parents; Turkish classes for Greek speaking teachers; counselling for parents and teachers; vocational guidance for youths; and they operate a lending library. They represent a microcosm, where different identities coexist, and languages alternate, overcoming division and segregation. It is an interpersonal space, where knowledge is generated, and identities are negotiated.

Moreover, four mobile units (named by the children as "kangaroos of the mountain"), equipped with computers, educational games and a lending library, travel to 58 isolated communities daily, hold classes and engage almost 1000 children per year in alternative creative learning.[22]

The Centres host the Creative Youth Workshops (D.E.N.) that provide a physical, social and psychological space, in which adolescents belonging to both minority and the majority can run their own creative projects, with the help of youth workers, also members of both groups.[23] Youths may co-exist in the state school, but for the very first time in Thrace, they are involved in common tasks. Girls, who are traditionally kept at home and refrain from mixed social activities when they reach adolescence, increasingly join in. More competently than many of the adults, the youths creatively discover, through collaborative practices, a meaningful presence and a promising future.

Parents, teachers and representatives of the community as a whole join the children's open workshops, regularly held every few months. To maintain the dialogue open, meetings with leaders of the minority, local Members of Parliament, local educational authorities, and majority and minority teacher trade unions are held regularly.

4   The Long Process of Change

What makes this project rather unique is its systemic approach in introducing change ranging from classroom materials to the work with the community, the long duration of sustained concerted effort, and its interdisciplinary nature.[24]

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[21] Owing to budget cuts, the number of children profiting from the services at the Centres is currently 1241.

[22] The current year (2015–2016), owing to financial constraints, the number of remote villages visited has fallen to 31 and the number of children profiting to 478.

[23] Coordinated by A. Vassiliou (social psychology).

[24] Our team comprises sociologists of education, psychologists (educational, social, clinical), pedagogues, social workers, linguists, anthropologists, historians, philologists, physicists, mathematicians, geographers, artists (musician, photographer, designers) and practicing school teachers. They have all worked as team engaged in an interdisciplinary dialogue.

4.1   Measurable Outcome

Striking measurable changes have taken place since the inception of PEM. It would be unfair to attribute these changes exclusively to PEM. In the past almost 20 years since the onset of this intervention, the advantageous university entrance exams for the minority children have created a dynamic towards the Greek educational system, while many social changes have taken place. Thrace is a very different place than it was when we first arrived. However, the educational system per se (both minority and state), characterized by an intrinsic inertia, has largely remained immobile. Thus, we can justifiably claim that PEM has had a very important impact on enrolment statistics and decrease of dropout rates. In the year 2000, the dropout rate from compulsory 9-year education was 65%, while the national mean was 7. This figure decreased to 28%. The number of students enrolled in lower secondary education grew from to 1501, in 1997, to 3964 (increase by 164%); and that of upper secondary students from 547 students to 3029 (increase by 453%). Figures have changed dramatically for the girls as well, who, as a rule, were withdrawn from school by the end of primary school. There is an increase of 504% at the level of lower secondary (from 611 girls in 1997 the number has risen to 3692), and an increase of 840% at the level of upper secondary (from 310 to 2916).

There is also a significant move from the minority school to the state mainstream school. The number of minority children attending the state primary school has increased from 5% to 22%. In other words, almost 1/4 of minority children attend primary state education.[25] As regards state provided secondary education, 2/3 (73,7%) of minority students attend lower secondary school and 3/4 (80,3%) attend higher secondary school.

The current segregated minority school, no matter how it may improve academically, will never accommodate rigid dichotomies, will not promote dialogue between cultures, and thus will not encourage collaborative relations of power. Yet, the leaders of the minority, fearing assimilation and wishing to preserve their language and culture, deter parents from sending their children to the state school. Minorities, at the extreme, says Wagner (1991), may follow an 'illiteracy of resistance' strategy, preferring to remain illiterate, rather than accept the kind of education imposed by the majority, and risk being assimilated and lose their language and culture. Their fears are understandable, since the state school makes no effort to appreciate minority children's identity. Their language is not acknowledged, their culture is absent from the curriculum or the everyday practices (Dragonas 2004). Hence, in this intervention, we took in consideration the fear of losing their culture and language, and actively tried to improve the learning conditions at the minority school. Yet, we have accumulated evidence to be convinced that separate schooling leads directly to minority children's isolation and consequent marginalization, and never refrain

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[25] This increase is definitely higher, if one was to include the Roma children who in their majority are Muslim. This is the result of the categorization system employed by the educational authorities that differentiates Roma children from the rest of the minority children.

from openly pronouncing it. At the same time, we are critical of the monolingual nature of the state school, and we highlight that understanding is not an individual but a relational achievement, we build on children's cultural and linguistic experience in their homes, and aim at empowering minority children, rendering them more visible in the Greek society.

Finally, figures have changed impressively at the tertiary level, owing mainly to the positive discrimination measure regarding university entrance exams. In 1997 only 68 youngsters, members of the Muslim minority attended Greek Universities. In 2015, 496 youths, at equal numbers as far as gender is concerned, are students at the tertiary level. The increase is 608%.

As impressive the above changing figures may be, minority children still lag behind, and low educational levels characterize hugely disproportionate numbers of minority children, in comparison to the majority ones. The dropout rate of minority children from the 9-year compulsory education is still almost five times higher than the national mean (28% versus 6.09%).

4.2   From Caution and Reserve to Acceptance and Trust

Looking at the 18 years that have gone by, the first ones were very hard. The minority proved difficult to approach. This was the case for the everyday individuals with whom we came into contact, but even more so for the minority *Elite*. They were watching and waiting. Contacts were made through the minority teachers' unions and associations. All were very reluctant to voice an opinion, and most of the time the impression was that there was a party line they were strictly adhering to. Parents were reserved; mothers all the more so.

Our team had entered the field as a top-down initiative of the administration. Thus, we were perceived as outsiders, identified with state powers that have traditionally marginalized and excluded the minority from decision-making. They believed that even if we were not to bring harm, we had at least a hidden assimilationist agenda. It took long before a relationship of trust could be established. We gradually witnessed parents, teachers and minority leaders acknowledging that this intervention was based on the conviction that the battle to reverse the structural aspects of exclusion and school failure of minority children is of socio-political nature, and it concerns equally all citizens. This recognition brought change. One can clearly trace an unfolding process from caution and reserve to acceptance and trust.

The Centres, at the cutting edge of space politics and identity, introduced the potential for agency. Their mixed majority and minority personnel would either reproduce the dominant paradigm in the Thracian society, or they would promote communication by first acknowledging and then working through suppression and denial of diversity, pluralism, complexity and conflict. They chose the latter. It was a difficult but challenging task for these young people, with no prior experience of

co-existence in a formal state. New values and new rules were negotiated, advancing thus equal participation and democratic pluralism in a jointly created institution.

Parents and especially mothers felt welcomed in the Centres. Interactions are never neutral with respect to societal power relations. In the Centres, mothers could speak their language with the staff, and felt their culture was respected. They gradually started asking for Greek lessons. They said they wanted to help children with homework. But it was clear that learning Greek allowed them to claim a voice in a social context where they are invisible.

Relationships of trust took equally long to develop with the majority. As mentioned earlier, this intervention was carried out under nine Ministers of Education, in five consecutive administrations. This undoubtedly shows a long-term commitment to this specific policy. Yet, at the same time there have been strong ambivalences at the administrative top, that have trickled down to the local educational apparatus. The implicit double message, in almost all of the administrations to a smaller or greater degree, has been assuming ownership of a politically correct policy, while at the same time disqualifying it. Not a single Minister of Education, visiting Thrace, ever paid a visit to the Centres, which are structures they have been boasting about when audited by international human rights organizations.[26] Very revealing is the answer of the socialist Minister of Education in 2014 to a question posed in the context of parliamentary control, asking what measures was the government planning to take to support minority students' learning of Greek.[27] The Minister provided a long reply with peripheral information and avoided any mention to the project – the actual measure his Ministry had been taking for the past 17 years.[28] Even more revealing is the Secretary of Intercultural Education prohibiting in 2011 the distribution of, commissioned to us by the Ministry of Education, supplementary educational materials for secondary education minority students, arguing that this would be an act of discrimination. This same person stopped the Turkish language classes we had been delivering to 665 Greek-speaking teachers for several years.

We have witnessed unabated this back and forth movement denoting deep ambivalence. The local educational apparatus, long socialized in an intolerant and defensive ideology, swinging from marginalization of the minority to its assimilation, adopted the same ambivalent position. The educational authorities were disinclined to accept the change of policy, and for a long time were convinced that one-day this intervention will come to an end, and everything will revert to what

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[26] See the Recommendation 96, in the following report of the Council of Europe: Michel Hunault, *Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights, Freedom of religion and other human rights for non-Muslim minorities in Turkey and for the Muslim minority in Thrace (Eastern Greece),* AS/Jur (2009) 01, 22 January 2009. See also Recommendations 92 and 93 in the: Report of the independent expert on minority issues, Gay McDougall, Human Rights Council, United Nations, A/HRC/10/11/Add. 3, 18 February 2009.

[27] Question addressed to the Minister of Education no 1181/ 17-7-2014 "Measures securing equitable education of Muslim Greek citizens of Thrace"

[28] Answer by the Minister of Education 128,280/11-08-2014.

was before. Gradually they had to admit that things were changing, but most of them did so half-heartedly.

In the first years, the local Greek press, for the most part, was very unfriendly. We were represented as pawns of Turkey or at best as politically naive academics that intruded into nationally sensitive local affairs. The journey from hostility to acceptance was a difficult one. Today the picture is very different. Most of the press, local radio and TV are very interested in what we are doing and systematically highlight the achievements accomplished.

Teacher training also proved difficult. Teachers were sincerely convinced that their students could not achieve at high levels, their backgrounds riddled with deficiencies. These attitudes were gradually tempered, and teachers started focusing on the strengths of their students. Many, and even more so those working in the Centres or in the compensatory classes, engaged in self-reflection and a process of transforming their teaching practices. They became aware of the socio-political dimensions of learning and underwent a personal change. Yet others have remained sceptical.

Interestingly, when a group (either majority or minority) would become more accepting, the other would withdraw its support, showing that there is still a long way before majority and minority can engage in collaborative practices. The hardliners on either side will always doubt our intentions. Minority extremists will keep serving Wagner's notion of "illiteracy of resistance", and majority fanatics will keep producing their 'patriotic' rhetoric asking for a policy of "negative reciprocity".

4.3   External Evaluation

A very thorough system of internal evaluation is being followed from the very beginning. However, the project was also assessed twice by independent evaluators in 2004, and subsequently in 2014.[29] According to the first external evaluation the project «had contributed to the improvement of the most important failings of the existing educational system»; «the educational materials were praised»; and the suggestions for the future underlined the need for continuation and further expansion towards "increase of numbers of teachers to be trained, establishment of more Centres, additional compensatory classes and expansion of the intervention to pre-school and tertiary education".

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[29] Evaluation of Currently Implemented Programs; Detection and Location of Further Needs; Design of Supportive interventions for the Second Phase (2005–2008) of Action 1.1.1: Programs for the Integration of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Student Population into the Educational System, 2004, Remaco, S.A. Consultants, pp. 14 and 15.

External Evaluation of the Project "Education of Muslim Minority Children in Thrace", MIS 295403, for the period 2010–2014, Operational Program "Education and Life-long Education", CMT Prooptiki, December 2014, pp. 342.

According to the 2014 evaluation, besides the improvement of the educational indicators, such as enrollment in secondary education and fall of drop-out rates, eight strong points were highlighted: (1). The project being an effective 'ambassador' of the Greek polity in Thrace; (2). The acceptance of the project by the minority, the establishment of relations of trust and the positive influence on women; (3). The innovative approach in issues regarding identities; (4). The acknowledgment by the minority of the Greek language use; (5). The mitigation of the minority's social and cultural isolation in remote and disadvantaged settlements; (8). The reinforcement of students' motivation. Among the critical comments were the poor relations with the local educational administration and the failure to cover the educational needs of the entire minority student population.

Both evaluations praised the effectiveness of the Centres in meeting the goals set, while the second evaluation highlighted the contribution of the mobile units (which were set in motion in 2005–6) in lifting the isolation of remote and inaccessible communities.

4.4 "Addition not Subtraction, Multiplication not Division"

While measured outcomes are quantifiable, the examination of the process of empowerment has yielded in depth, qualitative insights. This intervention brought to fore important identity issues; claimed a position of knowledge embedded within communal relationships; professed a move from authoritative monologic to dialogic practices of meaning making in the educational setting; and aimed at raising the understanding of the historical, social and political conditions within which education of the Muslim minority takes place.

One of the most important achievements is that a number of young women, members of the minority, who were students at our Centres, went on to study in the Greek universities and are currently working within the project, teaching minority children Greek. A full circle has closed. There is dynamic identification between students and teachers that enriches the outcome.

We will provide a few vignettes in order to highlight how the guiding principles of empowerment were applied, in view of fostering development of relationships to promote mutual respect, autonomy, enhanced communication, willingness of each member to contribute collectively toward a common goal, investment in decision making, and sharing a sense of responsibility for individual and collective outcomes.

4.4.1   Reading Kavafy in Drosero

During the pilot instruction of literature (see in the present volume) in Drosero, a Roma settlement in Xanthi, the teacher introduced the Greek poet Kavafy to his adolescent students. They read the poems "As much as you can" and the "Walls".[30] A few days after the class interpreted the poem, a 14-year old Roma girl went to the teacher and said that the poem had spoken directly to her heart, and led her to break the engagement her parents had arranged for her, because she realised that "walls were built around her" and she wanted to "shape her life the way she wants" (Daniil and Hodolidou 2015).

4.4.2   "Our Room Smelled of Respect"

The Creative Activities Workshops (D.E.N.) provide a space, where action is generated by the youths themselves. The youth workers, members of the minority and the majority acting as facilitators, are responsive to the ideas that develop during group work with the youth. They provide youngsters access to information, resources, support, and an environment that enhances growth and promotes empowerment. They use collaborative critical inquiry, enabling youth to analyse the social realities of their lives and of their community. A circumstance of increased complexity is generated, when the creative activities take place in mixed minority and majority groups (Vassiliou & Dragonas 2015). In the words of a 13-year-old boy, member of the minority:

> D.E.N. transported me to different worlds. It was a space where I expressed the artistic world I had inside me. It is as if the world begun there. I learned to share my feelings there. It was a space I shared friendship…even if one quarrelled, our room smelled of respect.

4.4.3   Negotiating with the *Imam*

In the first years, the mobile units travelling to isolated villages, were received by children with great enthusiasm. An outsider had not set foot for weeks in their village. Yet the local *imam* was reluctant. The classes and creative activities organized by the mobile unit's personnel disrupted his Koranic classes, and he was losing his students. The locals would never go against his will. Thus, the unit would travel for 2 h to reach the village, and the children were not available because they had to attend the Qur'an class. We have now reached a stage whereby, in many cases, the timetable is jointly negotiated between the local *imam* and the mobile units' personnel, so that children can follow both activities.

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[30] http://www.cavafy.com/poems/content.asp?id=113&cat=1

4.4.4 "This Is Our Home"

As mentioned above, mothers asked for Greek lessons. In a remote village visited by the mobile unit, women requested that one of the two rooms of the minority school be used for Greek classes. Yet this did not prove an easy task. A lot of negotiating with their husbands was necessary. When they did manage to come to class, there was so many that chairs had to be brought from the adjacent coffee shop. This act of emancipation is reflected in the way they lifted their fingers in a V sign in the photo taken at the end of class.

Women enjoyed their classes immensely. They learned enough Greek in order to pass the driving test, to go on to second chance school or to pass the national test (KPG). "This is our home", said a motivated young woman, talking about the Community Centre where Greek classes are held.

All of the above vignettes are indicative of the range of social actors involved in this educational project: minority and majority staff at the Community Centres, minority and majority youth, teachers, parents, community members.

5   End Note

The aim of PEM was to reverse trend in massive underachievement and high drop out from the 9-year compulsory education, as well as fight social exclusion that has had profound consequences, preventing minority people from making decisions about the course of their lives, or the course of events for which they are responsible. Exclusionary and assimilationist educational policies, implemented for a very long time, have rendered subordinated minority members invisible and inaudible. Learning Greek is a necessary condition for minority members to become equal within the state. Yet marginalization cannot be remedied only by acquiring the language of the majority.

PEM devotes a lot of resources to improving the teaching of Greek, but also argues strongly for what counts in educational practice –namely, the local embedding of curricula, the breaking of disciplinary boundaries, educational practice in societal issues, a shift from child-centred modes of education to a focus of relationships. We promoted the notion that all good teaching is grounded in the lives of students, is participatory, encourages questioning, advances explorative thinking, allows for mistakes and, more importantly, challenges inequality. PEM provides opportunities towards identity negotiation and collaborative relations of power.

In our 18 years in the field we are deeply convinced that, as long as education keeps empowering students, teachers and parents, the new generation will be increasingly more capable of negotiating conflicts, inventing successful compromises, and building bridges across the divide.

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Reforming History for School and History for Education: A Pilot Study for History-Teaching for the Muslim Minority in Thrace

Vassilis Tsafos

Abstract The pilot application in the history lesson sought to experimentally test the material of History that was produced within the framework of the Project for the Education of the Muslim Minority in Thrace (PEM) in the Junior High Schools of Thrace. The experimental investigation of PEM materials, based on the reports of the 10 teachers involved and the various scenarios they produced, showed that the alternative approach to school history, which was proposed by the PEM material, gradually: (a) empowered students by building their interest with significant learning outcomes and (b) contributed to the professional development of teachers, enhancing their exploratory and critical attitudes, while making them more inventive and creative.

Keywords Teaching of history · Educational material · Pilot application · Students' portfolios · Teachers' professional development · Muslim minority

1   Introduction

In the context of the Project for the Education of the Muslim Minority in Thrace (PEM), and in the perspective of strengthening both the learning of Greek by Muslim students in Thrace, as well as of supporting an alternative process in the delivery of subjects taught at school, a number of new textbooks were created. These textbooks were created to function as supplementary to the national curriculum and to the existing ones that were issued by the Organisation for the Publishing of School Textbooks.

In particular, for the subject of History, the emergence of new scientific examples forced a revision of epistemological foundations, methodological principles and teaching practices (Kokkinos 2002). The perspective was one of depoliticising and de-ideologicalising the subject of history taught at school, through the use of a systematic approach of the past (Avdela 2007: 29) within a less ethnocentric and,

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especially, less Helleno-centric context. In this spirit, PEM produced relevant educational material[1] ensuring the flexibility of the framework: three textbooks, one for each year of high school and the respective volumes of a series entitled *A Little More History.*[2]

Such educational material certainly does not exclusively address the population of Thrace, as there is no need for a specific form of history for any part of the country or for any students of a particular ethnicity or religion. The material addresses students of the contemporary Greek school, in the context of individualities born out of wider political and cultural conditions, as well as out of the personal journey of each student. The latter can in fact be revealing of the degree of arbitrariness that lies behind the construction of the concept of the '*homogenous class'* (Androusou and Ascouni 2007: 16).

Thrace is merely a place where '*the negative consequences of the constitution of national history taught at school around the polarity of the nation and its enemies'*(Avdela 2007: 28) become more evident, and, in fact, often in the most explicit and unequivocal ways. This renders the absolute necessity to break the shackles of the suffocating and un-historical nationalism that has been dominant for years in respect to the subject of History, and not necessarily in our country alone (Avdela 1998: 39–62).

Therefore, taking under consideration the social and political conditions in Thrace and the problems concerning the teaching of History in Greece, this educational material suggests a different historical approach with the following objectives:

- To facilitate historical knowledge through a concise and diagrammatic historical narrative, to apply various modes of presenting historical knowledge (maps, images, graphs, etc.) and to support the active participation of students;
- To cultivate the students' abilities in processing sources and employing the scientific methods which constitute historical knowledge;
- To familiarise students with the dimension of historical time and historical change and to support them in perceiving the historical constitution of the society in which they live;
- To liberate the subject of history from any ethno-centric and Helleno-centric approaches;

1. The pilot application of the educational material for the subject of History

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[1] The team of writers who worked under the supevision and co-ordination of Professor Efi Avdela: Christina Agriantoni, Yiannis Antoniou, Elias Arnaoutoglou, Dimitra Vasileiadou, Nasia Yiakovaki, Anta Dialla, Dimitris Karampelas, Aglaia Kasdagli, Tonia Kioussopoulou, Paraskevas Konortas, Aspasia Lamprinidou, Anny Malama, Spyros Marketos, Niki Maroniti, Iraklis Millas, Rika Benveniste, Socratis Petmetzas, Triantafyllos Petridis, Theodora Rompou-Samara, Panagiotis Stathis, Athina Syriatou, and Yiannis Telelis.

[2] For more information on the PEM's supplementary material for the taught subject of History, see http://www.museduc.gr/el

From Autumn 2011 until June 2014, in the context of the PEM, the pilot application of the educational material took place in the areas of Komotini and Xanthi. The aims of the pilot application were:

- To put new ways of organising the lesson to the test, based on the possibilities offered by the new textbooks as supplementary learning materials;
- To investigate and evaluate teaching practices and new ways of organising the lesson through the use of the PEM's educational material in the perspective of expanded education in history;
- To achieve the emergence of indicative practices which can be suggested to colleagues in the perspective of revitalising the educational process.

In an effort to choose representative classes to participate in the pilot application, the student population eventually addressed was mixed. The material was tested in classes with exclusively Turkish-speaking students, exclusively Pomak-speaking students, as well as in mixed classes, in which the majority was sometimes Turkish-speaking and, at others, Greek-speaking.

The diversity of the student population in terms of language and ethnic origin, but also in regards to other parametres – such as the size and culture of the school, or its location – presented an opportunity to test the pilot material in a variety of different settings.

A starting point for the pilot application were the difficulties the educators faced in action. The main problems voiced by the educators and their main objectives were in relation to:

(a) Understanding the historical text. According to the educators, work in the classroom more often than not was limited to the effort of comprehending a text. In other words, a large portion of teaching time was spent in an effort to explain unknown words, underlining parts of texts, and dictating;
(b) Providing motives and increasing the interest and participation of the minority students in the lesson, but also, Greek-speaking students. After all, the performance of students at school and their participation are directly dependent on their social and cultural backgrounds and context. Moreover, it has been observed that history lessons generate indifference in quite a high percentage of low-performing students. This fact has been taken into account in the context of the PEM's effort to produce supplementary material for the subject of history, as well as to investigate the material's effectiveness through its pilot implementation.

Gradually, as these problems retreated, educators turned to other questions, which did not concern everybody necessarily, such as the familiarisation of the students with historical time and space, the development of the ability to process sources, as well as the enhancement of teamwork skills. Through the use of this material, educators also attempted to serve educational goals, cultivating, at the same time, the students' abilities to learn through discovery, on their own, and to co-operate with each other.

Organising the Pilot Application

The pilot study was organised as follows. The scholar responsible for the subject of History, Efi Avdela, Professor in the University of Crete, and the team of writers in collaboration with Vassilis Tsafos, the scientist responsible for the pilot application, defined a wide framework of teaching principles and suggested exemplary ways of evaluating the PEM's educational material. In configuring these fundamental axes, we took under consideration both the institutional directions as defined by the official curriculum and the directions of the Institute of Pedagogy, as well as the particular philosophy of teaching History reflected in the PEM's material.

It is worth noting here that the specific educational material was not treated as an alternative to the official school-textbooks or to the directions of the AP of History but functioned as supplementary to the perspective of expanded reading of the AP, based on the particular educational context (Tsafos 2014: 299–318).

Next came the appointment of supervisors, namely Kiki Sakka[3] and Nantia Tsene,[4] one for each prefecture. Working with the scholar responsible, they co-ordinated the pilot application, undertaking a mainly supportive role as associate reviewers. After an open invitation to educators, we formed two teams of teachers / researchers,[5] consisting of three members each. The members of these teams, working closely with the supervisors, gradually reformed the wide framework of principles set in the beginning, adding an exploratory character to the pilot.

The supervisors monitored the pilot application of the educational material, organised monthly group-work meetings between teachers, in which the latter would present the progress of the pilot. In these regular meetings, the educators of the pilot together with their supervisor, who were now gradually forming a professional community of practice and learning[6] through this process, collectively and collaboratively, reflected upon the problems they encountered, discussed the solutions they provided and prepared the next steps in search of alternatives. The supervisors were also in regular electronic contact with the educators for the total duration of the program. In the end of the school year, each supervisor had to compile an

[3] Kiki Sakka, School Advisor for highschool philologists, was the supervisor of the group of philologists who participated in the pilot application in the Prefecture of Xanthi during the school year 2011–2012.

[4] Nantia Tsene, philologist, Head of the Highschool of Avlona, was the supervisor of the team of philologists who participated in the pilot application in the Prefecture of Xanthi during the school years 2012–2013 and 2013–2014, and in the Prefecture of Komotini for the whole duration of the pilot.

[5] The educators participating in the pilot application in the 3 years of the program's duration were: Katerina Vougioukli, 2nd Highschool of Xanthi; Yiorgos Demertzidis, Highschool of Echinos; Gerakina Zafeiriou, Minority School of Komotini; Euthymia Karapouli, 2nd Highschool of Komotini; Dimitra Kataki, Highschool of Sminthi; Sotiris Makris, 5th Highschool of Xanthi; Yiorgos Maretis, Minority School of Komotini; Nikos Mpakopoulos, Night Highschool of Komotini; Yiorgos Triantafyllidis, 3rd Highschool of Komotini; Thanasis Tsardaklis, Minority School of Komotini.

[6] Practice & learning professional communities are '*groups of people who share a common interest, a number of problems, a passion for a topic, who deepen their knowledge and expertise in their field through constant interaction with each other*' (Wenger et al. 2002: 4).

evaluation report for the total progress of the pilot application, using specific examples and offering suggestions for improvements on the process.

The criterion for the selection of the educators was the variety in teaching profiles, as well as the diversity of the schools in which they worked. The participants, therefore, were educators working in schools of either exclusively Muslim or of mixed student population, of Turkish-speaking as well as of Pomak-speaking students, in schools in Xanthi and Komotini, but also in villages on the mountains and in the plains of these regions.

Some of the participants had previously collaborated in PEM activities and were also further trained in using the program's educational material for History. Others, specialising in either History or Pedagogy, were involved for the first time. The teams included educators with many years of experience, but also substitute teachers who had been working at that time only for a second consecutive year in the area.

A starting point for the pilot application were the problems encountered by the educators in teaching their subject, i.e. problems they were attempting to solve by utilising the PEM's educational material. At the centre of the discusssion during the meetings was the quest for educational approaches that could be deployed during the development of the pilot. Differentiated Pedagogy, for example, was deemed appropriate for the specific student population concerned, as well as group-work, experiential approaches or research-based learning, that all corresponded well to the educational material proposed by the PEM. Such focus was based on the conviction that this was a way that could possibly lead to an educational framework of flexibility, with respect of otherness and empowerment, in the perspective of giving prominence to all voices equally, where one could bestow meaning to a process that is encompassing all those concerned (Gounari and Grollios 2010).

Therefore, the stages for the application, which was developed on the basis of the principles of action research (Katsarou and Tsafos 2003), were set in the following order: investigation and identification of the context; planning; reflection; assessement; replanning. Each one of the educators would plan a unit of lessons, taking into consideration, among other things, the framework of principles, as well as the specific student population they were addressing. After testing their plans in action, they would present them in the monthly meetings organised in each prefecture by the respective supervisor.

The teams would discuss the plans, evaluate them, and the educators would then proceed to plan their actions for the near future, setting different priorities each time, focusing on different problems, utilising different elements from the textbooks and trying a variety of teaching approaches. It becomes obvious that such a process presupposes that teachers are also researchers of their own practices, while at the same time it empowers them to work in the perspective of a reflective and dynamic reformation of the process itself (Augitidou 2014).

The focus of the investigation was the progress of the students, not so much in terms of their performance, as mainly in regards to their participation in the lesson, i.e. with motivation and interest. In order to monitor their progress in a systematic manner, each educator chose from the start of the pilot to focus on students individually. They, therefore, created a portfolio for each student, where they col-

lected data indicative of their progress (e.g. homework, exams, work sheets, exercises, projects, etc.). The portfolio also included individual sheets for a descriptive evaluation of each student, in which the teachers would record their students' progress. Through this alternative portfolio-based student-evaluation (Arvanitis 2007), educators attempted to collect additional data for a total appraisal of the PEM's educational material under these particular conditions, but also to evaluate the educational process (Shepard 2001).

2   Evaluation of the Pilot Application of the PEM's Educational Material for the Subject of History

The final evaluation of the pilot was qualitative, and was based on (a) the teachers' diaries; (b) the evaluation portfolios of the students who were chosen by the educators beforehand; (c) the reports submitted by the educators to their supervisors at the end of each month; (d) the final reports the supervisors submitted to the scientist responsible for the project; (e) the final evaluation of the pilot, during the meetings between the responsible scientist, the supervisors, and the educators, after the end of the pilot application at the end of each school year.

2.1   In Terms of the Students' Response

An important aspect that was noted from the first year of the pilot pertains to the students' response to the application. Based on the student-evaluation portfolios, but also on the monitoring of the total progress of all classes involved, educators found out that there had been an increase of both participation and interest on the part of the students in all the lessons for which the PEM's educational material was utilised.

As underlined in the report of a teacher: '*More students showed interest in the lesson. Before, no one would participate in the lesson. Now, the students participating increased to seven. They seem a few, but to us, this is plenty. I think that they were influenced by the innovation and the novelty that they found also more attractive, by the many more images, but also by the texts that were now easier to understand*'.

This differentiation of attitude is confirmed by the students themselves, as shown in some of their interventions, reported by the educators: '*we have to continue our lessons using this textbook, it is so much easier*' (Student 1); '*Sir, why can't we do History instead of language*?' (St. 2); '*Could you bring us exercises like these for the other subjects as well*? (St. 3). It is rather characteristic that students in a minority school kept asking the teacher to give them the PEM material in electronic form, so that they could study it at home as well.

As a positive outcome we can also refer to the cultivation of a more positive attitude toward the taught subject of History. In her final evaluation report, a teacher wrote: '*They begun not only to understand the historical narrative, which was much easier for them to comprehend now, but through their homework, and, especially, through the experiential activities, they started, indirectly, to understand the significance of approaching the past,*'

In fact, there were classes in which the students asked to have History lessons instead of other language subjects. Educators indicated that despite the continuous use of the PEM's supplementary material, the interest exhibited by students did not decrease. On the contrary, a permeation of the practice was noted among students, resulting in protests and requests by students who were not participating in the pilot to be also taught through the programme's material.

2.2   In Terms of the Quality of the Educational Material

The educators themselves attributed the change of the students' attitude on the quality of the educational material. Its multimodality, the combination of texts, images, maps, diagrams, schemes, and sources had a positive result by offering students a general overview, a multitude of stimuli, a systematic organisation of the information according to a variety of axes.

The material supported the delivery of the lesson, provoked the students' interest with its attractiveness, and offered an opportunity for dialogue and participation in the lesson. '*I want to say what I observed too*!', a previously uninterested and nonparticipating student would say, an interjection that was such a pleasant surprise for the teacher of the class that he deemed it worthy of being quoted in his report.

According to the data submitted by the educators, the rich teaching aids and visual material (e.g. maps, charts, texts in tables), the colorful and diagrammatic and/or schematic presentations provided the impetus for students to use language to express themselves and to comment on images. Students were able to overcome any hesitation they had before, due to possible gaps in their knowledge of the Greek language, but also due to a number of other factors that caused a resistance to participation.

What proved extremely useful, according to the educators, were the maps and the timeline that were both utilized to the maximum. All these materials gave students opportunities to practice their observational and analytical skills, their ability to compare, but also, to come in contact for the first time with the study of evidence from material culture.

An educator noted: '*the blank map, the sources included in the supplementary material, the table with the classes of citizens, and the graphs, seemed to mobilize all the students, since most of them now wanted to participate in the lesson, and to answer the questions I asked based on that material. Student participation was greater in relation to previous lessons, as they showed they understood the lesson a lot better now.*'

As far as the texts of the historical narrative are concerned, educators indicated that the main advantage they offered was their varied degree of difficulty. What they found most helpful was the texts in tables, written with simple vocabulary but in long phrases, and presenting in a succinct and easily comprehensible way, with clarity and exactness, what is really essential. The educators working with classes of exclusively Turkish or Pomak-speaking students, especially, claimed that by using these texts as a basis for their teaching, they managed to successfully deal with the problem of comprehension, a problem which seemed insurmountable when they worked exclusively with the Organisation's textbooks.

