Inklusion und Bildung in Migrationsgesellschaften

Julie A. Panagiotopoulou · Lisa Rosen
Claudine Kirsch · Aspasia Chatzidaki *Editors*

'New' Migration of Families from Greece to Europe and Canada

A 'New' Challenge for Education?

Springer VS

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Die Buchreihe „Inklusion und Bildung in Migrationsgesellschaften“ versammelt erziehungswissenschaftliche deutsch- sowie englischsprachige Monographien (auch Qualifikationsarbeiten) und (einführende) Sammelbände, die Fragen von Erziehung und Bildung in Migrationsgesellschaften interdisziplinär (und auch international vergleichend) bearbeiten. Übergreifende Fragen lauten: Wie lassen sich der gesellschaftliche und insbesondere der pädagogische Umgang mit migrationsbedingter Diversität theoretisieren und rekonstruieren? Entlang welcher sozialen Kategorien wird Fremdheit in Migrationsgesellschaften erziehungswissenschaftlich und/oder pädagogisch hergestellt und legitimiert? Wie sind Inklusions- und Exklusionsprozesse in Bildungsinstitutionen zu verstehen?

Der sozialwissenschaftliche Begriff der Inklusion ist hier relevant, denn er setzt nicht auf individuelle Assimilations- und Integrationsleistungen, sondern nimmt die soziale und institutionelle Konstruktion von (Un-)Fähigkeitszuschreibungen, (Un-)Auffälligkeiten und (Un-)Zugehörigkeiten von privilegierten und marginalisierten Personen bzw. Gruppen in den Blick. Ähnlich wie der Terminus Inklusion birgt auch der Begriff Migrationsgesellschaft ein kritisches Potential und fordert erziehungs- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung heraus. Mit ihm wird nicht nur die konstitutive Bedeutung von Migration für die gesamte Gesellschaft herausgestellt, sondern er regt zur Reflexion von Normen und Normalitätsvorstellungen und zu Veränderungen ungleichheitserzeugender Strukturen und Praktiken – auch in Bildungskontexten – an.

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Preface

The sociological system theory according to the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann has produced the idea of a world society. This idea reflects the worldwide networking, transmission and mutual dependencies of the modern world in almost all areas of life. Migration is an obvious expression of a world society. In contrast to the world society, migration meets nationally segmented welfare states and educational systems. Almost everywhere in the world, these systems are shaped and restricted by nationally coded conditions.

The analysis of migration—i.e. the motives, expectations and consequences for individuals, families, institutions and host societies in relation to education—recognises the problems associated with nationally designed functional subsystems: education systems in nation states remain inflexible and generally less open to newcomers. Against the background of this phenomenon, I greatly appreciate this anthology. It gives us new insights into the subjective views of families and their crisis-related migration, fuelled by the desire to achieve a better future for their children. It improves our understanding of the educational challenges posed by migration in several European and non-European societies. On a sound scientific basis, it presents impressive empirical results that shed light on the challenges which both "old" and "new" migrations pose(s) to migrants and educational institutions. Thus, the anthology combines different perspectives on migration and education from different actors to create an inspiring scientific Kaleidoscope. It systematically examines the practices of migration processing with regard to the education of the younger generation. In addition, comparative research has proven to be a perfect approach from a methodological point of view.

Many thanks to the editors and authors of this lucid volume!

Frankfurt am Main
February 2019

Isabell Diehm

Contents

Introduction

Julie A. Panagiotopoulou, Lisa Rosen, Claudine Kirsch and Aspasia Chatzidaki

Abstract

This book aims to present the migration processes of families from Greece following the financial crisis from 2009 onwards. It investigates whether and to what extent this 'new' and international migration represents a new phenomenon when compared to the so-called migration of guest-workers during the sixties. The question "What is "new" about the new migration?" forms the central theme. It is addressed by scholars researching migration from Greece to Albania, Austria, Germany, Great Britain, Luxembourg, the Netherlands as well as to Canada. Two further questions are tackled, one relating to the prospects and migration experiences of "new" families and the other one to the professionals' perspectives on home language teaching and "new" challenges for Greek language education in migration societies. Some of the research studies presented have been carried out specifically for this book.

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The idea for this book was born in connection with the international comparative project "New (Educational) Migration as a "Family Project" and a Challenge in Two Different Educational Systems—Quebec, Canada and North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany", which was conducted at the University of Cologne between 2014 and 2018 (see the contribution by Julie A. Panagiotopoulou and Lisa Rosen in Part II). The empirical data from interviews with parents who left Greece in the course of the "mega-crisis" (Panayotopoulos and Schultheis 2016[1]), in order to provide a better future for their children abroad through education, was first presented in 2015 in Budapest within Network 7 "Social Justice and Intercultural Education" at the European Conference on Educational Research (ECER) under the title "Recent Studies on New Migration of Families from Greece—A Challenge for Migration Societies and Education Systems?". This symposium (https://www.eera-ecer.de/ecer-programmes/conference/20/contribution/35022/) sparked off some lively discussions between educational scientists from a number of European countries.

In order to continue this discussion, the four editors met up in Crete a few months later, in April 2016, at the University of Crete's Centre for Intercultural and Migration Studies (EDIAMME) to work together with additional colleagues from Greece on selected project material. Inspired by the authentic reports of newly immigrated children and parents on their experiences of inclusion and exclusion in migration societies and, in particular, their educational experiences in the German and Canadian education systems, questions arose about the peculiarities and sociopolitical consequences of this crisis-driven migration, first for Greece and then for the special challenges for education in the various host countries. These questions pertained to various migration processes, including the (re-) migration of families to Albania (see the contribution by Dionysia Kontogianni, Theodosia Michelakaki and Efthimia Papalexopoulou in Part II) or—in connection with EU-internal mobility—the increasing migration to Germany and Luxembourg, as these are among the most popular European destination countries. For example, Gogonas presented a recent study on the language policy of Greek families in Luxembourg, which was extended for the present book, especially with regard to new immigrants. Other chapters discuss the new role of the already-existing Greek complementary schools in migration societies with a large Greek community, such as Canada and Germany (see the contributions by Julie A. Panagiotopoulou and Lisa Rosen as well as Georgia Stylou in Part III). It is

[1]Panayotopoulos, Nikos/Schultheis, Franz, 2016: The economy of misery: Greece 2010–2015. Athens: Alexandreia (in Greek).

in this context that the idea of carrying out further studies in Greek complementary schools in Germany and in Luxembourg was born—in order to understand the perspectives of the actors under the current conditions and, in particular, the pedagogical practices and perspectives regarding newly immigrated pupils. Two subsequent research projects were designed and carried out, the results of which will be published for the first time in this book (the contributions of Aspasia Chatzidaki in the Part II and Claudine Kirsch in Part III) these studies were first presented at the ECER Symposium in Copenhagen in 2017, entitled "Social Justice through Multilingual Education in Complementary Schools?—Recent Studies on Teachers' Perspectives from Europe and Canada" (https://eera-ecer.de/ecer-programmes/conference/22/contribution/41424/), and in 2018 at the international conference of the Centre for Intercultural and Migration Studies hosted by the University of Crete (https://clc5.ediamme.edc.uoc.gr/en/). Vally Lytra was involved in both conferences as a discussant and speaker and was recruited by the editors for the critical discussion of the anthology now being presented (see the epilogue).

At a further international conference on "New Greek Migration" (http://nem2017.de/de/index.html) in Berlin in October 2017, two further original research papers were added, one dealing with the "Brain Drain" phenomenon and family migration to Great Britain and the Netherlands, and another on "Brain Gain" and the expected positive consequences of the new Greek migration for the Greek community in Canada (see the contributions by Manolis Pratsinakis as well as by Themistoklis Aravossitas and Momoye Sugiman in Part I). Finally, two migration researchers who had already conducted research studies years ago on Greek family migration and family education strategies, in connection with the last wave of labour migration or so-called "guest worker" migration from Greece to Germany, were hired for this book project. Both are now investigated with the phenomenon of the new migration and therefore present results from their current and ongoing research in this anthology (see the contributions of Wassilios Baros et al. and Irini Siouti in Part I).

The corresponding question, *What is "new" about the new migration from Greece?*, forms the central theme and is the title of Part I, which comprises a total of four chapters. These are empirical studies, both qualitative and/or quantitative, which present and analyse partly new and previously unpublished data material. Part I provides a comprehensive picture as the individual chapters presents findings from surveys and interviews with migrants from Greece who emigrated to European countries such as Austria, Germany, Great Britain (London), and the Netherlands as well as to Canada. In the foreground are the motives of the families for migration, their future expectations, their profiles, attitudes,

aspirations and experiences, as well as political feelings and biographical perspectives in general.

In detail: *Manolis Pratsinakis* states in his chapter, entitled "Family-related migration and the crisis-driven outflow from Greece", that contrary to the pre-crisis emigrants—the majority of whom saw their emigration as a career move and planned a swift return to Greece—most of the post-2010 emigrants left and continue to leave Greece owing to feeling a lack of prospects in their home country, and plan a longer stay abroad. This is especially the case for those who leave Greece hoping for a better future and wellbeing of their children, as well as for couples who emigrate so that they can lead an independent life. Drawing primarily on survey data and secondarily on material from qualitative research in the Netherlands and London, this chapter looks into family-related migration as part of the new crisis-driven exodus from Greece, while tracing differences with older streams of emigration. The findings call into question individualisation as a defining characteristic of intra-EU mobility.

Themistoklis Aravossitas and *Momoye Sugiman* present in their chapter, "From Brain Drain to Brain Gain: New Greek Migration to Canada and Implications for the Community", the findings of a research study that explores the profiles, attitudes, aspirations and experiences of new Greek immigrants in Canada. Through focus groups, interviews and an online survey, completed electronically by newcomers across Canada during the winter of 2017, various aspects of the contemporary Greek immigration experience have emerged, which are very interesting when compared to the previous Greek-Canadian migration between the 1950s and 1970s. Of particular interest are the findings that highlight the variety of reasons behind the newcomers' decision to move to Canada, their overall high educational background, their differing degrees of adaptation to the host country conditions and their contradictory advice to compatriots who are planning to study or settle in Canada.

Irini Siouti's chapter, "New Migrations from Greece to Germany in the Times of the Financial Crisis: Biographical research perspectives", is a case study of a research project on new migration processes to Germany, focusing on biographical perspectives. The author argues that this research perspective is particularly well-suited to the empirical investigation of new migrations, because it offers a way of empirically capturing the diversity and complexity of migration phenomena. Thus, the subjective dimension of action and the competencies of the so-called "newcomers" can be examined as ways of coping with crises in the process of migration, and the dynamics of the new migrations can be investigated. Finally, Siouti discusses the following thesis: in the context of the financial crisis, new forms of migration and family networks are constituted as transnational social

support, in which transmigration becomes established as a way of life through transgenerational subject practices.

The chapter by *Wassilios Baros, Maximilian Sailer and Themistoklis Moutsisis* is entitled "The financial crisis in Greece pushing families towards emigration to Germany and Austria". The authors investigate the views and attitudes of Greek citizens who immigrated to Central Europe and in particular to Germany and Austria. An online survey was conducted to find out more about the motives that prompted Greeks to emigrate to Central Europe, and to get insights into their feelings, their views on the immigration process and their relationship with the host country. At the same time, another objective of the study is to gain insights into the political feelings expressed in connection to immigration or the immigration decision. Besides descriptive statistics, a Latent Class Analysis (LCA) is used in order to address the research questions.

Through focus groups, interviews and an online survey, completed electronically by newcomers across Canada during the winter of 2017, various aspects of the contemporary Greek immigration experience have emerged, which are very interesting when compared to the previous Greek-Canadian migration between the 1950s and 1970s. Of particular interest are the findings that highlight the variety of reasons behind the newcomers' decision to move to Canada, their overall high educational background, their differing degrees of adaptation to the host country conditions and their contradictory advice to compatriots who are planning to study or settle in Canada.

The three chapters of Part II *Prospects and experiences of "new" family migration*, deal with families' migration experiences based on qualitative studies which took place in Canada, Germany, Luxembourg and Albania. The focus of the first two chapters by Panagiotopoulou and Rosen as well as by Gogonas is on new migration of Greek citizens abroad, while the chapter by Kontogianni, Michelakaki and Papalexopoulou involves a different, rather under-researched population, namely Albanian families who returned to their country of origin due to the economic crisis in Greece. All three chapters discuss theoretical and methodological issues on contemporary family migration research and pose relevant questions. To varying extents, the three chapters highlight the notion that migration is a "family project", as they illustrate the impact such a decision has on all family members and the degree of children's involvement—or lack thereof—in the decision-making process regarding migration.

In particular: In the first chapter of this part, "New Migration to Germany and Canada as Educational Migration: The Necessity and Challenges of International Comparative Migration and Family Research", *Julie A. Panagiotopoulou* and *Lisa Rosen* present an internationally comparative project entitled "New (educational)

migration as a family project and as a challenge for two different educational systems: Germany and Canada". In particular, they focus on the research design and its methodological challenges, as well as on questions with regard to the living conditions and experiences of newly immigrated families and their (school-age) children in two different migration societies. Between 2014 and 2018, research data were collected in Canada and Germany through biographical interviews with families who left Greece after 2008 in the wake of the so-called financial crisis. In contrast to the dominant (media) discourse, they approach the phenomenon of "(new) migration from Greece" as a "family project".

In the next chapter, "Recently migrated Greek families in superdiverse Luxembourg: motives for migration and global competence", *Nikos Gogonas* discusses the different migration motives and experiences of two newly-established families from Greece. Using the concept of "global competence", he illustrates that the two families experience their life in the new country in completely different ways: the first couple feels alienated from their surroundings and they are unhappy with the outcome of their migration. They also persist on the children's maintaining the Greek language and forming a "Greek" identity, something which runs counter to the children's socialisation experiences. The other couple is better adapted to life in a superdiverse country and they strive for a multilingual and multicultural upbringing of their children. Gogonas attributes the families' diverse experiences and degree of satisfaction to different levels of "global competence".

The chapter entitled "Albanian families leaving Greece: narratives on repatriation and the sense of belonging by children and teenage students in Albania" by *Dionysia Kontogianni, Theodosia Michelakaki* and *Efthimia Papalexopoulou* falls within the scope of contemporary immigrant mobility between Greece and Albania. The authors' research aim is to examine pre-adolescents' and adolescents' narratives of their experience of moving and integrating into Albanian society after having lived in Greece for many years. Research data was collected through semi-structured interviews with students of Albanian descent, whose families repatriated to their country of origin after having studied in the Greek education system. The participants were selected from students of the Greek minority school in southern Albania. The analysis of research data revealed that the narrative of the students' transition from one framework to the other is not a linear process but instead a dynamic one, a process that is mediated by the experiences of their migration pathways.

Part III called *Professionals' perspectives on home language teaching in different migration societies—"new" challenges for Greek language education abroad?*, includes four qualitative studies focusing on educational institutions that

promote Greek to immigrant children and youths in Germany, Luxembourg and Canada. The chapters shed light on the professionals' perspectives on teaching Greek and the ways in which they deal with diversity, particularly the heterogeneity arising from new migration. The four studies take place in different officially monolingual and multilingual countries and different types of schools. Chatzidaki and Stylou describe three types of language education organised for migrant Greeks: Greek language classes, also known as community classes or Saturday schools; "integrated classes", meaning that Greek lessons are integrated into the curriculum of the mainstream school; and finally, "pure" or "non-mixed" Greek schools attended by Greek students only, who follow a Greek curriculum. The four chapters look at all types of Greek language education abroad. Kirsch and Panagiotopoulou and Rosen carried out their studies in a community/Saturday school in Luxembourg and Canada, respectively. Chatzidaki and Stylou worked in Germany and investigated language learning in "non-mixed" Greek schools and all three types of schools, respectively. The focus of all chapters is on the professionals' views and/or practices in Greek (complementary) schools, while Kirsch also includes perspectives of the students and parents.

In detail: In the chapter entitled "Greek Schools in Germany as a "Safe Haven"; Teachers' Perspectives on New Migration and Community Language Schools", *Aspasia Chatzidaki* investigates teachers' perceptions of the role of Greek high schools in Cologne and Düsseldorf. The findings of the semi-structured interviews reveal that the teachers distinguish between the perceived bilingual second or third-generation Greek students and the newly arrived students whom they consider to have adaption problems and who thus pose educational and psychological challenges to the school. The teachers believe that the Greek schools, which were supposed to be abolished, are irreplaceable because they are the only institutions that can accommodate the needs of immigrant students and maintain a sense of Greek identity.

Georgia Stylou discusses "Greek Language Education in Baden-Wurttemberg, Germany—Changes and Perspectives of Greek Language Teachers". Drawing on statistics, legislative documents and semi-structured interviews with teachers, Stylou presents the changes in Greek language education before and after the economic crises and discusses the impact of new migration. Her findings show that the new educational policies affected Greek language education in several ways: abolishment of the position of the educational coordinator; changes in the secondment of teachers; lack of professional development; permission to all professionals to teach Greek; and closing of Greek language classes and integrated classes. The reduction of teachers and the loss of students resulted in parent associations taking initiatives and organising language classes. As for the impact of

new migration, some teachers reported using differentiated material to accommodate the students' needs.

Claudine Kirsch reports on "Teachers', parents' and students' perspectives of teaching and learning Greek in a complementary school in Luxembourg". Through semi-structured interviews with two teachers and three newly migrated parents, and conversations with their children, Kirsch explored the parents' reasons for enrolling their children at the community school, the children's motivation, and the participants' experiences. The findings indicate that the parents expected their emergent multilingual children to develop competence in Greek, although Greek was not their priority. The children's experiences at the Greek school and their understanding of the purpose of attending it, varied with age and friendships. The teachers believed that children from newly migrated families were more competent than those of established families and tried to accommodate their language needs. Their main goal was the development of Greek assured in a monolingual Greek environment.

Finally, *Julie A. Panagiotopoulou* and *Lisa Rosen* present "Recently Arrived Migrants as Teachers in Greek Complementary Schools in Montreal: Views on Multilingualism". Using expert interviews, the authors examine the perspectives and practices of recently migrated professionals. The newly migrated teachers were found to hold monoglossic views and have deficit views regarding their students' multilingualism. They understood themselves as representatives and guardians of the Greek language and culture and pleaded for "Greek only" in the lesson and during the break. Their perspectives are in contrast to teachers' views of these schools, who belonged to the second generation of migrants. Those teachers adopted translanguaging practices and developed multilingual pedagogies.

Our sincere thanks go to the authors, whose contributions made it possible for us to realise this book project. We would also like to express our appreciation to Vally Lytra, who took up the subsequent discussion of all the contributions, thus lending them even more academic weight. We hope that this epilogue, together with the foreword written by one of the series contributors, Isabell Diehm, to whom we would also like to express our thanks, will encourage others to take up this fascinating subject and further develop the discussions already presented. We would also like to thank Janine Fißmer and Timo Neubert, both research fellows at the University of Cologne, who have taken great care and responsibility for the layout and formatting. Further, special thanks go to Amanda Malthe for proofreading the entire book.

Cologne, Luxembourg and Rethymnon, January 2019.

Part I

What is "New" About the New Migration from Greece?

Family-Related Migration and the Crisis-Driven Outflow from Greece

Manolis Pratsinakis

Abstract

In the context of the debt crisis, recession, austerity and their socio-political consequences, Greece is experiencing a new major wave of out-migration. Emigration is driven by necessity for a significant number of people who are finding it hard to make ends meet, while, at the same time, it has emerged as an increasingly appealing option for others in less pressing need, who see their ability to fulfil their life aspirations critically reduced. Contrary to the pre-crisis emigrants—the majority of whom saw their emigration as a career move and planned a swift return to Greece—most of the post-2010 emigrants left and are leaving Greece due to feeling a lack of prospects in their home country, thus planning a longer stay abroad. This is especially the case for those who leave from Greece for considerations relating to the future and wellbeing of their children, as well as for couples who emigrate so that they can lead an independent life. Drawing primarily on survey data and secondarily on material from qualitative research in the Netherlands and London, this chapter looks into family-related migration as part of the new crisis-driven exodus from Greece while tracing differences with older streams of emigration. The findings call into question individualisation as a defining characteristic of intra-EU mobility.

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1 Introduction

In the past few years, in a period when Greece has been suffering deeply from the economic crisis, concomitant austerity measures and their social and political consequences, emigration is on the increase. More than 400,000 Greek citizens are estimated to have left the country after 2009,[1] making Greece a country with one of the highest emigration rates in the EU. But the crisis does not only feed the resurgence of Greek emigration in terms of volume, but also brings qualitative changes.

While most of the pre-crisis emigrants saw their migration as a significant career move and many planned to return to Greece eventually, only a minority of the post-2009 migrants view their emigration in that way. Most of them emigrate because they feel they have limited prospects in their home country and due to their overall disappointment in the socio-economic situation in Greece. Such feelings often go hand in hand with a deep disillusionment with the Greek political establishment and with state institutions (Labrianidis and Pratsinakis 2016). A transformation seems thus to be underway: migration is now more often a matter of necessity than one of choice. Necessity is here understood not in the limited sense of absolute economic need, but rather framed in terms of a wider context of lack of prospects in Greece (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014; Pratsinakis et al. 2017).

A characteristic subgroup of the new crisis-driven emigration concerns families leaving Greece for the well-being of their children or for restoring the earlier standard of living of the family, as well as couples who move in order to start a family life abroad. While during the post-war decades, family migration happened as part of a two-stage process with family members joining the primary (mostly male) migrant, in the current circumstances of austerity-induced migration and in the context of free mobility within the EU, decisions are also taken and realised by nuclear families. This experience raises questions about how emigration decisions are taken, what are the migration aspirations of different family members and what are their experiences and strategies abroad after migration. Limited research has been done so far in tackling those questions and the present volume aims to close this gap in the literature. This chapter in particular, takes the bird's eye view on family-related migration from Greece at times of crisis, aiming to contextualise it as part of the outflow. First, it draws on quantitative data to present the magnitude, dynamics and demographic makeup of the current crisis-driven emigration and then singles out the particularities of family-related

[1]And to that number we should add an equally high number of foreign nationals who returned to their countries of origin or were forced to migrate again (see Fig. 1).

migration, focusing on migration within Europe and more specifically the Netherlands and Greater London. Before delving into the research findings, the methodology and theoretical framework are outlined.

2 Data and Methods

The paper draws on two data sets. The first one was compiled via a nationwide representative survey (HO survey) that was conducted through the London School of Economic's Hellenic Observatory grant in 2015 and the second via an online survey conducted in Greater London and the Netherlands in the context of the EU-funded Marie Curie EUMIGRE project. The HO dataset is used to describe the main characteristics of the new emigration as a whole. It was carried out from March through to April 2015 by telephone interviewing, using the Greek phones database (www.greekphones.gr) that contains more than 6,000,000 landline numbers, aiming to provide a comprehensive overview of the key characteristics of the outflow. It was administered by the University Research Institute (EPI) at the University of Macedonia through a stratified sampling method based on the household as a unit of analysis. A structured questionnaire was addressed to a total of 1237 households comprising 3970 people and generated information for 248 emigrants, approximately one third of whom had left Greece after 2010. Each participant was first asked to provide detailed personal information and information about the composition of the household she/he formed part of. She/he was then asked questions about the migration intentions of the members of the household and the migration practices of the members of her/his household and descending nuclear family.

The second dataset was compiled through a combination of sampling methodologies aiming to capture the views and experiences of the migrants themselves while focusing on the Netherlands and Greater London. Due to the lack of a sample frame, transnational populations such as those addressed in the present study are impossible to reach using traditional survey modes. To account for this limitation, the EUMIGRE survey relied on a strategy that combined web-based "respondent-driven sampling" (RDS) and opt-in online survey sampling. According to RDS, a diverse group of respondents, the so-called seeds, initiated the respondent recruitment in the Netherlands and Greater London in the following manner: once they filled in the online questionnaire, they were asked to send invitations with a personalised survey link to up to three of their Greek acquaintances in the Netherlands and Greater London (people who are older than 20 years old and have stayed in the Netherlands or the UK for a minimum of 6 months).

New referrals were asked to recruit further, creating several chains of referrals.[2] 370 respondents in the Netherlands and 100 respondents in Greater London were recruited through this method and the sample was expanded further via the opt-in methodology generating a total of 996 respondents. The link of the survey was posted on the website of the EUMIGRE project and it was disseminated via Facebook group pages of Greek communities in London and the Netherlands targeting categories (such as people with lower educational attainments) that were not sufficiently included via the RDS methodology. Out of the 996 respondents, 277 had emigrated together with their partner, 192 are parents and 107 emigrated together with their children. 799 respondents had emigrated from 2010 onward and the remaining 197 from the early 1990s until 2009.

Finally, except from the data of those two surveys, the paper uses material from qualitative research also carried out in the context of the EUMIGRE project. This research included 48 interviews in total (4 of which concerned migrants who had left Greece together with their family), as well as data gathered through participant observation as part of my voluntary work in Amsterdam in the Greek community organisation "Neoafihthendes" that provides information and support to newcomers in the Netherlands.

3 Families on the Move in the Period of Liquid Migration

Building on Zygmunt Bauman's work on liquid modernity and liquid life (2000, 2005),[3] Engbersen et al. (2010) have proposed "liquid migration" as a term to describe the particularities of legally unconstrained intra-European migration. In subsequent analyses, Engbersen (2012) and Engbersen and Snel (2013) described

[2]In RDS, sample biases are estimated and corrected by using information (1) about respondents' social networks among the research population and (2) about the process of recruitment. In this paper this analysis was not performed because the paper draws on the expanded dataset resulting from both the RDS and opt-in sampling methodologies. The extended dataset allows for a more in-depth analysis of family emigration from Greece but the data are not generalisable to the overall population of the new Greek migrants in the Netherlands and Greater London.

[3]Zygmunt Bauman introduced these terms to theorise the increased mobility, fluidity and freedom that characterises late modern post-Fordist societies, together with the heightened anxiety, existential uncertainty and angst that this nomadic and fluid lifestyle brings to citizens.

"liquid migration" as characterised by temporariness, labour migration, legal residential status, unpredictability, individualisation, and a "migrant habitus" of open options and intentional unpredictability. Free mobility within the EU together with the new communication technologies and the fall in transport costs has made migration significantly simpler. It also made more "fluid" forms of migration, such as circular migration, more common. However, several characteristics that Engbersen and Snel attribute to intra-EU mobility, such as the prevalence of labour migration, unpredictability and temporality, may be better understood as distinctive of East–West European migration in the years that followed the EU enlargements eastwards (which actually forms the focus of their research) rather than defining characteristics of intra-EU mobility in large.[4]

The prevalence of individualisation as well as the endorsement of lifestyles of mobility, which have been highlighted earlier by Favell (2008) as distinctive of mobility within Europe, may in fact be more defining characteristics of intra-EU migration. Favell pays attention to the emergence of major European cities like London, Amsterdam, and Brussels as dynamic hubs of the intra-European mobility of young workers, who choose to look for work on an individual basis. He further highlights how the possibilities granted through legally unconstrained mobility within the EU have impacted the life and mobility choices especially of provincial and peripheral citizens of the EU who leave their countries of origin frustrated with the limited career opportunities in their home countries or in pursue of personal freedom, adventure and self-fulfilment.

However, even if individualisation and lifestyles of mobility remain significant characteristics of intra-EU mobility, their centrality has lessened during the past few years in a period of multiple crises across the EU. Drawing on qualitative research, Bygnes and Erdal (2017) show how motivations to ensure a grounded and secure life for oneself and one's family are very central among Polish and Spanish migrants in Norway. The current research on Greek emigration at times of crisis corroborates those findings and highlights that migration decisions are framed in terms of broader life aspirations, often concerning the family as a whole and/or the upbringing of children.

The significance of family considerations in migration decision-making has, until rather recently, been downplayed in academic research. Being consigned to the realm of tradition, family was thought of as solely having a constraining role in restricting mobility, while migration was conceptualised as the outcome

[4]Indeed, survey data of Central and Eastern European labour migrants in the Netherlands show an increasing tendency towards longer settlement in the country (Snel et al. 2015).

of individual and decontextualised rationality (Kofman 2004). This reductionist approach is exemplified in neoclassical economics theory, which views migration as the response of individual rational actors to expectations for positive net return from movement. The early theorisations on family-related migration were in fact based on neoclassical economics theory and were thus only a small step away from this view. Such was the case of Duncan's and Perrucci's (1976) human capital model that investigates how the relative economic resources of husbands and wives influence the migration of the family. Later approaches within this framework accounted for the role played by gender norms in restricting women's influence in the final decision (Shihadeh 1991; Bielby and Bielby 1992), or explored family bargaining models based upon game theory (Bergstrom 1996). Yet the role attributed to broader family considerations remained limited.

The new economics of labour migration theory (NELM) challenged many of the assumptions and conclusions of neoclassical theory and was developed, to a certain extent, in opposition to it. A key insight of this approach is that migration decisions are made by larger units of related people. Migration is conceptualised as a project planned collectively by individuals of the same household, family or community, not only to maximise expected income, but primarily to minimise risks and to loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failures, besides those in the labour market (Stark and Taylor 1991; Stark and Levhari 1982; Lauby and Stark 1988; Massey et al. 1993). The NELM approach describes multi-sited practices that combine migration and immobility. While some members of one household stay in the place of origin, others might move internally within the country, and others could migrate internationally (Massey et al. 1993).

NELM thus describes how economic drivers interact with broader social processes (Stark and Bloom 1985) and attributes a central role to families in the process of migration decision-making. It is still, however, anchored on an economistic understanding of migration processes. Emigration motivations, however, should not only be seen to pertain to economic drivers, but should instead be better assessed in the context of broader life aspirations. That seems to be particularly true for the emigration that takes place from Greece during the crisis period. Greeks may be fleeing the economic crisis in Greece, but the emigration of many of them is not solely aimed at their economic advancement or the attainment of better remunerations. Even though those remain important motivations, their relative significance seems to be reduced during the crisis compared to wider life considerations (see also Bartolini et al. 2017). And this seems to be particularly important for parents, as well as for several couples, who move to start a family life abroad.

4 Brain Drain and the Characteristics of the Crisis-Driven Greek Emigration

Since the end of the 19th century, Greece had been a major source country for emigration. It was in the mid-1970s that it acquired a positive migratory balance for the first time in its recent history, largely due to return migration from Western Europe. Emigration in subsequent years was limited and a few years before the crisis the Greek citizens were recorded to be amongst the least mobile Europeans. A Eurobarometer survey on geographic and labour market mobility, conducted in 2005, showed that Greeks were the least favourable Europeans (after the Cypriots) towards long distance mobility (European Commission 2006). Another survey, conducted in 2009, just a year before the crisis started deepening in Greece, showed that only eight per cent of Greeks envisaged working abroad sometime in the future (the lowest after Italians), and the share of Greeks who would be ready to work in other countries in case of unemployment at home was found to be well below the EU average (European Commission 2010).

Yet this was soon due to change. In 2014, more than one out of three Greeks claimed that they would be willing to emigrate in search for work (Newpost 2014), and the share appears to be markedly higher among the educated young adults who form the category most prone to emigrate. Despite the previously recorded scepticism towards emigration, many Greeks were forced by the circumstances to change their views on and plans about external mobility in a very short time span. The combined effects of recession, extreme austerity, and a concomitant generalised mistrust of institutions and the political system drastically transformed mobility intentions and forced many to actually take that step. As illustrated in Fig. 1, in a seven-year period from 2010 to 2016, almost 720,000 people, both Greek and non-Greek citizens, were estimated to have left Greece, accounting for approximately 7% of the total population.

In attempting to place the current resurgence of Greek emigration in its temporal context, we see both continuation and breaks from earlier mobility patterns. While, as mentioned, outmigration has been relatively limited after the mid-1970s, it was more frequent among specific groups: emigrants of the post-war waves and their children moving between Greece and European destinations (Fakiolas and King 1996); Muslims from the minority of Thrace spending spells of employment in Turkey or Germany (Pratsinakis 2002); as well as the increased number of students going abroad, at least until the early 2000s (Karamessini 2010). Above all, there has been an increasing outflow of professionals to European destinations since the 1990s (Labrianidis 2011).

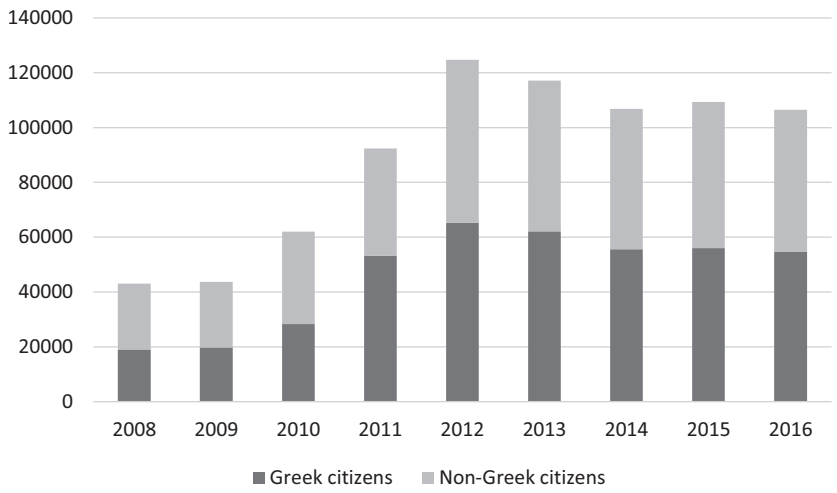

Fig. 1 Estimated annual emigration flows from Greece, 2008–2015. (Adapted from *Eurostat, Migration and migrant population statistics.* Retrieved May 10 2018 from http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_emi1ctz&lang=en Copyright (2018) by Eurostat, emigration statistics)

Labour market restructuring led to the deterioration of employment opportunities for those born in the 1970s and later, and to ongoing, relatively high unemployment, underemployment and employment precariousness in the 2000s (Karamessini 2010). This was not mainly due to young Greeks' "over-education", as conventionally assumed.[5] While the numbers of graduates have increased substantially in past decades, they are not among the highest in Europe or in the "developed" world. In fact, this growth was not matched by a corresponding increase in demand for high-skilled human capital, especially by private businesses. Indicatively, from 2008 to 2015, Greece had one of the lowest rates of employment in high-technology sectors in the EU. Moreover, Research and Development expenditure in Greece was much lower than the EU average. The comparison between Greece and other EU countries is even more unfavourable when it comes to the contribution of the private sector. Thus, the explanation for

[5]With the exception of certain disciplines, such as medicine and law, in which a growing demand during past years indeed resulted in saturated job market prospects.

the unfavourable conditions for graduates in Greece in past decades lies not in the supply side of a supposedly excessively skilled workforce, but rather in the demand side of a labour market failing to absorb these segments of the workforce (Labrianidis 2011, 2014).

Greek firms, mostly due to their small size and other related weaknesses, have been mainly focused on the production of low-cost products and services, avoiding any attempts at upgrading, including the infusion of technology and innovation. These characteristics have hindered the utilisation of a highly educated labour force that could act as an intermediary between universities/research centres and the private sector. Combined with the fact that the Greek Research and Development system is not able to attract and retain the growing number of qualified scientists, this has led a significant share of these graduates to migrate abroad, in order to seek employment with better prospects elsewhere (Labrianidis 2011, 2014). Moreover, the extent of informal economic arrangements, as well as long-standing pathologies such as nepotism and clientelism, have affected the relative position of graduates in the Greek labour market. On the other hand, greater opportunities for employment in highly skilled positions as well as higher average salaries of graduates in specific destination countries, combined with ease and relatively low cost of movement—especially in the EU—have also attracted Greek professionals abroad. As a result, even before the outbreak of the crisis, a considerable number of highly skilled young Greeks had been emigrating for better career prospects, better chances of finding a job related to their specialisation, a satisfactory income and increased opportunities for further training.

The crisis critically intensified this trend; the outmigration of graduates skyrocketed as job opportunities shrank in the shadow of the crisis and public-sector employment was no longer an option due to cuts and restrictions in new recruitments (Labrianidis and Pratsinakis 2016). A comparative presentation of unemployment rates in Greece and the EU over the past ten years provides a graphic depiction of Greece's particularity as regards the position of the highly skilled in the labour market and explains the sharp increase in emigration among these workers in the period of the crisis. As seen in Fig. 2, in the years directly preceding the onset of the global financial crisis and up to 2010, unemployment rates among the poorly educated (0–2 ISCED) were significantly lower in Greece than in the EU-28 on average. In fact, from 2006 to 2008 they were on a par with the unemployment rates of graduates (5–8 1SCED), indicating that education did not provide significant advantages in terms of access to the labour market in Greece—although of course to different sectors of the labour market. This changed with the crisis, which had a direct and much more acute impact on the

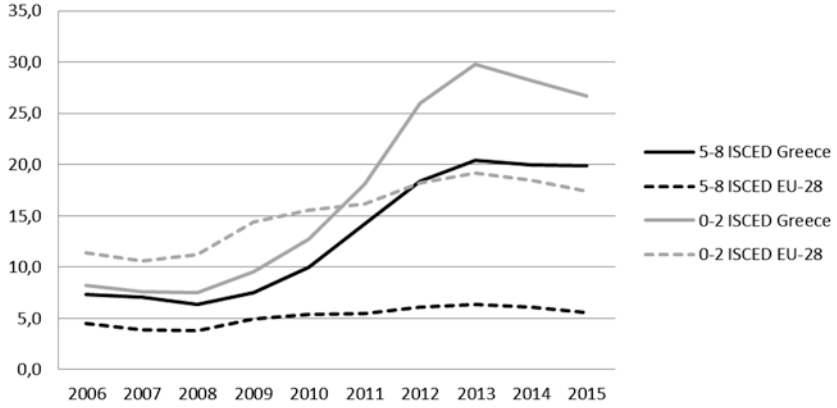

Fig. 2 Unemployment levels in Greece and the EU by educational attainment. (Adapted from *Eurostat, Unemployment statistics*. Retrieved April 2 2017 from http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=une_educ_a&lang=en Copyright (2018) by Eurostat, Unemployment statistics)

less privileged. In Greece, as elsewhere in Europe, unemployment rates for lesser-educated people became higher than for those with higher education. However, while in most European countries the unemployment rates of highly educated people increased only marginally, if at all, in Greece they skyrocketed, to almost four times higher than the EU-28 mean, making the push-pull migration factors for Greeks with higher education particularly strong.

Thus, the brain drain phenomenon in Greece should be understood as a continuation of an earlier ongoing and intensifying trend, as well as a part, albeit a very significant one, of the new crisis-driven emigration (Labrianidis and Pratsinakis 2017). According to the HO survey, two out of three of the emigrants who left Greece during the years of the crisis are university graduates and one fourth of the total outflow in the same period represents people with postgraduate degrees, graduates of medical school, or graduates of five-year long engineering school(s). The data of the HO survey show that the educational composition of the crisis-driven emigration sharply contrasts with that of the emigration up to the mid-1970s, which almost uniformly comprised people of lower education,[6] but is in line to the emigration in the 2000s.

[6]Those people left the country to fill in the gaps in the booming industrial sectors of Western Europe.

Concerning the data on unemployment, however, a clear distinction emerges between the pre-crisis emigrants and those who left after 2010, who are far more pushed by the unfavourable conditions in the Greek labour market. The unemployed formed a small minority among pre-crisis emigrants while, according to both the HO, half of the emigrants who left after 2010 were unemployed at the time of emigration. However, even though lack of a job seems to be a major reason driving people out of the country, our data clearly show that it is not the only determining reason, since half of the emigrants were employed in Greece at the time of emigration. It will be shown in the next section that, for a sizeable share of the higher educated emigrants, it was not absolute exclusion from the labour market per se that drove their decision to migrate, but the insecurity for their future in Greece and the quest for a better socioeconomic and political environment abroad. The HO survey also points to the diversity of new migrants' destinations; yet, as other studies (e.g. Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014) show, the majority head to the EU, with Germany and the UK in particular attracting by far the largest share of the outflows, concentrating together more than half of the post-2010 emigration. From 2010 to 2016, about 190,000 Greek citizens appear to have entered Germany and approximately 65,000 moved to the UK for work. In the same period, more than 16,000 Greeks entered the Netherlands, which appears to be the third most popular European destination of the crisis-driven Greek emigration.[7]

The magnitude of the outflow has attracted considerable media attention and has triggered a public debate on brain drain, including lamenting the loss of Greece's young educated "bloodstream" (Pratsinakis et al. 2017). Yet the discussion is often characterised by two misconceptions. First, the emigration of the highly skilled is presented as a new phenomenon resulting from the crisis, while its underlying structural causes are not addressed (Labrianidis and Pratsinakis 2017). Second, the crisis-driven emigration is presented as exclusively pertaining to the young and the educated, while the emigration of older people, those with fewer qualifications, immigrants or people from minority groups, is often

[7]Data respectively derived from three online databases: that of the German Federal Statistical Service (https://www-genesis.destatis.de/genesis/online) the Statistics Netherlands (https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb), and that of the British Department for Work and Pensions (https://sw.stat-xplore.dwp.gov.uk/webapi/jsf/login.xhtml), the latter referring to new National Insurance registrations (and thus may fall short of capturing dependent family members). In all three cases, numbers refer to annual flows and not to increases in population stocks.

neglected.[8] True, the crisis has amplified push factors that already existed in Greece for the highly skilled, intensifying their emigration patterns. But it has also impacted the mobility aspirations and practices of people of other educational levels and socio-economic backgrounds.