Moreover, educators consider that the connection with everyday reality expanded the concept of history, highlighting more of its aspects, and also adding an experiential aspect to the lesson that attracted the interest of students. '*Will I be in the coffee house with the King's supporters again*'?, a student was reported asking; others would claim their participation in the lesson by asking: '*Miss, may I read the letter I wrote as a soldier fighting at the front?*' or '*Can I tell the story my grandfather told me?*'

In particular, activities, texts, and images related to everyday life but also to issues that concern the students caught their interest by giving the lesson a more experiential character, increasing this way their receptivity and maximising their active involvement in the process. An educator reported: '*The activities suggested in the volumes of 'A little more history' are a significant innovation because they connected teaching with the lived experience, and mobilised the students, opening the way for a change in the traditional teaching with the adoption of more active and experiential models, including teaching and learning in groups.*'

It is worth mentioning also that for the educators the balance between the experiential and the critical that permeates the pilot material of the PEM offers protection from sentimentality, as well as from attempting associations between the past and the present that ignorance of history often allows, for students and teachers alike. Presenting various views and perspectives on a topic, as attempted by the PEM material through a variety of sources, as well through the citation of contrasting information, was seen by the educators as a means of broadening the students' horizon, of nurturing their critical skills, and expanding the ways in which they think about history.

That is because such an approach facilitated not only the expansion of the criteria and the perspectives of reading the past for all the students, but also gave them hints about the concept of mediation in history, the dynamics of perspective and the diversity of interpretations. Allowing the constructive function of source selection in the narration of history to emerge, caused, perhaps, '*a first rupture in the "authority" of the school-history discourse, as it highlights the materials with which the former is constructed*' (Avdela 2007: 31).

The students responded positively also to the projection of the interaction between cultures that the pilot material attempts, as well as to the supply of information on other peoples and civilizations. Educators observed that minority students particularly appreciated any mention of their own religion and art by participating fervently in the lesson. A teacher reports characteristically: '*The same happened*

also with students of Muslim, Albanian, Bulgarian, and Russian origin in the classes I teach, a third of the year in total. They all felt inclined to speak.'

Such a choice seems to have helped the educators themselves to expand the framework of historical approach undermining in this way the Helleno-centric/ethnocentric use of school history. As a teacher phrased it succinctly: '*A feature of the supplementary teaching-material is that it broadens historical knowledge and is inclusive of peoples with whom the Greeks came into contact, both influencing them and having been influenced by them, offering them a substantial 'share' in the culture of the wider Mediterranean basin. This element renders the PEM's material a valuable tool, a confrontational one, at that, in relation to the Helleno-centric perspective of the school textbook.*'

2.3   In Terms of History Education

Attempting an overall evaluation, one might claim that the alternative approach to history taught at school suggested by the PEM's material, which was gradually applied in practice, empowered the students by mobilizing their interest towards significant learning outcomes. That is, because the teaching material and the ways in which it was organized, as educators reported, changed their way of teaching, directing the students to investigate the material with all tools available (e.g. object observation, formulation of questions, quest for answers), leading them inductively and through discovery to learning. The educational tools of the PEM's material, in other words, created the necessary conditions and supported the change of teaching in the direction of constructing knowledge through observation, examination, and dialogue. '*It is in fact noteworthy that teachers were led to this change gradually and freely through their contact with the material and its utilization in the classroom*' to quote the supervisor's statement in her final report, at the end of the first year of the pilot.

3   Stance and Resistance of Educators Involved in the Pilot

It should be mentioned, to begin with, that PEM's first invitation for educators to participate in the pilot application was not received with much interest. The response was not great, perhaps because it coincided with the discussion about the evaluation of teaching at school, a process that causes concern among teachers, and, often, overt reactions. Similar reservations were expressed vividly at the first meetings as well. Gradually, however, and through collaboration and interaction on many levels (e.g. supervisor-coordinator with teachers, teachers with each other, the responsible scientist for the pilot with teachers and supervisors), a different dynamic community emerged. A dynamic community of collective reflection emerged, based on

research and examination that seemed to mobilise teachers and empower them by contributing to their professional development.

The three-year pilot application worked extremely well, emphasizing the importance of time and experience. Gradually, the educators managed to disentangle themselves fully from the difficulties initially caused by the use of the PEM's educational material within the existent institutional framework, and to utilize, as they claimed, the possibilities it provided. One teacher reports: '*During the last year, by utilizing the experience I gained through my participation in the programme, I was able to make better use of the material, but also to feel more pleasure in being brave enough to try new things*.' One might also claim that during the pilot, there was progress in the attitude of educators toward the pilot, the didactics of the subject of history and teaching practices, in general.

More specifically, the pilot forced educators to function more creatively by finding their own solutions in the directions set by the pilot material. They were also gradually attempting an increasingly more creative use of the material. For example, they would start with a traditional use of the pilot textbooks, thinking that these ought to be taught page by page. However, they then started to function in inventive ways, selectively drawing elements from the textbooks, and taking as a guideline the actual needs of their students, they began to produce their own material, thus, continually enriching the available material.

Educators were finally able to escape the teaching logic of the single textbook, freeing themselves from the teaching practice that such logic inevitably leads to. As pointed out by a teacher in her final evaluation report: '*Gradually, it became clear to me that by using elements from the PEM textbooks, I could not only create new material, but that this might be more effective, as such material would definitely be more appropriate for these particular students. Therefore, I escaped the imprisonment in the single textbook, but also in the school book in general.*' The critical and creative attitude of the educators was after all in agreement with the pilot material itself, as the latter is open enough to encourage its own flexible utilization.

Educators tested new teaching methods in action, recognizing their own powers and weaknesses. Gradually, they reached a point of change in their teaching practices and in the enrichment of their repertory of tools. For example, the worksheets were used by the students, sometimes individually or in pairs or in small groups or collectively by the whole class. They were often used at the end of the lesson to assist in the process of assimilation; however, more often than not, they were utilized in the context of teaching students divided into small groups, in which they would be working by researching and discovering, in order to complete their worksheets. This change was actually in accordance with the principles organizing the pilot textbooks and with their philosophy in general.

The following excerpts from their reports are indicative of this change in attitude:

> *I placed emphasis on group activities, which had been presenting me with problems for a long time in the context of the pilot. Gradually, however, I came to realise that the most important problem was that I did not support them in any substantial way, as what I was mainly interested in was to cover the material and move on a certain pace. When I realised*

the significance that lied in the process itself, I was finally able to free myself from this practice, and to try ways to support my students in the context of a group activity;

   I emphasised activities promoting experiential learning and nurturing their empathic skills;

   My aim was to make students capable of understanding, decoding, evaluating; to construct knowledge on their own.

In the context of the pilot, educators approached an alternative suggestion in regards with the didactics of History. They, in fact, realized that a different perspective on History is also in unison with the diversity of methods that can be used to approach the lesson. '*For me, apart from a depository of ideas, the PEM material was also a novel proposition on the didactics of History, as well as for the practice of teaching in general; A very interesting one, that gradually became a reality in practice*', a teacher's notes.

They were obliged to reflect, not only in regard to methods, but also in relation to school-taught history, as well as its role and the distortions it has suffered within the context of ethnocentric teaching. Another teacher comments in her final report: '*History is not merely the History of great discoveries and important events. It is also the everyday life of people in antiquity. The PEM material sheds light to this History, often demolishing myths that are perpetuated through the school textbooks. Therefore, I tried to include in my lessons similar elements, which, apart from other advantages, increase the attractiveness of the lesson, bringing to it the excitement of the lived experience, bridging the gap that separates the past from the present.*'

At the same time, teachers had a chance to evolve as educators. During the last year of the pilot, teachers produced lesson plans with much more ease and less effort. They solved practical problems they faced in the beginning vis a vis the relatively techniques and strategies. They placed emphasis on teaching in groups, as well as on other teaching methods that promote experiential learning and nurturing students' skills in empathy. As they often noted themselves, their aim was to make students able to understand, decode and evaluate. Their aim was also to help students to construct knowledge on their own, in the context of sociocultural theory, and promote learning based on discovery and research.

Also, another important fact was that the educators were involved in an exploratory process, during which they experienced the value and dynamics of experimentation, reflective dialogue and feedback. What one of the supervisors reported in her final evaluation during the third year of the pilot is indicative of the process:

The gradual development of a reflective dialogue allowed the group of educators to realize the importance of exchanging views, of interacting and creating a culture of collaboration, which gradually turned into a feeling of belonging, and led to a commitment to collective action and change. It is characteristic, in fact, that, in the context of a supplementary practice and within a framework of collective participation, they did not hesitate to try.

It is important to note here, that almost all the teachers benefited from the above advantages. Differences in terms of years of experience, specialization, or familiarity with the practices of the PEM did not become impediments to the active involvement of the participants nor to the utilization of the momentum which developed within the exploratory context of the pilot. Perhaps, it was the climate of

collaboration and the interactions that mitigated certain insufficiencies, due to a lack of specialization or further training, but also due to any initial reservations.

It is also apparent that the educators focused mainly on the positive aspects, as the momentum that was created in the schools and the positive results they achieved resulted in occasional, rather light-hearted comments on problems related to the supplementary educational material they put to the test. For example, they underlined the absence of references to movies, documentaries, representations of all kinds, as well as to videos, which they believe to be very effective tools. They also considered that some of the activities in the volumes of *A Little More History* are too demanding, while, on the contrary, there are no activities for larger units where it would be very helpful. However, they did not think that such problems even slightly influenced the alternative and especially productive direction that approaching history took through the use of the supplementary material.

Moreover, some of the difficulties that occurred became the basis for an individual as well as a collective course of reflection that led to innovative choices, ones that did not merely allow them to overcome any difficulties, but also to enrich the educational process by broadening their repertoire. As succinctly stated by the supervisor in her final report:

> *The way the pilot material was utilized was connected with the great difficulties the teachers faced, at least during the first stage, as there were two parallel textbooks, the pilot and the one issued by the Organization. The road leading to the solution of this problem was long but very interesting. In the beginning, some educators chose to issue both books, a choice that had obvious disadvantages, most importantly the confusion and discouragement of the students. In other classes, they started giving out photocopies of whole units from the pilot material. Soon enough, however, they realised the drawbacks of such use, which in the end burdened the students with a second textbook, a black and white book of poor aesthetic at that. They proceeded, then, with wall-projections of pages from the PEM material in the classroom, enhancing the attractiveness of the pilot material, one of its main advantages. Gradually, they moved on to increasingly more creative uses of the material. So, the next stage was to disengage from the book, freeing themselves from the logic of processing it for teaching purposes, page by page. Instead of trying to teach from two textbooks simultaneously, they started producing their own teaching material (presentations, work sheets, etc.). They went on to planning the delivery of whole units deploying a variety of sources (PEM, school textbooks, the Internet). They also tested teaching in groups, in which students would research online for information published on the programme's website, where history books had been uploaded, in order to successfully complete the tasks allocated to their group.*

4   Conclusions-Discussion

To conclude, we can safely suggest that the pilot application, during its actualization, showed that new ways of organizing the lesson were applied and tested, based on the possibilities offered by the new textbooks that were employed as supplementary educational material. This new material was sufficiently utilized, and proved, to a large extent, to be of crucial importance in the perspective of both a wider education in history, as well as in that of the professional development of the teachers.

It mainly highlighted, however, the momentum created within a reflective framework of a pilot application, based on the active participation of the teachers. It showed that this reflective developmental process not only leads to an exploration of the educational value of teaching aids and processes in the perspective of their actual refinement, but also to the creation of a wider climate of examination and feedback with significant advantages for both educators and students.

The parametres that contributed to the shaping of such a reflective climate, and, consequently, to the successful function of the pilot application of the educational material for History, are the following:

- The collaborative and participatory nature of the programme: Educators were offered the possibility to collectively shape their framework of action through collaboration with each other and with their supervisors. Teachers adopted the in-between approach of their professional development, according to which they had an active and principal role. (Day and Sachs 2004);
- The perspective of the professional community that was created by the active participation of educators in the programme produced a feeling of security in applying innovations in practice and experimental teaching, and even in the transcendence of institutional limits, which the educators usually find suffocating under different conditions;
- The function of the two supervisors, who assumed a supportive and co-ordinating role were not experts who brought ready-made solutions to the school, but fellow researchers, who discussed all the issues that concerned them with educators and sought to find solutions in a collaborative manner. They actually helped teachers 'read' the educational situation and helped them search for solutions to the complex problems through a variety of ways and how to utilize the supplementary teaching material;
- Educators became action researchers in the context of both their classroom and of the wider group to which they belonged, evaluating the situation, and taking under consideration the educational framework of planning, implementing, reflecting and assessing, and re-planning (Carr and Kemmiss 1997).

In conclusion, and to summarize, one might claim that the pilot application, in the whole duration of its development, showed that the PEM material is suitable for minority and majority students equally. It offers a large number of possibilities to be utilized educationally in a variety of ways. It leads to a gradual change of traditional teaching modes, enriching the teaching practices of educators, while, at the same time, by broadening the approach of History, it might even contribute to the evolution of a wider education in history. It encourages teachers to become less hesitant, and, therefore, more inventive and creative, in order to overcome any institutional limitations and personal resistance.

'*Therefore*' a teacher suggests, '*without the prejudice and the suspicion that usually characterize our way of thinking vis a vis anything new and different, the PEM's material could potentially become an invaluable aid for the educator of any class, either consisting of mixed population or not, in both terms of language and of learning capacity.*'

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Pilot Literature Teaching in Thrace Muslim Minority

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Abstract This chapter presents the first findings of a pilot implementation of the use of new books and educational materials for the teaching of Literature in the three classes of public high schools. It involves six teachers from different types of schools (i.e. a school with a Muslim population, a school with a mixed population, city schools, rural schools, minority schools). The ultimate aim of the pilot application was to find out whether and how the teaching materials of the Project for the Education of the Muslim Minority in Thrace (PEM) can be used in the framework of the new curriculum to improve the school performance of Muslim pupils, their Greek-language skills and interest in literary reading.

Keywords Literature teaching · Junior high school · Minority education · Muslim minority · Minoriy schools

1   The Subject of Literature in Minority Education

During its long course of intervention in minority education, one of the many actions of the Project for the Education of the Muslim Minority in Thrace (PEM) has been reforming the school textbooks for the subject of literature in lower secondary education (high school), as well as changing the ways in which this subject is taught. During the periods between 2002–2004 and 2006–2007, PEM produced

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new educational materials and textbooks for the subject of literature, tailored to the specific needs of Muslim-minority students in Thrace (Apostolidou & Hodolidou 2007).

The starting point for the Project's intervention in the subject of literature has been a confirmed weakness and a consequent need. The confirmed and well documented weakness of minority students involves the ability to read extensive texts, literary or not, i.e. a weakness to comprehend, to make meaning of and to utilize these texts in any significant way, both in their everyday lives and in their learning history (Smith 2006). The students, therefore, need to be supported through interventions in the content of the subject of literature, in the ways it is organized and in the teaching methodology in order to gradually familiarize themselves with reading various increasingly longer texts and to develop their cultural capital, their skills in self-expression and communication, their confidence and their critical abilities.

We turn to the personal dimension of literature in order to comprehend and decipher our everyday realities and our place in a complex, polyphonic world. Our relation to literature is, in essence, a relation of accommodating the Other, helping us shape our personal and historical experiences, to orientate ourselves within an increasingly more complicated social and cultural environment and to form our individual and collective identities.

During the last 20 years or so, due to the qualities literature had been invested with in the past, it has been allocated a primary role both in various programs for minority education, as well as in every single national school curriculum that has been revised to satisfy inter-cultural education principles.[1] In both cases, the subject of literature has gained eminence as an advantageous medium for cultivating the ethical values and principles of a multi-cultural society, i.e. a society in which various cultural identities and traditions coexist, intercommunicate, and create without exclusions or stigmas (Mac Dougal 1981, Rendon 1995).

On this basis, we believe that the taught subject of literature plays a vital role in the educational curriculum for minority students in Thrace, and that it can contribute in its own unique way to the accomplishment of the Project's aim. In other words, the aim is to render all students of these schools capable of integrating and contributing on an equal basis to any of the processes, developments, and institutions that are daily transforming, both their specific, as well as their wider financial, social and cultural environments.

2   Educational Methods

Although the PEM's materials for the subject of literature should be compatible with the New School (NS) National Curriculum, their design went beyond the teaching of fragmentary texts in the school classroom to introduce the concept of

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[1] E.g., see Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation (1994), on the case of Australia, and Protherough (1995) on the case of England.

teaching units, i.e. a flexibility in the selection of texts to be taught, as well as the teaching of literary works in their entirety.[2]

On the level of teaching, it proposed the development of alternative teaching methods beyond the traditional teacher-centered ones, in order to achieve the active participation of students and to support their ability to express themselves in language. The new direction given was now student-centered, and the dominant proposition was that of teaching in groups. Other suggestions included the implementation of various methods such as dramatization as a learning tool, the project-method, as well as the introduction and use of other art forms in order to support the multimodality of students' expression through drawing, comics, music, singing and cinema (Apostolidou et al. 2000).

3   Teaching Units Instead of Single Texts

The teaching unit is a complete reading and learning process, which combines verbal and non-verbal activities and connects texts, either literary or not, with each other to form a communicational whole. The teaching unit is structured around a body of texts that are interrelated on the basis of a common element: theme, genre to which they belong, perspective, mood, etc (Sloan Davies 1991: 154). Texts, in the framework of a teaching unit, are not to be read separately, or consequently, but simultaneously, by different groups of students, who exchange their experience of the wider context of issues addressed by the unit.

The suggested texts for each unit are of various genres and have been selected according to the following criteria: the texts should be in the common modern Greek language, without elements from previous forms of the language or idiomatic expressions, which would make them harder to be understood by students of limited proficiency in Greek. The themes must be attractive and relevant to the interests of children and young adults. There has been considerable effort to include, where possible, texts about experiences of young Muslims, e.g. a text on a pilgrimage to Mecca, or another under the title *Wearing jeans and a niqab*, about the experience of a teenage Muslim girl in a western European country.

The most important criterion, however, was the variety of the texts in order for the students to come into contact with as many genres as possible (e.g. poetry, short stories, novels, biographies, autobiographies, satires, songs, plays, comics) and to develop a variety of reading strategies. Another important criterion was the possibility of dialogue between texts, and comparisons among them in the context of the same unit, so that the latter's educational targets can be served more successfully. A text, in other words, is included if it adds a new perspective to the unit's topic. As

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[2] The unit approach is consonant with the teaching method developed by Sloan Davis, G.S. (1991: 154). Using examples from many bilingual-education programmes, Jim Cummins highlights the importance of both thematic structured learning and unit approach as aids for the teacher (Cummins 1999: 130–131).

understood from the above, criteria such as a specific ratio of Greek in relation to foreign literature or a pre-decided list of great authors that ought to be taught were not in our agenda, at least not for the two first years of lower secondary education.

Each teaching unit is designed, based on the plan of a project, which is adjusted to the particularities of the subject of literature. Its duration is 2 to 3 months, depending on the frequency of lessons and the planned activities. As with all projects, the teaching of our units is developed in phases, each one set with a distinct goal. These phases are usually three and are defined by a logic that is quite different from the logic of the standardized teaching of literature at school, or from the one related to the tripartite course of teaching.

Roughly speaking, the first phase, which we named *prior to reading,* aims to introduce and make students sensitive to the topic and subject matter of the unit. Its principal aim is to provided incentives for the reading that will follow and to expand the linguistic and cultural horizon of students, creating a context of questioning that will facilitate the extraction of meaning.

The second phase, *while reading*, is perhaps the most important as we proceed to the teaching and studying of the texts. In this one, students are asked to read short texts or excerpts, longer texts (short stories, whole chapters from novels), or entire books, in school or at home. This phase is of a longer duration as it consists of many sub-stages of escalating difficulty. In other words, we begin from shorter and easier to comprehend texts, continue with longer and more difficult ones, to conclude with the reading of books cover to cover.

Each class, depending on ability, can in theory move on to as many stages as possible. It is exactly during this phase that group work assumes its greater significance. This is usually organized in the following way: the class is divided into groups and each group is responsible of reading and presenting a different text. In the context of the group, students help each other and negotiate the meaning of the text: one might have better understood a particular point, while someone else another, so they can exchange views, and make better use of each other's skills. When they finally appear in front of the class to present their texts and their homework, they have overcome the 'anxiety to find the meaning' that plagues every student, and, especially, the ones with weaknesses due to poor language skills or cultural capital.

Finally, there is a third and last phase, which is usually called *after reading*. During this phase, students produce their own discourse, not around the texts anymore but in relation to the topic of the teaching unit they were involved with.

Teaching materials for all 3 years of lower secondary education, are permeated and organized by a number of specific common principles that consequently lead to similarities in their form as well. Educators are given a complete teaching framework, along with theoretical and educational support, clear aims and objectives, and teaching methodology, involving specific activities for students. Emphasis is given to the parallel reading of texts, in order for each text to shed light to another and to increase the possibilities for the students (of a class for which diversity is a given) to find texts that are more appropriate for them.

4 The Pilot Implementation of the PEM Materials for the Subject of Literature

The new proposal for the teaching of literature and the educational materials produced by PEM were implemented for a number of years in the Compensatory Education Classes of quite a few secondary schools in Thrace: i.e. during lessons outside the set timetable, and for students who volunteered to attend classes of supplementary teaching in specific subjects, and by educators who also volunteered to participate in the Project. These educators also underwent many hours of further training organized each year by the literature team, and their comments, suggestions and feedback from applying materials in their classrooms were utilized in shaping the final proposal for the teaching of literature.

Furthermore, educational materials for literature are never static. Each teacher was responsible for the final choice and the adjustment of the appropriate educational materials to the needs and capabilities of their classroom. However, the fragmentary nature of the materials' application outside the school timetable, as implemented by teachers in further training in the framework of the PEM (to a relatively limited number of students, on the side of teaching the subject according to the NC during school hours), and despite the positive responses reported by these teachers, did not allow for safe conclusions in regards with the contribution of the material to the school performance of the Muslim students.

This is the reason we designed the pilot application of the educational materials. The particular application for the subject of literature aimed at testing the relevant PEM material within the official curriculum of specific lower secondary schools in Thrace. The ultimate aim of the pilot was to discover if and in which way the PEM educational material could be utilized towards the improvement of the performance of Muslim students, the development of their learning of Greek and reading of literature. The teaching proposal is absolutely compatible with the New Curriculum for the subject of literature, which was also in the stage of pilot implementation in specific schools in various parts of Greece during the 2012–2013 school year.

5 The Selection of the Pilot Classes and the Educators

Although the number of educators and the selected classes was limited (i.e. the classes participating in the Project and the respective teachers involved were just six), a great deal of effort was applied to make the selection as representative as possible. The teachers selected were working in the two regions where the Project was being implemented. That is, they were working in schools with exclusively Muslim populations, but also in schools with mixed population. There were pilot classes both in city and rural schools (e.g. in villages of the plains and in the mountainous areas), with Turkish and Pomak-speaking students, but also with Roma students. There were classes in all 3 years of lower secondary school participating in the Project.

At the same time, there was a choice to have a varied team of educators: (a) teachers who had been involved with the PEM in previous years through supplementary teaching, and therefore were further trained in the new teaching proposal and (b) teachers without prior connection to the Project, but who were specialized in their undergraduate or postgraduate studies in literature, intra-cultural education, or in education in general. The aim was to have as much of a representative sample as possible in the selection of students and teachers alike. In other words, it was decided that the implementation team for the pilot should be as close as possible to the conditions of a comprehensive application of the Project.

6 The Teaching Proposal and the Lesson Plans

Educators systematically observed their students' performance by keeping individual folders with their homework and notes on each one of them. The final document they had to submit was their lesson plans together with a complete report evaluating their intervention. It included a detailed report on the improvement of their students' performance, placing emphasis on specific students as case studies. The educators who had undertaken the duty to produce, apply, and evaluate teaching plans based them on the principles and the methodology suggested by the PEM's material, but also took under consideration the new Education Syllabus (ES) for the subject of literature.

The lesson plans initially emerged from the work of educators who had taken part in the PEM's further training. They were used as a basic tool for the innovations of the pilot. Lesson plans are not 'exemplary' texts in the sense of traditional 'exemplary teaching' of the past. They are examples of teaching founded upon the following logic. They are orientated towards teaching a unit of literature. Their recipient is the community of educators, they are student-centered and not teacher-centered, i.e. their content primarily addresses the way of work suggested to the students and not the material to be taught. In other words, the kinds of activities (and not necessarily questions) that would be given to them.

Moreover, the lesson plans indicate how teaching and the allocation of projects would be differentiated (individually or in groups), how the groups could be formed, and how work could be done. Clear, succinct, and realistic, each lesson plan could be taught unchanged or modified by the teacher who applies it, so that it could be adjusted to their own needs and their real classroom conditions.

In practice, each educator applied more than one lesson plan each year (especially in year three, as the lesson plans for that year are a lot shorter), in order to work along the lines of the New Education Syllabus of the New School, which was also using lesson plans. During the years the Pilot was taking place, educators became action researchers in their own classes, solving problems of a pedagogical nature (e.g. discipline, resistance from students about being taught in groups), but also purely philological, from the comprehension of the didactic philosophy of the Project to the amelioration of both their own teaching and their students' understanding of the chosen material. The team was operating as a collective 'critical

friend', exchanging work sheets, ideas, and material. That is also because, admittedly, the units were not finally taught as designed but enhanced and altered, having been molded by the personality of each individual teacher.

7   First Conclusions on the Implementation of the Pilot for the Subject of Literature[3]

The evaluation of the pilot was based on the teachers' monthly and final reports on their work, as well as the interviews completed at the end of each year. We think that we can safely suggest that the reports, to a large extent, accurately recorded everything happening in the classes of application, and that they did not present an edited version of the situation or the results.

Besides, most of the educators participating in the Project exhibited a self-critical disposition and were notably eager to place emphasis on plans that were not bringing the results they expected. Everyone involved seemed to be conscious of the fact that they are all members of a team with common goals, aims, and intentions, and that a positive spirit of collaboration, without any personal agendas and competitions between them was necessary in order to successfully reach any of the above. As they were people with very strong and diverse personalities, skills, and of various levels of knowledge, they were able to function with respect towards each other's individual personalities, as well as towards their different ways of work.

> […] it helped me a great deal because I was borrowing ideas and learning other ways of work used by my colleagues, and, I think, I would use their ideas in another, let's say, if I was to teach another similar lesson. All this helped me in general, they put me at ease, they informed me, all of this […].

During the 3 years of the pilot implementation, the ease with which educators used *teaching in groups* has really evolved. The work sheets that educators were giving their students were improved, not focusing any more on monitoring the latter's comprehension and the learning of information, but they were adjusted to PEM's view for the subject of literature. The sheets gave students an opportunity to express their imagination, motivating them towards combinatory and creative projects, demanding comparisons between texts, etc.

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[3] The Pilot actions and the conclusions reached through their evaluation, were presented and discussed in scientific conferences (at the international conference of the International Board on Books for Young People [IBBY] in Mexico, at a conference organised by the Hellenic Educational Society in Florina, Greece, and at an international conference co-organised by the universities of Toronto, the University of Crete, and the University of the Aegean, in Rhodes under the title *Rethinking Language, Diversity & Education*), while some of the teaching scenarios produced by educators have been presented in special day-conferences organised by the PEM. Finally, a personal experience from each educator's participation in the Pilot has been recored in the form of testimonies in the collective volume *Soon We Grow: Testimonies of educators on the teaching of literature in the context of the Project for the Education of the Muslim Minority*. Daniil, Christos & Hodolidou, Eleni (Eds.) (2015).

In the context of their participation in the pilot application of the subject of literature, and using the educational materials produced by the PEM, the educators were asked to design, implement and evaluate/assess teaching scenarios, tailored to the educational needs of the classes involved in the application. During this process, the objections of some of the educators to the philosophy and functionality of the suggested materials were bent. These objections were related to the unwillingness of some teachers of Greek and literature to leave behind the historical and textual approach of literature.

The educators' inability to put to practice other teaching methods beyond the direct, teacher-centered one, was another impediment that was successfully overcome with time. *Teaching in groups, drama in education, the project method* have now become the norm in teaching and organizing the material. The positive results achieved by the implementation of these new methods (although there were obvious differentiations and variations from classroom to classroom), were now visible, and they motivated them to continue their application and to overcome any potential insecurities and/or objections.

The concept of the unit consisting of three distinct phases was eventually understood, and, during the second year, the units were covered more successfully than in the first year of the application, when, in some cases, the duration of the first, preparatory phase and of the third one (which concluded the reading process), was not as extended as it should. Educators were also starting to improvise in the selection of literary texts, proceeding to the use of multi-modal texts in the classroom (e.g. watching movies).

> […] OK, I don't think that the children have learned to work properly in groups in the space of a single year, in the sense that they are now able to share, to divide responsibilities and participation equally among them. I think, however, that they took a very important step. The mere thing that has been imprinted upon their minds, that in a group we all have to participate, and that it shouldn't be one person that does all the work, is I think, a first, small stepping stone. If this were to continue, I hope that it does continue in the following years of school, and that it is also expanded, i.e. to be the case for other subjects as well, that would be great […]
>
> […] What I have learned is to be able to move between various texts –because when I was a student myself, I was used to work on one text at a time –, and that made me understand that some texts complete each other, that there is a dialogue between texts in that way, that one is able to have a slightly more general, more holistic view of a topic, and to help (speaking for myself here), I think, it helped the children too. This single text every time, that no matter if you got it or not, you have to deal with it, this is what I got rid of […]

In the parametres that contributed to the successful progress of the pilot application for the subject of literature we will have to include, to a larger or lesser degree, the following:

- The high level of the educators' training and its innovative teaching methods, due to a large extent to their attendance in the further training seminars organized by the PEM;
- The educational material produced by the PEM and at the teachers' disposal, which became the basis for the material utilized by them during their participation in the pilot;

- The self-motivation and initiative of the educators in renewing the material, to complete it with new multimodal material, and to tailor it to the different needs of each class;
- The constant, albeit discreet, supervision and guidance the educators had during the entire school year from the people responsible for the Project, in order to improve their planning and to respond to any difficulties they face in action during the educational process;
- The development of collaborative relations between all parties involved in the operation, by the exchange of experiences, good practices, and advice, mainly during the monthly Group Advisory Meetings;
- The technical and material support offered by the PEM to the educational needs of the application classes;

Also, or mostly, the following:

- The positive response of students to the experiment and the improvement of their performance, which both provided educators with constant motivation to continue their efforts.

The most important success of the pilot implementation on the level of the educators involved, was that, through their participation, the latter have fully understood the way self-education and self-improvement work. They are now able to improvise on and/or to alter existent material. They search online for additional material, use dramatization, make good use of multimodal texts in their lessons. They have the self-confidence that they can improve both their teaching, as, most importantly, the performance of their students at school. They have become perceptive observers of themselves and of their students. In short, they each have constructed the identity of an educator-researcher who is able, to a larger or lesser degree, and in diverse ways, to present and share their work in public, within the educational community.

However, we believe that overall the most important contribution of the pilot trial was the positive response of the students, the increase of their desire for reading, and their reading competency, their enthusiasm about their participation in the Project, and the progress in their performance, as reported in the educators' reports. In general, the attitude of the students has been positive. Any resistance exhibited was in regard to working in groups, that seemed unusual to them at first, but, later on, they seemed to enjoy it very much, and even the misgivings of the most shy ones among them about team work were eventually overcome.

> […] When finally, everything was on track, their response was enthusiastic! They liked being taught in groups, the fact that the texts had topics that were familiar to them. They participated in discussions, they were brave enough to present their views, and responded positively to all the activities, discovering new ways to express themselves […]

> […] The pilot really was the crowning of this whole enterprise and we sometimes felt the lesson was "taking off". The majority of students like to work in groups, the collaboration, the creative "noise" […]

> […] They surely improved in spoken Greek as they came into contact with the texts, and spoke, read, expressed themselves, and what interests me the most is that they got to love and enjoy reading literature […]

On our question whether their knowledge and skills concerning literature were improved:

> […] children are a little freer now, I think the attitude generated through the subject of literature is positive […]

On the effect of the Project on the performance of students:

> […] it helps them improve a lot, in my opinion, in regards with this particular point, to learn to work in the classroom, to learn to work together, to follow a tactic … following a tactic, in other words, helped; it taught children how to work. I was surprised that the work was actually done that way, and every time it did get done […]

In total, from the educators' reports, but also from the student-progress reports we have in our hands, it became clear that there is an upward trajectory in student performance, not necessarily a spectacularly upward trajectory, but a visible progress in the performance of all the students, mainly in their spoken Greek and in their participation in the lessons. This is easy to understand, as the majority of the students come from low economic backgrounds and, therefore, improvement in the spoken language is much easier to achieve than in writing. What remains to be ascertained is whether this progress is stable and not due to the systematic nature of the particular program. In other words, what remains to be seen is if this progress will continue outside the Project.