Even though they form a minority among recent emigrants, the crisis also pushes people of lower educational and income backgrounds out of the country, while drastic salary cuts and rising unemployment in the past years are also driving significant numbers of people to take the route of emigration at a late phase in their life-course. According to findings from the HO survey, people from "low to very low" income households now constitute 28% of the post-2010 emigration outflow, while before the crisis, this group was the least prone to emigrate. Lastly, a significant number of post-2010 emigrants left Greece after they had reached the age of forty; the mean age of people who emigrated after 2010 is 30.5 years old, two years older than those who left during the 2000s (28.3) and six years older than people who migrated during the 1990s (24.3). Given other survey findings on emigration intentions (Chiotis 2010; Newpost 2014), we may assume that the decision to emigrate for older people, as well as for those coming from lower educational backgrounds and lower income families, may be framed more as a matter of need. However, this seems to be becoming a rather generalised condition in the current emigration wave, concerning a significant segment of the highly educated emigrants too. In the next section, I explore this issue in more detail by focusing on families and drawing on the EUMIGRE survey data and interview material in the Netherlands and Greater London. Particular attention is paid to migration motivations.

5 Emigration of Families and Couples During the Years of Crisis

5.1 Migrant Couples

Almost two thirds of the respondents of the EUMIGRE survey are in a relationship. Of those respondents, 39% are married and the rest are in civil partnerships

[8]It should be noted that the new emigration also concerns foreign nationals who returned to their countries of origin or were forced to migrate again. As shown in the data presented in Fig. 1, for the years available (2008–2015), the foreign nationals form almost half of the estimated outflow. However, both surveys used for this chapter did not sufficiently capture the emigration of foreign nationals, who are thus excluded from the present analysis.

or live together with their partner without having legally formalised their relationship. Mixed couples account for 26% of the total sample and they equally concern relationships with nationals of the two destination countries (British and Dutch) or with nationals of third countries. Interestingly, the data show that there was a substantial decrease of mixed relationships, which accounted for 61% of the pre-crisis[9] migrant couples. This decrease is partly the outcome of the availability of potential Greek partners in the Netherlands and London, as the Greek communities in those two regions almost doubled in size in the past few years. It is also the outcome of the fact that (1) many more Greeks emigrate together with their partners during the crisis period and (2) many more do so to rejoin their Greek partners who have left Greece.

In the years preceding the crisis, approximately one out of six migrants left Greece to join their partner abroad. The partner was in most cases a non-Greek national and sustaining the relationship was the main motivation for the migration act.[10] Romantic relationships with non-Greeks continue to underlie migration decisions in the years of the crisis, yet their relative significance has withered. In this period, mixed relationships are primarily an outcome of migration and much less a motivation for it.

Here it should be noted that it was not only the critical aggravation of socio-economic conditions in the country that shaped the increase of emigration during the years of the crisis. The crisis has altered everyday discourse on emigration in the country and loosened up social constraints towards long-distance mobility. In public debates in crisis-driven Greece, emigration has emerged as a sensible strategy to pursue, to better one's life, and mainstream media paints a rather positive image of emigration as an (easy) way out of a wrecked economy and a corrupt and inefficient state.[11] Equally significant changes have happened in terms of how kin and friends react to decisions of friends and relatives to leave. According to

[9]As mentioned, the survey included respondents who had emigrated from Greece from the early 1990s and onward. So the pre-crisis migrants here refer to people who had emigrated from 1990 until 2009 and do not capture the intermarriage patterns of earlier generations.

[10]In the UK, the number of mixed relationships for the pre-crisis migrants was found to be very low so reference here is made primarily to the Netherlands.

[11]The positive presentation of migration at the individual level contrasts with the negative framing of its impact on Greek society and economy at the collective level in a rather ambivalent presentation of emigration, which on the one hand laments the "bleeding" of the nation, and on the other highlights successful cases of Greek emigrants abroad who have made it (Pratsinakis et al. 2017).

the EUMIGRE survey, for the majority of the post-2010 migrants, their social circle was supportive of their decision to emigrate (61%). It was only a small minority (10%) of respondents whose social circle was negative towards their decision to migrate and out of this minority, more than two out of three changed their view over time in favour of the respondents' decision.

Emigration has thus become an option to be considered and many of my informants told me that the presence of friends and/or partners abroad had critically facilitated migration decisions. Thus, following a partner or a romantic affair abroad is much more easily done during the years of the crisis and is often also seen as an opportunity to experience life abroad, and not solely as a step of commitment towards that relationship. Such was the case of Elias who migrated to the Netherlands to stay together with his Dutch then-girlfriend whom he had met in Greece only a few weeks earlier. He was already contemplating the possibility of leaving Greece since his business in Greece was also facing trouble. Following his Dutch girlfriend in the Netherlands seemed to him a good opportunity. Their relationship did not last long but Elias stayed over in the Netherlands and was quite satisfied with his decision to emigrate.

Many more people emigrate together with their Greek partners or with the complete family. According to the data of the EUMIGRE survey, one third of the emigrants who left Greece during the years of the crisis did so together with their partners or with their family. They still form a minority, yet there is a significant increase (75%) in their relative share when compared to the pre-crisis years. The emigration of couples and families thus appears to be an interesting phenomenon of migration during the crisis that merits special attention.

Nikos and Maria were a couple since their university years in Thessaloniki. They finished their studies in a period when the crisis started to deepen in Greece. Maria, who got a degree in engineering, eventually managed to find a job in her hometown and moved out of Thessaloniki. Nikos, who had studied agriculture, preferred to stay in Thessaloniki but was also eventually forced to move to his hometown due to lack of employment in Thessaloniki. In his hometown there were limited opportunities in his field but he could live together with his parents in order to reduce his daily expenses. It appeared very difficult for them to lead an independent life together in Greece. When a friend of Maria informed her about a potential job opportunity in London, they both thought very positively of the potential of moving abroad. Maria went for the interview, got the job offer and a few days later they moved together to London. There Nikos managed to find a temporary job in the service economy and was contemplating furthering his studies.

Many couples like Nikos and Maria emigrated to lead an independent life together abroad. They envisaged and planned staying outside Greece until the situation with the country's economy would get better. Most of them preferred to return to Greece in the longer run and expected that they would start their family life in Greece. At the same time, however, there was a considerable number of families that left Greece in the same period for reasons relating to the wellbeing of their children. Most of them expected and planned to live abroad much longer. In the remainder of this section I focus on those family migrants.

5.2 Migration of Families

One fifth of the total survey sample, or 192 respondents, have children. Of those respondents, the majority had migrated together with the whole family (N = 109) and 31% of them formed their family after migration to the Netherlands or Greater London. Only 3% of them live separately from their children. Hence, according to the data of EUMIGRE survey, it seems that family migration planning from Greece at times of crisis does not often include strategies of risk sharing as stipulated by NELM, with some members of the household staying in the place of origin and others migrating to European destinations. This is further corroborated by the flow of remittances which in accordance to the HO survey is found to be relatively low. Less than 10% of the migrants in the Netherlands and Greater London send money to Greece systematically and 26% on an occasional basis.[12]

Turning to the migration motivations of family migrants, one observes substantial change over time.[13] As seen in Table 1, for the people who left Greece before 2010, the main migration motivation cited was the expectation of finding a job with better remuneration and/or potentials for career advancement. Emigrating to live with their partner was also mentioned as an important reason underlying migration decisions. For the post-2010 migrants, even though expectations for better remuneration and/or potentials for career advancement were also cited as an important migration motivation, the single most commonly cited motivation was "the future of my children". 60% of the respondents who left after 2010

[12]It should be noted that 13% receive money on an occasional manner and 6% systematically.

[13]Percentages do not add up to 100% because respondents were allowed to select up to four motivations.

Table 1 Migration motivations of migrants with children

	Post 2010	1990–2009
The future of my children	**60%**	14%
Better remuneration/potential for career advancement	48%	41%
Seeking for better working conditions	37%	27%
Seeking a better sociopolitical environment	36%	20%
The impact of Crisis in my personal life	30%	–
Disappointment from life in Greece	29%	23%
To live together with my partner	24%	**30%**
Seeking for work in my field of study	15%	**23%**
Ability to be economically independent	12%	**21%**
Looking for an adventure and getting to know a new society	10%	**23%**
Personal freedom	5%	**11%**
Other	3%	4%
Seeking a more tolerant society	3%	4%
Studies	2%	**14%**

Note: From the EUMIGRE survey

mentioned the wellbeing of their children as significant motivation for leaving the country, while only 14% of those who left before 2010 did so. The pre/post crisis differentiation is even sharper if we restrict our attention to those migrants who left *together* with their family in the year of the crisis, 73% of whom selected "the future of my children" as the critical reason to leave Greece.

Interestingly, 71% of the family migrants in the Netherlands and London who left after 2010 do not plan to return to Greece or aim to do so only when they go on pension. Among the respondents without children, only 39% have such long-term settlement plans, while the majority prefers to return to Greece in the medium term or prefers to leave their options open. Overall, it is evident that during the years of the crisis, there is an emerging group of migrant families that take the step of migration while planning a long-term settlement abroad, to a large extent informed by considerations about the wellbeing of their children.[14]

[14]It is interesting to note that only 10% of the family migrants claimed that they would return to Greece so that their children could grow up there. So, for the new family migrants, children are much more often a reason to stay abroad rather than to return to Greece.

Looking at the data more closely, one can discern two subcategories of family migrants in terms of their socioeconomic background: one third of the migrants have lower educational backgrounds and come from middle to low-class families and two thirds of them are people with high educational attainments and often come from more well-off families. Significant differences are observed in terms of the employment trajectories of the people of those two categories. 70% of the people of the former category were unemployed in Greece before migration, while only 25% of the people of the latter category were unemployed. Migrants belonging to the former category also find it much more difficult to access employment in the destination countries with 26% of them being unemployed. Of those who have found work, only 44% earn more than 2200 €, in contrast to 81% of the highly educated category. Finally, there are differences in the types of jobs that they are doing. Those of the lower education category are working in the service economy or doing manual jobs. Most of them used to work as clients in the private sector in Greece or were self-employed. Those with higher education work in (the destination country in) professional and associate professional occupations, in fields of employment similar to those they were working in Greece and often in fields that match their studies.

Despite their differences, however, one issue on which the two categories converge concerns the centrality of considerations about their children in underlying migration decisions. 81% of the lower educated group and 69% of the highly educated group have cited "the future of my children", as a critical motivation for emigrating. 54% of the lower educated group also mentioned the "impact of the crisis in my personal life" as an important reason to take the route of emigration, 38% the expectation for better remuneration and potential for career advancement and 31% simply being able to make ends meet (survival). Among the higher educated group, 51% cited the expectation for better remuneration and potential for career advancement as a migration motivation and only 7% of them cited being able to make ends meet as a reason for migrating.

So, based on the above-cited comparison, one may discern two categories of families leaving Greece. One category comprises people with lower education and middle to low class background driven by an urgent need to restore the socioeconomic life of the family. A central aim of their migration project is to find stable employment to provide their children the material needs that will allow them to progress in life. The other group of family migrants concerns people with higher education who were in a much more secure socioeconomic position in Greece and whose migration is, at least partly, informed by considerations about professional advancement. Similar to the family migrants with lower education, however, they think that leaving Greece is preferable for the wellbeing of their

children and consider destination countries to provide a better socioeconomic environment for their children to live in.

The story of Apostolos and Tina, who left Greece in 2013, is rather illustrative of the migration decision making of the first category of families. Apostolos and Tina emigrated at a time when Tina was pregnant with their first son. It was also a time when their business, a restaurant in the Greek island where they lived, was severely affected by the Greek recession. In Apostolos' words:

> In August 2012, my wife told me that she was pregnant. We were really happy because of that, but at the same time we were sad too. Because, by the end of 2012, we could barely cover the main expenses. I had to choose which expenses to cover, I could not pay off everything… I am still paying off some of those expenses […] Hospitals in the island didn't function properly and most of the doctors were inexperienced. […] Consequently, we had to close down the restaurant and go to another island for a month and the costs for that would be around 5.000 euros. A lot of money… maybe our parents could have helped us. But our future seemed bleak. […] It is not that we had a huge financial problem. However, I thought that in the future things could be even more difficult. I had a little money that I could either invest in Greece or someplace else. I thought that investing in Greece gave no benefit. I would simply lose it. I thus decided to invest them abroad.

According to Apostolos, Tina was also favourable towards leaving Greece. They had visited his brother who had earlier migrated with his family to Vienna and both thought that outside Greece they would have the ability to build their family life under better conditions. Apostolos and Tina decided against going to Vienna because Tina did not speak German and instead opted for the UK since they both spoke English. Apostolos first moved to London which he found too expensive and not a convenient city for a family life, and then he move to Brighton where he was soon joined by Tina. At the time of the interview, they were considering moving further out in the countryside to be able to afford a larger apartment but also to find a space where Apostolos could start his own business in retail after four and a half years working as a waiter in a Greek restaurant. Despite their struggles to make it, Apostolos told me that they were very satisfied. They treated the South East of England as their new home and planned to raise their child there.

Androniki's migration is more resonant with the second category of families leaving Greece. Androniki is an artist who left Greece together with her three-year-old daughter, following her husband who got an offer for a well-paid job in a senior position at a bank in Amsterdam. I first spoke to her a short while after they had settled in the city. She was excited about their move and their new life abroad. In a follow-up conversation, Androniki appeared to be less enthusiastic

about the migration experience at the personal level. She was rather disappointed about her career prospects and was feeling rather lonely having to spend much time alone at home. Her daughter's adaptation to the new sociocultural environment also appeared to be a bit more challenging compared to what she had expected. However, she was convinced that growing up in the Netherlands would be good for her in the longer run. Contrary to Androniki, Natasa, who had taken the lead in the migration of her family, was much more positive. She took the postdoctoral offer in Amsterdam as an opportunity to relocate together with her husband and their four-year-old son, in order to explore the option of settling and building their life there.

6 Conclusion

The data on the new crisis-driven Greek emigration presented in this chapter call into question Engbersen's and Snel's (2013) proposal that we may treat individualisation as a defining characteristic of intra-EU mobility; a proposal that is in agreement with earlier work on migration within Europe (see Favell 2008). Indeed, and contrary to what is proposed by the NELM, migration does not seem to be taking place as an outcome of collective decision-making by extended families or as part of a family plan that involves some members of one household staying in the place of origin and others migrating to European destinations. The EUMIGRE survey shows that the share of Greek migrants in the Netherlands and Greater London who are leaving behind members of the nuclear family in Greece is very low. In addition, the HO study shows that the flow of remittances is also low, a finding further corroborated by the EUMIGRE survey data.

However, and in contrast to the individualisation thesis, the data presented also indicate that many migrants leave Greece driven by a wish for a more secure, predictable and stable live for oneself and one's family, often entailing a longer-term settlement abroad. To be sure, motivations to live abroad for reasons of self-fulfilment and self-exploration, as well as for reasons related to personal freedom, are still relevant especially among certain young single migrants who embrace a lifestyle of mobility. Yet, in line with Bygnes and Erdal's (2017) findings on Polish and Spanish migrants in Norway Pratsinakis et al. (2019), the crisis seems to signal a trend of transition to longer-term settlement for Greek migrants, whereby ongoing mobility is less important and a wish for more grounded lives more prominent. And, as this chapter has shown, that appears to be particularly

the case for couples who emigrate to lead an independent life abroad, as well as for couples with children who emigrate collectively to restore the socioeconomic life of the family and for considerations that pertain to the future of their children.

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From Brain Drain to Brain Gain: New Greek Migration to Canada and Implications for the Community

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Abstract

One of the direct consequences of the current economic crisis in Greece is the emergence of a new emigration wave, especially among young, educated people who are looking abroad for better conditions and opportunities for temporary or permanent relocation. In Canada, one of the traditional centres of the Greek diaspora, new immigration from Greece became particularly visible after 2012 in major urban centres such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. This article presents the findings of a research study that explores the profiles, attitudes, aspirations and experiences of new Greek immigrants in Canada. Through focus groups, interviews and an online survey, completed electronically by approximately 100 newcomers across Canada during the winter of 2017, various aspects of the contemporary Greek immigration experience have emerged, which are quite interesting when compared to the previous Greek Canadian migration between the 1950s and 1970s. Of particular interest are the findings that highlight the variety of reasons behind the newcomers' decision to move to Canada, their overall high educational background, their differing degrees of adaptation to the host country conditions and their contradictory advice to compatriots who are planning to study or settle in Canada.

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1 Introduction

A severe economic crisis has plagued Greece for the past decade. One of its consequences is the exodus of Greeks—predominantly young, educated professionals seeking promising opportunities abroad (Labrianidis and Pratsinakis 2016). Investigations into the resurgence of Greek emigration focus on what is known as "the brain drain" (Cervantes and Guellec 2002; Cavounidis 2015; Lazaretou 2016). Attention to this phenomenon is relevant for both its social and economic ramifications. The departure *en masse* of young, educated adults can be viewed as a detriment to the recovery of the Greek economy and an exacerbation of the country's already serious demographic problem (Alderman 2017; Sievert et al. 2017). At the same time, however, one could argue that the recent wave of migration constitutes a timely boon to the Greek communities of the diaspora.

In Canada, we have witnessed this wave since the early 2010s, most markedly in the metropolises where Greeks established deep roots long ago and "reproduce[ed] familiar institutions from the homeland…to preserve their traditions…" (Panagakos 2003, p. 202). The current influx occurs at a crucial point in the history of the Greek Canadian community, as the number of older Greek Canadians is dwindling. With the passing of individuals who arrived from the 1950s to 1970s and the increasing integration of their descendants into the Anglocentric mainstream, the participation of Greek Canadians in community affairs has waned over the past few decades. Inexorably, the everyday use of the ancestral language has also faded. This shift is evidenced by the declining number of students in Greek heritage language (HL) classes since the 1990s (Aravossitas 2016) and the growing use of English in religious and social spheres. Accordingly, many of the community-based organisations founded by earlier generations have become inactive or unsuccessful in attracting the younger generation, yet it is only through the participation of the youth that the community can remain viable.

Our study examines the potential impact of recent immigration on the Greek Canadian community's efforts to preserve the Greek language and culture. Our hypothesis draws from the Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory (EV) (Giles et al. 1977, 1985) and several language maintenance models (Fishman 1985, 2001; UNESCO 2003; Lo Bianco and Peyton 2013). Language maintenance is believed to be influenced by the ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) of a linguistic minority group, allowing it to behave autonomously and act collectively in the course of intergroup interactions. According to Giles et al. (1977), three main factors affect this vitality: (a) the validity of the group (sociopolitical and economic status), (b)

demographic factors that include the group's population and concentration, and (c) institutional support from official agencies of the host country (e.g., cultural support and minority language instruction in formal education). This hypothesis holds that the more positive a minority group's status is in terms of the above variables, the more likely it is that it will preserve itself as a distinct group in multilingual settings. Exploring the required conditions for language vitality among minority ethnolinguistic groups, Jo Lo Bianco (2008, 2013) developed the Capacity Development, Opportunity Creation and Desire (COD) framework (based on the work of Francois Grin 1990). It proposes (a) the development of the community members' linguistic capacity, (b) the creation of opportunities to use language, and (c) an effort by community members to encourage the active practice of the language.