The materials produced by the students during the pilot offer proof of the quality of work in the classes where it was applied, and also proof of their own positive attitudes toward the program. Certainly, so much remains to be examined still. We still need, for example, to examine the students' progress during the rest of their course at school, after their return to a more conventional way of teaching. Moreover, still to be examined is the length and stability of the improvement that was evident in the students after their participation in the pilot.

To conclude, we would like to quote a small excerpt from an interview with one of our educators, i.e. her answer to our question if she will go back to the old way of teaching:

> '– Will you go back to the old way of teaching after all this?'
> '– I don't think I will go back to the old way, I won't. I can do the texts of the book too, even those I could enhance, I could do them in a different way, that's what I mean. I could use those texts also, to do other units, to work differently, first of all it's so much more, to be honest, much more comfortable, more relaxed to work in the old way. It is a bit tiring with the new one. It is very difficult.'

A question that still remains is whether all this effort put for so many years will be a fragmentary, self-contained, one off enterprise, or it will be utilized creatively from those who happen to be responsible for the planning of educational policy for the schools of Thrace, but, also, of the entire country.

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A Pilot Application of Educational Materials for the Natural Sciences in the Project for the Education of Muslim Minority Children in Thrace

Vasilis Tselfes

Abstract In this chapter, we present the design and the results of a systematic pilot application of the Science Education materials created in the context of the Project for the Education of Muslim Minority Children in Thrace (PEM) in lower secondary education of Thrace. The questions that led this pilot application were the following: Does the implementation of the materials release the creative abilities of educators? Does it allow the creation of varied teaching approaches? Does it move the context of communication in the classroom towards a negotiation of the content? Does it improve the individual level of students' involvement, as well as their learning outcomes?

The answers were positive. However, we are concerned about the future of our materials, as the institutions and the communities supporting the schools did not seem to show any interest.

Keywords Muslim minority · Science education · Education materials · Lower secondary education · Teaching approaches

1 Introduction

Recently, a series of educational materials (i.e. activity books for students, teachers' handbooks and an assortment of laboratory materials) were created in the context of the PEM. Their purpose was to facilitate the teaching and learning of Natural Sciences (NS) in high schools in Thrace. These materials were developed alongside with their use in the context of supplementary teaching for Muslim students, were

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approved by the Greek Institute of Pedagogy, and were re-printed by the Organisation for the Publishing of Educational Books.[1]

The main objectives for the production of such materials were quite ambitious: to begin with, the materials had to be designed in ways that would enable their effective use in combination with the materials designated by the official Curriculum for the teaching-learning of NS in all Greek high schools; At the same time, they had to serve a compensatory function in addressing problems that could potentially arise due to the students' limited knowledge of the Greek language, as is the case with the minority students in Thrace.

In the years that followed, the Educational Materials for the Natural Sciences (EM-NS) ran their own autonomous course in relation to their authors/creators. Despite this, the materials seemed to be generally surviving, to be widely discussed on various levels of Greek general education, and thus to demand a re-negotiation in retrospect. We, therefore, reached the conclusion that the time had come for a systematic pilot application of the materials in the high schools of Thrace, in the context of the everyday lessons in classes consisting purely of minority students in remote regions of the country, but also in mixed classes in urban areas. The PEM presented us with such a possibility, and this chapter is a succinct account of relevant facts, findings, and of the productive process itself.

2   Theoretical Framework

The central hypotheses, which produced the central questions concerning the pilot application, were the following:

A. *The 'lesson', irrespectively of textbooks and available educational materials, is designed and organised by the teacher*

Even though the official school text-book is most often the basis for organising lessons, we should underline the fact that the organisation proves to be most effective when the educator seriously takes into consideration the variables of the complex dynamics between teaching and learning, one of which is the educational materials used. What attests the validity of a lesson's organisation, finally, is the degree to which it succeeds to involve the students, as well as the actual learning outcomes.

The materials, therefore, ought to be attractive primarily for the educator. Would teachers choose to use them, even as supplements, turning them into a significant medium of communication with their students? Could the materials guide teachers to design and implement lessons, which would be in tune with both their direct and

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[1] Printed materials, as well as information on the participants in this collective effort can be found on PEM, http://www.museduc.gr/el

indirect principles, if the lessons were successful at involving the students, eventually leading them to reach satisfactory learning outcomes?

B. *No two educators are/could ever be alike*

The results of the relevant research conducted by our scientific group (Gkotzaridis et al. 2015), identified at least five different categories of NS educators' teaching profiles. More significantly, this research revealed that educators evaluate a teaching suggestion following a decision-making process, i.e. whether they like it or not and whether it is feasible to apply. Also, their practice is not necessarily pre-determined by their own attitudes. In their daily lives, educators equally follow teaching paths that they may dislike. This fact underlines the differentiation of educators as an educational teaching condition that is equally significant with that of the differentiation of students; such differentiation is expected to be present even after the most successful special teachers' training.

That means that, optimally, our materials could offer educators the possibility of differentiated reading and management, especially adjusted to the individual teaching profile of each educator. In other words, if the exact same work sheet were to be selected by educators of different teaching profiles (perhaps because they liked it, or thought of it as challenging) it would be altered in such a way that it could meet the needs of educators within the context of a teaching scenario (lesson plan).

C. *The educational materials can bring the content at the centre of interest within the teacher-student relationship*

Even though this hypothesis seems rather trivial, it is in fact a valid one, as the concern about the content of studies in a school that is mainly preoccupied with evaluating its students is more or less non-existent. Usually, content is a constant and non-negotiable point of reference, which ends up serving the purpose of dictating, to both educators and students, ways to estimate the distance that separates student performance from excellence (Tselfes and Parousi 2010, 2012). However, approaching 'excellence' as success in the exams results in a disastrous reshaping of content: the former numbs the latter in order to make possible the impartiality of the exams. How could students' answers to the exam questions be unique, if the content of the teaching-learning subject was constantly evolving and under negotiation by the active agents of the educational process, exactly like the scientific production that gives birth to it, one might ask.

Our materials, therefore, ought to liberate the content from one-dimensional representations serving 'objective' evaluations / exams and distorting their own scientific momentum. At the same time, they would allow diversified approaches with increased chances to affect the diversified teaching profiles of educators, either through the perspective of 'what one likes', and / or the perspective of 'what one is suited for'. Under these conditions, the materials would end up at the centre of interest within the relation between students and educators. Hopefully, they could also motivate the students' interest and increase their involvement, a result that could potentially help overcome even the impediments presented by gaps in their knowledge of the Greek language.

Based on the above analysis, the questions that led this pilot application of the EMNS were the following: Does the implementation of the materials in the day to day lessons:

- Release the creative abilities of educators?
- Allow the creation of varied teaching approaches?
- Move the context of communication in the classroom towards a negotiation of content?
- Improve the individual level of involvement of minority students, as well as their learning outcomes?
- Lead to the production of new educational materials and through them to the enrichment of the available EM-NS in the project?

3   Methodology

The quantitative characteristics of the pilot application were as follows:

The pilot application of the educational materials for the subjects of NS in the regions of Xanthi and Rodopi for all 3 years of high school in the cities (mixed students), and in the outer region (purely minority students) of Thrace, involved for a period of five consecutive semesters:

- Seven educators (S. Anastasiadou, S. Veranoudis, K. Ioannidou, A. Kitsou, K. Rizos, K. Sarikas, F. Fotiadis);
- Two specialist scientists as supervisors (Ch. Gotzaridis, G. Epsimos)
- An affiliate scientist (G. Fasoulopoulos), and
- A scientist responsible for the project (V. Tselfes)

The total duration of the intervention of the pilot application was five semesters (spring semester of 2011–2012, winter and spring semesters of 2012–2013 and of 2013–2014). The lesson plans were produced during the three first semesters, while most of them were applied for a second time during the two final semesters and were consequently improved.

From the total number of educators (i.e. seven), four with clearly distinct teaching profiles remained in the same position for the whole duration of the application. In total, all seven of them taught in 52 classes of years one, two and three of high school. They addressed 966 students in total, 258 during the school year 2011–2012, 346 during 2012–2013, and 362 during 2013–2014, spread out in the prefectures of Xanthi and Rodopi (651 in the prefecture of Xanthi and 315 in that of Rodopi).

The learners attended classes with a mixed, Greek and Turkish-speaking student population (30 classes) or with exclusively Turkish-speaking students (12 classes). In terms of numbers, 648 students were native speakers of Greek and 318 were native speakers of Turkish or Pomak.

The educators created, implemented, and evaluated 294 lesson plans in total (60 during 2011–2012, 136 during 2012–2013, and 98 during 2013–2014) for the

subjects of NS taught at high school. The lesson plans for Physics, Biology, and Chemistry in all 3 years of high school, were based, more or less, on the educational materials of the project, following their philosophy and produced specific learning outcomes as reflected in the students' progress.

In particular, the educators were asked to use the project's EM-NS to plan and implement teaching interventions, wherever and whichever way they deemed necessary in order to facilitate the achievement of their goals (whatever these might be), during regular lessons with their students at the high schools where they were employed.

Educators were obligated, to first discuss these plans as well as their results (before and after the implementation) in monthly meetings with the appointed supervisor of the action and also with their colleagues in the same prefecture, and, secondly, to keep a record to be submitted according to subject unit in written monthly reports. In other words, educators participating in the action of the pilot application had the relative freedom to choose whether and in which ways they would utilise the educational materials, as long as they were able to convince their supervisor and colleagues about their choices. In this way, we may safely assume that the materials were fully exposed to the educators' discretion, both on a personal and on a social level.

Using the available data within the framework discussed above, we put to the test:

a. *The extent to which the educators followed the perspective of the project's educational materials, as well as whether their approaches were modified with time or not.*

The analysis, in this case, was conducted on each of the lesson plans, taking into account the following variables: content (was the approach free from old-school formalism?); teaching approach (was the approach constructionist or, at least, of a constructivist nature, or did it finally followed the path of discovery or transfer?); relation to the state curriculum (did it enrich and correct the official programme of studies, or not?).

Based on the above, one could attempt a quantitative analysis, as each lesson plan was marked on a scale from 5 to 1, in each of the three variables. These marks could, on one hand, dictate an estimate on the course of what the educators produced with time, and, on the other, they facilitated a correlation of the plans with both the students' progress and with their individual characteristics.

In addition, each lesson plan could be classified qualitatively under one of the following three categories: (a) *expected,* as in that which organises interventional activities for the students in combination with necessary discussions around matters of content that generate doubt and allow questions to which the possible answers might be more than a single plausible representation or interpretation. This category included most of the activity pages that come with the educational materials of the project; (b) *laboratory based*, as in that which organises activities of traditional practice within a teacher-led laboratory of discoveries for students arranged in groups; and, (c) *innovative*, as in that which consists of teaching suggestions conceived by the educators themselves and involving game activities or narrative

techniques of communication. This rating was meant to show the degree to which educators adjusted to the suggestions of the EM-NS in the project.

For the analysis, we used 136 lesson plans in the school year 2012–2013, which offered sufficient data involving 5 educators and 346 students in total. From the plans of year 2011–2012, which included a whole semester dedicated to adjustments of the application, we only used the lesson plans of 4 educators whose participation in the pilot project continued during the next school-year, and only in order to test if and toward which direction the educators involved had changed the lesson plans used for the same content. In this frame of mind, we dealt with the scenarios of teaching for the 2013–2014 school year, during which educators were mainly negotiating their previous lesson plans.

The lesson plans devised by all the educators (including those who had taught only during 2011–2012, and 2013–2014) were examined quantitatively in regards with the teaching approaches chosen, in order for the teaching profiles of the educators to be highlighted and consequently correlated with their effectiveness.

b. *The extent to which the educators positively appreciated (or not) the effect of the educational materials, based on their own teaching preferences, on the atmosphere in the classroom, and on their students' performance.*

To this end, we qualitatively analysed the texts submitted by the educators and their supervisors at the end of each school session, as well as their estimates in regard to involvement and month-to-month performance of the minority students.

4   Results

1. As seen in the following table, educators and supervisors in unison, followed to a significant degree, the guidelines of the project's EM-NS, producing almost 70% of the total lesson plans as 'expected'. However, a significant percentage of lesson plans (20%) reshaped the EM's suggestions into the old and trusted form of teacher-led laboratory-based discovery exercises, whilst a parallel 10% approximately fell into the category of innovative and imaginative lesson plans within the general guidelines of the EM-NS (Table 1).

2. The quality of the above lesson plans was marked using three indicators (on a scale from 1 to 5) raised from the work sheets. These indicators concerned:

Table 1 Categories of lesson plans produced during the school year 2012–2013

Level	Expected	Laboratory	Innovative
1	26	2	3
2	31	19	2
3	34	12	7
Total	91	33	12

The Content   A lesson plan would be marked low in terms of content if the presentation of the latter in the work sheets emphasised theoretical representations and concerned an aspect of the natural world that was actually absent from the space of the classroom. A high mark would be given to that plan which presented the content through a laboratory device made in the classroom, either real or virtual. The work sheet, in effect, made provisions for a technical aspect as well.

The Teaching Approach   A high mark would be given to the work sheet which clearly presented targets for the students and did not pre-describe the achievement of those targets in a one-dimensional way. A high mark, therefore, would indicate that the work sheets demanded from the students to complete particular tasks (e.g. to construct something, to interpret an event, to predict a situation, to organise a presentation, etc.); In other words, the plans not implying that the student's obligation was merely to complete the work sheet correctly. Furthermore, a high mark was a sign that the students' projects could have more than one acceptable 'solution'.

The Relation to the Curriculum   A high mark, in this case, meant that the work sheets included activities that functioned as corrective to the guidelines and directions of the official curriculum.

The average scores of the lesson plans in the year 2012–2013 per month show a relatively stable and high quality of production (3–5) by the educators in reference to the suggestion of the project's materials. This approach relates to all three indicators.

The representation of this process in time vividly shows the time frames of the educators' adjustments. In the first semester (until the month of December), the adjustment of the teaching suggestions to the logic of the materials follows an upward trajectory. In the second semester, this adjustment matured, reaching an equilibrium with the educators' personal beliefs and preferences, and was consequently stabilised. In these results, the timeframes of maturing but also of 'relaxation' acquire a certain relatively measurable characteristic.

3. The students' progress within the same timeframe was estimated through an indicator of progress, which was devised based on estimations by the educators in regards to the effort, participation, and efficacy of the students in the educational activities. This indicator expresses the percentage of Muslim students whose participation or learning results appeared to be advancing toward a positive outcome, in relation to the total number of minority students.

The evaluation of a positive outcome was directly connected to the comments of the educators, and the logic behind it was that if a minority student begins to be more vocal in the classroom or decides to use their special abilities (e.g. manual dexterity), they have perhaps made the biggest step in their progress at school. For example, the changes in students were considered positive when their teachers would make comments such as the following:

> *'All of a sudden, the student started trying, and, in fact, to really change. He did better also in two exams.'*

'She really tried very hard to participate in her group but is still afraid to speak in the classroom.'

'He continues to surprise me with his abilities; however, despite all this, his performance in writing does not seem to improve.'

On the contrary, we considered that there was no positive progress when the teacher's comments were such as the following:

'Last year, she attended the PEM at noon, and was generally more interested. This year, she does not put too much effort.'

'He is still on the sidelines.'

In this logic, the general progress of the performance indicators for the minority students indicate an increase in time, and eventually indicate exceptionally high and relatively stable progress. A significant aspect of this progress lies in that it does not follow the ups and downs representing the progress and maturing of the teaching suggestions. A progress and maturity which seems, after all, to be an internal process, concerning the educators themselves (in relation to their constructions), without a real effect on their work in the classroom (apart form the initial stage in the first few months).

4. In relation to the effect of the implementation of the EM-NS of the project on the teaching convictions and practices of educators, the reflective texts of the teachers themselves, as they appear in their final yearly report, are used as a source of data, together with information provided in the supervisors' reports.

These data highlight different ways and degrees of the materials' effect, which both appear to be in fact dependent mainly on the pre-existing teacher-profile and the work environment of the educators:

I. A case of subversion in the relation between educator and content

An excerpt from a final report:

[...] My lessons, even before the pilot application of the programme, were often delivered in the lab, with the use of experiments. My teaching was based on work sheets that guided the students step by step towards the particular facts I wanted them to learn… In the course of my participation in the actualisation of the pilot, I neither found answers and solutions, nor a magic formula that would correct everything and solve my problems. I found a new philosophy to which I attempted to subsume my lessons, my students, but also myself and my way of work: the philosophy of discovery, of searching for solutions, of discussing them with the class even when I disagreed with something, to create something new, regardless of how well it was going…

II. A case of subversion in the relation of the educator with their professional environment

Another excerpt from a report:

[...] Fatigue is a factor that does not concern me. What really concerns me is whether the target has been reached. But what exactly is that target? … Too many times I would finish the lesson wondering how many exercises did we do, what have we learned, what is the next test going to be on? Now, after the pilot application, when I finish a lesson, I mostly think

about the children, sometimes happy, at others puzzled or tired, looking at me, and what I feel has more to do with their actual company than with their performance. My daily reality in the classroom has become more substantial and emotional, compared to my previous technocratic one…

III. A case of empowerment and development of an educator

An excerpt from the most recent concise report:

[...] My teaching actions as an educator before the pilot application were very close to the philosophy of the material provided by the Natural Sciences programme...

After the pilot I came to realise so much more in regards with the educational practice. The books for the teacher included in the materials were very useful in regards with individual targets but also in the process of evaluation; I became more methodical in making use of feedback through observing the application and reporting the results; I am continuing, feeling inclined to include in my daily lessons all these things I have learned; I am satisfied when through this process I now see my students evidently happier and more creative…

IV. A case of resistance based on the dynamics of the work environment.

Two of the educators developed the tendency to systematically alter the work sheets in order to produce their own, working in directions that subtracted the work sheets' predominant constructionist nature. What was promoted instead was a constructivist teaching approach around clearly distinct teacher-led laboratory practices. This was a conscious choice they made, which does not necessarily mean they were motivated by a devaluing attitude toward the project's materials. The learning outcomes of this choice were evident in the exam results.

5   Discussion

The results of the evaluation of the EM-NS show that:

a. The pilot application was successful in enriching and diversifying the educational materials. In particular, the lesson plans that emerged from the use of the materials, especially the accompanying work sheets, are now covering the whole spectrum of subjects in the high school curriculum. In the last year of the application, they also covered subjects that were included for the first time in the curriculum of 2013–2014 for first-year Physics.

Furthermore, the variety of different approaches to the same topics, resulting from interventions in the project's materials by educators with very different teaching profiles, created a data bank of work sheets, which can serve, to a large extent, the inevitable diversity of educators. This can be achieved now, without affecting the teaching direction and educational philosophy of the project.

b. The results of the evaluation showed that the Project's educational materials could also serve the diversification of teaching-learning on the students' part. It became evident that by using the materials, educators could now effortlessly focus on different learning attitudes exhibited by students. Students' progress, begun based on their dexterity in using materials, was more visible now. The same held true for students who functioned well with the help of their fellow students in groups, those who took advantage of their communicational skills to lead, those who could positively surprise us with their unexpected insights, etc. What became most apparent, however, was that the structure of the educational materials provided teachers the time necessary to intervene and to either reinforce or discourage various learning practices, away from any initial conclusions reached prematurely.

c. The pilot application freed the creative abilities of educators and allowed for the creation of teaching suggestions that seem to be able to surpass the project without running off course from its general guidelines. Each one of these suggestions, apart from consisting of a specific case study, also offers positive proof for the quality of the educational materials.

We believe that good educational material must be flexible. In other words, good educational material should provide incentives for change, where teachers can leave their personal mark in the course of the material's history in the educational process.

d. The actual process of organising the course of the pilot's implementation was evidently successful as well. The structure of the team of the educators applying the pilot, with a local supervisor and a centrally operating co-ordination, was successful in convincing the educators, not only about the effectiveness of team work in their profession but went as far as de-demonising the process of evaluation of teaching at school.

e. On the other hand, the educators involved in the application had all participated more than once in the further-training meetings and seminars organised in the context of the project during its long course in Thrace, before the official start of the pilot (i.e. their participation was actually one of the criteria for their selection to be part of the pilot in action and was checked beforehand in fairly reliable ways). Despite this, only one out of seven educators had been actually convinced about the whole spectrum of the project, and, especially, both about the significance of the educational suggestions and the materials. The rest were eventually convinced and functioned in constructive ways in regards to all the directions of the project, through their own participation in the pilot. This fact is rather indicative of the weaknesses of the further-training initiatives based on communication, as opposed to those actually involving teachers, motivating them to leave their own mark in every step of the process within extended periods of time.

f. The results render visible, in the most vivid way, the timeframe of repose in the educational momentum. A school-year semester provides the time necessary to stabilise both the teaching as well as the learning practices. What is most significant here, however, lies in the differentiation between the adjustment of the

teaching and the learning practices. Educators seem to be progressively involved in a positive way but also through productive feedback with the teaching practices suggested by the EM-NS, which they finally managed to stabilise, though not without some ups and downs, after the first semester. The students' involvement and learning practices, respectively, evolve in a stable rhythm, without strong fluctuations or feedback-related changes. Perhaps, that means that the effect on the learning success of students depends mainly on the degree of the educators' involvement and, to a lesser extent, on the product of such involvement (i.e. the specific characteristics of the lesson plans). This, however, signifies that the principal factor of the overall success has been the commitment of educators and students alike to an innovative and, certainly, complex educational effort.

g. Reading Michael Fullan's 2000 article 'The Three Stories of Education Reform', and seeing through the theoretical lens of complexity (Mainzer 1994), we can conclude that in order for a large-scale educational reform to be successful, the discussions about education taking place within the educational community, between the educational community and society, as well as between the educational community and the institutions, ought to include a topic which everybody feels that they can discuss with ease.

For the Greek educational system this topic does indeed exist, and it is, unfortunately, the topic referred to as '*exams*. The pilot application showed that we can actually construct educational materials in the Natural Sciences, by use of which we can bring back content at the centre of interest for the educational communities, starting with the educators and successfully involving through them, and regardless of language skills, their students.

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Part III
Education of Roma Students

Investigating Literacy Issues on Roma Education

Eleni Skourtou

Abstract Roma education in Greece is addressed through long scale nationwide programs that aim to enroll Roma children in school, to prevent drop out, and to support children to succeed academically. With these objectives in common, the programs serve as a wider context for multiple local implementations, according to local needs and priorities. The three examples of literacy supporting activities that are presented in this chapter come from different educational and social contexts and demonstrate the theoretical approaches behind them.

Keywords Roma education · Literacy · Prior knowledge · Funds of knowledge · Bilingualism

1 Introduction: Roma in Europe and in the World

Roma communities are to be found all over Europe: Eastern & Western, Southern & Northern Europe, Central Europe, England. Roma were thought to be originally from Egypt, hence the name Gypsy (=Egyptian), but they migrated from India and entered Europe through the Eastern Roma Empire (Byzance) in the middle ages. Exact dates of entry remain uncertain. In India, they are considered to have been part of the lowest Hindu caste, and they were subjected to 'untouchability'. In the nineteenth century there was Roma immigration from Europe to the Americas. It is estimated that there are 1 million Roma in the USA and 800,000 in Brazil.

In Europe, Roma have experienced extreme marginalization, and they have been exposed to persecution, as they have been victims of the Nazi Holocaust. Nowadays, though all European countries have banned racial discrimination, according to the official European Commission site for "Roma integration in the EU countries", Roma still represent a strongly marginalized, minorized group. Roma people are often "victims of prejudice and social exclusion" (European Commission 2018).

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Regarding the education of Roma, the early approaches were strongly influenced by the following ideological pendulum: on the one side, Roma were considered to be of unchangeable nature (the so called: Roma 'soul') that would make any educational attempts fruitless; on the other side, Roma were approached as 'homines educandis', i.e. they were supposed to be 'correctable' through education. Correction though education would mean that Roma would eventually abandon their life style and they would integrate into the market (Trubeta 2013).

Regarding the size of Roma population in Europe, there are estimations rather than safe numbers. Central agencies, as the EU itself (see site above), use a rather uncertain way when referring to Roma communities in numbers. On an official EC site for the Roma integration policy until 2020 reads: "Roma is the largest ethnic minority in Europe. Out of an estimated 10–12 million in total in Europe, some 6 million live in the EU, and most of them hold the citizenship of an EU country" (European Commission 2018).

Roma is the official name (used by the central and the local EU agencies / states) of a very diverse group, also known as Romany people, Gypsies, Sinti, Gitan, Gitano, Zigeuner, Tsigan, Cigan, Gyfti, Αθίγγανοι (Greek = Untouchable), Travelers, Bohemiens (France, fifteenth Century).

2   Roma in Greece

In the territory of Greece, Roma settlements have been known to exist as far back as in fourteenth century. The modern Greek state was founded in 1832; however, the Roma people were granted Greek citizenship in 1976 (Vasiliadou and Pavli-Korre 2011). Regarding the Roma population in total, in Greece, like elsewhere in Europe, there are estimations rather than safe numbers.

As we have already mentioned, Roma became Greek citizens in the 1970s. In 1996, we have the first attempt to map the Roma settlements in Greece (Vasiliadou and Pavli-Korre 2011). In numbers, Roma are estimated to be ca. 200,000 people (Vavougios 2008) or 250,000–300,000. The Greek National Statistics Agency keeps no separate records about the Roma, since they are Greek citizens. There are Roma communities all over Greece, and they are differently marginalized, in terms of the geography of their settlements and of the degree of social integration/minorization. For example, in northern Greece there are Roma Muslims who are regarded to belong to the Muslim Minority (Mavromatis 2005). The Muslim minority in northern Greece is a legal entity that consists of three groups: Turkish speaking Muslims, Pomak Muslims who speak the Pomak language, and Roma Muslims who speak Romani. The international agreements that designed and imposed the legal context for the Muslim minority in northern Greece, on the one hand, stress the religion aspect for all (i.e. all are Muslims) and, on the other hand, Turkish as the minority

language for all (i.e. Turkish is considered to be the language that all speak and/or have to learn in the minority schools). Neither the Pomak language nor Romani are considered as minority languages and, consequently, they are not taught in the minority schools. In this way, both communities are further minorized in the context of the wider Muslim community (Mavromatis 2005).

As for the language, Greek Romani is one of the languages that are traditionally spoken in Greece. According to Sella-Mazi (2006, 2016), Greek Romani does not have very strong sustainability, but it is not on a course of an inevitable language shift (except from the case of Muslim Roma).

3   Roma Education in Greece: General Outline

Roma education in Greece started in the 1980s with adult education programs. The target group was primarily uneducated adults, and the first programs were of small local scale. Roma education started receiving massive support in the 1990s, when there was a shift in focus to the children of school age. Specifically, the Greek Ministry of Education started initiating nationwide projects that aimed at enrolling Roma children in school, supporting them to prevent drop out, and supporting them to achieve academically. These projects were carried out by the universities and tried to build bridges between the Roma communities, the local schools and the mainstream community (Papakostantinou et al. 2004, Kyprianos et al. 2012). New learning materials were designed and implemented; teachers were trained; and mediators were appointed to help communication between members of the community and mainstream institutions. From 1996 to this date, six nationwide programs were run by Greek universities. The most recent program started in 2015, and it is jointly run by the University of Athens, the University of Thessaloniki, and the University of Thessaly. It incorporates the expertise accumulated up to date from all previous ones. One thing that must be stressed is that this program (like the previous ones, as well) has general objectives and priorities, but at the same time the entire program is offered as a context, in which each group acting locally can pursue local priorities. Instead of working on the same pattern in each part of the country, each local project implementation adjusts to local needs / circumstances. The three general objectives that unite all locally implemented projects remain the same through the time: enroll Roma children in school; support them in school to prevent drop out; and support them to achieve academically. The focus is on school education and literacy in Greek. There are no centrally designed guidelines on how to deal with Romani. The general framework is one of respect of the community culture in general. In the educational materials, the references to the community culture are common, however, less so in respect of the community language.

4 Roma Social Inclusion, Their Bilingualism and Literacy

As mentioned earlier, Romani in Greece (also called: Greek Romani) is a language which has been traditionally used in Greece and though it is considered to have a weak sustainability perspective, it is not considered to be undergoing an inevitable shift to Greek, except from the case of Muslim Roma in northern Greece. Sella-Mazi's (2006, 2016) approach to Romani in Greece relates it to languages other than Greek that are traditionally used in Greece. Quite differently, Gotovos (2013) refers to Romani as being generally in a language shift course. For him, in the rare case where Romani is still predominantly used, it is usually a dialectical variety. Either /or, in view of education, we must see which role is given to this language. Going through the learning material designed for educating Roma children, we see that there are lexica in Greek and Romani that are used as scaffolding material (Walqui 2007). Apart from this, there is more emphasis on the Roma cultural features that appear in the texts, rather than the language itself.

The marginalization or limited use of Romani (e.g. lexica as scaffolding) in the education of Roma children in Greece can be seen through multiple perspectives:

(a) It represents an approach to Romani use as a human right (Ruiz 1984) reserved for communication in the family and in the community. The school does not intervene, and it shares no responsibility for the community language.
(b) Since Romani is used in an oral form, it is not considered to play a role in school literacy, and it is not considered a bridging continuum to the mainstream Greek (Hornberger 2003).
(c) It represents an attempt to create a 'common social space' (Gotovos 2013) in the school through a common language. In this common space, Roma children socialize with their mainstream peers in ways that educational segregation and minorization can be avoided. Use of the community language in school is believed to contribute to segregation.
(d) It represents the "maximum exposure hypothesis" (Cummins 2000, 2001), according to which, learning a target language requires the maximum possible exposure to this language with parallel reduction of the exposure to other languages. In this case, the target language is Greek and the 'other' language' is Romani. In doing so, languages other than Greek are considered to waste time (Gotovos 2013).

As mentioned earlier, the program has no strict regulations. So, the local implementations vary considerably.

Let us turn to the literacy issue. Romani is used in the community primarily in oral form. Vocabulary, that is monitored through the lexica, is an oral vocabulary that is written. Words are not standardized. This does not mean that literacy is an unknown terrain in Roma communities. As Kostouli (2015) and Maglara (2008) mention, Roma children come from "literacy communities", but we lack sufficient knowledge about the Roma community-based literacy. What kind of literacy activities do the children in the community engage in? How does apprenticeship in

community and family routines and rituals require modes and tools that are supporting literacy? Through which unofficial educational forms do people in the community acquire literacy skills that are useful for the school too? What literacy practices prevail? What is 'useful' knowledge?

A safe way to find answers to these questions is the ethnographic participatory observation on the field (Skourtou 2013). The point is that the program is designed as an educational intervention, and the teachers who are employed or volunteer must make decisions and proceed with supporting children. Ethnographic research goes parallelly to intervention, not before it. Teachers or/and volunteers go through an introductory training, and they are given an assignment and materials to work with: to support children who are already in school; to support children who are at risk of dropping out or children who have already done so.

Having said the above, we mean that when Roma children enroll into school they come face to face with school literacy, not with literacy in general. If it so, why does the following contradiction exist? On one hand, Roma communities are considered communities of literacy (or communities of organized orality); on the other hand, the official statistics point to high levels of Roma 'illiteracy'. An answer would be that literacy and school literacy are used as synonyms, which makes any form of literacy other than school literacy neither visible nor acknowledgeable.

5 Examples of Literacy Activities in the Context of the Program that Try to Combine School and Community Literacy Skills

As mentioned before, the program for Roma education serves as a context where locally differentiated activities (smaller programs) are designed and implemented. Three examples of literacy supporting activities are presented. They were chosen because they represent different, but complementary ways of working with Roma children in different educational contexts. They also demonstrate how theory is applied, how the issues of language, bilingualism, orality, literacy, meaning making in the school interplay. One example is taken from the greater area of the city of Thessaloniki in northern Greece (Skourtou 2013); the other two are taken from the island of Rhodes in southern Greece (Vratsali 2013; Skourtou 2014). The educational context differs as well. The first example comes from an intercultural school, which practically means a school with no mainstream students. The second example comes from a mainstream school. The third example comes from the community (literacy supporting activities in the community). None of the examples refers to the Muslim minority in northern Greece.

(i) Intercultural School in Dendropotamos (Thessaloniki area) / Creating a 'big book'

The text we present (Skourtou 2015) is an 'identity text' (Cummins and Early 2011; Kompiadou and Tsokalidou 2014; Kourtis-Kazoullis 2011) produced by the fifth Grade students in the Intercultural School in Dendropotamos in Western Thessaloniki. The population in the area is socially deprived, and the school is not a mainstream school. Its student population consists mainly of Roma children who live in a nearby settlement and immigrants, who are mostly newcomers.

The children produced a big book devoted to an official celebration or memory days throughout the year. The text refers to the day of 'Mother Tongues'. The authors write (children's spelling and choices have not been edited):

> "…The language that I use when talking to my mom is my Mother tongue. Here in Dedropotamos most children are Roma and we have romani as mother tongue. At home we speak romanesh. Every morning mom wakes us up and says ousti te tzas school get up to go to school. In our language, we have many greek words For Roma children the greek language is a second mother tongue.
>
> In our class, we have a friend and classmate, Achmet Vakas and he has Pakistani as mother tongue. Here in Dendropotamos he learned greek too. In Pakistan he went up to the third class primary school. The teacher has Mother Tongue the Greek Language. We teach our teacher Romanesh.
>
> He is doing excellent. The teacher says dikate (look here) and he points to the blackboard. Amen assass (we laugh)…."

In this short text, there is a lot of theory.

The children introduce their wider community, both culturally and linguistically ("… here in Dendropotamos most children are Roma and we have romani as mother tongue..).

They report about the languages used at home ("… at home we speak romanesh..") and they refer to their morning routine before going school. They point to their "mother tongue" ("…The language that I use when talking to my mom is my Mother tongue.."). They switch from Greek to Romani to demonstrate how the mother is urging the children to get up and go to school ("…*ousti te tzas* school get up to go to school…"). They are aware of the language contact between Greek and Romani and of the language loans ("…In our language, we have many greek words…"). They express their feelings about both their languages, they connect them ("…For Roma children the greek language is a second mother tongue…").

They also introduce the language and cultural diversity in their school class and point to their classmate who immigrated from Pakistan to Greece and to their teacher as well. As for the classmate, they give information about his land of origin, his language, his school experience back home. They also refer to him becoming bilingual in Greece ("…here in Dendropotamos he learned greek too…").

At the end, they refer to their teacher. They point out that "…the teacher has Mother Tongue the Greek Language" and they add that they (i.e. the children) teach the teacher Romani, for him to become bilingual as well. They evaluate his language progress ("…He is doing excellent…"), and they make fun with him speaking Romani.

Summarizing the issues of theory that are inherent in this short text, we conclude that the literacy activity of writing a text to celebrate the "International day of

mother tongues" turns out to be an identity text, then it is a portrait of the authors themselves in relation to their families, their community, their friends, their languages and their teacher. The text also offers a description of the translanguaging practices in the family and in the community (Garcia 2009; Tsokalidou 2017). On his side, the teacher does not exclusively focus on the target language; he does not follow the 'maximum exposure' principle (Cummins 2000, 2001); he does not remain in the comfort of this (mainstream) language, waiting for the children to 'move' to the target language (Govaris et al. 2003). He puts himself in an apprenticeship relationship learning Romani from and with the experts (i.e. the students), and he dares to use it. Students feel comfortable in evaluating him and making fun of him.

(ii) Mainstream primary school in Rhodes/parallel Roma class/Making a lexicon

We present here a literacy activity for learning vocabulary in Greek in a Roma parallel class in a mainstream primary school in Rhodes. A parallel class means that children who need extra support to keep pace with their mainstream classmates receive this support in small groups, either after class or for short time parallel to the class.

The task was the creating of a small digital Greek-Romani lexicon by the students (Vratsali 2013). It was designed on the ground of other existing lexica in the project. The children who took part (a group of six) were of varied classes, proficiency language level, experience with school literacy and experience with e-devices. This created a mixed ability group. For example, there were children with limited school literacy knowledge who were experienced in using e-devices.

They started constructing the lexicon by 'collecting' and writing down words from their school classmates, teachers, parents, siblings and friends.

Furthermore, the children made the connection between the Romani and the Greek words, both on the level of their meaning, as well as, on the level of their structure. To do so, they discussed their options with their teacher; they used paper and pencil, as well as a laptop. Nobody was excluded because each student could start where he/she felt more comfortable, either in Romani or in Greek.

The end product had the form of a slides series with a short text, picture and sound. Each slide corresponded to a letter of the Greek alphabet and to a word. The Romani words were written in Greek letters in the way they were heard. The sound supported the correct pronunciation. There was also short grammar information where needed (e.g. declination of certain verbs).

The children participated in all the stages: they collected the words; they took part in the discussions about them and about their connection to words in the other language; they worked on the digital presentation. Each child worked according to his/her skills; all modes of representation were welcome. There was even no need to know how to write a word. An image, a drawing of it would suffice.

At the end, the students presented their hand-made lexicon to the school community.

The theory behind the activity refers to the use of both languages (i.e. one supporting the other) in order to reach a common target through: diverse modes; the

creation of multimodal texts; the combination of all tools available; working in mixed ability groups; supporting literacy through multiliteracies; using funds of knowledge; and connecting families / communities with the school on a biliteracy continuum (Hornberger 2003). The final activity, when the children present their work to the school community, contributes strongly to social inclusion, since the Roma children show what they know and what they can do, rather than being seen as weak learners.

(iii) Supporting an older child in the community to help him return to school

One of the major general guidelines refer to dropout rates. The program works against dropout and, therefore, has extended its intervention to children that have left school to give them a motive and tools to return.

In this context, a tutor was given the assignment to support a 15old boy (S) who had had school experience but not regular attendance. The idea was to help him achieve grade appropriate school literacy. The activity lasted 12 weeks and the tutor met S twice a week at his home in the community. For this activity, the tutor kept a detailed journal. According to the tutor's journal, S was very cooperative, but eventually he asked for English lessons instead. He considered his Greek enough, and he wished to learn English to help his father in summer jobs with tourists (Rosario et al 2013). The tutor responded to S's wish and started teaching him English instead of Greek. She thought of starting with essential things, practically from 'zero', to find out that S was already far ahead of this point. He had informally generated his personal English knowledge fund through assisting his father. Soon enough, the tutor and her student engaged in a language seminar where the whole language repertoire was English, Greek and Romani, but also orality and literacy interplayed. According to tutor's journal, S had fun writing down words that were similar in either language and gave insights on how this helped him remember word meanings. She mentions the Romani word 'kat' that means 'scissors' and S's remark that this would help him remember the English verb 'to cut'. S enjoyed participating in translation games between English / Greek / Romani, as well as between what could be 'just said' (oral) and what could be written. She reports on S's dynamic way of making meaning across languages and his fun with learning (Tsokalidou 2017). At the same time, he is totally indifferent about school and learning in school.

The tutor also reports about the multilingual home environment. She witnesses translanguaging practices (Garcia 2009).

The most interesting point is that the tutor's journal is a report about her own learning process in this activity (Skourtou 2013, 2014). She starts with describing the assignment, and what she was planning to do to support S in school literacy, i.e. literacy in standard Greek. She reports about S wish to learn English instead of school Greek, and she gradually shifts to speaking about their pedagogical relationship, about learning together and learning applying multiple languages, about empowerment and agency (Levinson 2008). As for the content of the activity, she starts with the target language (Greek), shifts to English and Romani, to eventually move to languaging. As for the proficiency level, she starts with the 'essentials' taking for granted that her student had no prior knowledge of English to gradually

move to a sophisticated syllabus, where three languages, community knowledge and personal interests were informing each other.

6   Conclusive Remarks

There is something formal and something innovative in each of the examples that were presented above. In all three cases, the obvious objective relates to school literacy in Greek. The community language does not have a prescribed role, other than acting as scaffolding. Though scaffolding is very important, the innovative part starts beyond it. In all three examples, the students involved are encouraged to bring in their linguistic experiences and to build upon them. In the third example, the student speaks up and asks for a syllabus tailored to his needs. The activities themselves are biliterate / transliterate activities, and they are quite sophisticated.

Another very important aspect that prevails in all three examples is that the students do things with their teacher/tutor; they teach each other. This is clearly illustrated mainly in the first and in the third example. In this way, the mainstream teacher/tutor experiences an apprenticeship while teaching Roma students.

Though it is risky to come to safe conclusions just by presenting a few examples, we assume that these examples illustrate the possibilities for generating biliteracy that are offered in the context of the national educational projects for the education of Roma students in Greece.

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Expanded Pedagogical Spaces: Enhancing Roma Students Involvement in School

Eleni Gana, Charoula Stathopoulou, and Christos Govaris

Abstract A team of teachers and university-researchers encouraged the inclusion of Roma children in preschool education via a bottom-up project in which cultural and communicative resources from local communities entered in dialogue with the discursive practices of standard school practices. A collaborative reflection framework developed hybrid and multicultural learning ecologies, consistently evaluated and reshaped in process. Ethnographic strategies identified experiences, texts, and artifacts of Roma children's lives subsequently exploited in the design of the classroom practices, enabling the children to utilize all of their communicative resources (Romani, Greek, nonlinguistic modalities) for creating multiple texts – oral, written, digital. Pupil texts validated their cultural backgrounds as classroom participation increased in this pedagogical context. Roma students more fully invested in second language (Greek) and literacy learning, substantially increasing classroom interaction.

Keywords Hybridity · Multicultural · Multilingual · Learning · Ethnographic · Inclusive · Roma

1 Introduction

The research reported here is part of a large-scale project involving Roma children's education in the Thessaly area of Greece during the period of 2011–15, addressing all educational levels. Our involvement in the project concerned preschool education, focusing on the design and implementation of educational practices that allow

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for students' involvement in classroom communication, and the broadening of their communicative repertoire through the use of the Greek language and mathematical literacy practices.

Roma children face serious conflicts when they are required to participate in formal school settings (e.g. bilingualism, boundary identities), and the 'top-down' and monolingual processes adopted by common teaching practices seem to perpetuate marginalized and inferior positions in terms of both learning and cultural identities. Educational studies report that Roma students have low and inconsistent attendance in compulsory education, and that their dropout rates continue to be very high (UNESCO 2014). Taking the above into account, and considering the importance of preschool education, especially for children from minority cultural and linguistic backgrounds, we have explored the possibilities of a sociocultural perspective for developing a local-based classroom curriculum informed by spatial realities of students. For this purpose, a collaborative ethnographic inquiry went hand-in-hand with the activity design purposefully rooted in local, authentic practices, and within which students could operate using the full spectrum of their communicational resources. Such a pedagogical fusion of different mediational tools and discursive practices attempted to change the classroom dynamics, and in this way to develop more productive relations and forms of participation around second language use and literacy practices.

In the next section, we discuss the role of preschool education in more detail – mostly for non-mainstream students' school trajectories. We then briefly present our methodological choices and how they were applied in order to accomplish our project's aims. We follow with our theoretical perspectives that justify and clarify the background for our choices. The resulting pedagogical framework and the way it informed our classroom practices is subsequently described before our concluding remarks.[1]

2   Preschool Education and Non-mainstream Students

Over the last decades, the role of preschool education has been widely recognized as a positive component in the development of the educational biographies of all students. Empirical and comparative studies indicate that preschool experiences contribute to building necessary knowledge and skills for the successful transition to, and subsequent attendance in, elementary school. Also, its significance in successful school attendance, as an educational stage, appears to be especially determinative for students with minority cultural or even language origin, for whom it provides support in overcoming numerous learning obstacles related to their sociocultural background; preschool education thus contributes conditions that ensure equal educational opportunities for all (Becker and Tremel 2011).

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[1] We would like to thank Peter Appelbaum for generously reading the manuscript and sending his comments.

Discussion of the role of preschool education in ensuring equal educational opportunities for children from immigrant families, ethnic minorities, and socially marginalized groups dates back to the 1960s, but it has recently increased more rapidly due to interest in PISA findings and their potential correlations with possible school failure that children from the above-mentioned groups face. A central issue in this discussion is the timing for addressing knowledge deficits, specifically deficits in the language of instruction (Fuchs-Rechlin and Bergmann 2014), and connections to creating conditions that ensure equal educational opportunities for all (Gogolin 2009; Becker and Tremel 2011). In suggested compensatory strategies, the duration of school attendance and the quality of educational practices are included as main parameters that improve the learning results (Hasselhorn and Kuger 2014). The notion of quality of pedagogical practices refers to characteristics of pedagogical relationships and teaching, such as the range and frequency of pedagogical stimuli that preschoolers experience, the kind of pedagogical interactions they are involved in, and the culturally sensitive and creative learning contexts that teaching suggests (i.e. experiential and multimodal frameworks, music, drama techniques etc.). In particular, for linguistic competencies development, research has highlighted the importance of learning targets formulation and promotion, contextualization of targets in students' linguistic experiences, exploitation of home language in L2 learning, and support of bilingualism and multilingualism (Gogolin 2009; Cummins and Early 2011).

Despite the fact that the literature highlights the positive role of preschool education, and despite the gradual accrual of insights regarding qualitative characteristics of pedagogies that ensure benefits of school attendance for students with multicultural and lingual diversity, Roma students do not yet appear to benefit from such research findings. A recent comparative study (UNESCO 2014) on the educational situation of Roma children in European countries states that the number of students attending compulsory education in European countries is still too low. Further research maintains that Roma children arrive at school without adequate preparation, and with little understanding in the majority language. Top-down educational policies addressed to the mainstream students, combined with the ways that teachers interpret and materialize those policies in contexts including Roma students, appear to significantly account for diminished school attendance of Roma children. Relevant considerations have been described with regard to the Greek educational reality, as well. The Greek educational system, like most educational systems in European countries (Govaris 2005), is not yet in a position to effectively respond to a school reality characterized by linguistic and cultural diversity. The applied pedagogies formulate a field of unequal distribution of opportunities for recognizing and exploiting the learning resources included in the linguistic and cultural capital of a diverse student body. Papachristou (2014) investigated student teachers' conceptions about learning conditions and the potential for Roma students in school setting and found that teachers: (a) do not recognize background knowledge of Roma students, (b) do not exploit Roma students' orality during teaching processes, and (c) are tenacious in maintaining stereotypical beliefs about Roma students' potential for school learning. In fact, Greek school practices guided by an assimilationist ideol-

ogy seem to ignore or understate fundamental characteristics of children's cultural identities. Their culture is usually assessed as insubstantial and worthless, and most teachers presume that non-Greek home languages do not contribute, or even stand as an obstacle to their school performance; teachers are furthermore unlikely to use the home language as a resource. In such an educational context, Roma children's erratic school attendance and their dropout rate which is among the highest in the country could be strongly linked to the silence, marginalization and underestimation of their world that Roma children experience in classrooms (Noula et al. 2015).

3 Methodology and Data Collection

3.1 The Setting of the Research

The project addressed children from six Roma communities in the area of Central Greece (Thessaly) who attended conventional preschool classes. They came from communities with different geographical, social and economic characteristics and thus the family and social practices vary from one community to the next. Concerning linguistic communication, some children use only or mainly Romani to communicate, and their linguistic skills in Greek are limited to understanding; they rarely use everyday words and formulaic phrases in the Greek language. However, most children had interpersonal communication skills in Greek in varied degree of proficiency. Also, the variety used showed phonological, morphological and semantic deviations to standard Greek language. In each school there were students of all linguistic categories, but in rural areas the number of infants who barely communicated in Greek was especially high. Oral and visual forms of communication (e.g. TV) were dominant in all communities, and the levels of reading and writing literacy were low.

The recent increase of Roma children in kindergartens, resulting from a special state policy against Roma school exclusion, brought inconvenience to the educational community, which had previously been formed professionally within the monocultural and monolingual assumptions of the Greek school. Teachers who were working in the regional schools had little experience with and very little or no training in teaching classes with students of diverse cultural and language background. The project undertook supporting them in the application of suitable teaching practices. Through the initiative of two teachers, who acted so as to establish contact with the other schools where there were Roma students in the classes, the main issue that emerged was the improvement of the students' competencies in the Greek language and the related development of linguistic and mathematical literacy. In this context, reflecting critically on common pedagogical practices and empowering teachers in adopting a multicultural and a "multilingual lens" (Ntelioglou et al. 2014) became a necessity and a challenge for this project.

3.2   Data Collection and Analysis

The project opted for the Collaborative Inquiry framework and built on recursive ethnographic processes for data collection and analysis. The goal of a collective pedagogical inquiry framework, as explained in Ntelioglou et al. (2014), is for the school-teachers and academic-based researchers to work collaboratively to examine the possibilities in a specific pedagogical context, to explore possible alternatives, and to mobilize both the research evidence and their own pedagogical experiences to articulate school-based policies. In line with this methodological framework, teachers and teacher-educators in this project worked together to search for and analyze the knowledge and experiences that Roma students bring from their every-day life to school (funds of knowledge), as well as to explore the possibilities for incorporating them when planning classroom work. We also worked as a team to evaluate the choices made in the design of learning activities, through analyzing the data from the implementation processes, and, therefore, to recursively redesign the pedagogical practices. In both conditions, the collection of the pragmatological material of the research drew on ethnographic techniques for data collection; that is, in looking for students' cultural experiences, we used *in situ* observations in the communities, field notes, interviews and photos. Additionally, our discussion of the activities' implementation is based on teachers' analytical journals about their classroom experience, usually accompanied by visual and audio material. We present next the fundamental axes of our methodological processes.

3.2.1   The Fieldwork in the Communities

In order to avoid reductive and essentialist approaches to culture as a closed system (e.g. the Roma identity) – and having a more dynamic conception relating culture with place and time characteristics, namely the particular practices, means and tools used in every local community – we attempted a form of fieldwork in the Roma communities of the region. Our aim was to explore the "funds of knowledge" (González et al. 2005) that the students bring to the school and to productively exploit them in the design of teaching practices. The program addressed children in kindergarten from different Roma communities, and, as was previously mentioned, each community had unique characteristics. For example, depending on whether the community was close to a city or not, the presence of "environmental print" varied (e.g. street signs, signs in the stores, advertising material etc.), as did the available linguistic codes (e.g. in rural areas most inhabitants spoke only Romani), the social and family practices of the members (e.g. different jobs, everyday habits, relations to literacy), and students' involvement in these family practices, as well as their attitudes and expectations about education.

Searching for funds of meaning in the students' everyday life, both school teachers and teacher-educators conducted research on the spot throughout the school

year. We drove down the streets, we observed the neighborhood, the surrounding area, and the external markers of what identifies this as a neighborhood. We interviewed people, we visited student's homes, and we discussed with parents and other family members about what they do, where they go every day, and how they are involved with their children. In each visit we looked for material clues to the students' possible funds of knowledge in their everyday experiences. The field notes from *in situ* observations and interactions, photos, and some occasional videos were brought into team meetings and were analyzed cooperatively. Through the different episodes which were analyzed and which were connected to different domains and categories of practice in the communities (e.g. family, the inside and outside of the community, association with peers, popular culture etc.), tools, linguistic profiles, ways of acting in everyday issues, and texts were identified. The results of the analysis informed the design of the learning activities and the pedagogical projects implemented in each school; ideas were exchanged, and alternative teaching techniques were discussed. We made sure that the curriculum planning integrated texts (written or oral), tools and practices linked with lived experiences of the particular students of the school. For instance: signs, posters from the neighborhood, social contexts with which the specific students were familiar, such as locations and routes they knew, transactions in and outside their community, games that the students played with their peers or their family, logos from on their clothes, etc.

3.2.2   The Collaborative Mediation of the Pedagogical Processes

Teachers and academic-based researchers interacted continuously and acquired in the process a "common language", new knowledge, and a common approach to teaching. The group met face-to-face about once a month, and online weekly to discuss and analyze the "journal of teaching" that each teacher communicated to the group. The journals were analytical reports with the best possible detailed descriptions of the activities' (final) design, along with descriptions of the implementation processes that took place in the teachers' classrooms (e.g., what they showed/asked, in what means, the procedures of participation and the students' roles, how he/she gave feedback to the children, and so on). The Roma children's involvement and performance in the learning activities were presented, and photographs of the children's artifacts as well as audio or video documents supported these reports. By means of an open digital frame, the journals elicited the team's feedback: Teachers and teachers-educators commented on specific issues; asked for clarifications; and proposed alternative teaching techniques. These collaborative reflective processes offered consistent feedback to the teaching and learning processes insofar as they facilitated the teachers in reorganizing and reshaping their practices. In this sense they appear to have supported processes of teachers' empowerment in their efforts to provide a multicultural and multilingual pedagogical context for their classroom.

4 Conceptual/Theoretical Perspectives

Our conceptual framework drew on a sociocultural approach to learning, specifically from the conceptualizations of classroom curriculum as a "third space", the pedagogical framework of "identity texts", and the descriptions of "translanguaging" and 'dynamic bilingualism' in communication.

Sociocultural theory conceptualizes learning as a dialogical, social process, in which situated participants engage in culturally-valued activities using tools such as languages, symbols and other multimodal resources, and in so doing, form and develop themselves as learners and community members. Participation in classroom interaction has a predominant status, as it allows children to learn by means of communicating, and to develop a sense of the order of the school world and their place within it, through the relative legitimacy ascribed to their cultural and linguistic resources. Therefore, any question about performance and achievement is addressed by taking into account contextual affordance for students' involvement in school practice, and every interaction constitutes a moment of self-definition where students take action within and upon their relationships with the teacher and their classmates (Toohey et al. 2007).

Moll, Amanti, Neff, and González early in the 1990s undertook an ethnographic study in low-income neighborhoods, foregrounding the assumption that everyday community experiences that students bring from their home could function as a repository of resources potentially strategically tapped to provide resources for classroom practice. They designated "funds of knowledge" as historically accumulated and cultural developed bodies of knowledge and strategies upon which people draw for daily survival and wellbeing (González et al. 2005). Based on such theorizations, many educational researchers, and especially scholars who work with students from culturally and linguistically marginalized environments, argue for the potential of bridging students' home knowledge with school; these educators foreground the metaphor of "third space" as a fruitful framework for conceptualizing such transformations involved in the pedagogical context and processes (Moje 2004; Moje et al. 2004; Gutierrez et al. 2011). The notion of "third space" is informed by postcolonial descriptions of space as socially-produced and co-constructed by material, abstract and lived experiences (Bhabha 1994) relates to the borders or the boundary area between the two sectors – two spaces – which is often an overlap area or a hybridization – i.e., a "third space" – that includes a shifting combination of the characteristics of each of the two border areas. The theories of hybridity argue that people make meaning of the world through the integration and interaction of multiple knowledge resources; in this way, it becomes important to highlight the status of the "intermediate" (in-between), i.e., the interplay of knowledge, tools and discourses often competing and sometimes contradictory to each other that produce learning processes and that are directly implicated in the identity development. In school settings such a hybrid area could be shaped when the "first space" of the home, community and peers enters in dialogue with the "second

space" of the school for the creation of "expanding learning spaces", that is the realization of particular social situations of students' participation, cognitive engagement and learning development.

Pedagogical conceptualizations of classroom hybridity and third space provide for typical school practice transformation through incorporating students' spatial realities of sociocultural backgrounds and funds of knowledge as well as for the use of multiple, diverse mediational tools and roles (Gutierrez et al. 2011). Students' resources are not only recognized in learning processes, but rather expanded and/or potentially transformed as they are linked to new knowledge, new discourses and new literacies. Home languages are unmarked and strategically and naturally commingled with school discourse for supporting and navigating students' accomplishments in both cognitive and social development. Moje et al. (2004) report three views through which the construction of hybridization and third space is understood in educational practice: as a supportive scaffold that links traditionally marginalized funds of knowledge to school discourse; as a "navigational space" in gaining competency and expertise to negotiate differing discourse communities; and finally, hybrid space, where the potential for an expanded form of learning and the development of new knowledge are heightened.

The theoretical framework of third space, at least as described in Gutiérrez work, seems suitable to facilitate 'translanguaging' practices (Creese and Blackledge 2010) within classroom interactions, permitting speakers to shuttle between languages and treating the diverse languages that form students' linguistic communication repertoire as an integrated system. Gutierrez et al. (2011) describe the emergence of a third space in a multicultural and multilingual class through the "matrix of polylingual strategies" that students use in creating hybrid cultural productions when involved in literacy practices. Although not mentioned explicitly, in recognizing the interrelatedness of languages within student's linguistic profiles and the importance of thirdness to "leveraging students' linguistic repertoires towards learning", Gutierrez seems to foreground a dynamic view of language development which could be related to the notion of dynamic bilingualism as described by García (2009a).

We also draw on "identity texts" (Cummins and Early 2011) as a compatible and complementary construct to the theoretical premises of the third space framework. Based on poststructuralist theorizations for identity and identity investment in language teaching (Norton 2000), Cummins suggests that language learners need to develop their senses of identity in relation to literacy practices in their additional language and culture. He argues that optimal literacy development occurs within the interpersonal space of the classroom only when there is both maximum cognitive engagement and maximum identity investment on the part of the students. Cummins calls the students' creative work or performances carried out within such pedagogical context "identity texts", since students invest their identities in these texts (written, spoken, visual, musical, or combinations in multimodal form), which then hold a mirror up to the students; their identities are reflected back in a positive light. When students share identity texts with audiences (peers, teachers, parents, grandparents, the media, etc.), they are likely to receive positive feedback and affirmation of the self. Cummins and Early (2011: 4) demonstrated that "identity texts" enabled stu-

dents in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms from kindergarten through Grade 12 to "connect new information and skills to their background knowledge", using their first language as a "cognitive tool", and increasing "awareness of the specialized language of school areas". Resulting benefits included affirmation of students' identities as "creative and linguistically talented", and heightened "awareness of the relationships between their home language (L1) and the school language (L2).

5   Pedagogical Context and Classroom Practices

Our teaching design provided for the reshaping of the standard school practices in "expanding learning spaces" (Gutierrez et al. 2011), that is in contexts in which the social experience and linguistic resources, as well as various other mediation tools and communicative strategies from the three different communities that participate in the educational process – the Roma community, the educational community and the dominant cultural community – came into dialogue and informed one another. In this respect, the classroom was transformed into a hybrid -third space- where a conscious pedagogical fusion of semiotic means, forms and learning processes attempted to bridge the discontinuities between in- and out-of-school students' discursive experiences, in order to increase Roma students' participation and cognitive engagement in classroom learning processes, and thus to enable the broadening of their cultural and communicative resources.

Themes and social situations familiar to the Roma students, texts (e.g. posters and signs from their own neighborhood), routines and discourse practices (e.g. ways to negotiate issues in travelling), knowledges and experiences of different processes (e.g. mathematical notions, situated transactions and local constructions procedures, games), cultural symbols and artifacts, were purposely integrated into teaching. Contextualization in students' spatial realities opened up possibilities to engage more fully in classroom processes and to develop productive relations and forms of participation around second language use and literacy. Their home language, Romani, acquired "audibility" in the classroom; the students could draw from the full spectrum of their linguistic repertoires (Romani, Greek, and even some English words they learned from their digital playing, like "go", "start", "hero") to shape experiences, gain understanding and negotiate their ideas and actions). Therefore, although monolingual in its basic orientation, the classroom language arrangement allowed for "flexible convergence" in students' language practices (García 2009b: 291). It also provided for scaffolding techniques, including experiences of "translanguaging" (Lewis et al. 2012: 661). In cases where the skills of a student in Greek were very limited and there was difficulty in understanding, another student made the translation for him or her; literacy-related teaching practices, such as activities to promote phonological awareness or creative writing, were often implemented in both languages, with teachers using words and phrases they had learned in Romani or using a student-mediator. Common second language techniques were also employed, such as multimodal scaffolding (gestures, visuals, demonstrations etc.),

cuing, and "linguistic modeling" through rephrasing or expanding the "limited" linguistic articulations of the children, to further support their communicative potential in the dominant, Greek language.

The instructional context promoted a task-based approach, in which tasks related to real, social oriented action to be accomplished (e.g., varied construction in and out of the classroom, exchanges of recipes and cooking, creation of Halloween costumes after exploring and reflecting critically on print and digital advertisements, etc.). In this framework, many mini-projects were implemented in each school, and varied multimodal tools, such as drama, varied types of play, digital media etc., supported learning encounters. Such orientation to teaching has been reported productive for the preschoolers' language development, and in this project seems to have been especially fruitful for Roma students' investment in appropriating second language and literacy awareness concepts, reflecting the socially-embedded and experiential character of learning that the students brought with them from their cultural environment (e.g., they function in groups/learn by doing).

Here, we describe an educational activity that one of the schools put into practice, to demonstrate the pedagogical framework and the instructional choices that the aforementioned program created.

In one of the Roma communities in our project, parents and students often referred to "Tzazia" in the context of different communication instances, both inside and outside of the school. There was no notice of a similar reference in the other Roma communities of the area; however, the frequency with which it appeared in the context of this specific community led to the pursuit of its identity. The teacher discovered that it is about a symbolic cultural figure considered to intervene to restore "order" in occasions of confusion and noise. She reported some anecdotal stories from cooperation meetings of teachers and teacher-educator in which the children and the adults of the community told of "Tzazia's" intervention in people's lives. Therefore, in the context of a project about "stories we heard at our house", Tzazia "came" into the classroom and contributed to materializing communicative, mathematical and social educational goals.

Specifically: The Romani students, using translanguaging and multimodal communicative practices, informed the teacher and their classmates about how Tzazia might look, as well as its usual actions (figure description and processes account textuality); they retold stories of their community (narration). Trying on this particular identity of knowledge-producer, children moved in and out of a range of language practices, experimenting with new language forms, and drawing from both languages and local varieties – as well as on other semiotic modalities like gestures, visual expressions, and movement and so on. The class then decided to make the "Tzazia doll", and Romani students further participated by giving instructions about its specific features, counting and comparing sizes (oral procedural text-mathematical skills). They collaborated with their classmates to create and "write down" an imaginary script about the adventures of Tzazia as she visits their school (all students used design and invented spelling), and constructed with plasticine the scenery of the varied episodes and the heroes of the script (scaffolding resource for awareness of narration's textuality), on the basis of which the class created a digital

version of Tzazia's story with animation techniques (familiarization with digital medium and skills). When this digital "identity" story was displayed in a school gathering situation where all the classes of the school were invited to participate, the positive feedback students received seemed to invert the usual positioning of inferiority ascribed to Roma students, affirming them as creative and resourceful members of the school.

In the "expanded educational environment" (Gutierrez et al. 2011), the participation of young Roma children in school practices was reinforced, as they acquired a "voice" and an acceptance of their cultural background. In the context of the active role in the school community, they acquired affirmation of self, and their "communicative dynamics" was strengthened with mathematical notions, vocabulary and expressive possibilities in the Greek language and literacy textures, while at the same time their understanding regarding the means available and the different forms of representation and communication of information that are used in the broader social environment was expanded.

6   Concluding Remarks

In this chapter we discussed some methodological choices undertaken in order to respond to the serious conflicts Roma children face when attending mainstream classes. Young children are too often limited to participation in classroom practices narrowly organized around monocultural and monolingual ideologies that limit the possibilities to develop productive relations and forms of involvement around learning processes. Exploiting the possibilities of a sociocultural perspective and using ethnographic inquiry procedures such as fieldwork on the spot, we designed and implemented activities rooted in students' lived experiences. Students' cultural experiences and communicative resources were strategically integrated with school practice, while the use of various modes and forms of representation served as the mediators that engaged and supported the children's second language and literacy learning, both mathematical and linguistic. The example of the Tzazia mini-project presented above could reveal the ways that such a hybrid classroom culture might emerge in general, built on the ways that Romani students utilize their communicative repertoires, as well as on the constellation of various modes and forms of representation and roles that have been instantiated during the teaching and learning processes. Such a pedagogical framework creates spaces in the classroom enabling Roma student voices to be heard, legitimated, and honored. These changes in classroom dynamics are also related in general to learners' access to potential identity positions in school settings, enhancing their second language and literacy learning as aspects of their communication repertoire.

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Underachievement of Roma Children in Greece

Dimitrios Kassis

Abstract This chapter aims at focusing on the current pedagogical issues which constitute pressing factors for the availability of primary education for Roma travelling children in Greece. Even though the failure of Roma students to meet the educational criteria and standards set by the official policy-making has frequently been the subject of various speculations and formulations, it has mostly been discussed on the basis of their low performance.

The first part of the chapter will describe the actual educational approaches and policy-making which have been adopted by the Greek state. The second part of the chapter places emphasis on possible interpretations of frequent school failure of Roma children and the necessary and constant role-taking of language teachers as reflective practitioners in order to adapt to their students' continuous educational needs.

Keywords Inclusion · Underachievement · Stereotyping · Pathologisation · School ethos · Minority schooling · Sedentarisation · Segregation

1 Introduction

The current educational scene in the European Union is characterised by a tendency to globalise educational standards in order to respond effectively to the enlargement of its values and policies. Skrtic (1995) maintains that the school effectiveness movement has led to the bureaucratisation, regulation and standardisation of educational authorities. This is counterproductive to the notion of diversity, a feature which is essential to the concept of inclusion in education. The concept of inclusion suggests that pupils, regardless of ethnic origin, should be incorporated into mainstream education and successfully adapt to school life (DfEE 1997).