Guided by these theoretical principles, we explore the impact of the latest flow of Greeks to Canada on the language vitality and maintenance variables. We aim to highlight potential changes to the Community Status, Demographic and Institutional Support (Giles et al. 1977), along with the COD factors (Lo Bianco 2008; Lo Bianco and Peyton 2013) linked to new Greek migration in Canada. While the demographic factor is inevitably affected by the steady influx of recent newcomers (Damanakis et al. 2014), in order to determine how they can influence other community vitality factors, we need to discover the profiles, experiences and attitudes of these individuals in relation to the community. Furthermore, we investigate how the community can serve newcomers' needs and benefit from their presence. Perhaps most importantly, our inquiry gives voice to the new immigrants from Greece. Why did they venture to Canada? What are their challenges and expectations? How do they view established Greek Canadians and their organisations? Through the presentation of primary research findings, we attempt to address the above queries.

Our data were collected through focus groups, interviews and questionnaires completed by 97 Greeks who recently settled in Canada. The research focuses on the following axes: (a) demographic profile (gender, age, marital status, place of origin, occupation, and educational level); (b) the immigration process and degree of adaptation to Canadian society; (c) educational data, and (d) contact with Greek Canadians and their institutions. Of particular interest are the reasons for immigration, conditions and challenges of settlement, and advice to compatriots planning to study or settle in Canada. Equally significant are perspectives on the retention of the Hellenic identity, traditions and language in the diaspora. A final section concerns the role of Greek language education in the integration of immigrant students and the effect of these newcomers on the dynamics within HL classrooms.

2 Greek Migration to Canada and a Profile of the Community

Canada is essentially a nation of immigrants. Since the 1960s, the population has burgeoned with the widening of the gates to admit individuals from non-traditional sources, that is, from regions besides Western Europe. In 1971, Canada embraced the ideology of multiculturalism by underscoring the core value of diversity—as opposed to assimilation. In 1982, the policy was enshrined in the Constitution through the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms.* Then in 1988, it became an official policy to preserve the distinctive ethnocultural identities of a myriad of groups comprising the "Canadian mosaic", a term coined by J.M. Gibbon (1938) 80 years ago. While the mosaic discourse can be criticised as a semblance of harmonious inclusiveness designed to appease ethnocultural minorities, substantial public funding was allocated in the 1970s for the construction of cultural centres and the creation of community programmes and HL classes (Cummins and Danesi 1990; Duff 2008). Today, immigrants represent more than 20% of the nation's total population: the highest proportion among the G8 countries (Statistics Canada 2016). Albeit a relatively small strand in Canada's immigration history, migration from Greece is worth examining in light of the recent exodus and the unique resilience of the Greek identity across several generations.

Estimated at more than four million, Greeks who emigrated from or were born outside Greece to Greek parent(s) can be found in the United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa and many other countries home to the Greek/Hellenic diaspora (n.d.), one of the world's most archetypal diasporas (Clogg 1999). The *2011 Canada Census* indicates that 242,960 individuals in Canada claim full or partial Greek ethnicity (Statistics Canada 2011). However, in 1911, when the U.S. was the favoured destination, only 3650 Greeks resided in Canada, mainly in Montreal and Toronto (Library and Archives Canada 2017). To overcome social barriers, the Greeks who arrived in the early 20th century tended to concentrate where their compatriots had already settled (Vlassis 1953; Chimbos 1999). Racialised because of their sun-tanned complexions, most of them were poor, less educated and subject to blatant xenophobia (Panagakos 2006). As very few of the first wave spoke English or French, initial employment was customarily found within the Greek social environment. Through numerous social events and the establishment of their own churches, small businesses and organisations, these early immigrants developed a sense of belonging. Their cohesiveness paved the way for formal Greek Canadian community organisations.

After the Second World War, approximately 2,000,000 Greeks left their country, and between 1945 and 1971, almost 110,000 Greeks arrived in Canada (Historica Canada 2017). When the military dictatorship collapsed in 1974 and democracy was restored, a flow of "return migration" occurred. Imbued with hope for a new era of prosperity and stability, many Greek Canadians returned to their homeland. By the 1980s, Greek immigration to Canada had slowed down considerably. Then, during the 1990s, Greece began receiving large inflows of migrants who were encouraged by the country's participation in the European Union; Southern Europe eventually became a permanent destination by the end of the 20th century (King 2000). However, a few years later, a global economic crisis devastated the Greek economy, prompting an exodus once again (Sakellaropoulos 2010; Kalyvas 2015).

The Hellenic Statistical Authority reports that the number of Greeks who left Greece skyrocketed after 2009: 43,322 in 2010, 62,961 in 2011 and 87,889 in 2012 (Lakasas 2016). Many individuals who already held Canadian citizenship or permanent residency status crossed the Atlantic once more, offering new blood to the Hellenic Canadian *paroikia* or sojourning (Arvanitis 2000). Damanakis et al. (2014) estimate that approximately 200,000 Greeks migrated to more economically stable countries, including Canada, between 2010 and 2014. Several of the Greeks who moved to Canada since the beginning of the crisis (after 2008–2009) are also Canadian citizens. Thus, the exact dimensions of the latest influx are unclear. However, based on official government data, the number of new immigrants, foreign workers and students from Greece rose dramatically between 2008 and 2012 compared to the previous five-year period (Constantinides 2014; Canadian Magazine of Immigration 2016). In Manitoba, with a previous Greek origin population of approximately 5000, there were more than 1200 immigration applications from Greece in 2013 alone (Sanders 2013). This surge can be attributed to support from the local Greek community and the provincial government through the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (Hellenic Immigrant Initiative 2017).

In terms of the community's ethnolinguistic future, the migratory wave of the 2010s began at a critical time. According to the *Canada 2011 Census,* when measured against various other European minority groups, Greek Canadians have among the strongest mother tongue retention rates—even in the second generation. In total, among 111,405 individuals who note Greek as their mother tongue, 64,705 are first generation, 40,705 are second generation and 5995 are third generation (Jedwab 2014). For the third generation plus group, out of 23,915 individuals in 2006, less than 10% report Greek as their mother tongue even though more than 20% claim knowledge of the language. The *2011 Census* also reveals that 41.5% of Canadian-born individuals of Greek descent who learned Greek

before learning English or French still use it within the home. In total numbers, of the 108,925 who declare Greek as their mother tongue, 45,255 use it most frequently at home (Jedwab 2014). At first glance, these figures may not seem a cause for alarm. However, by the 2000s, the erosion of language retention was palpable: the natural result of interwoven influences. The immigration flow from Greece to Canada had subsided by the 1990s, and a steady decline in community group membership affected enrolment in HL schools (Constantinides 2001). Also, the number of marriages and common-law unions outside the ethnic/HL community began to soar. Generally, such interethnic unions can constitute a contributing factor in non-official language loss (Houle 2011).

In this context, the community's efforts to maintain an education system facilitating the trans-generational transfer of language and cultural traditions are notable. A serious attempt to map the Greek language education system in Canada has begun, alongside the new migratory wave from Greece (Aravossitas 2014, 2016). At its initial stage, this community action research project has revealed possibilities and problems related to the cultivation and perpetuation of the Greek language and culture. For instance, in recent years, several institutions that previously attempted to coordinate community initiatives have dissolved, become relatively inactive (e.g., World Council of Hellenes Abroad, Hellenic Canadian Congress) or are currently facing major challenges arising from internal conflicts (The Greek Press 2016; Pelley 2017).

3 Methodology

Our research was conducted over the first six months of 2017 through the collaboration of Modern Greek Studies programmes at the University of Toronto and York University, the Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies at the University of Crete and the Pedagogical Department of Primary Education at the University of the Aegean.

The first phase included two focus groups meetings (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990) held in Toronto in January and February 2017. Aimed at identifying newcomers from Greece and formulating a questionnaire, these focus groups included newcomers, co-researchers and representatives of community institutions. During the focus groups, through semi-structured interviews, we developed relevant questions to outline the profile, the migration experience and the views of the newcomers towards the Greek Canadian community. One important finding was the identification of two distinct groups of newcomers: those who came to Canada "unofficially" on a tourist visa and those who came "officially" on a work visa,

study permit or with permanent resident status. For the purpose of our research, we decided to focus only on the second group. Another researcher conducted a study on the first group.

We then designed a three-part questionnaire. The first set of questions focussed on the profile of the newcomers: gender, age, level of education, knowledge of foreign language, family, place of residence in Greece and employment condition prior to emigrating. The second section included questions regarding the migration and settlement experience: reasons for selecting Canada, challenges upon arrival, current employment or studies, and views about their migration and life in Canada. Questions in the last section addressed interaction with the community, specifically their level of satisfaction with the support received from community services, friends and/or relatives. We also asked participants to comment on community organisations and the maintenance of the heritage language and identity among Greek Canadians they had met. A separate questionnaire was designed for Greek language educators. It was disseminated to Greek language schools/programmes in Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, Manitoba and British Columbia. Its central purpose was to collect data on the approximate number of newcomers among the Greek language students and teachers in Canada. It further aimed to collect the opinions of teachers on how newcomers can be integrated into their heritage language classrooms and benefit from the experience.

The questionnaires were posted online on the SurveyMonkey platform (Denscombe 2014). To ensure validity and privacy, we adhered to all survey best practices that are standard in social science research. Additionally, anonymity was safeguarded during the recording, processing and storage of the data. Links to the questionnaires were posted on social media, mainly on Facebook pages. Information about the study and its parameters was provided to various community groups, including the recognised Greek community organisations of Toronto, London, Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver. We asked the administrators to promote the questionnaire link only to recent newcomers from Greece.

Initially, due to the newcomers' scattered dispersal and limited involvement in established community organisations, one immediate challenge was to find willing participants. Understandably, a degree of suspicion existed regarding confidentiality, since some newcomers lack the security of permanent resident status or a work permit. The difficulty of reaching participants without a social media presence was overcome somewhat by organising focus group meetings. In some cases, we found participants through the snowball method and randomly in cafés, restaurants, shopping malls and areas frequented by Greeks. Finally, another obstacle came from community organisations that refused to inform their members about the study.

4 Research Findings

4.1 Demographics and the Migration Experience

Overall, the questionnaire was completed by 97 individuals: 51 women and 46 men. Most participants (70%) are between 30 and 49 years old, 17% under 30 and 13% older than 50. As for their marital status upon arrival, 39% of the participants declared themselves as single, and those with at least one child at the time comprised 45%; 24 participants moved to Canada alone, 10 with a parent/parents, 19 with a spouse/partner, 16 with a spouse/partner and one child, 20 with a spouse/partner and two children, 5 with a spouse/partner and three children, and 3 with one child/children but without a spouse/partner. Regarding their place of residence in Greece, the overwhelming majority of the sample came from urban areas with the following geographical distribution: 43% Athens/Attica, 17% Macedonia and Thrace, 14% the Aegean/Ionian islands, 12% Peloponnese, 10% Thessaly and 4% from other regions of central Greece.

In terms of education and professional status, the majority arrived with an advanced level of education: 62% with a university or college degree and approximately 33% with a postgraduate degree. Of those postgraduate respondents, 21 have a master's degree (22%) and 11 a doctorate (11.5%). Also, 27% of the participants have completed secondary school, while 11% have had some form of basic technical education. Concerning their recent professions in Greece, 26% declare that they were unemployed, 10% semi-employed, 18% freelancers, 14% civil servants, 13% private employees, 7% entrepreneurs, 11% students, and 1% pensioners. Interestingly, 97% of the respondents speak English proficiently and 9% speak French.

Clearly, the new wave of Greek migration corresponds to the escalation of Greece's economic crisis (2010–2017). When asked about the year of their relocation to Canada, only 10% of the respondents reported that they arrived before 2010: 3% in 2011, 11% in 2012, 25% in 2013, 15% in 2014, 11% in 2015, 20% in 2016 and 3% in the first quarter of 2017. An array of push and pull factors led to their decision to leave. The majority emigrated to find work (50 answers). Other motivations include a better future (20), higher education (19), their children's studies (16), insecurity about Greece's economic future (10), financial support for relatives and/or friends in Greece (10), and personal problems (7).

As for the reasons that steered them to Canada rather than other countries, 45% note Canada's good living conditions and 44% specify its work conditions. Other respondents mention their English language skills (41%), Canadian citizenship (35%) and numerous job prospects (30%). Having a family member with

Canadian citizenship was another decisive factor (26%). Additionally, some newcomers were attracted by Canada's high standard of education (24%), good social programs (22%) and the support of relatives/friends (17%). Finally, 15% state that it is "simply easier to immigrate to Canada than to other countries."

More than two-thirds of the participants reside in Ontario (69%), followed by Manitoba (18%), Alberta (6%), British Columbia (5%) and Quebec (2%). However, these percentages do not reflect the exact distribution of Greek newcomers across Canada. For example, according to personal observations by colleagues in Montreal, a significant number of new Greek immigrants have settled in Quebec. Unfortunately, it was not possible to include a proportional number of those newcomers in this study. The most common reasons for selecting a particular region/province are the following: family/friends in the area (42%), a firm job offer (27%), good living conditions (24%), job search potential (22%), education opportunities (19%), and the presence of other Greeks (10%).

Regarding their degree of adjustment, most participants view the experience positively, as 17% declare an "excellent" adjustment, 55% "very good", and 22% "so-so". Only 3% report "not good". As for difficulties during their initial settlement, the three most frequent responses are: adaptation to the climate (48%), adaptation to local social conditions and Canadian lifestyle (40%), and adaptation to professional conditions (30%). Other challenges include recognition of professional qualifications (27%), the immigration process (24%), professional exploitation (20%), communication difficulties (19%), insecurity (18%), isolation (18%), psychological problems (10%) and racism (10%).

In response to a question about their current employment status in Canada, most respondents (59%) state that they are in full-time employment; 12% are working part-time; 15% are studying, 12% are job seeking, and 2% are focussing on improving their English or French. Furthermore, the majority express an intention/expectation to reside permanently in Canada (57%), while (36%) are still undecided. For individuals who intend to stay temporarily, ten specify "until the situation in Greece improves." Four individuals predict 5–10 years. Three say 3–5 years. Only one participant plans to stay for 1–2 years, and one specifies "until the completion of studies."

4.2 Opinions About Migrating to Canada

The next section of the questionnaire includes open-ended questions inviting participants to advise compatriots considering immigration to Canada. Of the 71 total answers, three general attitudes emerge: (a) positive, (b) negative and sceptical, and (c) restrained but realistic.

(a) Positive or very positive responses comprise 30%, with comments including the following: “Do it without a second thought”, “One of the best countries of the world”, “Excellent choice as long as expectations are realistic” and “There’s a lot of potential in this country.”
(b) Negative or relatively negative answers are offered by 20% of the respondents. A few remarks are quite negative: “You need a strong stomach” and “Look first at another European country.” One respondent cautions that “without a work permit, it’s better not to come.” Medical professionals stress the arduous struggle to re-establish their careers. Some of the negative advice reflects scepticism, with comments such as “Work-home-work”. One respondent states that “the mentality and the way of life here are completely different from Greece.” Others complain about the demand for Canadian experience and warn compatriots about Greek Canadian employers: “Do not rely on Greeks for work because there’s a lot of exploitation.”
(c) Approximately 50% of the participants are restrained in their advice, as if trying not to disappoint potential immigrants while also preparing them for the grim realities. One newcomer advises, “Be prepared for jobs not related to your field at the beginning, have a safe amount of money to face the costs in the first few months and be ready to start from absolute zero.” According to another respondent, “[Canada] is a country with respect for people and a good education system, but don’t expect to find paradise.” Several comments include the importance of patience, perseverance and preparation, which includes learning the language well, being psychologically prepared for everything, and researching beyond personal contacts. Other newcomers stress flexibility and “forget[ting] the Greek mentality”.

4.3 Newcomers and Canada’s Education System

Of the newcomers who participated in the survey, many (54%) have first-hand knowledge of the Canadian education system: 48% had already experienced higher education in Canada, 39% primary, 25% secondary and 9% continuing education and vocational training. Comparing the systems of the two countries, one third of the participants assert that education in Greece is superior. About half (48%) consider Canada’s education to be better, while 18% perceive the quality of the two systems to be at the same level. Specific comments are wide-ranging. Whereas one respondent argues that elementary education in Greece

outshines that of Canada, another states that in terms of organisation, the schools in Greece are worse. One newcomer parent observes, "Education in Canada is more humane. Children really learn through interdisciplinary approaches, games and art." Other parents highlight the Canadian focus on skills development that "will help the child in later life".

About 19% of participants are currently studying: ten at the undergraduate level, five at postgraduate, two in college and one in high school. Regarding their choice of discipline in Canada, among 26 students or imminent students, eight are focusing on science/technology (engineering, architecture, information technology), six on humanities (education, philology, criminology), six on health sciences and six on business administration or economics. Pertaining to problems in their studies in Canada, most participants mention the steep tuition fees, obstacles in receiving recognition of their education in Greece, and difficulty in accessing certain university programmes (medicine, dentistry). Some newcomers also note the need to adapt to the teaching and assessment methods of Canadian universities, while only a few prioritise language as an issue.

We also solicited their advice to Greeks contemplating the pursuit of a post-secondary education in Canada. Thirty-five percent of respondents offer very encouraging comments, such as the following: "In my area of study, I recommend Canadian universities unreservedly." One individual adds that albeit "very demanding", studying in Canada is "worth the effort and sacrifices". On the other hand, 15% of the participants hold negative opinions, particularly regarding exorbitant tuition fees and "minimal recognition of Greek qualifications". A third category of responses, comprising 50%, are relatively positive but offer constructive advice. One individual cautions, "Carefully select a programme and get in touch with professors first." Others underscore the importance of advanced language skills, relevant work experience while studying—and Canadian citizenship in order to get student loans. The overarching message is the importance of intensive research.

Lastly, we asked whether Greece's education system had prepared them for Canadian post-secondary institutions. While 71% answer positively and 29% negatively, both sides provide revealing comments, including the following: "In Greece the level of study at lyceum [high schools] is much higher and demanding, so it's all easier in Canada" and "Subjects are taught differently here: more multiple choice, less problem solving." Generally, most of the participants feel fairly confident about their abilities to adjust to Canadian academia.

4.4 Social Relations and Attitudes Towards the Community

An overwhelming number of participants (95%) reside in or near an area with an established Greek community, yet only 75% feel a need to socialise with Greek Canadians. Regarding assistance received in the early days of settlement, 73% of the participants have relatives and friends in Canada, and the majority (59%) are generally satisfied with the support they have received from them: 31% are "absolutely satisfied" and 28% "satisfied"; 19% are "not satisfied", while 22% answered "so-so".

As for their views on the Greek Canadians they have met, 14% find them "similar to their compatriots in Greece", whereas 78% contend that they are "very different from the Greeks in Greece", and 8% claim that they have not met a sufficient number of Greek Canadians to provide an informed opinion. A recurring comment is that Greek Canadians are reminiscent of Greek villagers of several decades ago. As one participant puts it, "The generation of those who came to Canada in the 1960s–1970s [the majority] have remained, socially, at that time." Others assert that only some young Greek Canadians are similar to their peers in Greece, while most older Greek Canadians have social habits and mindsets frozen in the past: "a mix of the 1960s Greeks with Canadian influences". The salient observation about Greek Canadian children is that their Canadian upbringing has distanced them from the Greek language and culture and current issues in Greece.

Finally, some newcomers report disturbingly negative attitudes from older Greek Canadians, as indicated by the following: "Unfortunately, the old people—not all of them—throw the whole problem of Greece to the young people and blame them openly." Another participant remarks, "The immigrants of the 50s and 60s have no relation to my own generation. The basic reasons for migrating may be the same, but people are different." A third newcomer adds, "We are treated like lazy people, like those who destroyed Greece. Others feel sorry for us like we are beggars who ask for alms."

Regarding the degree of preservation of the Greek identity in Canada, 3% say "excellent", 34% "very good", 45% "so-so", 14% "not so good", and 4% "not good at all". Although some credit was given to efforts of the language schools and cultural associations to keep the Greek identity alive, the dominant opinion is that the community itself is too conservative, too attached to the church, and thus fractured and unappealing to the youth, especially children from mixed marriages who "find it difficult to grasp their Greek identity". As one participant states, "The Greek community is mainly controlled by seniors, while the younger ones

do not use the [Greek] language." Other respondents claim that "everything is all under the umbrella of the church…" and that "the old Greek customs…have been preserved, but there's a gap between different generations."

Almost half (49%) of the participants seem to be impressed by the community's attempts to perpetuate Greek traditions through various cultural activities. One person argues that "Greek customs are preserved better in Canada than in Greece." Even so, our data also include some bluntly critical comments, suggesting that only superficial touristic aspects of the culture are being promoted by Greek Canadians. As one respondent sarcastically puts it, "More than anything else, it's the Greek cuisine that is well maintained, however."