As a consequence, minority groups who had already been faced with various kinds of discrimination in their everyday life, are forced to adapt to new conditions

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which can foster new racist attitudes. The question is whether the current educational value relocation can promote a framework within which minority schooling will be free from pedagogical prejudices which give rise to exclusion.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyse the current conditions in Greece in conjunction with the educational models and official policy-making applied to the Roma and traveller community context. Because of the increasing possibility of Roma children segregation due to their learning weaknesses and lack of adaptability to school requirements, reflective approaches and different kinds of pedagogical theories will be discussed so as to find out whether reflective practice can succeed in improving the teaching and learning procedures and eventually removing the barriers in education. Considering Greek policy on Roma education, important conclusions can be drawn concerning the adoption of reflective practice in primary education for students from a "less privileged" background.

As a recently appointed primary school teacher of English in a Roma community, I have been faced with various difficult situations in relation to Roma children's adaptability and school failure, and I have been exposed to my students' needs which extend beyond the school framework. For this reason, it has been necessary for me to resort to constant decision-making in order to tackle serious issues which influence both the teaching and learning procedures.

Vygotsky (1978) maintained that all higher order psychological and pedagogical functions occur twice and always in order: first on the social level and then on the individual level. Having this theoretical approach in mind, my strategy-planning should take into account an inclusive pedagogical model, whose main focus would be on a barrier-free learning environment instead of an overemphasis on school efficiency (Lloyd 2000).

2 Current Greek Policy-Making for Roma Children

Until quite recently, Roma children's education had been a neglected part of the official Greek educational policy-making in spite of the fact that Roma communities have been an integral part of the Greek society for many centuries and the factors of racial discrimination and underachievement have been directly related to the school performance of Roma pupils.

A common feature of the past educational planning strategies had been the systematic tendency to integrate Roma children into mainstream educational system at all costs (Smith 1997). In accordance with the official policy-makers, Roma children are more likely to be placed in special schools than students coming from non-Roma families (Cahn and Chirico 1999). In this way, no distinction was made between mentally disabled children and Roma students with learning difficulties. Therefore, pathologisation of the group has been fostered by the official educational institutions.

The National Curriculum and the common school practices had been heavily criticised because there has been an obvious mismatch between the pedagogical practices applied to Roma children and the values of the Roma families, given that

this category has often been associated with the field of special education. In other words, Roma children have often been classified as "problematic" in terms of adaptability to various learning styles and methods (Hegedus 1998). The mismatch of Roma values with the standards of mainstream classroom can lead to their further stigmatisation and gradual alienation from the school environment.

Being influenced by the continuous discussions within the framework of the European Union on the equality of chances and the elimination of segregating attitudes in school communities, the Greek educational authorities have recently launched a series of pedagogical actions which aim at supporting the role of both teachers and parents. Under the name "Education and Counseling Support for the families of Gypsies, repatriate populations and immigrants", the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs (MoNEaRA) has constructed an ambitious project which is concerned with the creation of inclusive educational environment in the early stages of basic education, mainly in nursery and primary schools.

The official declarations of MoNEaRA in relation to the purpose of this project's setting up are that this project focuses on the integration of student groups of particular cultural background into mainstream education as well as on the prevention of their school failure and drop-out due to the difficult financial situation of their parents (General Secretariat of Lifelong Learning 2009).

Through a careful examination of these declarations, it is evident that the current educational policy-making considers Roma education as part of a wider issue which needs tackling: the harmonisation of the Greek National Curriculum with the demands of the emerging multicultural educational reality in Greece. A close connection is seen between the learning difficulties with which Roma children are identified and family literacy. In that way, the importance of teacher-parent collaboration becomes a determinative factor for the improvement of schooling services in Roma educational communities.

3   Reasons for Roma Students' Underachievement

Even though the failure of Roma students to meet the educational criteria and standards set by the official policy-making has frequently been the subject of various speculations and formulations, it has mostly been discussed on the basis of their low performance. That is to say, few teachers and educationalists have acknowledged the real nature of the problem and the reasons which underlie the constant conscious and unconscious refusal of Roma students to comply with given educational patterns (Réger 1995).

In order to comprehend school failure of Roma children in primary school institutions, the following scheme could successfully summarise Roma children's low level of motivation and performance in mainstream education:

(a) Anti-Roma atmosphere at school and around their homes
(b) Knowledge learnt at school considered unimportant and useless
(c) Fear of losing touch with their ethnic group
(d) Fear of failure to assimilate
(e) Some learning skills have not been acquired
(f) Lack of the necessary factual knowledge (Hegedus 1998).

3.1 Roma Students and Segregating Practices at School

Insofar as segregating practices in primary education are concerned, the placement of Roma children in schools which are meant for mentally disabled students gives the general impression that official educational authorities tend to pathologise special education and treat minority schooling as peripheral (Cahn and Chirico 1999).

Consequently, the diagnosis of Roma children as students with special needs at the early stages of education within the European educational context is not used to facilitate Roma pupils' easier adaptation to the educational community. This labelling of a whole minority group as mentally disabled is seen as an easy solution to deal with an educational issue which needs urgent decision-making by connecting the problem with the factor of ethnicity.

Through the use of ethnicity as a means to justify the unsuccessful policy-making for minority schooling, the issue of racist stereotyping prevails in teaching within the classroom framework: this attitude is frequently related to teachers' low expectations of Roma children and to the racialisation of education due to the negative bias which is often associated with minority schooling (Dillon 2007). The reproduction of stereotypes linked to the factor of ethnicity can only lead to further stigmatisation of students who face learning difficulties and increase the possibility of drop-out.

3.2 Discrepancy Between Roma and Educational Values

With regard to the transmission of educational values, Gewirtz and Cribb (2009) refer to the cultural transmission perspective in education, which concentrates on the transmission of knowledge through the adaptation of Roma students to the dominant culture. Even though the notion of inclusion seems to be more and more in fashion these days, the implementation of educational programs is usually associated with the gradual assimilation of minority groups by the mainstream body of society. In doing so, Roma children are often regarded as passive recipients of the knowledge which is "imposed" on them.

Having this educational perspective in mind, a parallel can be drawn with the socio-cultural values which are embedded in Roma communities and constitute a reason for the strong discrepancy with the existent educational values which are

forwarded by national educational institutions. Through the process of incorporating Roma students into mainstream education, two kinds of pressure are usually put by the national educational policy-making on Roma families: sedentarisation and increasing educational control (Powell 2007).

Concerning the notion of sedentarisation, it might be affirmed that it constitutes the main issue of the educational debate on Roma primary education as it is intensely contrasted to mainstream school life. Western societies tend to stigmatise nomadic lifestyles, given that these lifestyles are perceived as a threat to social order, given that they are treated as signs of backwardness (McVeigh 1997). Thus, pathologisation of Roma students in education is usually relative to state intervention in the form of assimilation practices.

In addition, the irrelevance of the educational values which are promoted in primary education institutions with the cultural identity of Roma children is juxtaposed with the Roma parents' beliefs on the usefulness of education, as the Roma community is more interested in the practical character of education and less in the educational standards which are set by the school authorities (Vanderbeck 2005). Thus, the notion of learning is perceived differently by Roma parents, who are interested in the acquisition of practical skills in education in contrast with the theoretical educational patterns used in mainstream primary schools. The absence of practicality in mainstream primary education is likely to lead to school depreciation by Roma parents and students.

3.3   Role of Family-Literacy and Roma Community

Family literacy and Roma community appear to determine Roma students' reactions and relation to the mainstream body of education. A key factor which is closely related to their low school performance and inability to adapt to mainstream educational models seems to be the negative experiences that Roma parents have received during their school life, which exert strong influence on their children's overall achievement at school (Ada 1995). Consequently, the poor educational background of Roma parents in combination with the negative connotations that mainstream education carries for them are reproduced across generations.

With respect to the effect of the community on the underachievement of Roma students, it should be stressed that low rates of literacy within community members result in Roma children's lack of factual knowledge and everyday involvement in educational contexts (Britto and Brooks-Gunn 2001). In mainstream communities, children who go to primary schools are likely to have already acquired educational stimuli through their everyday exposure to reading and learning practices with the aid of their parents (Gregg 2007). Prior to knowledge acquired from primary education institutions, the majority of mainstream children learn to adopt behavioural patterns which facilitate their use of abstract notions and basic contextualised information through books and other written sources (Wright 2001; Kugelmass 2001).

Nevertheless, Roma children are unlikely to receive this "preparatory stage" before they commence primary school because they can hardly acquire any of these school initiation skills from their parents (Réger 1995). The above realisation indicates that Roma children lack basic linguistic and behavioural knowledge due to their community's limited or no access to educational sources, a problem which is also addressed by Klaus and Marsh (2014) who assert that Roma children's absence from early childhood and care institutions often deprives them of the opportunity to be gradually introduced to new learning patterns.

Furthermore, even if Roma students succeed in satisfying the requirements of primary education as determined by the National Curriculum, they fear of losing touch with their community. From this perspective, many Roma communities feel that school can have a disruptive impact on their younger members due to the intervention of school authorities to the cultural and societal values that underpin Roma identity (Smith 1997). In that way, educational practices can be seen as a menace against the Roma norms and values and as a means of young Roma's alienation from their cultural heritage.

4 Principles of Inclusion for Teachers to Consider

After having observed the methods which official policy-making employs for Roma children's education and through the exploration of the main reasons for which Roma children fail to fulfill the expectations of the official educational institutions, it might be understood that the role of primary education teachers is rather limited when it comes to official decision-making. Even so, teachers could make use of several flexible techniques in order to lead Roma students to self-confidence and better adaptability to classroom situations.

At this point, it would be particularly important to consider the pedagogical issue of Roma minority schooling from a reflective perspective. The use of the term "reflective", which was firstly introduced by Dewey (1933), implies that teaching is not a routine-based process and reflective teaching is permeated by ongoing action and question of practice.

Action-research must be seen as a research methodology which should always govern the strategy-planning of reflective teachers who deal with multicultural/minority schooling situations. Costello (2003) defines this type of educational research as a form of research which relies heavily on the collection and interpretation of data with the aim of comprehending teaching and learning experiences to further improve schooling in marginal educational contexts. Action-research could assist the teacher in his observation of problems which arise from learning difficulties that go beyond the classroom borders so that he can plan his teaching accordingly. The conduction of research on Roma education's socio-cultural and educational conditions could broaden the reflective practitioner's mind on delicate issues related to segregation and pathologisation practices.

4.1 Teacher's Interrogation of Practice

This theory coincides with the need for teacher's continuing education and learning. Nevertheless, through reflective practice, Pollard (2005) suggests that teachers should function as monitors and evaluators of their own educational practices by reflecting constructively upon different ways of enriching their teaching. Therefore, reflective teaching is seen as the process during which the teacher constantly changes his priorities through self-evaluation and according to students' response to his teaching (Schön 1991). In the case of Roma students, interrogation of practice must form the basis of the teacher's role, considering the imperative needs of his students, who are limitedly exposed to educational environments and are more likely to experience disappointment in the classroom.

At this point, it would be useful to make reference to the notion of inclusion, which is a prevalent notion in EU educational institutions and appears to coincide with Greek governmental measures within the framework of minority schooling. As declared by UNESCO (2008: 1), there is an emphasis on "inclusive quality education in order to end exclusion" in an attempt to implement policies which could ensure quality in minority schooling through the successful inclusion of the weakest members of the school authorities in mainstream schools.

Since segregation and pathologisation are the most frequent situations with which Roma students are usually faced, the reflective teacher must try to adopt inclusive practices which could reduce segregating and stigmatising situations that can be disastrous to minority schooling. These inclusive practices must encourage every student's active engagement with school activities instead of keeping particular student groups in isolation, a fact which might lead to their further exclusion from the school community (James and Freeze 2006).

4.2 Individualization of Education and Twin-Track System

On the basis of reflective practice in primary education, teachers who must deal with the issues of educational segregation and stereotyping in the classroom must also approach it as a challenge for their professional development and not as a problem which impedes the teaching process. According to Juggins (2001), the educational system should find the appropriate method to match the learning style as well as the educational needs of the student and not the other way around.

By the same token, role-undertaking between the teacher and the Roma students is also encouraged within a reflective context given the fact that reflective practice enables teachers to drastically interact with their norms students through the assumption of different roles, given that the professional capacity of the teachers is interrelated with their personal interest in their students' welfare (Bolton 2005). By establishing a common point of communication, the teacher and the Roma student

can take on different roles which will lead to effective interaction and careful individualisation of the student's needs (Kugelmass 2001). Assuming that Roma students lack factual and interactive knowledge, reflective teachers should inform their teaching practices accordingly so that their Roma students can learn ways of processing contextualised knowledge patterns.

Concerning the use of the twin-track system, Cullingford and Daniels (1999) describes it as a system, which involves a separate holistic learning environment for students within the mainstream school authority. Originally, this system was created for the inclusion of students with special needs within the framework of mainstream schools, but it has also started to be applied to minority schooling to prevent the alienation of students with different cultural or learning characteristics from mainstream education (Nayler and Keddie 2007). In Greece, this educational model aspires to bridge the gap between special/minority education and the mainstream education through individualisation of education within the mainstream classroom. In general, the notion of individualisation through collaboration with the mainstream community could be of great importance in multicultural/minority educational environments because the need to individualise a specific educational programme does not only concern Roma children but also pertains to the whole school community, considering the potentiality to instill communal behaviour in every member of the multicultural classroom (Rogojinaru 1997).

4.3   Socialisation and Extended Schools

Apart from the application of twin-track system strategies for the promotion of individualisation and equalisation of chances, official educational policies have also introduced another important measure which can facilitate the triple relationship teacher-student-parent (Lloyd 2000). Extended schools were not originally intended for multicultural/minority schooling but as a strategy, they can serve the purpose of Roma students' socialisation in a very effective way. According to this strategy, primary schools might promote the participation of all children in common activities (e.g. dance, drama) on the school premises, even after normal school hours, in an attempt to encourage further cooperation and interaction amongst its members and to contribute to all students' welfare (Devon School Childcare 2007). Therefore, Roma students can socialise with their peers and become largely involved in activities which can be determined in collaboration with their teacher and classmates.

However, the most important contribution of extended schools can be the partnership between teachers and Roma parents. As previously mentioned, Roma parents tend to have a rather negative attitude towards mainstream primary education, and they criticise its lack of practicality (Ada 1995; Rogojinaru 1997). Extended schools can enhance home-school relationships between Roma parents and teachers, given the fact that they require more parental involvement than conventional schools, and they have more practical and communicative attributes. In that way, extended schools can boost teacher-parent communication and common

decision-making in order to render the school atmosphere more inviting (Desforges and Abouchaar 2003).

5   Conclusion

Through this presentation of the core issues, policies and practices which are linked to Roma education, it is concluded that emphasis must be placed on the teachers' role as facilitators and reflective practitioners: being confronted with the challenging educational reality of minority schooling, teachers must be characterised by "(a) openness and respect towards children of diverse backgrounds, (b) constant initiative-taking, (c) awareness of the role of extended family, (d) necessity that schools and families must be active in joint causes" (Hegedus 1998: 11). Minority schooling can be a thorny aspect of primary education. Thus, teachers who become involved in this educational reality must ensure full participation of their students without letting educational stereotypes affect the teaching and learning processes.

Overall, it might be highlighted that reflective practice should be pursued by professional teachers who wish to meet the needs of Roma students through the careful consideration of the socio-cultural background of their students. This reflective attitude will help teachers achieve self-recognition through the appropriate research and constant interrogation of their practices. At the same time, minority schooling policies need to be free from pedagogical prejudices which could give rise to further segregation of minority students. Consequently, educational value relocation and continuous policy shifting may victimise Roma students if factors such as family and tradition are not taken into serious consideration by official policy-makers.

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Part IV
Education in the Greek Diaspora

Narratives of Greekness in the Diaspora

Efthymia Papalexopoulou

Abstract The present study aims at analyzing the ethno-cultural identity of Greeks abroad. The basic axis of investigation is the field of Greekness and the analysis of its structural elements, as projected by the Greek people of the diaspora. The author's involvement in the program "Education for Greeks Abroad program – Paideia Omogenon (The implementation of the program had been assigned to the University of Crete and more specifically to the Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies (E.DIA.M.ME.) at the Primary Education Department of the University directed by Professor Michael Damanakis. The main goal was to maintain, develop and promote the Greek language and culture among Greeks and their descendants who live abroad through the improvement of primary and secondary Greek language education in the diaspora.)" gave her the research stimuli so as to approach the issue of the identity of Greeks abroad. Different types of diaspora with different historic circumstances lead to different types of interconnections between Greek populations and the national centre. Focusing on three different examples of diaspora, and more specifically on Greek students in Germany, the United States of America and in countries of the former Soviet Union, the study attempts to analyze their ethno-cultural identity, the basic axis of investigation being the semantic field of Greekness. Particularly, the chapter attempts to outline the way the Greeks abroad assume Greek-based traits of their identity, how they internalize them and what content they attribute to them.

Keywords Narratives of Greekness · Bi-cultural identity · Symbolic Greekness · Diaspora · Bilingualism · Bi-culturalism

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1 Methodological and Theoretical Starting Points

The investigation of the different manifestations of Greekness in three different examples, aims to display the multiple meanings of Greekness, as they are mapped in the field of diaspora. While investigating these elements, the qualitative characteristics of the bi-cultural identity of Greeks abroad surface, expressing this identity "through their ability to be actively and critically occupied with the two cultures, to manage their bi-cultural and bilingual condition and to defend their bi-culturalism and bilingualism outwards" (Damanakis 2007: 35).

Greekness, like any other diasporic identity, is not constructed merely through the multiplicity of identity-related references of the host country and the country of origin, but through the synthesis of this multiplicity into a uniform narration. Consequently, among the Greeks abroad there are many "homelands", the investigation of which the present study comes to serve, focusing, according to Damanakis, on "the synthesis of synchronic or diachronic elements relating to the Greek language and culture, manners and customs, institutions and traditions, meaning all the constructive elements of Greekness" (Damanakis 2007: 122).

The synchronic and diachronic elements of Greekness constitute the basic axes of investigation in this study since they describe "the ready-to-be-mined raw materials" of Greekness:

(a) Synchronic dimension of Greekness
     The investigation of the elements that relate to language, history, religion, manners and customs, that is, to the dimension that refers to the factual elements, experiences and cognitive structures of the subjects at present.
(b) Diachronic dimension of Greekness
     The investigation of the elements that concern myths, idealizations, symbolisms and ideological constructions that refer to the receptions and perceptions of Greekness found in the Greek-based past and transferred to the present of the subjects.

The fundamental research questions are the following: What are the qualitative characteristics of ethno-cultural identity of Greeks abroad; How are they projected; and What is the significance of this projection?

The sampling context of the investigation was the Greek students abroad who participated in the host programmes and the student theatre festivals, carried out by the "Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies" (E.DIA.M.ME.) in the framework of the program – "Paideia Omogenon." The criterion being that the students belong to different examples of diaspora, i.e. migrant and historic, the sample composed had the following characteristics: Greek secondary education students abroad, aged 14–18, who studied in some type of Greek education abroad, and whose host country was Germany, the USA and the countries of the former Soviet Union (i.e. Georgia, Ukraine, Russia and Uzbekistan).

Based on the descriptive-biographical elements of the sample, the students from the USA, in their majority, belong to families of the same ethnicity, of third-generation immigrants and at the Daily Bilingual Greek-American School in Chicago and the Afternoon School in New York. The students from Germany belong

to same-ethnicity families of second-generation immigrants and basically attend Greek-only Schools, while the students from the former Soviet Union countries belong mainly to bi-ethnic families of third or fourth-generation immigrants and attend Greek language and culture lessons, either in classes incorporated into the mainstream school curriculum in the host country or classes taking place in the afternoon, outside the education system in the country of residence, usually under the auspices of community institutions.

Through the multi-methodical approach, the accumulated research material was: (a) *empirical*, using a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, group activities and collected diaries, and (b) *archival*, using the material of the program Paideia Omogenon.

Categorization of the material was conducted based on two forms of classification:

(a) Classification based on the qualitative characteristics of identity-related reports, and
(b) Classification based on the host country of the Greeks abroad.

The following analytical categories emerged:

1. Biographical-descriptive elements of the sample.
2. Narration of the family biography.
3. The Greek language and its significance
4. Greek history and its significance
5. Tradition and Greekness: Greek Orthodox tradition and folk culture.
6. Narration of the contemporary Greek reality and its significances.
7. Elements of self-identification and the significance of Greekness.

2   Elements of Self-Identification and Significance of Greekness

On a first level, the analysis focuses on the way the students project their identity-related labeling, placing themselves ethno-culturally. On a second level, the findings are correlated with the semantic field of this placement, that is, with the content the students themselves assign to these identity labelings. On a third level, the findings are associated with the students' narration in relation to Others. There are three basic axes of students' narration of their dissimilarity: (a) the governing ethno-cultural Others, (b) the minority Others, and (c) our Others.

The students from the USA identify themselves mainly as Greek-Americans, basing the first compound of their identity, that of their Greek-descent structural elements, on the level of diachrony, while they project the predominance of their host country as that of a country that permeates status to the second compound of their identity. The Greek "root", the Greek-descent past and the orthodox faith permeate diachronic status, which is foremost found in moral regulating principles, to the projected reports. The second compound draws its elements from the level of synchrony, the socialization context of their country of residence.

However, the point that demonstrates great interest and seems to skim the students' narratives is the following: the Greek-descent context determines that of "being" and the context of their host country that of "doing". This distinction resulted from the words of the students.

The student US-10 states: "…I say that I am Greek-American. Greece is inside me and the USA is around me. That is what many Greeks say. I don't feel that I belong only somewhere. Here is my place of origin and it is the place with the greatest history and values…".

Although the student was unable to define his identity projections through specific accounts, he repeated emphatically the moral and value-connected depth that the Greek origin instills in him.

The student US-14 testifies towards the same direction on the final page of the questionnaire: "As for what kind of person I want to become, I look here….as for how I have to be in order to succeed what I want, I look there…".

The student US-6 mentions: "… I am a Greek-American. I am not an American whose parents come from Greece, nor a Greek who lives there. I am of both. But it is not accidental that we do not say American-Greeks! That tells something." Trying to explain his final phrase, the student continues: "…I feel that the root is the first and the fruits the second".

Still, in the case of the three students who self-identify as Greeks, the students themselves narrate their inner contradictions, and they, themselves, in their turn seem to solve them through the invocation of the emotional mind-set. The statement of a student (US-12) is characteristic: "…inside me I feel that I belong here. I am a Greek. And I think that what I feel, that is…. ok, I could speak better Greek and behave like a normal Greek, but it doesn't matter that much". The same student undermines the factual criteria of her Greekness (linguistic criterion) and the regularities that govern her and proclaims the emotional criterion as dominant. The invocation of the emotional element and its proclamation as the primary factor of identity is also attempted by the student US-2: "I am a Greek…I mean, not normal. I don't speak good Greek…but that will change. What I feel when I dance Greek dances…. how could I put it? I feel like a typical Greek and that counts…. I'll tell you something funny. Let's say that some people say that if you don't speak Greek, you are not a normal Greek. I'll tell something, somehow funny that I've heard. I mean, aren't there Greeks who do not speak the language? Those who have a problem and cannot speak at all and communicate with their hands…ok, it's a pity…but they are Greeks too…and I have a problem with the language, but I am a Greek!". Actually, the emotional mind-set is not only a communicative expression of identity-related assessments, but it appears to constitute the assessment tool that exceeds the contradictions and the divisive dilemmas of any rational foundation (Parkinson et al. 2005: 233). Thus, through an example narrated by the student, she herself projects factual identity-related criteria, and she herself cancels their identity-related influence. Ultimately, the criteria of Others' are displayed (linguistic criterion), which are further deconstructed via the salience of the emotional mind-set as her foremost criterion.

The element of status as a global power and as a technological advanced country constitutes the focal point of students' narratives in relation to their country of resi-

dence. These characteristics, nevertheless, are the core elements of the American identity. The American is chiefly displayed as the one who gave the Greeks the opportunity to become partakers of the western perception concerning development and progress. Of course, something like that, according to the students' narrations, is integrated into a strategy of benefit as students focus on the achievements of the Greeks and their contribution to the American society. "…The Americans are the ones who opened the door to let us in…and my parents say that they were way ahead then in relation to Greece. Ok, they were open-minded, and they did that to their own advantage. But they gave the chance…" mentions the student (US-8). Thereby, rhetoric is developed, within which the students consider that the power and the status of the ruling ethno-cultural group in the USA is due to the conducive historic circumstances.

The student US-10 states characteristically: "We are not the same…it is different to be fighting against the Turks and Germans, and different to be chasing the poor Indians… I believe that we would surely have progressed if we had not had so many enemies…it is not the same."

Whilst another student (US-5) points out: "…I know that when you step on two things, it is difficult…Greek-American, Italian-American etc. The hyphen in between hides struggle and distress says my father. And he does not say that only about the Greeks. About everybody. They had difficult times…I do not know details". However, when the students' narratives focus on our own Others, the following can be observed: while the students themselves try to deconstruct the significance of the criteria the Others set for their Greekness, for example the linguistic one, they themselves pronounce them significant when sighted by Other Greeks abroad. Thus, the Other Greeks abroad, mainly those originating from the countries of the former Soviet Union, do not know the Greek language and are judged upon that, while the students themselves from the USA both exonerate and legalize internally their own lower linguistic level in relation to that of those living in Germany, because the latter target at returning to Greece. "I do not know perfect Greek either, but at least I know some. The Others from Russia, Ukraine know some Pontic Greek words. Only. So what kind of Greeks are they? If I, too, tell you three words in Ancient Greek, did I become ancient? I am not saying that they speak like the German kids, but not like that. And the German kids know like that because they come here later and go to other school…" (US-12).

In the case of the students from Germany, the identity-related labelling is featured with clarity, since the students define themselves as Greeks. This self-definition is not displayed as simply interdependent with factual-synchronic identity-related elements, with the experience itself, but mainly as self-evident and directly attributed to incessant and flowing intake of Greekness. The student DE-5 states: "...I am 100% Greek. I am not different from the other Greeks. I know the language, the history, the traditions, I live like a Greek. I am not saying that I am. I live like that. After all, it could not have been differently. Since my family is Greek. Normally...". Primarily, the student emphatically highlights that she does not say that she is simply a Greek (I am not saying that I am), but that she is indeed, because she lives like a Greek (I live like that). Actually, the student distinguishes the "nominal" from the "factual" labelling. This discernment refers to the distinction between the nominal

labelling of a categorization and the experiential content that this distinction owes to have. Besides the plea to experience, the students simultaneously resort to the plea of diachrony so as to demonstrate the significance of this experience. Characteristically, a student (DE-8) mentions: "...I am a Greek because not only there do us all Greeks keep all the Greek manners but because all these are the most important of all other cultures. The Greek history, language, everything. And I feel proud because my home country is Greece and that I am not an immigrant from somewhere else. It is not the same..." This way the connection with the Hellenic reality does not only constitute a means of conserving an identity, but that of the Hellenic identity which appears to be appraised as the most influential of all.

However, the narration of the Self appears to be initially obeying a selective, and secondarily an instrumental process of emphasizing and keeping silent about identity-related reports. The self-positioning as Greeks is emphatically stressed, while the German context is simultaneously projected as a compensation for negative assessments that are credited to the Greek. This way the students' appropriate characteristics from both ethno-cultural contexts, stressing, nevertheless, that the elements of the host country do not abolish the significant ethno-cultural importance. And, definitely, it is not abolished in the least, but enriched without altering its ruling features either.

The student DE-9 states: "…okay, generally speaking, we, the Greeks have the greatest things. History, language, culture. But we also have some not that good. But that is changing. Anyway, I have got a few good things from where I live as well. For example, they say that we are a bit of a mess. I have learnt to be organized. But we have made the positive things of the Germans our own in our way as well So, I am a Greek without the disadvantages of a Greek!". However, this kind of instrumental-utilitarian selective characterization of one's Self seems to be integrated into a narrative disposition of experiences, that is, into an assessment.

The statement of the student DE-20 is typical: "…I am lucky because I am a Greek and I have got a lot from Germany. It makes me a perfect Greek!". Of course, Greekness, as it is defined by the students themselves, seems to legalize, to an extent, a set of claims and rights.

The student DE-5 maintains: "…what I said to you…I speak Greek, I go to Greek school, I am a Greek and I am entitled to have certain things. I am not saying that I am a Greek. I truly am. I am not like the others who say something on purpose. I have got the qualifications…".

Since the students believe that they fulfil the criteria of Greekness (factual dimension), they consider that they can access a correlating set of claims and rights. This rationale, according to Damanakis, mainly characterizes the first generation of immigrants in Germany (Damanakis 2003: 46). Besides, Parents' Associations have played a significant role while demanding educational rights for their children (Michelakaki 2001: 60). However, in the context of this present study it could not be answered whether these rationales constitute the result or the criterion of the students' self-identification. A more general tendency of these students, on the one hand, is to display their Greekness as pre-existent of all sophisticated management and, on the other hand, to display the host country's identity-related influence to an extent that does not overrule the primary importance.

The student DE-2 characteristically states: "… we are to say that we are Greeks and that we have not been germanized. And as Greeks we can claim certain things". An effort towards this direction, that is, to weaken the host country's identity-related influence is surfacing, meaning an aimed and sophisticated relativization of the evident.

In the final production of the text of the group activity while the students were asked to self-identify on a collective level, the following is noted: "We are 100% Greeks. We have not been germanized. Germany is a parenthesis for us, as almost each one of us will study here. And we will be giving things to our home country. It is good for everybody". The reverse of the potential identity implications that stem from the objective bi-cultural reality they experience occurs through an instrumental-utilititarian management of identity reports.

Concerning the perception of other Greeks abroad, the students nominate the factual criteria of identity as the dominating ones and relativize the identity-related influence of faith and symbolic labeling. This way, Greekness is restricted to the regulative frames of a factual mapping for those students. Still, they emphasize that it is important to feel Greek, but it does not suffice in order for this to be a "reality". Some students' narratives include elements of ambivalence towards the Other Greeks abroad. This happens because, on the one hand, there is converging data with the Greeks who live in various countries of the world, whereas there is data of great divergence comprising those Greeks abroad who are "less Greeks" or "non-realistic".

A characteristic example of ambivalent elements is the statement of a student DE-20: "…here I have met Other Greeks who live in other countries. I feel that there are things that connect us. I cannot tell you what…because we come from the same home country. I don't know…but alongside with this I see that we are not the same. Namely, they do not know many things. Okay, they feel somehow Greeks they say. But that way everybody can say whatever he or she wants…Anyway, I don't feel them strangers…but not the same either…".

The attempt of self-identification of the students from the former Soviet Union countries primarily constitutes a constant effort to eliminate regularities that others have been set for them. Seven (7) students self-identify as Greeks and eleven (11) follow descriptive labelling (Greek-Georgian, a Greek girl who lives in Russia, a Russian girl whose ancestors' land is Greece, a Ukrainian girl who yet feels Greek etc.). In this context, rhetoric is emerging within which the elements that, according to the students, aim at placing them outside the semantic field of Greekness are removed. The students do not appeal to synchrony, resemblance and experience but refer to the notion of continuity on the level of ancestors, that is, they evoke the historic depth. The student GE-2 states: "...I am a Greek. Everybody may not understand it, but that is how I feel. We have kept our ancestors inside us for many years. And my ancestors are Greek, Pontiacs, and so am I... The Greeks have gone through so much these years and we must not forget that. That's why I say that I am a Greek".

Hence, the invocation of emotions and collective trauma legalize both identity-related placements and the request for recognition of these placements by the Others. In this context, the spoken narratives that mainly refer to the collective

trauma and to the struggle for survival of any Greekness, mobilize the emotional structures and define to an extent the terms of interconnection with the Greek-based context.

For the student GE-5 who determines himself as Greek-Georgian, his Greek origin is exhibited as a symbolic bridge between then and now (symbolic bridge) (Zerubavel 1995: 32). However, the student himself does not narrate the content of this symbolic bridge but that content arises as the natural consequence of his ancestors' participation in the struggle for the conservation of their Greekness. The survival of Greek-based elements appears to suffice by itself so as to shield the labelling. "…I am Greek-Georgian…I did not come from nowhere. I mean that Greeks managed to win despite being chased by everybody. But they made it and I must tell that and say that I am a Greek too because I bring with me things and I think they have to stay". Without being able to narrate "what exactly he brings" himself, he stresses the significance that he has to conserve them.

Consequently, students do not appeal so much to the historic incidents but mainly to the accompanying emotion. This emotion, on the one hand, asserts a kind of moral vindication, through the conservation of their any Greekness, and on the other hand, constitutes a basic axis of reference that legalizes their ethno-cultural identities.

The student GE-3 characterizes his Self as a "normal Greek", attributing emotional instead of factual characteristics to the notion of normality, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, attributing properties that are not so much the ones he bears in him but qualities that have to be conserved in the collective memory to the notion of a Greek. More specifically: "I feel a normal Greek. I mean I feel that way…and the Greeks have gone through a lot. I may not remember details…but I know they suffered and we have to remember that".

A basic mechanism for the advocacy of these stands the distinction the students make between what "identity seems" and what "identity is".

The student UA-6 mentions: "I feel a Greek. I may not live like a Greek girl lives but what matters is that we have our ancestors here. Meaning that we have them themselves…even it if doesn't not show. We know that some don't agree, because we don't know the language. But we have the very same ancestors." The same student notes down in her diary: "We don't lie. We are Greeks even if it appears to be complex. We have the same ancestors from the very old times". The potential objections of the Others concerning the student's self-identification, due to the lack of factual criteria of Greekness (…even it if does not show), seem to be solved at least on the level of their display through the emphasis given to the notion of "ancestral depth" (ancestral depth) (Zerubavel 2012: 37).

In the case of the student UA-8, exactly because he appeals to the "ancestral depth", he considers that the rest of the elements of identity are potentially reversible because of the identity-related will. Specifically, he states: "…I may feel confused, but I am a Greek. The Others don't see it. In a way they are right because I don't speak the language well…My ancestors are Greeks, my parents too and way backwards…and I will learn the language to make it look better". For this student,

the narrative of his Greekness is primarily based on the distinction between what "identity seems" and what "identity is". And this happens because during the group activity he makes the following suggestion to the rest of the team: "…let's say that we may not look like Greeks, but we are…I mean it does not matter if we seem…".

Actually, the basic regard of the students is bridging the gap, as they themselves project it, between the regulative deficiencies in relation to the assumed criteria of the Others concerning their Greekness and the way in which they perceive this Greekness. This comes as an answer to this emerging mismatch. For instance, language learning (something that has been projected as a primary target) appears to be functioning ostensibly. And that is because although the students themselves attribute reduced significance to the linguistic criterion, as the criterion of Greekness, they quote that criterion when they seem to request the recognition of their Greekness by the Others. This paradox seems to be resolved with a second reading when one is to realize that the invocation of the will to fulfill the synchronic elements of identity can be realized only in an attempt to make this identity distinguishable.

The student UZ-2 explicitly states her identity labelling in the following manner: "...I feel a Greek. My parents are Pontiacs. And I know that some people look at us in a strange way but that is how I feel. And let them say...I mean, because I am not like the Greeks here? If they had gone through what our parents did...I would have wanted to see them there. And little by little we will become too. I know how to speak Greek, not well but I know. That is how I feel, and I am not confused!" Keeping distance from the projection of contradictions and ambivalences, the student shields her identity-related self-placement mainly through an effort to eradicate the potential objections of the Others. She does not principally refer to the content of her Greekness but focuses on the deconstruction of the supposed content that can be attributed to it. This way the emotional mind-set is the mere analytical tool of classification she performs, since it is sufficient to disconnect the "how the identity seems" from the content of her identity.

In the students' attempt to narrate the dominant ethno-cultural Other, a transition from "is" as a hetero-identification to "we" as a self-identification is observed, since actually there is an alternation of the narrator's identity. This alternation, and the transition from the Self that narrates to the Other, to the Self that narrates as if it were the Other, seems to be related to the ambiguous and ambivalent character of the self-placement itself.

The statement of student GE-5 is characteristic: "…The Georgians are different. They have a dissimilar character. We keep things more to ourselves and we can't afford to lead a life like people here. Of course, they respect the Greeks and we have no problems with them. They admire us for our culture…".

Surely, in the case of our own Others, the students' narratives focus on the differentiation of the Greekness of Other Greeks abroad from the Greekness, as it is defined and displayed by them themselves, something that is exclusively due to the extremely difficult historic circumstances that restricted to a great extent the access to the Greek-based context.

The student GE-2 points out referring to the Other Greeks abroad: "we have the same home country from the early times. It is "ours" (in Pontiac dialect). We do not look alike but we are…we do not know so much because we couldn't…they are way ahead but they didn't go through the same…".

3 Manifestations of Greekness on a Mid-Macro Level

The students in this sample associate themselves with the historic and socialization aspects of their host countries while basic manifestations-shades of Greekness are illustrated in parallel.

For the students in the USA, the synthesis of synchronic and diachronic elements of Greekness constitutes the basic characteristic of their narrative. The Greek-based elements have an enriching function, since they do not comprise any obstacle whatsoever for the inclusion and advancement in the society of their host country, but they further seem to attach an ethical and value-related content to the contemporary experience that only Greekness bears. The narrative of the Greek-based elements of their identity is primarily a narrative of properties and secondarily that of factual content. And these properties constitute pre-notes of Greekness, that is narrative parts that even if their contents are not familiar (cognitive and factual elements), the students seem to discern how crucial it is for someone to appeal to them.

However, it has to be highlighted that the students participate in forms of education whose principal orientation is the smooth inclusion in the American society and any Greek-descent elements function complementarily and enrichingly. The Greek language, the elements of Greek history and civilization comprise a means of re-negotiating the interconnection with the Greek-born context, a means of regaining the "root". Besides, the revival of ethnicity in the USA during the 1970s led the Greek immigrants to an effort of reconstructing their Greek-based ethnocultural reports. During this reconstruction, the synchronic elements of Greekness composed the "raw material" of their identity-related reports. The Greek history with emphasis on Ancient-Greek ideals and the context of the Greek Orthodox tradition constituted basic reference points even for opposing forces that developed in the field of community-organization of Greeks in the USA. Thus, the mapping of Greekness on the basis of their ancestral past, as determined by the Ancient-Greek legacy and the conjunction of identity and Orthodoxy, defined to a great extent the qualitative terms of the interconnection of the Greeks abroad and the national centre.

Through the findings that concern the group of students from the USA, two fundamental manifestations of Greekness surface. Both manifestations, beyond their differentiations, actually describe the creation of a "third space" that is characterized by discontinuities, and which cannot be analysed by resorting to starting-point identity-related affiliations since the identity-related reports are not reduced merely to a nationalistic speech or to a restricted public narrative of a nation-state (Bhabha 1990: 211).

– Greekness that has as a starting point factual material of restricted scope and aims at the demonstration of value-related and ethical status that this Greekness bears. Towards this direction Greekness seems to be structured on the basis of an ethical model and a concomitant identity-related debt. Thereby, the Greek origin prejudges a certain kind of ethical mission. The invocation of the Greek-descent past constitutes the focal point of the reports. Ultimately, assessing exceeds doing and the fantasy of the experience exceeds the experience itself.

– Greekness that is based on the synchronic and diachronic elements of identity aiming at the projection of synthesis. Nonetheless, what is emphatically stressed is that the Greek-based elements of their identity specify the way they experience what stems from the context of their country of residence. It is a value-related arrangement, not of experiences, but of identity-associated influence. In this way, the experience is displayed on the level of synchrony on the one hand and, on the other hand, on the level of emerging moral-shaping Greekness that affects the experience itself and gives it a special status.

For the students from Germany, the structural elements of their Greekness have a factual content. It is about Greece-oriented Greekness, since the students do not draw their identity-related reports merely from the Greek-based Greekness but from the Hellenic context, something that attributes a verifiable character to their Greekness. Their Greekness does not only denote identity-related reports on the level of synchrony but also a set of aspirations and rights that relate to instrumental utilization (Damanakis 2007: 141). In this context, the following paradox emerges in the first reading: the students give prominence to the enriching function of ethnicity, but this enriching function refers to identity-related influences of the governing ethno-cultural group, that is to the context of their host country. So, aspects of "Germanness" enrich their Greekness.

Based on the location and time-related criteria, that is the geographical proximity with Greece and the time phase of migration, it is made clear that the Greekness in these students' case transpires as an experience in the realm of a synchronic interconnection. It concerns the most recent case of immigration to a country in Europe and is characterized by geographical proximity to Greece. Therefore, the terms of access to the Hellenic context and the circumstances that allow for human mobility in general, generate an interconnection between the diasporic population and the national centre where the structural elements of this interconnection base on synchronicity. At this point it is worthwhile to highlight the following: the factor of temporary stay in Germany which had been cultivated in the conscience of the Greeks abroad, both via the terms of the Greek-German contract and the stand taken by Greek governments, is gradually deconstructed and it appears to yield its position to another perception where Greece constitutes a "space" where they are primarily "entitled" to return. And this right is authorized through the projection of the unchangeable-in-time, experientially verifiable and consubstantial with the Hellenic Greekness of theirs.

Hence two more manifestations of Greekness emerge:

– Greekness with factual content, as a result of the interconnection on the level of synchrony with the Helladic context, which enriches the bi-cultural reports of the Greeks abroad without caging the subject into a one-dimensional destination, that of the country of origin. The semantic field of such Greekness is structured through synthesis and multiplicity and therefore the invocation of the synchronic elements of Greekness comprises, for the Greeks abroad, the result of synchronic proximity with the Greek-based frame. In the context of such narrative, even the assimilation of cognitive structures and ethnicity does not constitute a problem to the extent, of course, in which this assimilation leaves room for dialogue with the ethno-culturally different, and consequently leads to the enriching of the identity of the Greek abroad.

– Greekness with factual content, which is value-relatedly and emotionally charged to such a degree which entrenches and generates inescapable confinements of the Greek abroad in a Helladic manifestation. In this case, these confinements do not only seek to exceed the self-evident, that is the pluripotent character of the dia-sporic reality, but to nullify each attempt of enrichment and interaction with the ethno-cultural context of the host country. Actually, it concerns a Greekness that is structured in another country in order to be functional in the country of origin. Thereby, the invocation of the synchronic elements of identity is not displayed merely as a result of the contemporary proximity with the Greek-based context, but perhaps as a starting point for personal pursuits and targeting. Such is the case of the Greeks who are members of "parallel communities" in Germany (Damanakis 2007: 117). Nevertheless, such a consideration equally stems from a set of motives for attending Greek-only schools, the focal point of which is studying in the Greek tertiary education, as from the perceptions that are expressed by the Parents' Associations of these schools concerning "authentic" Greekness (Damanakis 2007: 114). It has to do with a case of instrumentaliza-tion of the ethno-cultural diversity that contains profound ethnocentric elements once the Greek communities are perceived as suburbs of Greece. The Greek abroad is found confined in a perception of latent extension (the members of the "parallel communities" consider that the only shift that has happened is the geo-graphical one since they are Greeks who happen to live outside the Greek terri-tory) and in a perception where cognitive structures related particularly to the Greek language are the only reliable and internally legalized way of transition and return to Greece.

In the case of the students from the countries of the former Soviet Union, their Greekness is based in a symbolic "space", where the main mapping tools move on the level diachrony. It is about "symbolic Greekness which appears as allegiance to descent, as a set of convictions and emotional charge, as a credo, as a myth, unac-companied by synchronic, discernible traits, but at the very best it is accompanied by a number of Greek-derived cultural and linguistic residua, that is, by 'cultural residua" (Damanakis 2007: 139). It is obvious that the term "cultural residua" does not lend itself to quantitative measurement (assessment of Greekness indicators) but

relates to the feeling of "belonging" to a collectivity, meaning that it is of a subjective psychological nature and maps mental structures, convictions and the symbols in which the self-identification of a Greek abroad is founded. The Greek-based traits of the identity of the students seem to have a compensatory function. One such function, however, refers to the realization of the loss of factual reports and to the attempt of regaining and eventually restructuring familiar ethno-cultural traits. Loss and reconstruction constitute basic components of the compensatory function. Yet, the notion of loss presupposes that at least the diasporic subject realizes the absence of a number of familiar identity-related reports. For these students, who belong to families of Greek descent in the third or fourth generation, "the absences seem to be present" via the elements of oral tradition.

Based on the criterion of historical authenticity, indeed, populations of Greek descent in these countries lived in separation from contemporary Greece for many years. Historic resettlements, expulsions and massive displacements of Greek populations in these countries, redefined the hearths of the Greek presence but also the way of their self-organization on all levels. There were times when the Greeks abroad had no access to the contemporary-factual context of Greekness. Oral tradition constituted the sole vehicle of intergenerational conveyance of any Greek-based traits. This vehicle not only determines the way of this conveyance, but the content of the traits conveyed as well. Consequently, in this case Greekness is based in orality, that is in the "narrative of the Greece-based past through the inclusion of this narrative in the daily routine of the group" (Damanakis 2007: 146).

In this context three more shades of Greekness surface:

– Greekness that is structured in the distinction of the identity-related "seeming" from the identity-related "being", where the absence of synchronic traits of identity is fully disengaged from the self-interpretation of the Self. Through a symbolic engraving of an ancestral journey, the historic depth of Greekness is displayed as the existential "being" that exceeds the everyday "doing". The emotional mind-set constitutes the main tool of this exceedance.
– Greekness that is projected exclusively with symbolic and deductive terms, mainly as an identity-related debt. In this case, dramaturgy and extremely difficult circumstances of survival of any Greek-based traits seem to generate identity-related affiliations through the invocation of collective memory. These narratives (of trauma, persecution, survival) constitute, "foundational stories" (foundational stories) that yield encrypted explanations of the identity of the subject (Chamberlain 2009: 185). Actually, "I owe to be Greek" encapsulates also the fear of betraying the ancestral journey, a journey of drama and, accordingly, worth remembering.
– Greekness with exclusively and merely symbolic and emotional content, where the structural elements of interconnection with the Greek-based context are not collective memories but mainly their properties. In this case, the Greeks abroad invoke the properties of a deductively structured Greekness, properties that have a particular formative action in the narratable material. So, the emotional mind-set constitutes that element that gives these labeling the necessary internal legalization, at least in terms of their projection.

It is advisable to clarify that the content of symbolic Greekness, as crystallized in the three aforementioned manifestations, is not structured from the remnants of a Greece-oriented Greekness, hence the case is not that of a Greece-oriented Greekness in decadence. Instead, it involves different starting points in the historic and socio- political context that led to different courses and consequently to different ways of mapping the semantic field of Greekness. The enrichment of a symbolic Greekness with factual, synchronic elements of identity is rightful once it is legalized by the need Greeks abroad have to defend their Greekness whatsoever. It would be futile perhaps, though, to expect any deframing of this Greekness by the symbolic and emotional mind-set-related interconnections with the Greek-based context and a radical change in its narrative parts.

The aforementioned shades of Greekness are not obviously the single ones; still, they could be used as working hypotheses, though, when the issues of identity in the diaspora are touched upon. The Greek abroad lives and socializes among identity-related reports, rich in alternative contexts and inexhaustible in fantasies of "space". The Greeks abroad are not homogenous and therefore their Greekness is always uttered in plural. Its various manifestations lie enriched not only in historic and social contexts, as defined by the characteristics of migratory flows, the structures of self-organization and the policies of the host countries, but within the formative effect of "subjectivity" (Maver 2009: x).

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The Future of the Bilingual Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul: New Data

Eleni Sella-Mazi and Maria Rompopoulou

Abstract This chapter focuses on the current sociolinguistic situation of the Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul, in order to predict, to the maximum possible extent, the linguistic behavior of the new generation of this minority, based on the observation of the use of Greek and Turkish by informants aged 10 to 18. The children of the Greek Orthodox Minority have grown up in a language community characterized by individual bilingualism and diglossia. The limited use of the minority mother tongue leads to limited exposure to that language, resulting in the decrease of linguistic competence, in lack of confidence in using the language and in the increase of reliance on the dominant language. It is about a dynamic phenomenon that leads to the limited use of the minority language.

Keywords Minority language · Bilingualism/multilingualism · Linguistic community · Domains of language use · Language maintenance · Language shift · Bilingual minority education

1 Introduction

This chapter reports on the current sociolinguistic situation of the Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul, almost 10 years after Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis' research on the language attitudes of the same minority (2007), in order to predict to the maximum possible extent the sociolinguistic behavior of the young members of the Greek-speaking minority of Istanbul (based on the observation of the use of the two languages, Greek and Turkish, by informants aged 10 to 18). Our aim is to bring into light the sociolinguistic factors that have not been investigated till then and that affect the linguistic behavior of the aforementioned group.

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Although in depth linguistic research on the Turkish-speaking Muslim minority of Thrace has been undertaken over a long period (Sella-Mazi 1997a: 83–100, 1999), no such research has been undertaken in the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul until 2007. This is of great interest, since (Sella-Mazi 1997b: 351–413) the political existence and rights of each of these two minorities are determined by each other.

In our study, we review literature from other bilingual or multilingual settings (Landry et al. 1996; Karahan 2004; McEntee-Atalianis and Pouloukas 2001), in which the language contact situation bears similarities to that of the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul. More specifically, the study of Markos Komondouros and Lisa McEntee-Atalianis (2007) on the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul, forms the backbone of our research.

Our chapter draws on the framework of Rompopoulou's PhD project: "Bilingualism in Greek-Speaking Orthodox Community in Istanbul: The Language Use of Greek and Turkish in Educational Institutions: Nursery, Junior and High Schools; a sociolinguistic approach".

In the first part of the chapter, we describe the sociolinguistic profile of the whole Minority, as well as its bilingual educational system and the profile of its pupils and teachers. In the second part, we present our study methodology and discuss part of the results of our sociolinguistic research among the pupils of the Greek Orthodox Minority secondary and high schools. Our aim is to investigate the domains of use of Greek and Turkish in order to compare the use, the frequency and the values of the two languages as well as to provide a detailed description of the factors that affect the user's linguistic choice.

2 The Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul: Sociolinguistic Profile

The Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul has its own specific characteristics, unlike the other Greek-speaking minorities around the world which may vary in size, geographical situation, social composition and economic strength and political status. First of all, the Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul is an indigenous minority and not an immigrant one. It has a long-standing history and presence in Istanbul, supported by a full institutional and societal framework. The Turkish state use the term "Rum" referring to the remaining members of the Greek Orthodox Minority who have the Turkish nationality.

The Greek Orthodox Minority of Istanbul, as well as the Muslim Minority of Western Thrace, was recognized as a religious minority rather than an ethnic or national one by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The Treaty of Lausanne entitled its members to the rights of all citizens in their respective host countries, safeguarding in particular their religious, educational and linguistic freedoms (Sella-Mazi 1999, 2001; Anastassiadou and Ntimon 2007). In addition to its strong historic presence, the minority has also political and symbolic significance, given the background of

the Greek-Turkish relations and the presence of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul (Anastassiadou and Ntimon 2007; Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007).

Massive emigration to Greece, combined with pressures and restrictions applied historically to the community, regarding also its linguistic and educational rights, raises concerns as to the survival of the Greek language in this setting which is close to mainland Greece.

Greek, an official minority language in Turkey, has low geographic continuum by the majority linguistic group in Istanbul. The Greek Orthodox community is located in Istanbul, mainly in the areas of Pera, Sisli, Tatavla, Agios Stephanos, Chalkidona and also on the Princess' Islands in Marmara Sea for the summer. The majority of Greeks in Istanbul deal with trade, maritime, and slightly with industry. Most of them work in the Ecumenical Patriarchate or in the community institutions, and some are teachers in primary and secondary education in minority schools.

From a population of over two hundred thousand members in 1923, due to combined effects of emigration and the various pressures by the Turkish government intent on homogenizing minorities, the population has dwindled, and it is currently estimated to be only 2500 in a huge metropolitan city, like Istanbul, with a population of over 18 million citizens. Despite its small number, however, the community appears to remain tightly-knit and to have a strong sense of ethno-cultural and linguistic identity (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007).

The status of the Greek language in Istanbul, compared to the majority's language, Turkish, is characterized as an "abstand" language with its own social, cultural and political characteristics. The Greek language, related to the national origin of the Greek population, strengthens its position by the fact that it is the official language of the adjoining State and there is a geographical proximity of the State with the Greek Orthodox Minority of Istanbul. Moreover, it meets the community's needs in carrying out their religious duties. In this way, the presence of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul gives more cultural and social power to the Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul.

The Greek-speaking minority in Istanbul maintains close relations with Greece (large number of families have relatives, friends established in Greece), therefore keeping contact with the Greek language. Also, the Greek-speaking community has been issuing two daily newspapers and has an online radio in Greek, "*Iho tis Polis*"; this contributes to the strengthening of the minority and maintains Greek as a mother tongue.

According to Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis research (2007) on the vitality of Greek, as well as the possibility of language shift within the Greek-Orthodox minority, ethnocultural identity of the minority was found to be extremely sensitive. All the interviewees felt strongly that the Greek language was an integral part of their ethnocultural identity. Our goal is to study the same linguistic community, almost 10 years later, in order to verify or probably disprove the data of 2007, focusing on the new generation of Constantinople, which will determine the future of the minority language in Istanbul. Our ultimate goal is to design a more efficient approach to heritage language maintenance and to the promotion of bilingualism.

2.1 Minority Bilingual Education: Linguistic Setting

In the recent years, the use of the Greek language among the minority's young members is in a constant state of change. The language repertoire of bilingual subjects may change over time: as the environment changes and the needs for particular language skills also change, the same will happen with their competence in these skills (Grosjean 2006: 32–63).

The children of the Greek Orthodox Minority grow up in a language community containing individual bilingualism and diglossia (Fishman 1991). Younger generation is feeling the effects of a lower exposure to Greek due to the demographic concentration of their numbers. They are usually under strong external pressure to learn the language of the society at large and may also be under internal family pressure to keep the home language (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984: 75). Between Turkish and Greek spoken in Istanbul, Turkish plays the role of lingua franca among the pupils of the nursery, junior and high Greek minority schools. The linguistic map of the young generation of the Greek Orthodox Minority has undergone a radical change from the previous generation, where balanced bilingualism was firmly established.

According to the dramatic and sharp decrease of the minority's size, Greek minority schools, despite their long and prestigious tradition, are now declining, as the number of students and teachers has been dramatically reduced. There were 70 Greek schools in Istanbul, with a total of 11,000 pupils in the 1924–1925 school year; in the years 1955–1956, there were 45 junior schools and 6 high schools with a total of 5380 pupils; in the 2013–2014 school year, only 7 schools were left: four junior schools and three high schools with a total of 235 pupils; 50 in nursery, 71 in junior and 114 in high schools.

The schools which still operate and offer bilingual education in the school year 2013–2014 are as follows: Zappion Nursery and Junior school; Junior school of Vlanga; Junior school of Büyükada/Pringipos; Junior school of Gökçeada/Imvros; Zappion High School; Zografion High School; Great Nation High School of Phanar. Education in the Greek Minority schools is offered in two languages; in *Greek and in Turkish*. Both languages are taught equally (number of hours). *Greek language and Literature, Science, Mathematics, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Music, Art, Physical Education* are courses taught in Greek, whereas, *Turkish language, and Literature, History, History of Reforms, Sociology and Geography,* in Turkish. Moreover, students learn English as a foreign language.

2.2 The Sociolinguistic Status of Pupils in the Greek Orthodox Minority Schools

During our research with the students of the Greek Orthodox Minority schools, we met a multilingual environment, rather than a bilingual one.

In school year 2013–2014, the total number of students was 235; 50 in nursery, 71 in junior and 125 in high schools. The status of the students in all the Greek minority schools is as follows:

60 students of the total sum are "Rum", students whose both parents are from the Greek minority, that is, they are Turkish citizens and bilingual.

Eighteen students of the total sum are children whose parents are Greek citizens. Since 1965, only children who are Turkish citizens may attend minority schools. In addition to "Rum" children who are Turkish citizens, the children of Greek citizens working in the Greek Consulate, or of quota[1] teachers working in Greek schools and of NATO officials who are citizens of Greece may also attend the Greek Minority schools. They speak only Greek and participate only in the Greek lessons. They do not speak Turkish.

Forty-six students of the total sum are the children from mixed marriages.[2] The common language these families use at home, is Turkish. As it is confirmed by international literature, in mixed marriages there is usually a shift to the majority language (Romaine 1989: 40).

One hundred and eleven students of the total sum are students of Arabic origin who speak Arabic and mostly Turkish. Due to political and socio-economic reasons, the Arabic community is interfered with the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul. By 1980s, for socio-economic and political reasons, there was a movement of the Arabic origin Orthodox community from South-East part of Turkey (Antakya, Mersin, Iskenderun) to Istanbul (Massavetas 2011: 450–453). The Turkish Government gave the right to their children (of the Arabic origin Orthodox people who moved from South-East part of Turkey to Istanbul) to enroll in Greek minority schools. The common religion and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Istanbul brought together the two deeply different communities. For the children of this minority, Greek is a foreign language, as they speak Turkish at home, and in some cases, Arabic. The children of this minority that attend the Greek minority schools constitute the second generation of an immigrant population. Due to inadequate language support, these students do not learn sufficient Greek to be able to follow the curriculum. This situation often results in the use of Turkish as the common language among these students, their Greek-speaking peers and teachers. Nowadays, the gradual increase of the children of Arabic origin make up almost 50% of the students in Greek minority schools.

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[1] Some of the Greek courses are delivered by "*quota teachers*" coming from Greece within the framework of the 1951 Culture Agreement between Turkey and Greece. As required by the principle of "reciprocity" the same number of teachers must be sent from Turkey to the Turkish minority schools in Thrace in Greece. In the academic year 2013–2014 only 13 teachers were sent from Greece (Kaya and Somel 2013: 58–81).

[2] The number of the mixed marriages between Greek-Turkish, Greek-Armenian, Greek-Arabian, Greek-Bulgarian, Greek-Italian, Greek-Russian is increased by 62% in the years 1993–2005, according to the statistical facts taken from the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate (Ampatzis 2005: 144).

As we observe, the major problem of the community education system is the declining use of Greek by the new generation: the preferred communicative means for more than half of the students is Turkish. There does not seem to be any possible educational intervention within this specific minority to reverse this shift.

3 The Study: Data Collection

Data is collected through a combination of sources and interviews. Our questionnaire written in Greek was comprised of seven sections. The first section contained questions regarding students' personal details, about their family, their neighborhood, their socio-economic status of their family, the educational status of their parents, etc. Questions in the second section regarded the language network and frequency of use. In the third and fourth sections, students were asked to provide data on both languages use and the domains of the language use (Greek-Turkish) and also, their comments on the Greek/Turkish language courses at school, that is, students' opinion about their school and their Greek/Turkish language courses. Questions in the fifth section regarded students' language skills and their proficiency in both languages, Greek and Turkish. The sixth section contained questions regarding subjective vitality and students' identity. Finally, the last section was a variation of "language background scales", used in many similar studies (cf. e.g. Abrahams et al. 2008; Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007; Extra and Yağmur 2009; Baker 2011: 30).

Questionnaires were distributed through the three Bilingual Minority Greek-Orthodox high schools, after having obtained the permission of the authorities concerned (Pedagogical Institute) and the collaboration of the headmasters. Our sample were 10–18 years old students. Questionnaire results were supplemented by selected interviews, to probe more deeply into certain issues with minority school teachers and head masters and also with Turkish contract teachers and the chief deputy heads who work in the Greek minority schools. Furthermore, in order to investigate the group of children from 5 to 10 years old, unable to complete all the questionnaire, we did some class observation in kindergarten and in primary school classes and semi-structured interviews.

3.1 Results and Discussion

The original population under study consisted of the total number of students in the three secondary and high schools of Greek minority schools: Great Nation High School of Phanar, Zografion High School, Zappion High School. The questionnaire was distributed to all students: bilinguals from the Greek minority, Rums, students whose parents work at the Greek consulate or children of quota teachers (originally Greek), students from mixed marriages and students of Arabic origin. The sample
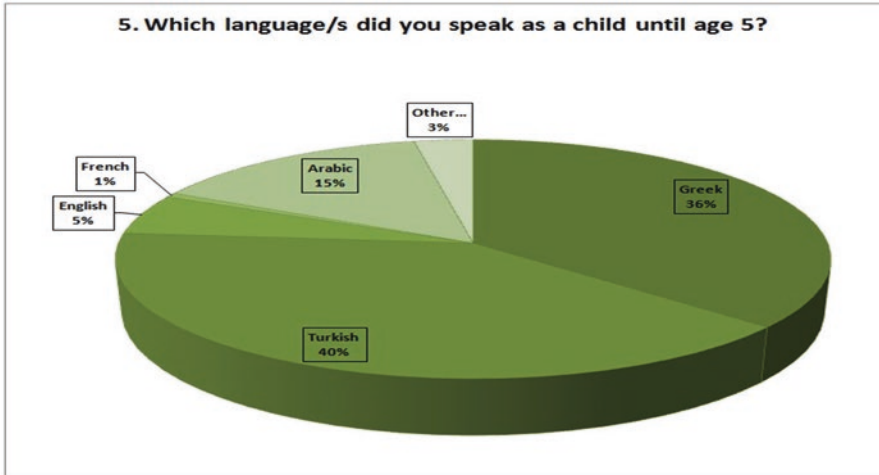
Fig. 1 Languages spoken in childhood

discussed in this chapter, focused on the language use and usefulness in and out of the school and on the students' self-evaluation, amounted to 92 youngsters: 51 boys and 41 girls aged between 10 and 18 years old (Fig. 1).

3.1.1 Personal Details

With regard to language spoken at home when the informants were toddlers, the findings are interesting. The majority language has slightly the power: 40% of informants spoke Turkish, 36% Greek, 15% Arabic, 5% English, 1% French, 3% other … Obviously, this shows that the means of communication at home is the majority language, Turkish. On the other hand, it seems that a part of the informants of Arabic origin, as well as of the informants from mixed marriages, grew up speaking the majority language.

3.1.2 Language Network and Frequency of Use

Languages the Informants Use at Home and Reciprocally Towards
the Informants

The presentation of our findings involves the language used at home by interlocutors and also the language used when addressing the subjects. The informants could give more than one answer to these questions (Fig. 2).

Regarding the language spoken at home, we notice the similarity in the language use with the informants when they were toddler. The results reflect that the predominant language is Turkish (44%) and that Greek (35%) loses power. On the other
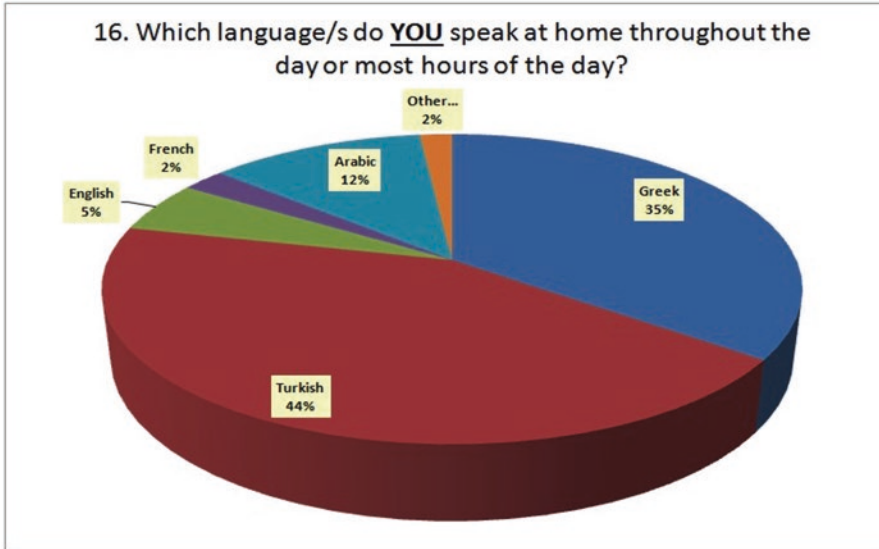
Fig. 2 Languages spoken at home

hand, we notice that the use of Arabic is limited to 12%. This finding shows that the Arabic-origin minority uses mostly the majority language at home rather than its language.

A lack of family language reproduction is a principal and direct cause of language shift. In this scenario, a minority language will be replaced within two or three generations, unless bilingual education can produce speakers who can use the language for their daily communication needs (Sella-Mazi 2001: 93–102; Baker 2011: 49). The inability of minorities to maintain home as an intact domain for the use of their language has often been decisive in language shift.

The findings show us that most of the children live in a mixed language family and as Romaine claims (1989: 40): "Where a mixed language community exists, the loss rate is higher. The implications can be seen at the level of family structure".