When asked how well the Greek language has been preserved by Greeks in Canada, 3% state "excellent", 23% "very good", 40% "so-so", 29% "not so good", 5% "not good at all". The general observation is that the younger (third and fourth) generations have lost contact with and/or interest in the language. One respondent notes that "when children do not hear Greek spoken in the home daily", they tend to "mix up English and Greek words". Another participant adds, "Greek school does not work properly because teachers born and raised in Canada often do not know how to speak the language very well themselves." Also mentioned is the growing number of families with only one parent of Greek descent, as expressed by the following: "Unfortunately, mixed couples and Greek Canadians beyond the second generation do not communicate in Greek almost at all; they use a few Greek words here and there."

According to the data, 51% of the participants have already interacted with the organised Greek community: 51% with a Greek community centre, 31% a Greek school, 30% a Greek Orthodox church, 13% Greek cultural associations, 10% Greek media, and 4% Greek professional clubs. Overall, when asked about their level of satisfaction with the operation of those organisations, most newcomers have a moderately positive to mediocre image of them, and 22% offer negative criticism. One respondent concedes that these community organisations are making an effort to transmit Hellenic culture under difficult circumstances: "Taking into account the conditions under which they are required to work, they do a pretty good job, but the lack of contact with the centre of interest, Greece, as well as major communication problems within the organisation are considerable obstacles." Other participants mention "leaders concerned with their personal interests", the redundancy of certain clubs and organisations, and the "need for new blood and new technologies to reduce the impact of geographical isolation".

Commenting on the Greek language schools, one newcomer claims that a school housed in a church basement is "unacceptable in the 21st century".

Another recurring complaint is the church's involvement in "operational issues of the school". As one respondent states, "There are always conflicts between community organisations; the conflict between community and church divides the Greek Canadians." The last comment alludes to a recent development in Toronto where the local Greek community filed a lawsuit against the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Toronto, its metropolitan (i.e., archbishop), four priests and other individuals connected with the church community, accusing them, among other allegations, of corruption (Pelley 2017).

Despite their concerns, newcomers tend to have a relatively positive to lukewarm impression of the Greek Canadian community, as just over 20% hold a markedly negative opinion, while 28% state "very good" and 50% report "so-so". As for the negative views, some participants remark that the community is "like a coffeehouse" and that the jealousy and conflicts among community members impede unity. As for the positive feedback, one participant notes, "They are striving for the best on a voluntary basis." Another adds, "I find their events very satisfactory and I am glad that the Greek tradition is not lost."

In reflections on interactions with the community, some comments emerge in defence of the older Greek Canadians, including the following:

> I disagree with the mentality of many new immigrants that the Greek community is obliged to help them. This mentality creates normal reactions for members of the community who, when they had migrated in the past, faced many more problems than [today's] young immigrants. They did not know the language…and they had to fight literally to survive. Newcomers [today] have the advantage of speaking the [English] language. They are highly educated, and they use perfectly the new technologies.

When invited to suggest community services to facilitate their adjustment, the participants mention the basics that would apply to any newcomer: the importance of reliable, detailed pre-arrival information regarding the workplace, legal services, housing, schools, the tax system, health care, and the attendant bureaucracy. One individual proposes special group health insurance coverage for newcomers and professional translation of documents. As for specific help from the Greek Canadian community, a recurring response is the need for job search and networking assistance, specifically introductions to Greek Canadians with workplace connections. According to some of the participants, their established compatriots have failed to offer the warm welcome, solidarity and support that they had anticipated.

4.5 Newcomers and Greek Language Education

The arrival of new immigrants from Greece is most noticeable within the HL schools, since many newcomers are already employed as teachers in community programmes. Indeed, in the case of the Greek Community of Toronto, as confirmed by the Director of Education (personal interview, 22. October 2017), the proportion of teachers who are newcomers exceeds 45%, and the newcomer students comprise nearly 15% of the approximately 1000 students.

In this study, 25 non-newcomer participants who teach Greek in 12 different schools/programmes across Canada completed a questionnaire on the presence of newcomers in their classes. Of these 25 teachers, 30% report that these newcomer learners have varying degrees of difficulty integrating into the Canadian public school system. While the younger children seem to adapt smoothly, some adolescents tend to have challenges in making new friends, adapting to unfamiliar teaching methods, and coping with more abstract subjects, including humanities, English literature and social sciences. Conversely, most of these older students feel comfortable with mathematics and advanced technologies.

Only the Hellenic Community of Edmonton and Region has created a separate intensive class for newcomer children. According to the school administrators, students (15 at the time of the study) born in Greece are taught exclusively in Greek. One rationale for this grouping is that it serves to empower the learners dealing with integration problems in the Canadian school environment. Immigrant children have an opportunity to participate actively in the community's cultural events and especially in Greek school celebrations in which they are assigned more linguistically demanding roles, such as delivering speeches. Despite a few minor adjustment issues initially, Edmonton's HL teachers agree that the arrival of students from Greece not only created a surge in 2017 enrolments, but also contributes to a more dynamic learning atmosphere.

The policy of separate classes for newcomers is also supported by 40% of the teacher respondents in other regions of Canada. Their main justification is the "huge" discrepancy between the newcomers' language level and that of their Greek Canadian peers. Some of the HL teachers in this study claim that multilevel classes could be excessively challenging for most third or fourth generation students and boring for children of recent immigrants. They maintain that the disparities in language levels within the same class, albeit beneficial for Canadian-born students, do not help newcomer students' progress or sustain their momentum. On the other hand, the central argument of teachers who promote integration is that wide deviations in proficiency levels already exist in their

HL classes. Hence, the presence of children from Greece in the same classroom as Canadian-born students enhances overall listening and speaking skills. When asked about social problems in interactions between children from Greece and Canadian-born peers, the teachers report a natural wariness at first, but no serious concerns.

Regarding the attitude of new immigrant parents toward Greek community schools in Canada, most teachers agree that even though the parents display interest in their children's Greek language development, their chief priority is their children's adjustment to the Canadian education system. When invited to propose ways to improve newcomers' integration in HL programmes, most of the teacher participants recommend that the Greek language education of immigrant children include curriculum materials produced in Greece in order to maintain continuity in the development of language skills.

Finally, some of the teachers in this study believe that Greek schools should help newcomers understand the curriculum of their "morning school". As one teacher expresses it: "Having someone next to them speaking Greek encourages the newcomer students and relieves [their] parents of the stress and the sense of despair that most of them feel as they have to adjust to a much different education system in Canada."

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Conducted in 2017, this study presents the results of mixed methods of data collection on the recent immigration flow from Greece to Canada. Admittedly, our research regarding the newcomers' backgrounds and migrating experiences is based on a sample of only 97 participants, most of whom reside in Toronto and surrounding municipalities. Hence, other geographical regions of Canada are underrepresented. We further acknowledge that we did not determine whether any of the respondents had spent a significant portion of their childhood in Canada. Although our sample is not a precise cross-section from which we can draw blanket conclusions about Greek newcomers and their views, our findings suggest that the new influx of immigrants from Greece supports all three factors of the Greek EV in Canada (Giles et al. 1977, 1985), as it: (a) increases the Greek-speaking population in the country; (b) adds a significant percentage of highly educated individuals to the community, thus strengthening the sociopolitical and economic validity of the group, and (c) contributes a necessary body of teachers and students to the community's heritage language education system, facilitating the

improvement of the group's institutional support for the preservation of the heritage language and culture beyond the crucial stage of the third generation (Alba et al. 2002).

Through discussions with community leaders across Canada, we discovered that all major Greek communities in Canada report hundreds of new members over the past decade. However, the majority of them are not listed officially as newcomers but as returning Canadian citizens, since they come primarily from families who immigrated to Canada in the 1960s and early 1970s, repatriated to Greece after the collapse of the military dictatorship, and then returned to Canada after 2007 as a result of the economic crisis. Ostensibly, the arrival of newcomers may not be considered phenomenal, as the influx has not increased the community's population by more than 3%. The number of Greek Canadians is still estimated to be between 250,000 and 350,000 (Statistics Canada 2011, 2016; SAE 2017). Even so, the increase is significant, as it offers new blood to the community and stabilises its population at a time when many of the older Greeks who arrived 50 to 60 years ago are passing away.

The community status factor may also be affected by the new migration wave, although this is not quite evident yet. Our findings suggest that the majority of newcomers are highly educated, and if they integrate smoothly, they will definitely benefit the Greek community's structures and sociocultural profile. Their influence is more apparent in terms of the institutional support factor, particularly in community schools and language programs. Newcomer students already comprise 7% of the total Greek language students in the community schools that participated in our study. More impressively, in Toronto, where the majority of Greek Canadians live, the Greek Community reports that almost half of its Greek language teachers are newcomers.

In accordance with the COD framework (Lo Bianco 2008, 2013), our study gives credence to the notion that recent immigrants from Greece contribute to the development of the community's linguistic capacity through their daily interactions with Greek Canadians, as many of these newcomers serve as educators in Greek language programmes and have begun to participate in community functions and organisations (Greek schools, cultural events, community social media, etc.). Thus, they are creating more opportunities and indirect encouragement for the active practice of the language by Greek Canadians of all generations.

Furthermore, what emerges from the current study is a wealth of candid comments to add to the existing body of research on Greek migration to Canada in the 21st century. In contrast to Greeks of previous waves (Chimbos 1986, 1999; Gavaki 1979; Nagata 1969; Tamis and Gavaki 2002; Tastsoglou 1997), the recent immigrants are not hindered by a major language obstacle or limited education.

In fact, despite their frustrations with the recognition of their credentials, most of the participants feel that the Greek education system prepared them adequately to meet the standards of Canadian universities and workplaces. Similar to their counterparts in the 1950s through to the 1970s, the vast majority of today's Greek newcomers are driven by the economic impetus, and they choose to settle in the larger urban centres for better job prospects and proximity to friends and relatives (Vlassis 1953; Chimbos 1980). Interestingly, however, despite the tendency to settle close to areas with a visible Greek element (e.g., Toronto's Danforth neighbourhood, known officially as "Greektown"), many of the participants do not feel the expected need to become immersed in formal institutions of the diasporic community in Canada (Liodakis 1998).

Unlike the Greeks who arrived half a century ago, today's newcomers seem to maintain a cautious attitude towards the organised Greek community. In fact, many of them are openly critical of what they perceive as conservatism, tight affiliation with the Greek Orthodox Church—and a superficial romanticisation of the past. In some cases, their comments echo those of Anastasia Panagakos (2006), who suggests that many first generation Greek Canadians try to mitigate feelings of loss and displacement by constructing an idealised narrative of the homeland and nurturing feelings of nostalgia and patriotism in their children. Many of the respondents feel somewhat alienated from the Greeks who arrived several decades ago. Whereas most of the early Greek immigrants were unilingual and came from rural areas, most of today's newcomers hail from cosmopolitan cities, have a high education level and speak English and/or French proficiently. They tend to assess their lives in Canada realistically, not as a sojourn but as a fairly long-term solution leading to improved career opportunities for themselves and their children.

It is encouraging that many newcomers who were educators in Greece are already employed as teachers by Greek community schools in Canada. Similarly, some newcomer children are participating extensively in Greek language programmes. Fifty years ago, Greek Orthodox churches served as physical focal points. Today, it is conceivable that secular HL schools, led by newcomer teachers and students, could become major hubs for connecting disparate members of the Greek diaspora in Canada. In fact, the HL teachers in this study assert that the presence of new students enhances the Greek Canadian community both demographically and qualitatively, thus contributing to the transgenerational transmission of the Greek language and culture. Most of the teachers realise that third and fourth generation Greek Canadian students benefit significantly from learning Greek naturally by socialising with peers who have arrived recently. And for the newcomer students themselves, it is advantageous, intellectually and emotionally,

to communicate in Greek in both formal and informal contexts. Moreover, computer technology, including social media, has enabled HL classrooms in Canada to connect with sister classes in various corners of the Greek diaspora (Skourtou 2002; Aravossitas 2014; Kourtis-Kazoullis et al. 2014).

In general, the newcomers differ significantly from previous waves because they grew up in the era of modern technology which has shortened geographical distances, blurred national boundaries and facilitated transnational activity. Greek immigrants residing in smaller, less ethnically diverse cities of Canada can feel connected to Greek relatives, friends and even strangers in a globalised Hellenic community (Byers and Tastsoglu 2008; Panagakos 2003). They are all just a click away. Given its limitlessness, cyberspace has become an exciting new space for community activities, support networks and the formation of hybrid, transnational identities (Nevradakis 2011). The participants in this study reinforce the notion that today's newcomers do not require the familiarity of a physical meeting place to express and renegotiate their Hellenic identity.

Considering the diasporic community's state of transition, recent arrivals from the homeland can play a pivotal, revitalising role as long as they are willing to engage in meaningful, constructive conversations with individuals who are already rooted in Canada. Greek Canadians and recent newcomers have much to learn from each other. One of the participants candidly states, in reference to Greek Canadians: "Most of them have nothing to do with Greece. They *think* they do." However, preconceived ideas may exist on both sides. If recent arrivals could somehow go beyond the organised community institutions and connect deeply with more individual Greek Canadians of various generations—beginning with ones who share their interests and outlooks—their interactions could be mutually transformative.

Perhaps by sharing their unique oral histories, newcomers from Greece and Canadians who self-identify as "Greek" can begin to appreciate the multi-layered nature of human experience. The diasporic Greek identity, like any diasporic identity, is complex, conflicted and amorphous. It is constantly being reshaped by a number of intersecting influences, including socioeconomic class, family circumstances, political ideology and age upon arrival (Damanakis 2007, 2010; Damanakis et al. 2014). Certainly, not all members of the first generation are insular, attached to the patriarchal Greek Orthodox church and fixated on idyllic images of their ancestral villages. In fact, many of the Greeks who arrived in the early 1970s were open-minded dissidents and intellectuals with an aversion to stereotypical displays of *souvlaki* and worry beads at "ethnic" festivals: that is, festivals that reinforce the "Otherness" of Canadians who do not quite conform

to the Anglo-American standard against which the social construct of ethnicity is measured.

Hopefully, members of the old guard who feel threatened by change could see their community flourish in innovative directions by embracing the participation of large numbers of newcomers. A glimmer of hope is already evident in the education system, from kindergarten to the tertiary level. Modern technology and more creative, student-centred methodologies have brought HL classes into the 21st century, inspiring the Greek Canadian youth to think of Greek school as something "cool" (Aravossitas 2010). Additionally, some Canadian universities have established robust Modern Greek and Hellenic Studies programmes and cultural exchanges (Gallant 2006; Aravossitas 2016). Encouraging newcomers to take the lead in Greek classes in Canada and bringing Hellenism outside the elitist confines of academia into the larger Canadian society could rejuvenate the existing community, injecting it with creative energy, multi-faceted perspectives, and authentic knowledge of today's Greece.

Although Greece is still in a precarious economic condition and has witnessed the departure of some of its brightest citizens, the current brain drain does not have to be viewed as irreversible and dire. Given the flexibility afforded by bilingualism, dual citizenship and high speed Internet, it is increasingly feasible to move back and forth freely between Greece and Canada. Endless potential exists for transnational activity that could benefit both the homeland and the Greek Canadian diaspora economically, socially and culturally. Moreover, love for Greece does not preclude love for Canada. Push and pull factors will always exist. However, in this globalised world, minority communities in Canada can feel empowered—instead of marginalised—by their multiple cultural identities and the languages inextricably intertwined with those identities. Since language retention is a marker of ethnic retention (Tamis 2009), perpetuating the Greek language in Canada, with the input of young newcomers from Greece, could be a mode of resistance against assimilation into the Anglo-Canadian mainstream. Indeed, the arrival of Greeks over the past decade could play an indispensable role in enhancing the Greek Canadian community's ethnolinguistic vitality.

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New Migrations from Greece to Germany in Times of the Financial Crisis: Biographical Research Perspectives

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Abstract

The article focuses on the new migrations from Greece to Germany in times of the financial crisis. In the first part of the article, the structural conditions of the new migration phenomena since 2009 will be compared with the so-called "guest workers" migration from Greece to Germany during the 1960s. In the second part of the article, a case study from a research project on new migration processes to Germany will be presented, focusing on biographical perspectives. It will be shown that the biographical research perspective is particularly well-suited to the empirical investigation of new migrations, because it offers a way of empirically capturing the diversity and complexity of migration phenomena through reconstructive biographical analysis. Thus, the subjective dimension of action and the competencies of the so-called "newcomers" can be examined as ways of coping with crises in the process of migration, and the dynamics of the new migrations can be investigated. In the last part of the article, the thesis will be discussed, that in the context of the financial crisis, new migration forms and family networks are constituted as transnational social support, in which transmigration (Glick Schiller et al. 1992) becomes established as a way of life through transgenerational subject practices.

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1 Introduction

In this article, I will present some results of an explorative qualitative research project on new migrations from Greece to Germany in times of the financial crisis. I will start with some general remarks on the new migrations from Greece to Germany. I focus especially on the structural conditions of new migration phenomena since 2009, in contrast to the labour migration and the guest workers migration from Greece to Germany, which took place during the 1960s. In the second part of the article, I briefly present the biographical research perspective I use in my research project. The biographical research perspective seems well-suited to the empirical investigation of the new migrations because it offers a way of empirically capturing their dynamics and process character. Finally, I present a case study from the research project and discuss some of the initial findings.

2 The (New) Migrations from Greece to Germany

Migration is not a new phenomenon for Greek society and has been a continuous part of Greek history (Siouti 2013). Greece developed from a classical country of emigration into a migrant-receiving country in the 1990s, and in recent years has once more become a country of emigration as a result of the economic crisis. In modern Greek migration history, two migration flows can be identified. According to Hassiotis (1993), the first one took place after the formation of the Greek state in the late 19th and the early 20th century, followed by another one after the Second World War. Between 1955 and 1977, many Greeks migrated to Australia, the United States, Canada and Northern European countries, especially West Germany.

The overwhelming majority of post-war migrants from Greece to Germany were low-skilled, seeking unskilled or semi-skilled jobs (Cavounidis 2015). Most of them migrated to Germany in the 1960s, after a bilateral agreement was established on 30 March 1960 between West Germany and Greece on the recruitment of workers. For Greece, this recruitment was the most important intra-European recruitment in Greek migration history after the Second World War. An estimated 680,000 Greeks migrated, between 1955 and 1977, from Greece to Germany (General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad 1992). From 1960 until 1973, the Federal Republic of Germany recruited 381,316 Greek workers, of whom 38% were women (Kontos 2009). The recruited workers came from the least economically developed areas of Greece. A significant proportion of them had only a few years of basic education and had not finished secondary school. However, among the

recruited workers were also some highly educated political activists and academics who had to leave their home country for political reasons, and who returned to Greece after the fall of the seven-year dictatorship in 1974. The main characteristic of the phase of recruitment from 1960 to 1973 was the fragmentation of Greek migrant families, and thereafter the commuting situation of the children of Greek working migrants between the home and host country (Baros 2000).

Greek guest workers' migration to Germany was originally planned as a temporary migration, with the goal of returning later to the home country. The structural and political framework conditions of the sending and receiving country influenced the forms of migration that came into being. In the 1970s, Greece introduced incentives for repatriation, such as significant reductions in taxes and import duties. The recruitment policy ended in 1973, after Germany's 23 November 1973 legislation banning new migration (Anwerbestopp); after this, only family reunification was allowed. In the 1980s, a new bilateral agreement was signed, under which Germany offered financial incentives for repatriation (Cavounidis 2015). In 1988, the establishment of the right to free movement and settlement across the European Union allowed Greek citizens unrestricted mobility in Europe. According to Hopf (1988), 80% of the recruited workers had repatriated to Greece by the end of the 1980s. However, out of the so-called first generation of guest workers who retired early, only a few returned to their homeland in the 1980s and severed all ties to Germany. According to Ventoura (1999), 58% of the recruited Greek workers migrated and remigrated twice between Germany and Greece in the period up to 1973. Commuting migration is still a more notable feature of the Greek working migrants and the younger generation than of other comparable groups.

We already know from empirical studies that Greek migration to Germany has been a project sui generis (Siouti 2013; Apitzsch and Siouti 2014). It manifests unusual features, including elements of commuting migration and transnational mobility, a relatively high percentage of returnees in contrast to other migrant groups, elements of an exile situation, the Greek state's diaspora policy, and the setting up of Greece's own (bi)-national educational system in Germany. This last feature, the educational system, should be understood as the expression of a reaction to German policies, but it also interacts with Greek educational traditions. The Greek national schools were set up as early as the 1960s, as a result of intensive efforts by Greek parents and after heated debates about teaching methods. They are structured along the same lines as the Greek school system, financed by the Greek state, and coordinated by the Greek diplomatic missions in Germany.