Language Choice

Our informa*nts were asked to choose one of the following options: (I speak to my father, mother, brothers/sisters, grandparents, friends)* (1) "only in Greek", (2) "mostly in Greek", (3) "in both languages equally", (4)"mostly in Turkish", (5) "only in Turkish". Their answers were originally codified as percentages included in a six-column table. The result concerns the informants' language choice with older and younger interlocutors (Fig. 3).
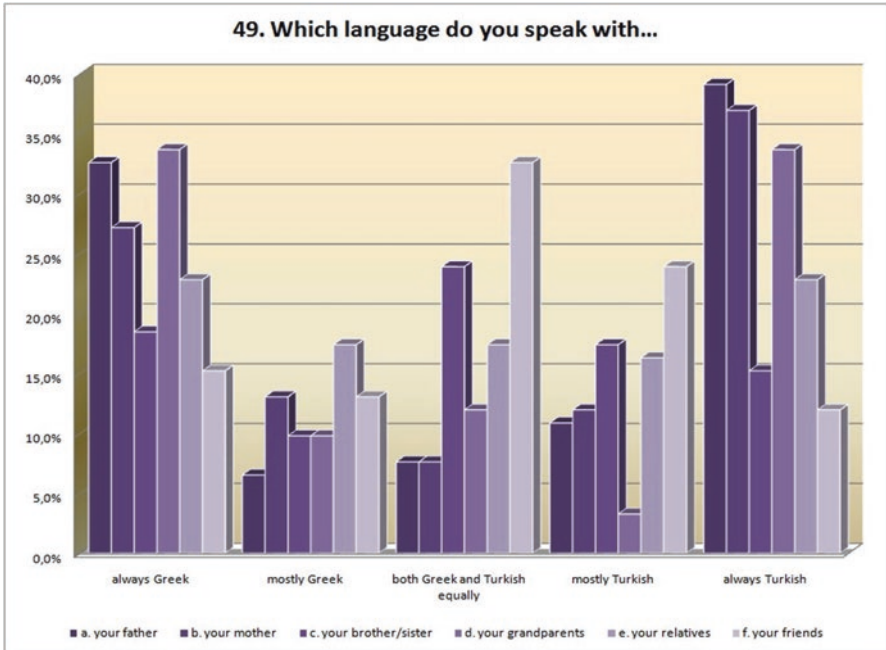
Fig. 3 Languages spoken to close family network

Regarding the language spoken to close family network, the findings reflect the result that the majority language (Turkish) is the predominant language used with the close environment of the informants (Fig. 4).

Language Usefulness

Regarding to language usefulness, 71.7% of the students believe that the Greek language is very useful for them for their identity (personal reasons) and 26.8 of them believe that Turkish is useless for their personal life. On the other hand, regarding education and for professional reasons, we note that the usefulness of Turkish is higher; 78.8% of the students believe that Turkish is useful in education and 77.2% believe that Turkish is useful in their professional life.

It should noted that the young generation of Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul want to continue their higher education in Turkish universities. As Turkish is the language used at the university entrance exams in Turkey, students give more importance to it. Our research shows that since 2004, no students from Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul have gone to Greece in order to attend Greek universities. Something that should be emphasized here is that the fluency in Turkish is
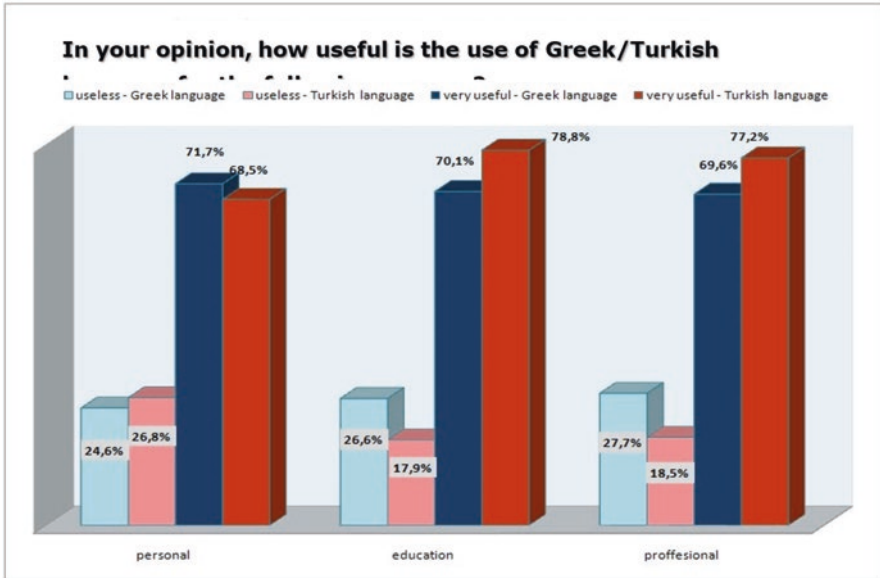
Fig. 4 The usefulness of Greek/Turkish

directly linked to the social advancement of young people. When our speakers refer to the "usefulness" of Turkish, they have in mind the concept of "social advancement". A good knowledge of Turkish will help also in social relationships because a foreign pronunciation will be easily perceived by Turkish-speaking people; this obviously would hinder their social and professional advancement and development. For these reasons, our subjects aim at a sociolinguistic assimilation.

3.1.3   Language Self-Evaluation of the Competence in Greek and Turkish

Data were collected on our subjects' language self-evaluation competence. The instrument used was a self-rating scale. Informants were asked to provide an assessment of their own competence in both languages on a two-point scale ("not yet", "yes") and in five different skills ("I can speak", "I can understand my teachers during courses/a news bulletin on TV/a speech/", "I can read and understand basic information/detailed information in a newspaper article", "I can write a note/a letter/a summary/an article") covering both informal and formal ('academic') aspects of language competence (Cummins 2000) (Fig. 5).

Regarding language ability and competence, we note that in all linguistic skills the majority language, Turkish, takes the place of the minority language, Greek. Students are more competent in using the majority language in reading, writing, listening and speaking. Young people seem to feel more comfortable when using the majority language, they show interest in Turkish, the language of their environment, the language of Turkish-speaking population, in which the minority is developing
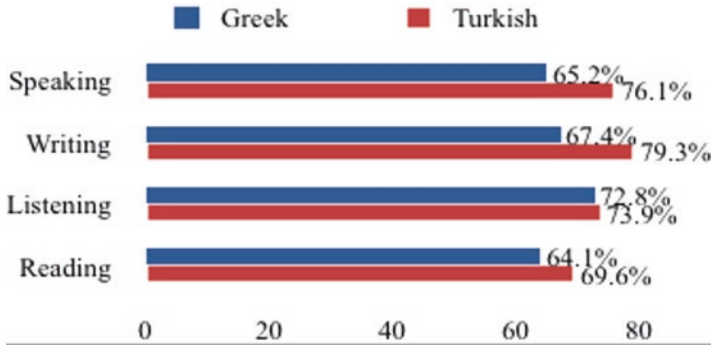
Fig. 5 Distribution of self-assessed competence in Greek and Turkish across four skills

more and more relationships, as their needs grow. The young minority live necessarily in a bilingual or, today, in a rather monolingual world: the Turkish-speaking world. The daily life in the city (through their social relationships and at home because of television) multiplies the "Turkish-speaking stimuli" around them (other than those offered at school). Limited use of the minority language leads to limited exposure to that language, which results in decreasing competence, lack of confidence, in using the language and increasing reliance on the dominant language. The circle then repeats itself on a lower level, by more limited use of the minority language (Brenzinger 2006).

4 Final Remarks

This study aimed at investigating the use of Greek and Turkish by the younger generation of the Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul, i.e. children and teenagers aged 10–18, both at school and outside the school environment. We believe that this generation will determine the future of the Greek language use within the Greek Orthodox Minority. In the present chapter, we tried to investigate the following topics:

– domains of language use of the young generation of the Greek Orthodox Minority;
– frequency of the language(s) use;
– proficiency in both languages.

The main problem of the Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul appears to be demographic. When the Minority population has dwindled, the field of use of the Greek language was directly limited. Other factors play here an important role such as sociolinguistic settings, intensity and frequency in the use of Greek and Turkish, the level of proficiency in Greek and Turkish, the ability to use various linguistic repertoires, the functionality of both languages, emotional connection, as well as

the value young speakers attach to both languages. These are, among others, questions addressed in Rombopoulou's PhD research which focuses on the use of Greek and Turkish in preschool, primary and secondary education. In this chapter, we presented some of the results from the field research that we conducted with adolescent students of the Greek Orthodox Minority. Upon completion of the research, we anticipate having a more thorough view of the sociolinguistic profile of the students at all education levels in the Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul.

Usually, in cases of balanced bilingualism, there is a fixed and stable distribution in language use. Such a balanced distribution has been observed in Istanbul until 80s, which is really admirable. However, the social factors that preserved the bilingual regime have changed during the last decades and there is no sheer field of Greek language use other than the family, school and religious/church setting.

According to the study by Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007), in the beginning of the 2000s, the Greek language had such a symbolic value in the eyes of the Greek-speaking Rums that even gained space in the practical needs covered by the Turkish language. However, during this decade, things have changed to the detriment of the Greek language. One wonders whether its symbolic value is so great that it could manage to maintain the language use, despite the huge pressure by the Turkish language which has become the socialization language (Mpatsalia 2001), of the new generation of the Greek Orthodox Minority.

We observe that more and more young men and women feel the need to use Turkish (this need was not urgent for baby boomers and their parents and was minimal for the generation of their grandparents). This proves that the attitude of the minority against the Turkish language has been changing from generation to generation. We suppose that the extending use of Turkish will limit the use of Greek. In general, we observe that among young generations Greek and Turkish are not equivalent.

Nowadays, Greek has low vitality status compared to Turkish among the young generation of the Greek Orthodox community. When a majority language is seen as giving higher social status and more political power, a shift towards the majority language may occur. Today, Turkish has won prestige and good knowledge of Turkish is necessary to cover everyday communication needs. When our speakers refer to the "usefulness" of Turkish, they have in mind the concept of "social advancement".

Another factor that affects the linguistic profile of the young generation is the bilingual education in the Greek minority schools. With regard to the pupils' bilingual behavior, it is obvious that the teaching of the Greek language in the Minority's bilingual educational system has to be re-planned and rescheduled so that Greek is taught as a foreign/second language. According to this point of view, new school books that teach Greek as a second language must be published according to the needs of the Greek Orthodox community. Nevertheless, we must note that the use of languages within educational institutions is probably an essential but not sufficient condition for language maintenance. Where schooling in a minority language exists, the chances of survival are greatly increased but not guaranteed (Baker 2011: 49).

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Family Language Policies Among Greek Migrants in Luxembourg: Results from a Comparative Study

Nikos Gogonas

Abstract Against the backdrop of ongoing crisis-led migration from Southern to Northern Europe the present chapter explores the language ideologies, practices and management of migrant Greek families in Luxembourg by reporting on a comparative case study between an 'established' Greek family and a 'new' crisis-led migrant family. While the two families differ in terms of migration trajectory and settlement patterns in Luxembourg, there is a convergence with regard to their language ideologies, which inform their family language policies. These are shaped primarily by parental aspirations and expectations for their children's future and parents hold market-oriented, utilitarian attitudes to language learning. Big, hegemonic languages such as French, German and English seem to be at the forefront of family language planning while maintenance of Greek is not seen as a priority.

Keywords Greek · Immigrants · Language policies · Language ideologies · Luxembourg · Language planning · Language maintenance

1 Introduction

This project examines how mobility and ongoing changes in socio-political and cultural environments impact the linguistic configurations of transnational families. Studying the family language policies of Greek migrants in Luxembourg is both timely and interesting mainly for two reasons: primarily, the phenomenon of out-migration from Greece is nowadays acquiring a massive character and is likely to further increase in the near future, owing to the current economic crisis and the observed mismatch between labour market and labour force qualifications (Labrianidis and Vogiatzis 2013). Secondly, Luxembourg presents particular interest, not only because it is a linguistically diverse country, but also because it

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represents a multilingual state and as a result, the socioeconomic success of migrants and their children largely depends, among others, on their language skills not in one, but in three official languages, i.e. Luxembourgish, French and German.

2   Family Language Policy

Family language policy can be defined as "a deliberate attempt at practicing a particular language use pattern and particular literacy practices within home domains and among family members" (Curdt-Christiansen 2009:352). Spolsky (2004: 5) distinguished three components in the language policy of a speech community: "its language practices; the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology; the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management". Spolsky (2004) maintained that as in any other social unit, language policy at the family level may be analysed with reference to language ideology, practice and management. Silverstein (1979: 173) defined linguistic ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use" while Irvine (1989: 255) defined language ideology as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests". Woolard (1998: 3) has defined them as "representations, either explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world". Ideologies of language are therefore not about language alone but are always socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies (Woolard 1998). Language ideologies are often seen as the driving force of language policy as language ideologies are based on the perceived value, power and utility of various languages (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). For this reason, understanding what language ideologies underlie parenting practices and how these ideologies are formed is of primary concern to family language policy research (King et al. 2008).

3   Crisis Migration from Greece to Luxembourg

At present, the European South is experiencing a new major emigration wave due to the post-2009 financial crisis. Between 2010 and 2015, an estimated 200,000 Greeks, or 2% of the nation's population, have left the country. In contrast to postwar immigrants from Greece to Northwestern Europe who were mostly working class and unqualified, the current emigrants are highly qualified and motivated by career prospects amongst other factors (Labrianidis and Vogiatzis 2013). In 2011–12 the number of Greeks moving to EU countries increased by 170% compared to 2007–08 (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014). A large percentage of families with

children have already left Greece and many more are still preparing for migration (Nikolaou 2013).

Greek migration to Luxembourg started in the 1960s and has been closely related to job opportunities at the European Institutions where the Greeks were employed as EU civil servants (Droulia-Mitrakou 2006). In essence, it was a middle-class migration. Greek EU employees usually enrolled their children at the Greek section of the European School. In 2001 there were 865 Greek citizens in Luxembourg. Over the years and especially after the economic crisis, immigration has more than doubled and the Greek population numbered 2108 in 2014 (www.statistiques.public.lu). Unlike previous Greek migrants, the more recent ones tend to enroll their children in trilingual state Luxembourgish schools.

4 Language Use in Luxembourg

Luxembourg is a trilingual country. It was as late as 1984 that Luxembourgish, a west-Moselle-Franconian dialect, received the status of a language and became the national language of the Grand-Duchy. At that time Luxembourgish was mainly a spoken language (Newton 1996: 58). Efforts at its standardization and social media led to an increase in its oral and written use (Gilles and Moulin 2009). The languages law of 1984 awarded French the status of a legislative language and made Luxembourgish, German and French administrative languages (Davis 1994: 11).

What distinguishes Luxembourg from other trilingual countries is the fact that almost all residents are trilingual and choose languages according to the situation (Ehrhart and Fehlen 2011; Kirsch 2012). Luxembourgish, is the exclusive means of oral communication between native Luxembourgers and, according to Ehrhart and Fehlen (2011), this applies also to integrated immigrants and especially to their Luxembourgish-born children. The use of oral and written Luxembourgish has increased as a result of efforts for its standardization and of the social media (Gilles and Moulin 2009). According to the latest population census, the residents regularly use 2 languages: 70.5% of the population speaks Luxembourgish, 55.7% French and 30.6% German. The analysis of language use in the economic arena of Luxembourg has shown that French is most in demand, followed by German, English and Luxembourgish (Weis 2007). The importance of competence in Luxembourgish has increased and some transborder workers from the neighbouring countries have begun to attend language courses in Luxembourgish in order to increase their employment opportunities in Luxembourg.

In order to develop multilingualism, the Ministry of Education has designed a trilingual education system starting from primary school. Children develop their Luxembourgish skills in the *éducation précoce*, a non-compulsory school year, aged 3, and continue to do so in the two following years of compulsory pre-school. In the first year of primary school, they become literate in German. In Year 2, they are introduced to oral French and in Year 3 to its written form.

With three languages of instruction at school and one or more other languages spoken at home, many children of ethnic minority background face considerable difficulties. These difficulties are illustrated in statistics: while around 40% of pupils in pre-primary and primary education are foreigners, only 15.4% make it to general secondary education. The vast majority follows technical secondary education instead (Geyer 2009). Moreover, the studies PISA and PIRLS have consistently demonstrated that the non-nationals, approximately 50% of the school intake, underachieve (Alieva et al. 2015; Martin et al. 2015).

5   Research Questions

The project's overarching research question is: how do current socio-political and cultural contexts impact Family Language Policies (FLP) in transnational Greek families in Luxembourg today? The study addresses the following research questions:

- What are the parents' language ideologies and beliefs with regard to their ethnic and other languages of Luxembourg? What are the factors that these ideologies are shaped by?
- How do language ideologies reproduce themselves in the family language policies and practices?
- Is there a clear language management in the family? Do parents use strategies and practices, which promote the use of particular languages? Do they promote ethnic language maintenance?

6   The Participating Families

We chose the participants according to the following criteria: (a) families where both parents are Greek (b) families with children attending state Luxembourgish schools (c) families with a different length of residence in Luxembourg. Our aim was to compare the 'established' and 'new' families. The participants were recruited from the Greek community in Luxembourg and the Greek complementary school. The focus of this chapter is on two families, an 'established' one living in Luxembourg for 9 years and a "new" family who had been living in Luxembourg for 15 months when the study started. Table 1 provides an overview of the families.

Family A has a 9-year-old daughter, Katerina (all participants are given pseudonyms), and a 19-year-old son who lives in Germany. Katerina was born in Luxembourg. The mother, Fani (53), came to Luxembourg in 2005, following her husband Giorgos (56) who took up the offer of a job at NATO. She studied German language and literature in Greece and holds an MA in educational management from a British university as well as an MA on Teaching German as a foreign

Table 1 Participating families

	Family A (established)	Family B (new)
Parents' names and ages	Giorgos, 54 and Fani, 53	Maria, 40 and Ioannis, 46
Children's names and ages	Katerina, 9	Eleni, 8
	Nikos 20	Alexandra, 11
		Ariadne, 13
Time in Luxembourg	9 years	15 months
Parents' education	Master's degrees	Ioannis: post-secondary vocational education. Maria: University degree
Parents' occupations	Giorgos: official in an international organization	Ioannis: hotel employee
	Fani: language teacher at the European Parliament	Maria: unemployed

language from a Greek university. In Greece she worked as a secondary school teacher and teacher-trainer. In Luxembourg, she works as a teacher of Modern Greek for interpreters at a private language school.

Family B has three daughters, Eleni (8), Alexandra (11) and Ariadne (13). The two younger girls attend primary school while the eldest girl attends a technical secondary school. Their mother Maria (40) is unemployed. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Greek Civilization. Her last jobs in Greece were in administration and the service sector. Her husband Ioannis (46) studied hotel management in Switzerland and decided to come to Luxembourg after securing a job at a hotel. He came to Luxembourg in November 2012 and his family joined him 7 months later, in June 2013.

7   Data Collection and Analysis

Methods of data collection included participant observation, informal conversations and interviews with parents and children over a period of 8 months. All interviews were conducted in Greek. On various occasions, collaborative ethnography was employed: parents and children audio/video-recorded routine family interactions. In the subsequent meetings, they explained the recordings thereby contextualizing the data. Finally, the data included field notes and other documents (e.g. pictures taken during the home visits and emails from parents). The data presented in this chapter are drawn from 600 min of transcribed interviews and audio- and video recordings. The data analysis followed many of the characteristics of the grounded theory paradigm (Bernard and Ryan 1998; Charmaz 2006; Corbin and Strauss 2008): the data were reviewed, coded and thematically analysed according to the common issues and patterns that emerged. The themes included awareness of the socio-economic and political context, beliefs regarding the value of languages, reasons for learning

languages, ways of developing languages, and similarities and differences in relation to families and languages. Critical discourse analysis was applied to analyse the parents' language ideologies in more depth.

8 Findings

8.1 Language Ideologies

All parents believe multilingualism to be an asset and an achievable target for both their children and themselves. They have a positive and dynamic view of bilingualism, which contrasts with the dominant ideology according to which the simultaneous development of several languages is detrimental to the development of the majority language.

Fani (family A) is fluent in German, very good in Luxembourgish and English, and she speaks a little French. Her husband Giorgos learned German and French for several years and briefly studied Luxembourgish. He feels most confident in English which he speaks well and uses at work. Fani appreciates the trilingual Luxembourgish education system for opening up a lot of options to her daughter. Having been born in Luxembourg, Katerina is fluent in Luxembourgish and German. Her parents have noticed that she is "gifted with languages" and, therefore, they would like her to learn "as many languages as possible" in line with her likely future professional needs. Giorgos holds high expectations regarding Katerina's future career and aspires to build on her already rich linguistic repertoire by adding even more languages. Both parents wish Katerina to develop skills in English on top of learning Luxembourgish, German and French at school and of using Greek at home. Giorgos's language planning for Katerina puts English to the forefront as well. Instead of Greek language classes at the complementary school, Katerina had English private lessons in the year the data were recorded. With regard to the maintenance of Greek, the two parents have contrasting ideologies: with Giorgos stressing the "profit" of Greek language maintenance and Fani promoting the maintenance of Greek for reasons of "pride" (cf Duchêne and Heller, 2012). Thus, Giorgos highlights the relevance of Greek for Katerina's future career as an interpreter or translator. According to Fani, he considers Greek *an extra skill* because it is a rare EU language.

In family B, Ioannis speaks English, German and French. He attends an intensive Luxembourgish language course and studies German on his own. He insists on improving his language skills in order to secure his job position and to be prepared for future job opportunities. His wife Maria speaks English and German well. She attended German language courses for several years in Greece and currently attends an advanced class in Luxembourg. She is also enrolled in a beginners' French course at the same Institute. However, while Ioannis seems content with multilingualism in Luxembourg, Maria sounds frustrated by it. She sees it as an obstacle in her attempt

to find employment. Maria's frustration with institutionalized multilingualism in Luxembourg is enhanced by the fact that she believes it is the reason why her eldest daughter missed the opportunity to attend general secondary education:

And the irony of it all is that in order to attend *lycee classique* here you need to know German. Now can you please explain this to me? In fact I was very displeased that my eldest daughter had to attend lycee technique because in our culture, good students usually attend a lycee classique. In this country she missed this chance.

– How about the younger ones? They might go to *lycee classique*…
– I don't know……. Maybe it is like this here… That foreign kids are meant to go to the *lycee technique* and the *classique* is reserved for the Luxembourgish kids (Maria).

Maria's comment above touches on two important issues: one of them has to do with the fact that "foreign" students as well as Luxembourgish students of low socioeconomic level are not admitted to or are "eliminated" from general secondary education because of the high (academic) level required in German (Horner and Weber 2008). The second issue refers to the fact that in Greek society general education is valued much more than technical, as general secondary education is seen by parents as the means of securing a comfortable and well-paid occupation (Saiti and Mitrosili 2005). Moreover, Maria cannot hide her disappointment by the fact that Greek does not form part of the linguistic repertoire which is valued in Luxembourg. She is very proud of being a native Greek speaker and considers herself "lucky", because as she says, "Greek is the mother of European languages and it also helps me understand French sometimes". On the contrary, she holds negative attitudes to Luxembourgish which she considers an "unnecessary burden" as it is "not a written language". Maria's beliefs towards Luxembourgish seem to be conditioned by the contentious language standardisation issue in Greece which, as Dendrinos (2001) suggests, remains unresolved. Moreover, it alludes to a kind of Modern Greek that is intended to be more closely related to a variety of Ancient Greek, and it reflects a particular linguistic ideology, that of "graphicentrism", namely, the primacy of standard written Greek over the spoken forms (Sotiropoulos 1992). Consequently, it reproduces a popular stereotype of the superiority of Ancient Greek over Modern Greek and a general myth about the linguistic superiority of some languages or of some language varieties over others (Drossou 2004). Such ideologies help us understand Maria's viewing of Luxembourgish as an "inferior" language, due to the fact that it remained uncodified for many years, serving solely the purpose of oral communication.

8.2   Language Management

In family A it seems that language management reflects parents' language ideologies discussed above. Parental involvement in Katerina's language education includes alternating summer schools in England and France in order to provide her

with opportunities to improve her French and English. When they take her to the cinema, they choose films in the original English version with French subtitles so that she can practice listening. As they feel that the Luxembourgish system does not support English as much as they wish, they have already decided to send Katerina should enroll in the only secondary school that offers the International Baccalaureate in English. Regarding Greek language management, Giorgos does not feel the need for Greek language classes as he believes that exposure to Greek at home is adequate for the time being. Were Katerina to become a translator, she would be able to improve her Greek literacy in a short period of time. By contrast, Fani considers Greek an important part of Katerina's identity and takes care of Katerina's improvement of Greek. In the past, she used to teach her daughter herself. In the first interview, at the beginning of the school year, she confessed that she "felt bad" because Katerina did not have any Greek lessons. After the Christmas break, she found her a private Greek language tutor.

In family B, the family's language management started well before migrating to Luxembourg. For this reason, they arranged private tuition in French for the girls while still in Greece. According to Ioannis, the high-quality education system was the main reason why he wanted his family to join him in Luxembourg. He could have supported his family financially from Luxembourg while they remained in Greece.

Sending the children to Luxembourgish school instead of the Greek section of the European school, despite the financial factor, was a conscious decision of the parents. Ioannis believes that if children attended the European school they would not master "important languages" such as German and French. He believes the girls need to maintain Greek, as it is "part of their identity", but he believes that English is going to be more "useful" for them in the future so English language classes may replace Greek complementary school. In his words, "even if they go to Greece, they will need English". Both parents believe that hegemonic languages are what is needed for their children's future. As Greek is a language that the children speak already, the parents would like them to get some certificates for future jobs. It seems they view Greek as an extra asset, of instrumental value. For this reason, they have enrolled the girls at the Greek complementary school and the eldest one sat a Greek language exam recently and got certification, "in case she wants to go and study in Greece one day" (Ioannis).

8.3 Language Practices

Fani claims to speak 95–98% in Greek at home. She always speaks in Greek with her husband and with Katerina and she may use German only when she helps her with German homework and has to explain something to her, or if the conversation is about the German language. She may also use German in order to give Katerina an explanation of an abstract word in Greek, and it is usually Katerina who asks for a German explanation. Observations of Fani's interactions with Katerina confirmed

this declared language practice. Katerina is consistent in addressing Fani in Greek only, despite the fact that she is fluent in German which is Fani's dominant language. It seems that Katerina compartmentalizes languages and has established what language to speak with whom. According to Fani, Katerina automatically switches to Greek when she addresses her parents while she always speaks in Luxembourgish to her friends and in German to her teachers.

According to Fani, Giorgos speaks in Greek to Katerina too, because 'this is the language he is most dominant in'. It seems that as Giorgos's priority with regard to Katerina's language development is on languages other than Greek, but he speaks in Greek to her because he has no choice. However, observation proves that this is not accurate. Giorgos was engaged in substantial code switching to German while addressing Katerina.

The language practices of the three girls in family B are in stark contrast to Katerina's (family A). Katerina was born and socialized in multilingual Luxembourg and went to Luxembourgish school since a young child. She is dominant in German, fluent in Luxembourgish and she does very well at school. The three girls of family B however, moved to Luxembourg from Greece 15 months before the research started. They have struggled to learn the languages of Luxembourg and, in their attempt to achieve a dynamic integration in Luxembourgish society they practice and use their 'new languages' constantly. Maria seems to be concerned about the fact that the girls are gradually introducing the languages of Luxembourg into the home. 'My eldest daughter told me that we should stop speaking Greek at home and switch to French. Can you believe this?' On many occasions Ariadne uses French while the two younger ones use mostly German. Ioannis finds this natural:

Yes, in speech, they sometimes say foreign words, or they ask for a Greek translation of a word, stuff like that. I find this natural, because they have so many stimuli. During break time French, German, Luxembourgish, the good thing is that at home, we parents speak in Greek. At all times. We are both Greek, it isn't a mixed marriage so we both speak Greek (Ioannis).

Ioannis's observed language practice contradicts what he declares above. Occasionally he has conversations with the youngest daughter, exclusively in German. Maria addresses the girls mostly in Greek and sometimes replies in German to Alexandra and Ariadne.

9   Concluding Remarks

We have addressed Family Language Policies among an 'established' Greek family and a 'new' crisis-led migrant family in Luxembourg. Language ideologies are the driving force behind FLP (Curdt-Christiansen 2009) and this study shows that parents hold very positive beliefs about multilingual education in Luxembourg and hold strong beliefs, attitudes, expectations and aspirations about the importance of hegemonic, 'standard' languages. In line with Curdt-Christiansens' findings (2009), high academic standards are translated into active involvement and investment in

the children's school and educational lives. Despite the fact that parents differ in terms of their patterns of settlement in Luxembourg, their language ideologies coincide in that they are pragmatist, utilitarian and market-oriented. Thus, for the majority of parents in this study Greek remains useful as an 'extra linguistic asset' which might potentially lead to higher education or to a career with languages. In a similar note, Luxembourgish is irrelevant for the international job market but highly relevant for the children's integration in Luxembourg. They appear oblivious to its importance for the national job market. Good language skills in Luxembourgish are required in many jobs such as banks, administrative positions, etc. The fact that Greek parents in this study do not emphasize their children's development in the national language shows that they think globally rather than locally.

In essence, the children need to learn good English and are lucky to be profiting from a multilingual school system in French and German. They emphasize the need to master German, French and English and praise the educational system for developing these.

This ethnographic study is one of the first contributions to a sociolinguistic understanding of the challenges and benefits that the new migrations from Southern to Western Europe pose to migrant families. This study will be the first of a number to examine the factors that shape the linguistic ideologies, repertoires and practices of migrants from Southern Europe in the current conditions of the globalised new economy.

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New Directions for Greek Education in the Diaspora: Teaching Heritage Language Learners in Canada

Themistoklis Aravossitas and Marianthi Oikonomakou

Abstract Modern Greek is taught in Canada primarily as a heritage language (HL) through a semi-official education system that involves both public school boards and immigrant communities. The institutions responsible for administering HL programs, as well as the participating teachers and students, are faced with several organizational and educational challenges. This study follows a community-based research (CBR) approach to investigate aspects of Greek heritage language education (HLE) in Ontario. Centered on the findings of a series of research projects that took place between 2014 and 2017 with the collaboration of researchers, educators and community stakeholders, the article examines various aspects of teaching and learning the Greek language at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels and suggests new directions for HLE in Canada and the Hellenic diaspora at large.

Keywords Heritage language education · Modern Greek teaching and learning · Greek community in Canada · Greek diaspora · Community-based research

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1 Theoretical Framework

1.1 Heritage Languages

In recent years, the term Heritage Languages (HLs) has prevailed in bibliographies of works on bilingual education and other relevant academic fields over many other terms that are used worldwide "to identify the non-dominant languages in a given social context" (Kelleher 2010: 1). Jim Cummins points out that in Canada the term HLs was introduced and came into broad use in the 1970s and 1980s in particular reference to the immigrants' languages[1] which are now referred to as international languages (Cummins 2014). In educational environments, a HL is understood as "a language spoken in the home that is different from the main language spoken in society" (Bilash 2011, para. 1). According to Polinsky and Kagan (2007), while HL is rooted in the home, it is not learned deeply, since it is soon subject to language shift—that is, the first and second-generation immigrants' shift to the language of the mainstream society. As Cho, Shin and Krashen (2004) contend, HL can be defined as a language that is used by individuals who came to live in a new land at a young age or who were born in a country to which their parents immigrated. The discussion around HL terminology includes an ongoing debate regarding who the heritage language learners (HLLs) are, what their profiles are, and why it is crucial to distinguish them from native, second or foreign language learners (Valdes 2001). Maria Carreira (2004) categorizes the definitions of HLLs according to three criteria: (1) their place in the community linked to the HL, (2) their personal connection to a HL through their family background, and (3) their proficiency in the HL. Polinsky and Kagan (2007) formulated a broad and a narrow definition of HLLs which recognizes a distinction between those who have a familial or cultural connection with the HL without an actual ability to use the language (broad definition) and the ones who acquired the language to some extent but did not completely learn it before switching to the dominant language (narrow definition). Many HL specialists stress the element of identity negotiation (Swann and Bosson 2008) on the part of learners whose decision to be part of the HL community and its culture is not necessarily linked to their language proficiency. For Van Deusen-Scholl (2003), HLLs learners are those individuals who "have been raised with a strong cultural connection to a particular language through family interaction" and have thus developed a "heritage motivation" (p. 222). Several studies have identified distinct language acquisition and development characteristics of HL learners who have the potential to develop their HL skills almost at the level of native speakers given that certain cultural, social, political and educational conditions are met (Montrul 2010; Polinsky 2007; Valdes 2005; Fishman 2006; Oh et al. 2003). Identifying HL learners as a diverse group of language learners is essential, not only to teachers but also to parents, school administrators, policy makers and individuals responsible for curriculum and teacher development.