The interest of Greek working migrants in education, which is to a large degree focused on the accumulation of educational qualifications and an orientation

towards returning home, is noticeable in the second generation. There are specific features of the situation of the Greek second generation which affect both education and geographical mobility. For the second generation of Greek migrants, commuter migration is a noticeable feature, as are the contrast between German and Greek education and the large number of individuals who have achieved success in education (Apitzsch and Siouti 2014).

In the early 1990s, the educational situation and cross-border movements of the second generation of immigrants, i.e. those who were born in the receiving country of their parents' generation, were investigated. In this research, the second generation of Greek migrants in Germany was usually portrayed as educationally successful in contrast to other migrant groups in Germany (Dietzel-Papakyriakou 2001; Nauck et al. 1998). Research on remigration that looked at the second generation focused mainly on reintegration into schools and the question of identity (Gontovos 2000; Hopf and Chatzichristou 1994; Paraschou 2001). Most of this research was dominated by a problem-centred perspective and most attention was paid to problems of adaption, which were investigated with the help of fixed models of the cultural conflict theory (Gontovos 2000). For some time now, and especially since end of the 1990s, a slow shift has been observed in the scholarly discourse of Greek migration research. At least on the theoretical level, geographical mobility and the commuting mentality, movement between and in two places and in different cultural contexts, is now being seen as a resource rather than a deficiency. Under the label of "transnational migration" (Glick Schiller et al. 1992), new theoretical perspectives are receiving attention in migration research that focuses on transnational, geographical and social mobility. Therefore, since the end of the 1990's, research on Greek migration in Germany has focused on the development of transnational ties between Germany and Greece (Nikolaidis 2013; Siouti 2013). Empirical studies have shown that a transnational space of life was established through the practices of migrants between Greece and Germany. Then, especially among the second generation, transmigration processes developed that were often characterised by commuting migration and social mobility. The younger generations of Greek migrants keep their options open in both countries and develop transnational ways of life. For the original labour migration from Greece to Germany, this was intended neither biographically nor politically. However, unfavourable socio-economic conditions have been drastically changing mobility intentions and patterns in recent years. While many Greeks (re)migrated from Germany to Greece or were commuting between both countries until 2009, the situation has changed in the last few years. The crisis seems to have influenced

Table 1 Inflow of Greek citizens into Germany from 2010 until 2015. (Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2015))

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
8281	16,258	24,567	24,921	23,361	23,910

patterns of international as well as internal migration in Greece. Many Greeks left the country and decided to migrate to Germany and other destination countries of earlier migrations, e.g. Australia, USA, Canada, and the UK (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014).

According to the International Migration Outlook (OECD) (2013), migration from Greece to Germany has seen an increase of 90% of inflows from Greece to Germany since 2011 compared to 2010 (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014). The data of the Federal Office of Migration and Refugees (BAMF) also show a moderate increase in inflows of Greek citizens into Germany from 2010 until 2015 (BAMF 2015) (Table 1).

What is new about this form of migration in times of the economic crisis, in comparison to the labour migration of the 1960s? First, the dominant feature of this new phase is that the advancing processes of globalisation and intra-European mobility, as well as the financial crisis in Greece, have conditioned migration processes. Second, the new migrations are not supported by state institutions (Damanakis 2014). Third, in contrast to the Greek labour migration of the 1960s and 1970s, the backgrounds of the migrants are characterised by considerable diversity in respect of their socio-economic backgrounds and social capital (Labrianidis and Pratsinakis 2014). The new migrants from Greece to Germany are highly educated young migrants with university degrees. Among them are highly skilled professionals (medical doctors, engineers, architects etc.) who migrated to Germany in recent years and people from the first, second and third generations of Greek migrants who had returned to Greece and then remigrated to Germany in the last few years (Heinrich Böll Stiftung 2012).

Theoretically, the new migrations are primarily discussed from neo-classical migration-theoretical perspectives. The extremely high youth unemployment levels in Greece, which reached about 50% in 2016, are seen as "push" factors, while the demand for highly educated workers in the German labour market and the promise of a better life are discussed as "pull" factors (Brücker 2009). Even though the new migrations have been the focus of the German as well as the

Greek public discourse in the media for a while now, there has been no systematic investigation of the new migrations from Greece to Germany. In the media, the new migrations are presented and discussed as a new migration wave, as a one-way option for certain population segments in Greece, especially the highly educated middle class, as they try to survive the crisis (Pratsinakis et al. 2017). Despite growing media coverage, there is a paucity of data on the demographic profile as well as on the subjective perspectives of the migrants themselves. The new migrations from Greece to Germany are under-researched in migration research in Germany (Heinrich Böll Stiftung 2012).

3 Biography as a Theoretical and Methodological Concept for Investigating New Migrations from Greece to Germany

In my qualitative research project, "New Migrations from Greece to Germany in Times of the Financial Crisis", I am investigating migration processes from Greece to Germany following the financial crisis from 2011 onwards, with a focus on the biographical experiences of the migrants. From a theoretical perspective, I use and combine transnational migration approaches with the biographical research perspective. The biographical research perspective is based on an understanding of biography research which treats the approach as a research perspective revolving around a reconstructive research logic and which refers to biography as a theoretical concept, as a historical-empirical object and as a complex methodological strategy (Siouti 2017).[1]

From a biography-theoretical perspective, I understand the (socio-economic) crisis as a collective trajectory of suffering in the sense proposed by Fritz Schütze, as a social process that involves going through different phases and which indicates a potential loss of control over individual lives because of heteronomous social conditions (Riemann and Schütze 1991).

In the biographical research approach, the concept of biography is conceived of as a social construction which "constitutes both social reality and the subjects' worlds of knowledge and experience, and which is constantly affirmed and transformed within the dialectical relationship between life history knowledge and experiences and patterns presented by society" (Fischer-Rosenthal and Rosenthal

[1]For detailed discussions of the theoretical foundations of biographical research methodology, see Apitzsch and Inowlocki (2000); Siouti (2017).

1997, p. 138). Thus, the biographical perspective provides both theoretical and methodological access to the embeddedness of biographies in social micro, meso and macro structures (Dausien 1994). Biographical research is particularly well-suited to the empirical investigation of the dynamics of the new migrations, because it offers a way of empirically capturing the diversity and complexity of migration phenomena through the use of biographical narrative interviews and reconstructive biographical analysis. Collective trajectories as well as subjective coping strategies, which are available to the subjects as ways of dealing with social structures, can be examined.

In my research project, I follow an abductive logic. In doing so, I proceed in a methodological way that avoids confronting the empirical material with predefined systems and variables and classifications (on this point, see Apitzsch and Inowlocki 2000). In practice, this means that, first of all, the abductive and innovative aspect is unfolded during the research process by following the research strategies of Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) as a methodological framework concept, in order to anchor a theory (in Robert Merton's sense, as a middle range theory) in the empirical material.

In detail, I adapt the methodological steps of the integration of the processes of collecting and analysing data through the development of contrastive comparisons and the concept of theoretical saturation (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990) in the field research process. I combine the research style of Grounded Theory with the biographical research method. I use the biographical narrative interview method (Schütze 1983; Rosenthal 1993) for the data collection and analyse the interview material following the key principles of reconstructive biographical analysis. These are the key principles of reconstruction, abduction, sequentiality and reflexivity (Siouti 2013, 2017).

In the research process, I do not ask my interview partner for concrete reasons for their migration during the economic crisis. Instead, I ask for the narration of her or his life story by using the method of biographical-narrative interview. This means prompting the informant to give a comprehensive and detailed impromptu narrative of her or his personal involvement in social events and of the corresponding experiences in the given field. The objective of the biographical narrative interview is to allow the individual to relate how he or she has experienced certain life history processes and his or her own life history (Schütze 1983).

The questions guiding my research are: How does the decision to migrate develop in the life history process? How do the migrants experience and work through the migration process? How do they biographically link the decision to migrate with the economic and financial crisis? What strategies do they use to overcome obstacles and shape their biographies? What significance do transnational orientations, social support and family networks have?

I have conducted 15 biographical narrative interviews in a German city characterised by super-diversity (Vertovec 2007), among them 2 expert interviews and 13 biographical narrative interviews (with six men and seven women between the ages of 23 and 43). The interviews were conducted between 2013 and 2016. All of my interview partners have university degrees and a middle-class background.

In the following section, I will briefly present a biographical case study from the research project. This case study represents a typical structure of the new migration processes of the younger generation of "classical" labour migrants.

4 Biographical Perspectives on "New" Migrations: The Case of Evgenia Karras

Evgenia Karras migrated to Germany with her family in 2011. Before the crisis, Evgenia Karras lived "*a good life*" with her family in Thessaloniki and belonged to the middle class in Greece. She worked as nurse, and her husband was self-employed and worked as an engineer. They lived in the best area in Thessaloniki and in their own house, which they had bought in the 1990s. In Thessaloniki they are well integrated in the local Greek community, but they also have many international friends. They both have very high educational aspirations, so they brought their two children up bilingually in Greek and German and sent them to a private international school. After the crisis, the family decided to migrate to Germany.

Biographically, that was neither the first migration project of Evgenia Karras, nor was it for her husband. She had grown up and studied in Germany as a child of guest worker migrants. After her studies, she (re)migrated with her husband to Greece, the country of origin of her parents. The remigration project was economically very successful and the family achieved upward social mobility through the migration process. However, Evgenia Karras and her husband decided to leave Greece in the aftermath of the financial crisis.

In her biographical narration, Evgenia Karras presents the decision to migrate in the age of financial crisis as a decision that was primarily motivated by the promise of a better life for the children:

> We realised that our children had no future in Greece. Our economic situation was very difficult because my husband's clients were unable to pay him. Therefore, we were afraid that this situation would continue and that we would not be able to pay for the school for our children, and we were very afraid that we would not have the money in the future to send them to study abroad. That was the crucial point, our

> children's education was the most important point for us. We had both worked so hard for them in the last few years, so we decided that we had to go to Germany. That was the only chance we had to ensure their education. After the decision, I organised everything. I searched for the best schools in Germany and then I planned our migration. First, I went with the children to my sister's house in Hamburg. I searched for a job for myself and I was so happy when I managed immediately to find a job as a nurse. Then I found an apartment. My husband stayed in Greece, I took the children and went to Germany to my sister, and after six months my husband followed us and now we are all here.

Evgenia Karras presents herself as an actor of their migration projects. In her narration, there is a dominant process structure of an action scheme, with activities of planning, initiative and action. The case analysis has shown that the decision to migrate was biographically not a decision primarily motivated by economic reasons, even though she introduces the migration project in her self-presentation as a result of the economic crisis. The empirical material brings to light the connection between migration and educational motivation. Interestingly, later on in the interview, Evgenia Karras explained that she had the biographical motivation to remigrate to Germany before the crisis. She developed the plan for migration during her educational career, in order to extend her knowledge and to improve her professional prospects. Alongside her professional goals, education was a central motive for the decision to migrate:

> I always had this idea to go back to Germany and to continue with my studies in physiotherapy or in medicine. I mean, the idea was always there. After our return it was very difficult for me, the children came, and it was not so easy for me to realise this with my family. I was very ill, I had cancer, so there were other things to handle, but it was always there, so then the crisis came and I also the chance to think again about it.

Biographically, the economic crisis is for Evgenia Karras a chance to realise her plans and to pursue her educational goals. The cross-border movements are perceived as a positive opportunity to implement her biographical plan to go abroad and to overcome a potential collective trajectory of suffering. The migration processes and experiences are evaluated positively by Evgenia Karras:

> I mean, we are very happy to be here, to have the chance to be here. We really had no problems here in Germany. Okay, the situation was strange at the beginning after living so many years in Greece, and we needed some time to find ourselves, especially the kids. But we already had our family and some friends here, and they helped us so much at the beginning and they are still there for us, and this is really so helpful. Without the support of my family it would not have been possible for

> us to settle down here in Hamburg, but not only our family, also the fact that we all speak German, I mean we speak German fluently, also English but German is somehow our second mother language, also for my kids, so I think because of this it is so much easier for us than for other Greek families.

The decision to choose Germany as the country of destination is presented in Evgenia Karras narration as primarily motivated by existing social networks. Evgenia's sister and parents lived in Germany, so she already had family, friends and professional network links to Germany that she used for the new migration process. She experienced these social networks as social support that helped her to participate in the receiving society and to find a job matching her qualifications. Better career opportunities and a higher income were also mentioned but did not play a crucial role in the decision to choose Germany as the destination country. The use of social and cultural capital, especially knowledge of the language, is experienced as a biographical resource for the migration process. Evgenia Karras experiences her migration project as a mobility process that is, in general, positively evaluated, with new experiences and knowledge accumulation.

Educational motivations for herself and for her children play a crucial role in the migration process. During the migration process, she is highly motivated to educate herself and she has very high educational aspirations for her children:

> For me, it is very important that our children have a good education and that they will be able to study at the best universities one day. That is really the most important thing for us, our children's education, to support them in school. We give everything for this, not only financially but we support them where we can and our children they grew up with the German language and we also sent them to a German school in Greece. For us, we saw this as a present, and we gave it to them for the future.

In doing so, Evgenia Karras socialised her children so that they could establish transnational education paths and career options in both countries. The transnational educational path is not only beneficial for a transnational school career for her children, but it also leads to the development of transnational family biographies. The life orientation of Evgenia Karras and her family is neither oriented towards a long-term and complete migration and integration into German society, nor to a definitive return to Greece. She still has her ties to Greece and their way of (family) life is transnationally oriented. She points out:

> I mean, we still have our house, family and friends in Thessaloniki. We spend our holidays there and we use every free minute to be with them. My husband's family is still there. Maybe we are here in Hamburg, but we are also there, in the same time

> with our thoughts always with them, somehow. We have two homes, we feel Greek and German, and we will see what the future will bring, maybe we will go back to Greece one day or we will commute, like my parents did in retirement, we will see. We are really open to this issue, we will see where we and our children will be one day.[2]

The way Evgenia Karras experiences the migration process and deals with it makes it possible to see the ideal type of transmigration as a specific form of migration (Glick Schiller et al. 1997; Pries 2001; Siouti 2013). She creates social fields that link the country of origin to the country they have settled in. She speaks more than two languages, feels that she belongs to more than one homeland and culture, and has complex social interests which condition her presence in both countries. Through the migration process, Evgenia Karras creates a form of life in which a multiple form of belonging to and embracing two cultural and national contexts constitutes her biography. From a biographical perspective, the new migration to Germany represents a continuity in her life history.

5 Conclusion: Dynamics of New Migrations and Theoretical Challenges

The case study of Evgenia Karras is particularly well-suited as an example that can help to clarify the new migration process in terms of character, dynamics and complexity. On the theoretical level, the question arises of how we can adequately comprehend such forms of migration and what is new about them. Is the migration project, a so-called "crisis migration", primarily motivated by financial distress? Is this migration project, from an intergenerational perspective, a remigration project to Germany or is it a structurally new type of transmigration?

I would argue that we cannot satisfactorily grasp these phenomena if we use the term "crisis migration" and should not employ that term when we attempt to describe and analyse the new family migration projects between Greece and Germany. In the context of the socio-economic crisis, new forms of migration and family networks are constituted as transnational social support, in which transmigration becomes established as a way of life through transgenerational subject practices. The concept of transnationalism offers, in that research context, a way of trying to grasp the changes taking place as a result of migration processes at

[2]Evgenia Karras (personal interview, 20 July 2013).

the level of the acting subject and the social spaces those subjects bring into existence (Homfeldt et al. 2006). The decision to move across a border is taken and acted upon in the framework of network structures of interpersonal relations. The biographical resources developed by the subjects make it possible for them to overcome impending or actual exclusion in Greece. The biographical processes[3] that are engaged in the development of a biographical action scheme lead to the development and emergence of transnational biographies. Transnational biographies are the result of interactive and reflexive processing of biographical experiences in transnational social spaces. While in migration sociology, transnational social spaces were defined in a way that followed Norbert Elias, as "contexts of social integration… relatively permanent, dense configurations of every day social practices, and systems of symbols, which are distributed across several locations or spread between a number of spaces, and which are neither delocalised nor deterritorialised" (Pries 2001, p. 53), from a biography-theoretical perspective, it is the biographical construction of transnational social spaces that is of interest. Thus, from a phenomenological perspective, it can be argued that the metaphor of transnational social space is equated with the phenomenon of biographical knowledge of subjects, which is accumulated and symbolised in the life courses of individuals and groups. Hence, the transnational social space is formatted by hegemonic relations and is simultaneously produced by the migration subjects' biographical work and concretised in the structure of the migration biography. A transnational biography is seen in this conceptualisation as a "site" for the biographical accumulation of experience and knowledge (Apitzsch and Siouti 2014). Although each individual has his or her own biography, there are typical sequences of events which are specific to transnational migrants and which tell us a great deal about the invisible, but very real, structures of the migration societies. Transnational biography as the source of transnational and transcultural spaces is a point of intersection between collective constitution and individual construction. The biographical shape of the sequence of separations and border crossings in migration, which can be reconstituted on the basis of one individual's life story, usually represents a certain type of the objectively possible (and more or less threatened) paths of the transnational border-crossing options (Apitzsch and Siouti 2014).

[3]By biographical process, I mean the reconstruction of the biographical life transformation and the negotiation of identity which takes place in migration processes. These processes can be understood with the help of the analytical concept of "biographical work", which refers to the role of biographical reflexivity in making sense of orienting oneself over a lifetime.

Even though telling a life story might seem to be an individual or dialogical act and therefore constructed, it is, nevertheless, embedded in the social structures of a society. Biography entails, by definition, the intersection of individual and society (Fischer-Rosenthal and Rosenthal 1997). Thus, by collecting migrant biographies, it is possible to gain access not only to the subjective reconstruction of a life story, but also to the embeddedness of social structures in biographies. The biographical research perspective provides an appropriate and analytically rich way to make theoretical sense of changing social phenomena in times of the financial and of economic crisis. Through the narrative reconstruction of biographical processes and subject positions, it is possible to explain how agency is constructed around transnational belongings and positionings, as a result of the interplay between individual biographical resources and structural constraints.

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The Financial Crisis in Greece Pushing Families Towards Emigration to Germany and Austria

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Abstract

New areas in educational research on migration focus internal migration within the EU. These mostly young adults, who are moving away from the economic and financial crises in the southern European periphery in the last decade, are called "economic refugees", "new immigrants", "newcomers" or "jobbers" (migrants) in the current public discourse. However, this migration movement within Europe diverges from emigration of the so-called guest-worker movement of the past century. This article investigates the views and attitudes of Greek citizens who immigrated to Central Europe and in particular to Germany and Austria. An online survey (N = 500) was conducted to find out more about the motives that prompted Greeks to emigrate to central Europe, to provide space for them to outline their feelings, their views on the immigration process and their relationship with the host country. At the same time, another objective of the study is to gain insights into the political feelings expressed in connection to immigration or the immigration decision. Besides descriptive statistics, a Latent Class Analysis (LCA) is used in order to address the research questions.

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1 EU Internal Migration—Beyond Methodological Nationalism

Educational research concerning migration faces new challenges (Auernheimer and Baros 2018). 50 years ago, the main focus of scientific interest was on labour migration and its consequences for the host society. At present, the focus is shifting to the concept of transnational mobility, and in particular to migratory movements mainly caused by political instability, the increase in civil wars and military or proxy intervention and by the effects of a neoliberal trade policy on the home societies. Great escape movements are always connected to structural causes, with Europe and the West having—from a historical perspective as well—a large share in creating structural inequalities (Seukwa 2016).

Other research questions in educational research on migration deal with internal migration within the EU. These young adults, who are moving away from the economic and financial crises in the southern European periphery in the last decade, are called "economic refugees", "new immigrants", "newcomers" or "jobbers" in the current public discourse. This movement is also known as the mobility of highly qualified immigrants from within EU crisis-hit countries. However, this migration movement within Europe diverges from emigration of the so-called guest-worker movement of the past century.

Migration research in methodological nationalism is therefore unsuitable for the study of this new form of immigration because it disregards the worldwide interactions and dependencies that trigger migration.