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[1] In Canada, the indigenous/native languages and the languages of the deaf community are not labelled as Heritage/International languages (Cummins 2014).

1.2   Greek as a Heritage Language

In the context of Greek language education in the diaspora, the term HL is mainly used in the United States and Canada, whereas educators and researchers who investigate the teaching and learning of Modern Greek in bilingual settings outside Greece, refer to Greek as a "second language", "foreign language" or "mother tongue" and refer to Greek Heritage Language Education as Education for the Greek Diaspora[2] (Damanakis 2007). This approach undermines, to some extent, the concept of identity which is central in the definition of heritage language learners (HLLs) as individuals with distinct educational needs, personal motives and cultural characteristics. In addition to their connection with family members through the heritage language, HLLs tend to identify themselves as members of an ethnolinguistic community. One of the distinct features of the Greek community structure in the diaspora, and particularly in Canada, is the development of many different types of organizations (Liodakis 1998; Chimbos 1986). Hence, Greek HLLs could be also identified as descendants of Greek immigrants who participate in various religious, cultural, educational, professional, social or political associations that constitute the polymorphic Greek map of the diaspora.

Although knowledge of Greek is not per se a prerequisite for membership in those networks, preservation of the HL and culture is at the core of most Greek community mission statements (Aravossitas 2016). Thus, subsequent generations of Greek Canadians, Greek Americans or Greek Australians face the challenge of preserving their language and cultural heritage not only as a matter of personal identity but also to perpetuate community organizations that were founded by their ancestors. Michalis Damanakis argues that HLE has influenced the notion of identity among Greeks in the diaspora and, to some degree, has drawn a line between two groups: (a) individuals of Greek descent who participate in community life and in various forms of Greek-language education, and (b) individuals and families of Greek origin who have distanced themselves from the Greek communities and have more or less been assimilated into the host country's society (Damanakis 2005: 58). Inevitably, the role of Greek schools in the diaspora—apart from their educational/ language learning focus—is also linked to the sustainability of "ecumenical Hellenism" (Venturas 2009).

1.3   The AIM Framework

The analysis of Greek language education in the diaspora presented in this chapter, draws on the theoretical framework AIM (Access, Innovation, Motivation), (Aravossitas, 2016). The model was developed as part of community-based research in Canada that investigated the status of Greek HLE (see Sects. 2.1 and 2.2). The

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[2] The most frequently used term is "Paedia Omogenon" (i.e. Education of Greeks in the Diaspora").
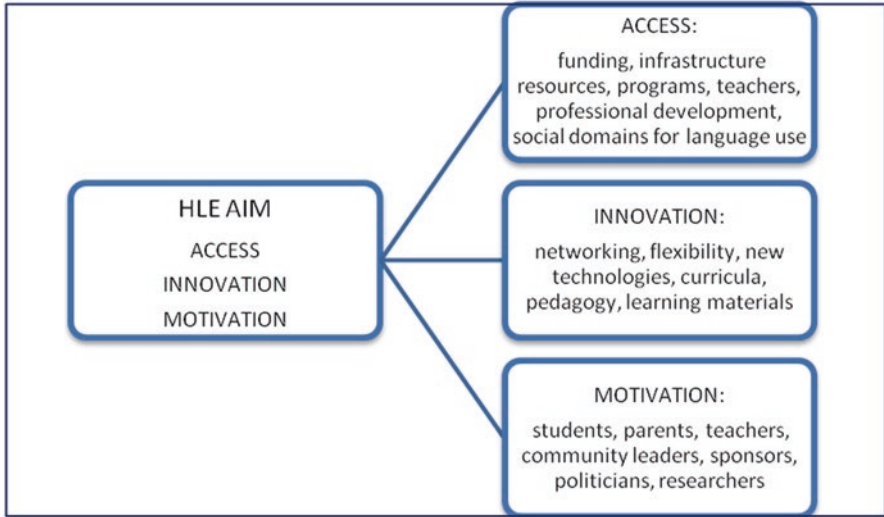
Fig. 1 The AIM parameters in heritage language education

study explored the existing Greek language programs across Canada and assessed educational data (i.e., students, teachers, resources) and challenges based on three pillars: Access, Innovation and Motivation (Fig. 1). These three axes contribute to the mapping of assets and factors that influence educational work and priorities in relation to the state and the perspectives of HLE in a specific context (i.e., teaching and learning Greek in Canada).

Access entails provision of the necessary means and assets that any education program and system need in order to succeed: everything from teachers to classrooms and textbooks. These elements are the first prerequisites for HLE. Moving from the periphery into the second circle of the framework (Fig. 2), we find the concept of *Innovation* which involves the need for constant adaptation to changes in the conditions under which HLE operates. Innovation requires acceptance of new ideas, new media and new practices in the HLE field and in the surrounding environment that affect the teaching and learning of heritage languages (e.g., new generation of learners and new laws introduced by the host country).

The core circle is *Motivation* which is the synthesis of identity negotiation on the learners' part and inspiration on the part of educators, administrators and community leaders. This framework emerged from a systematic investigation of Greek language education in Canada between 2011 and 2016 which involved approximately 10,000 students, 300 teachers, 70 organizations and more than 100 programs available to learners of various age groups (Aravossitas 2016).
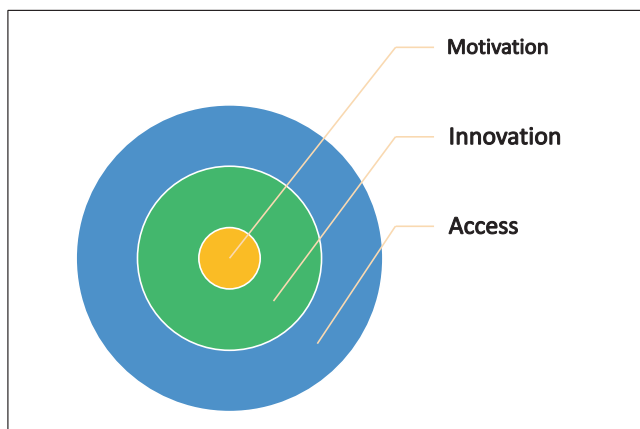
Fig. 2 The three pillars of AIM: access, innovation, motivation

2 Methodology of the Research

2.1 *Community-Based Language Research in HLE*

The study of Greek HLE in Canada follows a community-based research (CBR) approach as an investigation that includes only community members. CBR is viewed not as a set of methods, but as a set of underlying beliefs and principles about the ways in which research ought to be conducted (Wallerstein and Duran 2006). It aims at gathering knowledge about a phenomenon or a problem of significant value to a community. Knowledge that emerges from this type of research informs the design of actions that benefit the community. CBR is a bottom-up research approach with the following set of values and principles: It recognizes the community as a unit of identity; builds on strengths and resources within the community; facilitates collaborative partnerships in all phases of the research; integrates knowledge and action for the mutual benefit of all partners; promotes a co-learning and empowering process addressing social inequalities from multiple perspectives; involves a cyclical and iterative process, returning to renegotiate planning and strategy throughout the process, and disseminates to all partners the findings and knowledge in an accessible way (Israel et al. 2003).

Applying the above principles to address linguistic issues is described as Community-Based Language Research (CBLR). Attributed to Czaykowska-Higgins (2009) and following the work of Cameron et al. (1992), CBLR refers to research conducted to produce knowledge concerning a community language.

The merits of CBR in language and linguistics-related inquiries are debated by the scientific community on specific questions as to how community-based research fits within linguistic research (Rice 2016).

As CBLR originates and occurs within a community, it requires the involvement of its members as active researchers themselves rather than as passive subjects to be studied (Rice 2011). Thus, CBLR participants work within their communities, leading the way to the establishment of specific language related goals and the development of realistic strategies to achieve those goals. In the HLE context, such a research approach can result in a series of ongoing, planned steps that immigrant communities can take to ensure that they provide evidence-based programs, among other actions, in order to preserve their language in a dynamic political, economic, cultural and social environment.

2.2 Research Actions

Based on the above theoretical background, we focused on the particularities of teaching and learning Greek as a heritage language in Canada at three levels of education: elementary, secondary and tertiary. Our data were derived from studies that took place between 2014 and 2017 involving three groups of participants: (a) Greek language program administrators (Aravossitas 2016), university students (Oikonomakou et al. 2017) and teachers in the primary and secondary panels (Aravossitas and Oikonomakou 2017, 2018). Various challenges emerged from these three studies. However, for the purpose of this paper, we focus on two salient ones: (a) the teaching of mixed classes which are composed of students of different age groups and language proficiency levels in elementary education and by heritage and foreign language learners in tertiary education, and (b) the distinct professional development needs of the educators involved in Greek HLE, as they are confronted with a complex synthesis of learners. In the next section, we present aspects and practices of Greek language education at all three levels, linking them to the professional development needs of teachers and suggestions for the future direction of Greek HLE both inside and outside the classroom.

3 Application in Greek Language Education

3.1 Teaching and Learning in Elementary Programs

Greek language education in the diaspora is carried out by different institutions that constitute a semi-official system of education characterized by a high degree of heterogeneity. A basic parameter of our research approach is the mapping of the educational needs of a particular student population: heritage language learners. By definition, this group is complex, since it consists of learners with diverse educational needs and expectations. Recent studies involving Greek language learners in Canada indicate that most of them are members of the third generation (Aravossitas 2016; Oikonomakou et al. 2017). This category includes children born in Canada of

parents who are the children of Greek immigrants. It also includes children of inter-ethnic marriages in which only one of the two parents is of Greek ancestry. The relationship of the above learners with the target language varies. Some of them are isolated from the Greek community altogether, while others have a network of rela-tives and friends of Greek origin and attend Greek social, cultural and religious activities regularly. Consequently, these learners are socially exposed to the HL outside the classroom. Also, attitudes toward the HL range widely. Some learners appreciate and take pride in their cultural and linguistic background, while others are estranged from their Greek heritage for their various individual reasons.

In the shaping of the HLL's language learning motivation, the family environ-ment plays a pivotal role that supports, more or less, this process. The supportive nature of the family framework is determined by the relative position that the HL occupies in the personal journey of the family members. In some cases, Greek may be only a minor part of their linguistic and cultural background. Thus, depending on the experience of the parents with the country of origin, only some of the students are afforded the opportunity to visit Greece on a regular or non-regular basis and to gain a primary understanding of the Greek reality (Oikonomakou et al. 2017). It follows that the more opportunities learners have to speak Greek regularly, the more they engage naturally with the language and feel comfortable in doing so, not as a schooling process but as a social necessity where rewards for the acquisition of the HL are embodied in communication with beloved friends and relatives (Valdes 2001). Furthermore, if the family visits the "home country" often, then the motiva-tion factor is reinforced for the HL learner. The language is upgraded from a tongue related to family tradition to a very useful communication tool. Conversely, if the HL is not exercised by the child's social cycle or if she/he is not expected to become fluent, then the motivation is absent, and the chances for a positive attitude towards the HL are fewer (Cummins 1993). In this case, the learner feels that there is no need to spend time and effort to study the language. Hence, she/he will likely remain on the surface of the HL without pursuing academic fluency.

The second important parameter that defines the educational work is the profile of the teachers (Aravossitas and Oikonomakou 2017) who also form a heteroge-neous group with different personal and educational paths. Their professional profile is shaped by a number of factors, including whether: (a) they are native speakers of the target language; (b) their background education is relevant in terms of familiarity with teaching Greek as a first, second or foreign language; (c) they are certified to teach a particular age or language proficiency group; and (d) their professional status in relation to teaching Greek (i.e., full-time, part-time or volunteer service), and so on. Accordingly, educators with professional recognition in Greece based on their qualifications (i.e., graduates of Greek universities' education departments who are certified to teach in public schools in Greece at the primary or secondary divisions) coexist in Greek language classes with educators who have completed a teacher education program at a Canadian university instead, and also with others who do not hold a university degree from Greece or Canada (or another country) or who provide unpaid services to Greek schools (usually volunteers in community settings) with varying levels of Greek language proficiency and pedagogical credentials.

Greek language programs cannot offer sufficient hours to educators seeking full-time employment. Therefore, Greek language teaching is the main occupation for only a small proportion of HL teachers, whereas the majority of them teach Greek only sporadically or on a part-time basis. Usually, HL instructors who are simultaneously mainstream teachers find it difficult to retain their HL program positions for many years due to family or other obligations. Also, pay rates for Greek language instruction, chiefly in community-based programs, are significantly lower in comparison to the earnings of mainstream Canadian teachers. Teachers' qualifications constitute another parameter to consider in analyzing the situation of Greek HL educators in Canada. According to research conducted in Ontario for the Hellenic Heritage Foundation (2016), among the main concerns of Greek language program directors is that many of their teachers either do not have sufficient pedagogical training (particularly teachers of the first generation), or they are not proficient enough in the Greek language to be able to teach it. This situation concerns primarily teachers of the second or the third generation.

The profiles of the teachers and students reflect, to a large extent, the particularities of Greek language education at the elementary level in Canada. The student population consists of learners who study the language—either voluntarily or under the pressure of the family and their social environment—in programs that frequently involve classes that are mixed in terms of age groups and proficiency levels (Kagan and Dillon 2009). Contact with the HL occurs in different phases (National Heritage Language Resource Center 2009). The process of Greek language acquisition for HLLs usually begins at an early stage under the influence of family members, often Greek-speaking grandparents serving as caregivers. When the children enter mainstream schools, the learning process of the HL is gradually disconnected as a result of various factors: inclinations, interests, peer pressure or simply daily workload in the dominant language. As the family focus shifts toward success in the day school, young learners do not have the opportunity to form a clear picture of their expectations and motivation regarding the HL. Attending after school HL programs challenges many learners. Extra schooling can be particularly stressful when it conflicts with other extracurricular activities (e.g., sports, music, and dance).

Furthermore, there is limited time to study the HL or receive support in the home and limited opportunities to use the HL for daily communication. At the same time, students often experience difficulties in comprehending the complex Greek grammar-syntax phenomena and there are significant differences between the day school and the Greek school curriculum (Chatzidaki 2015). Also, as most Greek elementary programs are not certified by the Ministry of Education of Greece or the Canadian authorities, their curricula do not have the same qualitative features or a common assessment framework since their components vary considerably. The learning materials are often produced in Greece (Aravossitas and Oikonomakou 2017) and do not necessarily speak to the needs of HLLs who have difficulties in appreciating texts designed for native learners in Greece. Many students also feel overwhelmed by the explicit teaching of unfamiliar grammar rules, including items such as the inflected system (cases and genders) and the plural of courtesy. Students' personal

goals are also heterogeneous, as they are essentially related to the development of communicative rather than academic skills, which puts cognitive limitations on the learning process. In addition to the above, Greek programs face infrastructure challenges. For example, some courses take place in the basement of churches and community centres or in rented rooms without access to auxiliary spaces or the Internet.

In most Greek HL programs in Canada, teaching is structured around thematic units that draw on the experiential reality of children (Ur 1996; Chatzidaki 2014) and therefore have as a point of reference the community and its activities. Since classes are generally heterogeneous, the selection of educational material and teaching methods addresses the need to integrate all learners. To motivate individuals of wide-ranging ages and proficiency levels, teachers tend to organize many group projects that require a collaborative effort and focus on differentiated teaching strategies (Tomlinson 2014). Where infrastructure permits it, multimodal and authentic texts (Curto et al. 1995; Gee 2000; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001) are used (e.g., YouTube videos, articles from online sources, films, etc.) with emphasis on cultural and intercultural elements, and dialogue is encouraged through dramatization. Additionally, learning is supported by community-based events, such as traditional dances and school concerts where communication in the target language is developed and promoted simultaneously with intercultural, artistic and social skills.

Given the difficulty of comprehending complex structural or grammatical phenomena, grammar teaching occupies an important place. It is part of a context of linguistic awareness in which the knowledge of different languages is activated. Through a variety of exercises and pedagogical tasks (Bygate et al. 2013), the functional use of phenomena and experiential contact with different communication environments is sought (Halliday 1985). Teaching vocabulary serves the need of interconnecting English and Greek (as both languages are used interchangeably by the community), while familiarization with the written form of the language is pursued through root words and groupings based on semantic fields. Due to the heterogeneity in most of their classes, teachers rely on a repertoire of strategies to enhance the learners' vocabulary competence (Anastasiadi-Symeonidi et al. 2014). Frequently, Greek programs emphasize elements of Greek history and geography as well as the Greek Orthodox tradition which act as a vehicle for the students' contact with specific places of origin of the members of their families and their cultural environment.

The cultivation of language receptive and productive skills evolves in parallel through the study of various genres and their textual features. Thus, students are presented with assumptions about both the subject and the type of text, and their previous experiences are highlighted. Aspects of situational teaching are also used to promote the functional use of the language supported by an array of techniques or learning strategies (Oxford 1990; Psaltou-Joycey 2010; Cohen 2011). Summative assessment is not generally practiced in most HL programs. Teachers use mainly formative assessment strategies such as observation, student conference, exit cards, self-assessment techniques as well as peer-assessment approaches for teamwork and group projects (Varlokosta and Triantafyllidou 2003).

3.2   *Teaching and Learning in Secondary (Credit) Programs*

In secondary education, the teaching of Greek in Ontario is part of the *International Languages Program* which connects the study of international languages (any language other than English and French) with the official secondary school program of studies (Ontario Curriculum 2016). This program enables HLLs (students of Greek origin) who are the majority in the Greek language programs to choose Greek as their second language in high school. By attending a three-year Greek language course of 100 h per year (usually 3 h per week on Saturdays), students acquire some of the "credits" they need for their graduation from high school. An example of such a program is the credit school "Aristoteles" of the Greek Community of Toronto, which currently has an enrollment of approximately 250 students. In this program, the instructors are teachers certified by the province of Ontario, as well as seconded teachers from the Ministry of Education of Greece.

In comparison to elementary (K-8) students, the students attending secondary Greek language programs (GLPs) are considerably fewer. However, their attendance is more systematic. This situation can be attributed to the fact that the international language programs at the high school level are linked to the public education system through the Curriculum of the Ontario Ministry of Education that sets the objectives and the success criteria of the assessment parameters of the program (Ontario Ministry of Education 2016). Organizations that operate GLPs in the secondary division (in most cases Greek communities) are subject to a regular inspection by the Ministry of Education to ensure that the programs conform to the official policies of the Ontario curriculum, maintain standards for teachers' qualifications, keep accurate records of student attendance, adhere to school hours, and provide details for the assessment and marking process. Abiding by official education standards "legitimizes" Greek language high school programs and provides a certain education quality guarantee for students and parents who often complain about the level of studies at the elementary GLPs. As the K-8 international language programs are offered under the umbrella of continuing/supplementary education, they tend to be less systematic, resulting in a high absenteeism rate and shortage in appropriate teaching staff, curricula and infrastructures.

With its revised curriculum for International Languages, the Ontario Ministry of Education sets the vision and overall goals of the program as follows: "Students of international languages will communicate and interact in the international language with growing confidence in real-life contexts, and will develop an awareness of the multicultural and plurilingual nature of the modern world … will develop the knowledge and skills necessary for lifelong language and to participate fully as citizens in Canada and in the world" (Ontario Ministry of Education 2016: 6).

For an effective learning of the HL, the official document focuses on (a) lifelong language learning, (b) authentic communication, (c) development of language learning strategies, (d) development of intercultural understanding, (e) critical and creative thinking skills and metacognition, (f) making real-life connections. The students are encouraged to make a genuine commitment not only to learning in the classroom but also to the pursuit of opportunities to use the target language outside

the classroom. Parents are asked to support their children's learning of their HL by (a) encouraging completion of homework and partnership with the school, (b) attending cultural events or joining community groups that provide language resources and cultural opportunities, and (c) demonstrating an overall positive attitude towards the target language at home and in the community.

Finally, the Ontario Curriculum asks teachers to (i) develop appropriate instructional and assessment strategies to facilitate achievement of the curriculum expectations, (ii) foster enthusiasm for learning the language and addressing the individual students' needs, and (iii) engage in activities that give students opportunities to relate their international languages skills to the social, cultural, environmental, and economic conditions and challenges of the world. Thus, teachers of international languages are expected to encourage their HLLs to participate in the larger community as responsible and engaged citizens pursuing lifelong learning. Teachers are also asked to act as role models for their students, both linguistically and culturally and to inform them about the benefits of learning additional languages.

In addition to all the above expectations, teachers who work in the Greek ILPs need to consider in their practice the diverse needs of their Greek heritage learners who differ widely in terms of language skills, their relationship with the HL community, the possibilities of using the language in their family and wider social environment, and their personal motivation for learning the target language as part of their identity negotiation process.

In the pursuit of innovative teaching practices to stimulate student engagement in the Greek International Language Program, particularly since most of the courses are held on Saturday, the leaders of the *Aristoteles Credit School* of the Greek Community of Toronto began to participate in an international e-Learning program developed by the University of Crete (Chatzidaki 2015). The program linked several Greek language classes of the Greek diaspora to form an interactive learning community through collaborative projects aimed at the development of both language and intercultural communication skills. The Centre for Intercultural Education and Migration Studies (E.DIA.M.ME) is a research institute affiliated with the Department of Elementary Education at the University of Crete in Greece which implemented *Greek-language Intercultural Education Abroad*, a project co-funded by the European Union and the Greek state. As part of the implementation of the project, teachers and students in Greek-language programs in various parts of the globe were invited to form an Internet-based Global Learning Network. This international network linked classrooms electronically through a special online environment created specifically for the project. Two or three classes of similar age group, language level and interests were joined. Each partner-group worked together for one or two school years. Teachers collaborated and led their classes in synchronous and asynchronous communication. More importantly, students became actively involved in collaborative projects involving aspects of the Greek language, history and culture, providing an environment for creative language use. Dozens of projects related to the life experiences and the interests of the students (e.g., my community, my city, my hobbies, and famous Greeks in my country) were presented among twinned classes.

An evaluation of the program's educational activities was carried out by both the participants and the researchers at the University of Crete. The action research that was conducted by the participant teachers and school administrators in Toronto through questionnaires, interviews and student reflections reveals that the online collaboration helped the students to develop their written and oral language skills, as the opportunity to present their work to a wider audience gave them additional incentives for effective language communication. Additionally, the participants found that the use of new technologies and the ongoing interaction between HL learners from different countries (a) made the Greek language classes more interesting, vivid and enjoyable, (b) developed the intercultural skills of the students who identified common and different cultural characteristics as they compared their experiences to the ones of their peers, and (c) facilitated the development of new international network of friendships that continued after the end of the program through social networking.

It is worth noting that this e-Learning program also enhanced the parents' interest in their children's HL learning and received recognition by the local community. Participants and community stakeholders agreed that innovative practices in Greek language education, contributes significantly to the intergenerational transmission of the Greek language and makes the ILPs more relevant to the needs, interests and learning styles of the new generation of learners who represent the future of the community.

3.3   Teaching and Learning in University Programs

At the tertiary level, Modern Greek in Canada is taught as part of Hellenic Studies' Programs in six Canadian universities. A study conducted at the Department of Primary Education of the University of the Aegean,[3] in Rhodes, Greece, examined (a) the learning incentives and learning characteristics of students who were enrolled in the Greek language and culture courses at the University of Toronto and York University and (b) prepared recommendations for the sustainability of the courses, considering the individual learning needs of the students (focusing on the different needs of heritage versus foreign language learners). The participants in the study consisted of 84 students of both universities who were enrolled in the Modern Greek language and culture courses in the first semester of the academic year 2015–2016. The students-participants comprised three distinct groups: (a) 42% second generation heritage language learners (HLL2s); (b) 36% third second generation heritage language learners (HLL3s); (c) 22% foreign language learners (FLLs) (i.e., students with no Greek background). Through a self-assessment placement questionnaire, based on the "I can do" statements of the Common European Framework, the students assessed

their sociocultural, linguistic and educational backgrounds and revealed the major motivating factors and preferences in relation to studying Modern Greek.

The findings suggest that university students who are enrolled in Greek language courses in Ontario have varied language skills at their entry level as well as different motivations for learning Greek. This variety depends on their ethnic origin and cultural profile as well as on their relationship with the Greek Canadian community and their education/academic path. Most of the students at the undergraduate level are majoring in humanities and social studies. While awareness of the importance of identity is associated with the desire of students in intermediate and advanced Greek language classes, the beginners seem mainly influenced by cultural values or personal choices. For HLL2s, the father's origin seems to be more influential in their decision to enroll in a Greek language course, whereas for HLL3s, it is the mother's origin that plays a more significant role.

The students of Greek descent demonstrate greater competencies in oral than in written use of language whereas their reading comprehension skills are more developed than the written production ones (they can read a text or understand a presentation but find it difficult to speak and write). Both groups of students (heritage and foreign learners) pursue the acquisition of the language mainly to improve their communication ability in their sociocultural surroundings. As important reasons for their enrollment, beginners note their contact with the Greek language and culture and the possibility to visit Greece.

Students in both universities expressed an interest in combining Greek language learning with content related to literature, history, mythology, geography, sports, cuisine, politics, religion and folklore. They also expressed a preference for learning the target language through films, music videos, books, online materials such as social media, websites or online articles.

Finally, on their recommendations to the course instructors, the students expressed a preference for a communicative learning environment with a variety of stimuli, within or outside the confines of the classroom. Following the students' suggestions in this study, the instructor considered modifications in his syllabus to include community outreach and experiential learning components, including guest speakers and class visits to restaurants, community festivals, concerts and Greek film screenings. The positive learning experiences of the students through the modified community-based curriculum were reflected in their course evaluations and in a significant increase in enrollment for all Modern Greek language courses in the subsequent academic year.

4   Teacher Development and Recommendations

In summarizing the research projects and the conditions involving teaching and learning Greek in the context of HLE in Canada, a series of conclusions are drawn regarding the entire range of Greek-language education in the diaspora at large that may inform future directions for interested stakeholders.

Starting from the factors that motivate HL students to learn Greek, we claim that this decision remains inexorably linked with the negotiation of identity and the personal "rewards" of using the language for communication in the family, the immediate social environment and the community. For primary education, this reality should inform curriculum and program developers in designing HL classes that focus on the students' communication needs and facilitate opportunities for community involvement and a real-life context for frequent language use.

However, in designing Greek language programs for the secondary and tertiary levels, where participation of more foreign language learners is expected, the needs of "non-heritage" students should be also considered. Many educators face the challenge of applying diversified teaching practices to address the cultural and linguistic differences in their complex "mixed" classes. Practically speaking, this task is not easy, since teachers and those responsible for their professional development, should find a way to merge two different language education approaches: (a) teaching Greek as a foreign language and (b) teaching the language for heritage learners. The two approaches are informed by distinct theoretical bases and require careful consideration in selecting learning material, teaching strategies and assessment methods to engage a broad spectrum of learners in terms of their cultural backgrounds, motivation levels, learning goals and success criteria. Given this heterogeneity, it is crucial to revisit the curricula that have been used in Greek language education in the diaspora and reformulate the existing learning material. In most cases, Greek language programs in Canada use guidelines and textbooks that are Greek-centric, static and thus not designed to reflect the complex reality that teachers confront in their classes. This challenge is intensified by the lack of teachers who are sufficiently trained to adapt the existing material to their students' expectations.

A new approach to the contemporary educational reality of Greek-language education in Canada—and more widely in the diaspora—calls for a creative use of "flexible" pedagogical tools offered by the information and communication technologies. One such example is the e-learning gateway developed by the University of Crete (Chatzidaki 2015; Kourtis-Kazoullis et al. 2014). Specifically designed for the Greek language needs in the diaspora, this portal can accommodate learners of different age groups and starting points. The language lessons are posted in distinct levels according to the standards of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001). These lessons are enriched with multimodal cultural material (videos, songs, maps, games, etc.) and supported by an interactive environment for communication between students, teachers, administrators, parents and researchers who join an international learning network. Taking advantage of the enormous potential that this platform provides is clearly a way to overcome some of the main pedagogical challenges that we described in the previous sections: the management of mixed classrooms, the lack of continued support for teachers and the limited opportunities for language use in authentic communication environments.

Considering the hurdles encountered by Greek language teachers in the diaspora, it is clear that, while they are being asked to teach in conditions of heterogeneity and professional liquidity, they often do not have the appropriate means or

access to in-service support. At the same time, the secondment of teachers from the Greek Ministry of Education to community schools in the diaspora and the in-service training of teachers from the diaspora in Greek universities, which were formerly funded by the Greek state and European Community resources, have been limited by the severe ongoing economic crisis in Greece (Damanakis et al. 2014).

There is a course of action that could fill this gap: the organization of professional development courses for Greek language teachers in the diaspora through community initiatives. The advantages of this idea are partly financial, as the funding would come from the communities instead of Greece. Additionally, there are educational benefits, since communities have a deeper and more accurate understanding of the distinct needs of their learners and teachers. An example of a community-based professional development course for Greek language teachers in Canada is the *Effective Teaching* program that was developed and implemented at York University in Toronto with the financial support of the Hellenic Heritage Foundation (2016). The program provides professional development and certification in language teaching to educators who work in various Greek community schools, in Ontario, Canada. It is important to state that the design for *Effective Teaching* was based on data from a study on the needs of Greek language schools in Ontario. The study, in which the co-authors of this article were involved, was informed by (a) questionnaires and interviews with practitioners, and (b) a survey of community leaders and school administrators. The participants identified priority areas for the professional development of Greek language teachers in Canada and the findings were made available to the course developers (Hellenic Heritage Foundation 2016). *Effective Teaching* was offered in two cycles during the 2016/2017 academic years to 25 teachers who took lessons 3 h per week for one semester. As the HHF covered the cost of the program completely, it was free for the participants, most of whom teach Greek on a part-time or voluntary basis. Upon completion of each cycle, the participants submitted their reflections as part of the course evaluation. One of the key findings of this assessment process was that professional development courses for Greek teaching in Canada should focus on supporting both the language proficiency and the pedagogical capacity of the instructors.

Asked to suggest specific professional development units according to their needs, participants prioritized the following topics: (a) strategies for teaching in heterogeneous classes, (b) strategies for teaching very young learners, (c) effective long-term teaching planning to achieve the active involvement of students in the learning process and (d) strategies to utilize in their practice the pedagogical potential of the tools offered by new technologies and multimedia resources. Finally, it should be noted that the new modules of *Effective Teaching,* will be offered through online/distance learning settings to facilitate the participation of more teachers in remote regions. This option is particularly useful in Canada given the long distances between cities where Greek schools operate. Indeed, the new technologies can play an important multifunctional role. They are not only a tool for professional development and in-service support of teachers, but also a major tool and for teaching and learning purposes (as in the case of the learning communities described in Sect. 3.2).

However, given the diversity of the Greek programs in the diaspora and the myriad of resources that can be used for innovative practices, there is a question of coordination of actions which in the past was primarily a role attributed to the Greek Ministry of Education. Continuation of this practice is problematic because:

1. The economic crisis has limited the resources that Greece can provide for the education of Greek and non-Greek heritage students abroad.
2. The World Council of Hellenes Abroad (SAE) has been deactivated and without any successor in place, it becomes practically difficult to unite it for a pan-diasporic approach to Greek language education.
3. It is practically impossible to reconcile the different educational conditions prevailing in all centers of the Greek diaspora. In the United States, Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom, there are more similarities, since Greek learners are English language speakers, whereas in other parts of the world, Greek language students come from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds.
4. Even at the level of one country, different conditions are determined by complex legal and organizational issues. In Canada, for example, where the educational affairs are a provincial responsibility, there are regions with more systematic Greek-language programs in subsidized day schools (e.g., the case of the trilingual schools of the Greek Community of Montreal), while elsewhere Greek language courses are offered in continuing education settings and through afterschool programs held on weekday evenings or weekends (e.g., the schools of the Greek Community of Toronto, York Region, Edmonton, and so on), through the Greek Orthodox Church (e.g., the Metamorphosis Greek Orthodox School in Toronto), or through of the International Languages Program of the public School Boards (e.g., TDSB in Toronto). Thus, even if financial resources were available—as in the 1990s-when programs such as *Education for the Greeks Abroad* attempted to provide solutions to the whole of Greek language education in the diaspora—it is now extremely difficult and pedagogically questionable to consider that the Greek government should remain the centre of decisions and actions concerning Greek heritage language education.

The research and educational efforts presented in this article suggest that the teaching and learning of Greek as a heritage language can be sustained through the involvement of the Greek communities in the diaspora, with Greece playing a supportive role mainly through research programs and recourses produced through the collaboration of Greek and foreign universities. Understanding Greek-language education as a community responsibility and promoting community-based initiatives, such as the ones currently undertaken in Canada (Aravossitas 2016; Aravossitas and Oikonomakou 2017, 2018; Oikonomakou et al. 2017), underscores the diverse local needs of the Greek language learners instead of the one-fits-all approach which is unrealistic under the current conditions.

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