Ulrich Beck (2006) has proposed a paradigm shift. His approach of "reflexive modernisation" opens a new perspective for social science and serves as an innovative aspect for inequality research in general. His argument disassociates both from methodological nationalism, which starts from a nation-state organised society as an investigation unit, and from internationalism, which causes only a transition from the national to the international level. The problem of taking such a research perspective is that when analysing social inequalities separately—once at national level and once at international level—the complex structure of the development of global inequalities is not considered.

The aim of the methodological cosmopolitanism is to break national state introversion in the interpretation of problems and to systematically investigate those mechanisms that conceal global injustices and social deprivation behind expressions such as "challenges of globalisation/demographic development".

Only through a "global justice perspective" is one able to recognise the complex nature of "epochal-typical key problems" (Klafki 1985). More specifically, network thinking as a specific competence of the migration society would mean

asking the question: are we as members of the receiving society able to see beyond the individual destiny? Are we able to recognise migrants as an embodiment of the interconnected global inequalities? The consideration of worldwide interrelations offers migration research the chance to analyse the external causation of the internal social upheaval (Seukwa 2016) in the countries of origin.

In the sense of a "cosmopolitan sensibility", Beck (2012) complains about the rigid austerity policy and its serious consequences for the people. The following presentation of the Greek case is intended to serve as an example of implemented austerity policy. First—and sufficiently known from the media—there is high unemployment (25.6%, March 2016), especially affecting those under 25 (49.7%, March 2016). At the same time, there is a strong reduction of the household disposable income—a decline that is still ongoing. This in turn leads to a great number of Greeks living below the poverty line (34.6%). The number of people without health insurance has increased since 2012 by 500% and the number of people with mental illnesses (e.g. depression) has increased by 270% since 2012. In this context, deprivation of opportunities for realisation (Sen 1999) takes place through the following constellations: (1) Poverty, not just as material poverty, but also as the lack of realisation opportunities; (2) Precariousness as the embodied experience of ambivalences (Tsianos and Papadopoulos 2006); (3) Disclaimer processes that describe a process "that accesses the lives of those affected from outside", "by limiting their freedom of choice", "humiliation" as well as "injuries to their identity". Deprivation processes are accompanied by de-socialisation (Garz 2006, p. 59). The withdrawal concept from Garz lends itself in a special way to psychodrama to describe processes of withdrawal from something (at least to some extent): A (equipped with power) collective X [takes] a Y, which has already been biographically acquired […], namely Z (Garz 2006). Andreas Fischer-Lescano describes the actions of the European Union as "profound interference with the social and democratic rights of the people" (Fischer-Lescano 2013, p. 64).

2 Emotions as Subjective Evaluations of Necessities of Life

Subjects are by no means at the mercy of these conditions of life. They always behave so that these conditions do not mechanically lead to behaviours as effects. These external conditions pose possibilities and constraints in the lives of the subjects (Holzkamp 1993) and form part of the rationale for action as subjective "premises". Actors are taking consideration of their subjective interests. Their acting can be seen as a "'reasonable' consequence of the premise" (Holzkamp

1993, p. 29). Research from the subject standpoint starts from the principal unity of self-determination and determining the relations that determine one's own actions. Emotions are getting a lot of importance as the "global 'evaluation' of one's actual situation and emotional disposition 'measured' against the interest in one's life/influence upon it" (Schraube and Osterkamp 2013, p. 203). Migration research as a science from the subjects' standpoint allows a different view on migration. It focuses on emotions as subjective evaluations of necessities of life (Osterkamp 1999), provides empirical access to biographical processes and enables statements about experienced courses of action disabilities. Emotions articulated that is seen "as intolerable and despicable, as desirable and respectful" (Breit and Reichenbach 2005, p. 18). In the capabilities approach, empowerment becomes one of the central functions defined as the ability to turn a mediocre life into a good human life. The development and articulation of emotions are associated with the importance of social conditions for the subjects analysed. Martha Nussbaum describes emotions as being "wise to see the world" (Nussbaum 2007, p. 149). Emotions are closely linked to beliefs or even convictions (Nussbaum 2007). Consequently, the feeling of anger is only felt if the conviction is shared, harmed or treated unfairly.

This reference to emotional anger also provides a transition to the question, what is "indignational migration"? (Baros 2014). "Indignation" is etymologically related to the Latin word "indignitas" and means the moral emotion of indignation. This figure of migration has the character of democratic dissent and implies an ethical demand that is raised due to prevailing injustice and causes anger (Critchley 2007). Through the provoked combination of the two words "indignation" and "national" arises a political-emancipatory concept. As a descriptive analytical term, indignational migration can be understood as a transnational migration process according to Beck's definition. "National" as the second component of this neologism indicates how the subjects experience the consequences of global inequality in the context of their own national state. Indignational migration as a transnational space can thus be based on historical and social criteria or collective memories (Levy and Sznaider 2007), through common historical experiences. Indignational migration is primarily a transnational space, but can also act as a transnational social identification network through Facebook groups and other social media. These are freely chosen community formations which could be called "solidarities", according to the American anthropologist Robert Harry Lowie (1948), (as cited in Moebius 2006). Due to their thematic core, these migrant solidarities are a form of debate and shape new spheres and spaces of political action in transnational spaces (Beck and Grande 2010).

3 EU-Immigration

The influx of migrants from European member states (EU-15), such as Spain, Greece, Italy and Portugal, affected by the financial crisis and the debt crisis, as it is called, continues to increase: in early 2018, 362,245 Greeks live in Germany (13,770 more than 348,475 in 2017) (see Fig. 1), of whom 197,280 are men and 164,965 are women. Most of these live in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia (99,945), Baden-Wuerttemberg (81,150) and Bavaria (74,175), and fewer in the Thuringian state (1150). By separating the influx of migrants from Greece, a total of 16,695 came in 2017 (Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis) 2018).

According to the official statistical data (Fig. 1), the number of Greeks living in Germany has been gradually increasing in recent years. In 2010, a total of 276,685 Greek immigrants lived in Germany. In the following years, the upward trend continued and the number of Greek immigrants in Germany increased to 362,245 in 2017. In eight years (2010–2018) the number of Greek citizens in Germany increased by 85,560. This is an increase of 30.9% compared to 2010.

Since 2007 the population in Austria has increased from 8,307,989 to 8,822,267. In 2007, 2381 people with Greek citizenship lived in Austria. Ten years later, in early 2018, the number of Greek immigrants in Austria increased

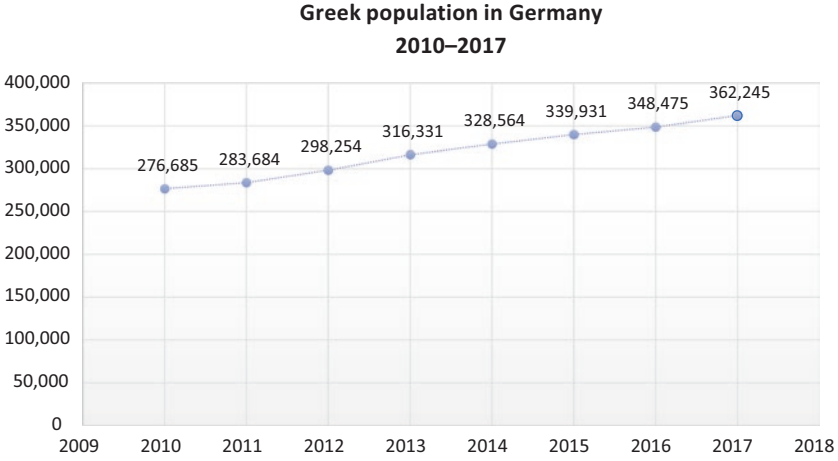

Fig. 1 Greek population (diaspora) in Germany. (From *Destatis* (2018). https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Auslaend-Bevoelkerung2010200177004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile)

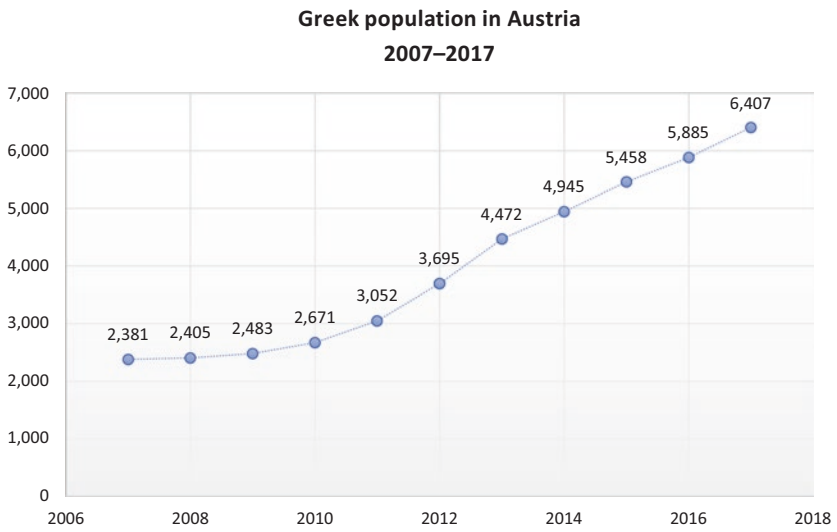

Fig. 2 Greek population (diaspora) in Austria. (From *Statistics Austria. The Information Manager* (2018). https://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_staatsangehoerigkeit_geburtsland/index.html)

to 6407. Over ten years (2007–2017), the number of Greeks citizens in Austria increased by 4026. This is an increase of 169% compared with that of 2007 (Fig. 2).

4 Empirical Study

This research project investigates the views and attitudes of Greek citizens who immigrated to Central Europe and in particular to Germany and Austria. Countries in central Europe already show a high proportion of new-immigrants from other EU countries, especially from southern Europe. This research focuses on EU-immigrants from Greece and how this group coped when settling into central Europe. The survey tries to capture the subjective experiences of immigration, the reasons for leaving the home country, as well as the adjustment process. Our research distinguishes between immigrants who stay in the aforementioned countries for an extended period of time and possibly stay permanently in their

new home country, from immigrant groups who just stay for a few months, e.g. as part of the Erasmus student exchange program. The latter cannot be considered as substantial migration, but instead as a deliberate decision to pursue their studies abroad while seeking new experiences. This survey primarily focuses on immigrant groups from Greece who pursued a new life in Austria and Germany.

The online survey addressing Greek immigrants living in Germany was conducted between December 2016 and August 2018. For immigrants from Greece who chose Austria as their immigration destination, the survey was accessible online from February 2017 to August 2018. The online survey was distributed on "social media" (e.g. Facebook) and especially in digital forums set up by Greeks or Philhellenes. We contacted online communities providing information for Greeks abroad. After contacting the forum administration and obtaining permission to launch the survey, messages to these online communities or individual members were sent in order to raise attention to the research. Among those communities, some with tens of thousands of members, named "Greek immigrants in Germany", "Greeks in Munich", "Greeks of Germany & Austria", "Greeks in Germany", "Jobs in Germany", "Greeks of Austria", "Griechen in Deutschland" and many others. In total, the survey was distributed to more than 30 groups or online communities in the aforementioned countries. It is worth mentioning that the Austrian survey came to complement the German survey and thus helped to look at the data comparatively. The surveys intended to extend the research on other countries with Greek communities, in order to have more insight into the incentives leading Greeks to emigrate on a larger international comparative scale.

The aim of this research is to find out more about the motives that prompted Greeks to emigrate to central Europe, to provide space for them to outline their feelings, their views on the immigration process and their relationship with the host country. At the same time, another objective of the study is to gain insights into the political feelings expressed in connection to immigration or the immigration decision. Therefore, the cross-sectional survey consists of open-ended and closed-type questions in order to address the research aims.

The general research questions:

- What are the main reasons that led Greek citizens to leave their country?
- Which kind of feelings about migration and the new living conditions are expressed?
- How do (economic) crisis and political feelings affect the way in which Greek immigrants reflect on their past or plan their future?

4.1 The Items and the Instrument

One prerequisite for online surveys is to keep the handling time short in order to generate an acceptable response rate and to avoid early dropout. The participants had to fill out an electronic questionnaire consisting of 30 questions formulated in the Greek language. Besides sociodemographic features, the survey contained closed and open-ended questions. The questionnaire had to be filled out and submitted electronically.

The first part of the survey contains an introductory note from the research team, which discloses the objectives of the research aims and provides clear instructions on how to proceed. The first group of questions addressed sociodemographic features of survey respondents and included questions about the gender, the time of living in the host country, the age, and the occupational status of the respondent. Other questions were related to the job situation of the respondents before their departure from Greece.

Additionally, participants were asked to answer open-ended questions on the reasons for immigration and their feelings about this. In this category, they had to externalise their feelings concerning the immigration process, to respond to whether they had previously had thoughts of emigrating, and to describe the motivations or otherwise the reasons that led them to make this decision. On the other hand, their decision for choosing one host country over another reveals other valuable information as to the motivation for emigration. Therefore, the research team aims to investigate whether negative feelings or positive feelings (e.g., hope, optimism) dominated the immigration process. This will perhaps contribute to examining whether people who come as young immigrants have visions and optimism for the future, or whether their political feelings come from despair. The vision of the future is, moreover, a constituent part of a hope-based approach and can form the basis for a critical review of the past and the future (see also Bloch 1985).

The second subgroup of open questions includes those referring to living conditions in the two countries—the host and the country of origin. More specifically: the participants were asked to describe a positive and a negative experience during the first period of residence at the host country, their general assessment of the living conditions abroad so far, as well as whether or not they think that the country of establishment provides equal opportunities for work and personal development among newcomers. Close to the end of the survey, questions were asked to receive more insights into plans for the future. Is repatriation possible in the near future (question of living conditions after 5 years)? And what would be the factors that would make individuals consider returning to the country of

origin? The questionnaire was complemented by another set of questions on the educational level and the family situation of the respondents.

Besides descriptive statistics, a Latent Class Analysis (LCA) is used in order to address the research questions.

4.2 Descriptive Results

A total of 1965 people participated in the survey. 1010 (51.4%) are male and the remaining 955 (48.6%) are female. 1660 of all participants are Greek citizens living in Germany, while 305 participants responded from Austria. Due to the elaborate process of evaluating the open-ended questions, only part of the sample is used for this analysis. 250 cases from each country (N = 500) are taken into consideration for the preliminary analysis (Table 1).

The sample was about equally distributed. 243 male respondents and 257 female respondents contributed to this survey.

When looking at age groups, most of the participants—80% of the sample—are between 26 and 55. Therefore, the immigrants are in the prime of their working life. Only roughly 10% of respondents belong to the group of young professionals from 16 to 25. Respondents close to the age of retirement make up 10% in Austria and 8% in Germany (Table 2).

What kind of occupation did the participants have before they immigrated to either Germany or Austria?

As Table 3 indicates, the highest proportion of immigrants were employees when leaving for Central Europe. There is also a noticeably high percentage of unemployed citizens who left for Germany (32%). In comparison, only 11% of the participants who left to Austria were unemployed when they did so.

There were additionally a number of questions addressing the respondents' reasons for emigration (Table 4).

Table 1 Overview of the sample

			Austria	Germany	Total
Gender	Male	Count	121	122	243
		%	48.4	48.8	48.6
	Female	Count	129	128	257
		%	51.6	51.2	51.4
Total		Count	250	250	500

Table 2 Age groups

			Austria	Germany	Total
Age group	16–25	Count	23	26	49
		% of host country	9.2	10.4	9.8
	26–35	Count	41	61	102
		% of host country	16.4	24.4	20.4
	36–45	Count	90	78	168
		% of host country	36.0	31.2	33.6
	46–55	Count	66	62	128
		% of host country	26.4	24.8	25.6
	56–65	Count	25	21	46
		% of host country	10.0	8.4	9.2
	66–80	Count	5	2	7
		% of host country	2.0	0.8	1.4

Table 3 Occupation before immigration

	Austria		Germany	
	N	Column (%)	n	Column (%)
Entrepreneur	9	3.6	6	2.4
Self-employed	24	9.6	9	3.6
Public servant	13	5.2	9	3.6
Employee	79	31.6	56	22.4
Freelance professional	26	10.4	33	13.2
Farmer	0	0.0	5	2.0
Blue-collar worker	12	4.8	10	4.0
Unemployed	28	11.2	80	32.0
Student	27	10.8	16	6.4
School student	10	4.0	10	4.0
Other	22	8.8	16	6.4

Table 4 Reasons for emigration

		Austria		Germany	
		n	(%)	N	(%)
Unemployment/economic reasons	No	154	61.6	137	54.8
	Yes	96	38.4	113	45.2
Emotional crisis caused by austerity policy	No	177	70.8	179	71.6
	Yes	73	29.2	71	28.4
Job-related opportunities/development potentialities	No	183	73.2	200	80.0
	Yes	67	26.8	50	20.0

45.2% percent of all immigrants to Germany agreed that economic reasons were the primary reason for leaving the country of origin. Respondents in Austria corroborated this, with 38.4% listing economic reasons as a reason for emigrating. Roughly one third of the sample named the emotional crisis caused by austerity policy as the reason for their emigration.

As Table 5 shows, the majority of immigrants who participated in the survey have lived in their host country for up to 5 years (66% Austria, 61% Germany). Roughly 13% of participants lived in the host country for more than 10 years.

Table 5 Duration of stay

		Austria		Germany	
		N	(%)	N	(%)
Duration of stay	Very short (exchange program)	5	2.0	7	2.8
	0 up to 5 years	165	66.0	153	61.2
	More than 5 up to 10 years	50	20.0	56	22.4
	More than 10 up to 15 years	11	4.4	5	2.0
	More than 15 up to 20 years	8	3.2	8	3.2
	More than 20 years	11	4.4	21	8.4
Positive experience with finding job	No	229	91.6	201	80.4
	Yes	21	8.4	49	19.6
Conflicts with local immigrants or groups	No	232	92.8	220	88.0
	Yes	18	7.2	30	12.0

Table 6 Negative valency & host country

			Negative valency		
			No	Yes	Total
Imigration	Austria	N	151	99	250
		Expected	128.5	121.5	250.0
		%	58.8	40.7	50.0
	Germany	N	106	144	250
		Expected	128.5	121.5	250.0
		%	41.2	59.3	50.0

Interestingly, only 8% stated that they had positive experiences when finding a job in Austria. In Germany, almost 20% had positive experiences on this matter. EU-immigrants from Greece had hardly any conflicts with other immigration groups. For Austria, only 7% stated that there were conflicts, in comparison to 12% in Germany.

The evaluation of the open-ended material revealed that aspects of negative valency were expressed (Table 6).

41% of the Austrian and almost 60% of the German sample showed negative valency in regard to the immigration process. Further analysis (Chi-Square) proofed that the German sample had more cases stating negative valency than expected: χ^2 (1, $N = 500$) = 16.21, $p < .01$. and Cramer-V = 0.18. Therefore, the German sample is significantly different from the Austrian sample. Participants experienced negative valency more frequently than statistically expected. This might also correspond to the participants' negative future outlook. Almost half of the respondents (50.8% of the German sample and 46.8% of the Austrian sample) have an ambivalent outlook for the future. This might be contradictory to the fact that almost 71% of the Austrian sample and 68% of the German sample are satisfied with their current life situation.

4.3 Latent Class Analysis (LCA)—Identification of Latent Styles of Emotion Articulation

Using Latent Class Analysis (Kempf 2014), we can identify typical response patterns with respect to all items. Using contingency analysis, the identified classes of response patterns were related to variations among subject factors like their

attributions and moral emotions, their personal views of migration society in Germany and Austria, their perspectives on the future, as well as their thoughts about the impact that their first experiences would have on their current life satisfaction. Data were analysed by means of the programmes WINMIRA (von Davier 1997) and Dynamic.

For our Second-Order Latent Class Model, we use the following 5 items described in Table 7.

Three argumentative patterns and styles of articulation of emotion could be identified. The 3-classes solution (see Fig. 3) shows the best fit according to the AIC (Akaike 1987) (see Table 8).

Table 7 Variable-definition for the second-order latent class analysis

Var/Label	Definition
A = Time of migration	0 = 0 to 10 years 1 = for more than 10 years
B = Equality in the migration society	0 = There are no equal opportunities for everyone 1 = There are equal opportunities for everyone 2 = neither nor
C = Employment at the time of migration	0 = Employed or student 1 = unemployed
D =	0 = Class 1: Exodus as a moral-emotional coping with the austerity crisis 1 = Class 2: Attribution and emotional Emotions—Loss of Existence and Unemployment 2 = Class 3: Emigration as hope out of misery Escape from the consequences of austerity policy as hope 3 = Class 4: Emotional ambivalence and discomfort because of the austerity crisis
E =	0 = Class 1: One's own life in the migration society is regarded as positive and anticipated as the best future perspective 1 = Class 2: Explicitly ambivalent in relation to the future perspective—high life satisfaction 2 = Class 3: Own migration expectations were disappointed—Structural barriers—Despair 3 = Class 4: Remigration as future option 4 = Class 5: Cosmopolitan orientation—The region of origin is categorically rejected as a future alternative to life

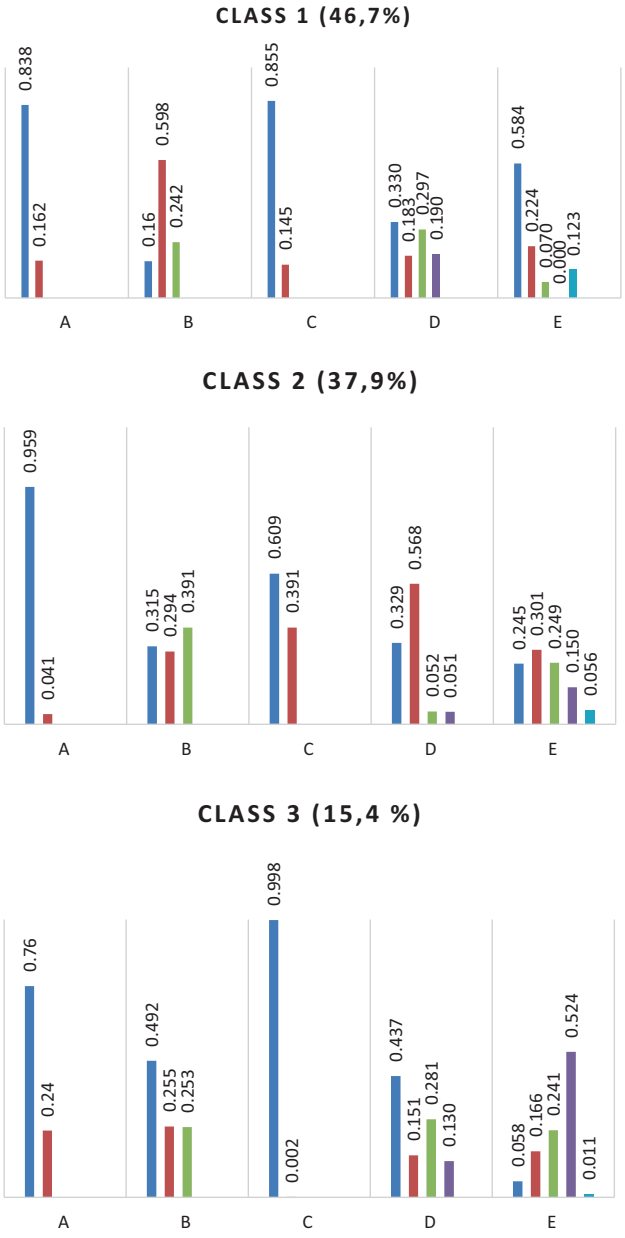

Fig. 3 The characteristics of the latent classes

Table 8 LCA 2. Order: Goodness of fit

Modell	ln(L)	n(P)	Df	L-Ratio	p	AIC	BIC	CIC
LC1	−239,223	11	948	23,930	n.s.	480,646	485,282	480,456
LC2	−237,390	23	936	20,264	n.s.	479,380	489,074	478,982
LC3	−236,079	35	924	17,642	n.s.	479,158	493,909	478,552
LC4	−298,986	47	912	15,604	n.s.	480,234	499,329	478,706
Saturiert	−227,258	959				646,316	1,050,497	629,716

Note: proportional reduction of error (PRE) = 81.14%, membership probabilities (MEM) = 75.2%

These three latent styles of articulation of emotion can be described as follows:

1. Style 1 (46.65%): Going with the flow of options

Immigrants belonging to this latent class name the emotional processing of the austerity crisis as the main reason for their own emigration. At the same time, they seem to have often succeeded in transforming despair into hope for a better future: in addition to attributional emotions and moral emotions, they most often articulate emotions of positive valence (liberation, hope for a better future) in relation to their own time of emigration. They categorically reject the option of returning to the region of origin (35%). Very often, they express their satisfaction with life in the immigration society (78%) and the intention to settle permanently in the immigration region (58.4%).

84% of the migrants in this class have been in the southern European periphery for the last 10 years, during the multiple crises. 60% of them assume that the host society migration society gives everyone the same career opportunities. It should be noted that at the time of emigration, only 15% were unemployed. They consider their immigration as a chance for dignified life (30%). Unfavourable structural conditions for the development of one's own competencies and social barriers in the migration society are only occasionally mentioned (25%). It seems that these migrants cultivate rather a glorified image of the migrant society.

2. Style 2 (37.9%): Migration as minor problem—short-term solution

Migrants of this class most often articulate emotions with negative valence, and these are both attributional and moral emotions. Their emigration originates mainly from material reasons (60.9%). More concretely, this class is characterised by the pattern (59%) of a frequent articulation of moral emotions and

attributional emotions due to the destruction of livelihoods and unemployment. Almost without exception, migrants of this class emigrated during the ten years of the crisis. Although they claim to enjoy a high level of life satisfaction in the migration society, the option of living within the migration society seems less likely (24.4%). Often (31.5%) they report on problems faced as newcomers and on structural and social barriers in the migration society (40.5%). They tend to be sceptical of the statement that the migration society is guided by the principle of equality (29.4%). They only feel at ease occasionally in the migration society (24.5%). The feeling of helplessness with regard to possible solutions in the migration society due to structural barriers (25%) dominates.

3. Style 3 (15.42%): The meaning of being an outgroup member
24% of people in this class have a longer life experience in the migration society. Compared to the other two classes, migrants are more explicitly sceptical of the equality principle in migration societies (49.2%). The pattern of indignational migration is represented in this class at 44%. The emotional experience of the austerity crisis in Greece goes hand in hand with emotions of hope for a better quality of life (28.1%). There are hardly any migrants present in this class who feel that they fit well with the migration society. On the other hand, it tends to include those who claim to support the future option of remigration (52.4%), or who express only a degree of perplexity with regard to life experiences in the context of the migration society (24.1%). 69.8% of the migrants in this class are academics. Another feature is that none of the persons were unemployed at the time of emigration. Nor do they include material reasons in the main causes for emigration.

5 Summary—Conclusion

This experienced disappointment as a result of the crisis due to the European austerity policy provokes an experience of injustice and the emotion of anger. Anger is, according to Simon Critchley, the "first political emotion". It is often anger that moves the subject to action. Anger is the emotion "that produces motion, the mood that moves the subject [… and] provokes an ethical response" (Critchley 2007, p. 130). Without a doubt—and this has been clearly stated by Alain Badiou—the sense of injustice and the revolt against the wrongs of the world, feelings like anger, cannot create a new political subject. But do we always need to create a new subject in order to create a "small, local victory", as Badiou

demands? According to Breit and Reichenbach, the indignant self does not need to have the illusion of being able to effectively change the world in order to seek "political practice"; rather, it seeks the "public" or the discourse alone in order to maintain its coherence and to confirm itself. People sometimes become "politically active", even though they are convinced that their actions will not have any concrete consequences (Breit and Reichenbach 2005, p. 26).

The results of the study can be summarised as follows (see Fig. 4): emotions with negative valence in response to the deprivation of livelihoods are not inherently associated with a critical view at social order and dominant power relations in the migration society. Migration can destabilise the social power relations if migrants have a longer stay (class 3), and if they—despite having experienced high life satisfaction—are systemically critical and articulate structural blockages in the migration society. If positive expectation emotions (for example hope for a better life) are articulated in addition to the moral emotions (class 3), this can also increase the ability to act in the context of the migration society: from this position, utopias in the sense of Ernst Bloch can be developed that will be able to evaluate the past and the present. If these expectations are again disappointed in the course of time, the state of "creative indifference" (Friedlaender) can emerge, from which social criticism is expressed in the sense of political literacy. Class 2 is in a special way paradigmatic for the theory of the autonomy of migration: according to this approach the governance of mobile populations now appears as an important site for the exercise of control and the genesis of biopower (Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013). Mobility can be seen as a "movement in time": "The role of migration control is to make different time registers of the entry in the productive sphere along the path of mobile populations compatible. In particular, it attempts to render the speed of absorption into the local labour markets compatible with the speed of flows of mobile populations. Migration control is about speed and its regulation." (Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013, p. 180). The destruction of the livelihoods makes the migrants "superfluous"; not only the time of migration and the potential length of stay is calculated and institutionalised, but also the characteristics and the type of migration: it is triggered by a "permanent mobility" that devastates the periphery permanently. Crisis is the best way to produce migration and migrants through new forms of labour exploitation. These are actually "fit for purpose" and may make the system rather improbable: either they are in the state of "permanent mobility", or they are—because of their hope for a better life—always grateful to their new life context for all that they could find there after their migration.

VAR7:	Reason for migration: Austerity crisis *
VAR18:	Satisfaction with life in the immigration society ***
VAR9:	Migration society is favored as a potential place of life ***
VAR11:	Impossible return ***
VAR 2:	Articulation of emotions (positive valence) ***
VAR3:	emotional ambivalence ***
VAR1:	Articulation of emotions (negative valence) ***
VAR5:	Reasons for migration: material, unemployment ***
VAR10:	ambivalent future perspective ***
VAR13:	Improving the standard of living is the prerequisite for a remigration **
VAR15:	problems as newcomers *
VAR19:	Structural and social barriers in the immigration society ***
VAR8:	Remigration is favored ***
VAR29:	Level of Education (n.s.)
VAR17	Experiences with racism in everyday life (n.s.)

*=p<.05; **=p<.01; ***=p<.001 (Chi-Quadrat-Test);

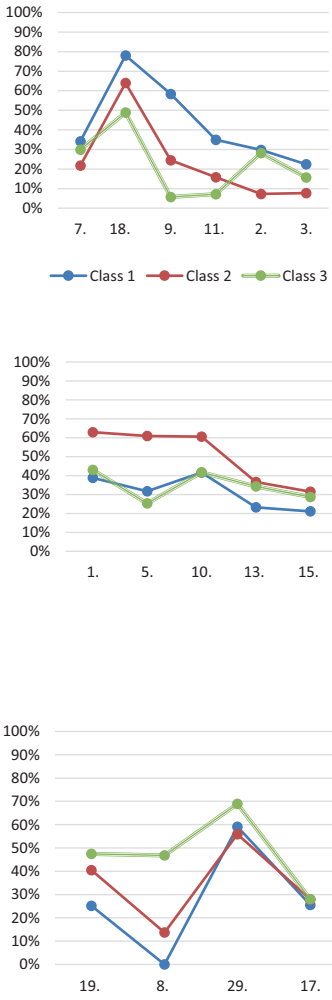

Fig. 4 Comparative presentation of the latent classes: significant variables

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Part II

Prospects and Experiences of "New" Family Migration

New Migration to Germany and Canada as Educational Migration: The Necessity and Challenges of International Comparative Migration and Family Research

Julie A. Panagiotopoulou and Lisa Rosen

Abstract

In this contribution we present an internationally comparative project entitled "New (educational) migration as a family project and as a challenge for two different educational systems: Germany and Canada". In particular, we focus on the research design and its methodological challenges, as well as on our

This chapter is a reprint of a contribution by the two authors, which was first published in German in 2018 under the title "Neue Migration nach Deutschland und Kanada als Bildungsmigration. Zur Notwendigkeit und den Herausforderungen einer international vergleichenden Migrations- und Familienforschung" [New Migration to Germany and Canada as an educational migration. Concerning the need and the challenges of an international comparative migration and family research] in the following anthology: Dewitz, N./Terhart, H./Massumi, M. (Eds.): Neuzuwanderung und Bildung. Eine interdisziplinäre Perspektive auf Übergänge in das deutsche Bildungssystem [New immigration and education. An interdisciplinary perspective on transitions into the German educational system]. Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.

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questions with regard to the living conditions and experiences of newly immigrated families and their (school-age) children in two different migration societies. Between 2014 and 2018, research data were collected in Canada and Germany through biographical interviews with 31 families who left Greece after 2008 in the wake of the so-called financial crisis. In contrast to the dominant (media) discourse, we approach this phenomenon of "(new) migration from Greece" as a "family project". Furthermore, we discuss family migration as a neglected research topic. Based on our research practice and initial findings, we outline the necessity of the connection between internationally comparative educational migration and family research.

1 Introduction

In a critical review of European research on family-related migration from 2004, Eleonore Kofman came to the conclusion that the connection between family and migration research should be more closely attended to, not least from an international comparative perspective. Kofman also noted the importance of heeding research approaches adopted in countries that have traditionally been heavily shaped by migration, such as Canada, Australia, and the USA: "European research has to take into account perspectives developed in other migratory regions, whether in relation to new approaches to labour migrations or to the life-course, and engage in comparative research across Europe and with other migratory regions" (Kofman 2004, p. 256 f.). Seven years later, in the introduction to a co-edited volume entitled *Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration*, she noted that while family migration had gained increased significance as a research topic, it still remained neglected: "despite the importance of the family in the process and course of migration, family migrations in their different forms remain weakly theorised and marginal in migration studies" (Kofman et al. 2011, p. 43 f.).

In the German-language context, Marianne Krüger-Potratz has shown that family migration is a rather marginal topic within the broader context of migration research: "Research in the field of education studies and the social sciences has thus far shown only limited interest in the question of 'migration and families'" (Krüger-Potratz 2013, p. 13 f.). Thomas Geisen, meanwhile, has noted that "a link between family and migration research" is "still largely" (Geisen 2014, p. 53) wanting in the German research context, due to the absence of the requisite

theoretical concepts. It has long been known, however, that international migration is not usually the result of an "individual decision on the part of (job-seeking) monads", but "rather […] the collective enterprise of family units" (Nauck 2004, p. 102). Bernhard Nauck calls here for a perspectival shift in migration research, so that family members would be considered not only as individuals, but also in the context of their familial relations. The necessity of conceptually, theoretically, and methodologically linking family and migration research is gradually coming to be acknowledged in the German-language context. The "German Society for Education Studies" (DGfE) Working Group on Historical Family Studies, for example, is oriented around a fundamental concern to understand migration as a family project, and recently published a book with the goal to link historical and contemporary family and migration research (Baader et al. 2018). Further research probing this goal should not obscure the fact that, while "the migrant family comes into view from many perspectives, […] the family itself is still rarely considered as a research object in its own right" (Krüger-Potratz 2013, p. 31; see also Geisen 2014, p. 51). There is then a need for studies that attempt to address the breadth and diversity of the familial sphere of action and experience in migration societies, and to grasp the active everyday construction of the family by its members, particularly under the conditions of contemporary migration.

In the following section, we shall first consider the phenomenon of "new migration from Greece" before discussing the theoretical dimensions of an international comparative project entitled "New (Educational) Migration as a Family Project and a Challenge for Two Different Education Systems: Germany and Canada", which began in 2014. In section three, we shall then discuss our research questions with a view to the educational inclusion of newly immigrated children and adolescents, and in relation to international comparative research designs and their associated methodical and methodological challenges. Finally, we shall briefly outline certain advantages of international comparative migration and family research within education studies.

2 (Family) Migration from Greece to Germany and Canada: A New Phenomenon? The Impetus for and Theoretical Dimensions of an International Comparative Project

"Should the number of emigrants again rise in 2016 in comparison with the two previous years, well over half a million people may have left the country by 2017. In a nation of around 10.8 million people, that would represent almost five per

cent of the total Greek population" ("Mehr als 400 000 Griechen ausgewandert" ["More than 400 000 Greeks emigrated"], 2016, para. 6).

Since 2008, EU citizens from a number of Southern European countries (including Greece, Spain, and Portugal) have felt the consequences of the so-called financial and euro crisis, which have driven many people to emigrate to Central and Northern Europe, Canada, and Australia. On the one hand, there is little concrete information about this heterogeneous group of new migrants: "While there has been a certain media hype about these new emigration waves from Southern European countries, little is known about who is actually emigrating, why they are leaving, where they are going, or for how long they plan to emigrate" (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014, p. 1614). On the other hand, there have been a number of analyses of media reports from Greece concerning families with (school-age) children who have been confronted with the grave deterioration of their living standards in the wake of the financial crisis. This deterioration has been particularly significant in the areas of health and education, with increases being observed in the percentage of children suffering from ill health and the associated negative consequences for their school performance (see Nikolaou 2013). For this reason, it was to be expected that families with (young) children would already have left the country (see Panagiotopoulou and Rosen 2015) or would be preparing to do so (see Govaris et al. 2015).[1] As we shall indicate in the following, Greece's migration history is thus repeating itself "half a century later, in new circumstances and with new protagonists" (Damanakis 2014, p. 168).

Since 2014, we have investigated this (new) phenomenon as part of an international comparative project that examines the experiences of those families who have left Greece after 2008, in the wake of the so-called financial crisis. The project has focussed on families that have migrated to Germany or Canada, in order to compare the living conditions and experiences of newly immigrated families and their (school-age) children in relation to these two societies' different socio-political and educational characteristics.

The term, "new migration" is drawn from the title of an edited volume containing recent studies from the Research Centre for Intercultural Studies and Migration Research at the University of Crete. The book, entitled *New Migration from and to Greece*, was published in 2014 and edited by the education and social scientists Michalis Damanakis, Stefanos Constantinides und Anastasios Tamis. In his contribution, Michalis Damanakis compares so-called economic migration

[1]See also, for example, Maria Rigoutsou's article on newly immigrated families in Germany in the *Kathimerini* newspaper's *Kappa* magazine, 16th March 2013.

and new migration and observes that between 1950 and 1970, migration took a structured form and almost exclusively involved those from a working class background. New migration, by contrast, transcends such class divisions and also involves university-educated individuals, who are mainly emigrating to Germany, Canada, and Australia. Since 2010, this tendency has even increased, and a 2014 representative study showed that one in two people would leave the country "if an opportunity should arise" (Damanakis 2014, p. 168 f.). We therefore use the concept of new migration in order to address migratory movements in relation to Greece's migration history and from the perspective of the newly immigrated individuals themselves.

In contrast to the dominant public discourse, we also approach new migration as a "family project". In the media, those who have recently migrated from Greece tend to be presented as highly qualified, young, and unmarried, and thus as flexible, mobile, independent, and prepared to migrate for the sake of their career. In other words, the focus is placed here on individuals. In *Der Spiegel*'s edition of 25th February 2013, for instance, the "new [and partially Greek] guest workers", were presented as the educated "refugees of the European crisis" (Becker et al. 2013, p. 31). Yet these apparently typical individuals almost all mentioned other family members, partners, or children whose migration was either being planned or had already taken place at the time of the interview. A number of recent academic studies in economics and the social sciences have also addressed the so-called brain drain phenomenon, discussing family backgrounds only in the margins of their accounts (see Labrianidis 2013; Labrianidis and Vogiatzis 2013; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2014; Pratsinakis 2019).

In speaking of new migration as a family project, we therefore wish to emphasise that contemporary migration from Greece, like earlier "guest worker migration"[2] does not simply involve (young), "work-ready" men who migrate without their families. Indeed, what is new today is not only the question of "migration and the family", but also the connection between family research and migration research. In this regard, Thomas Geisen (2014) notes that "a link between family and migration research" (p. 53) in the German-language research context is "still largely" wanting, due to the absence of the requisite theoretical concepts. These include David Morgan's (2011) notion of "doing family". As Morgan (2011)

[2]On the history of Greek (labour) migration to Germany, see Zelepos (2017); on the biographies of the next generation of the so-called Greek "guest workers" ("Gastarbeiter") see also Siouti (2013).

puts it, "[E]ven if it still sounds a little strange it reminds us that family is about process and doing" (as cited in Geisen 2014, p. 50). Morgan's concept makes it possible to understand family members' active and enduring constructive achievements (see Müller 2013). It accords with ethnographic research strategies (see for example Müller and Krinninger 2016), but is also open to further empirical approaches to family and migration research in education studies.

For us, the advantage of Morgan's theoretical concept is that it allows "doing" or "shaping" family (as opposed to simply "having" or "being" a family) to be examined within the course of migration itself. This serves to place particular emphasis on the process of family migration and the interconnectedness of migration and family processes. The family is not then conceived statically and, as it were, independently of an (unexpected) change in residence and the associated consequences for all family members. This makes it possible to address questions like: How does a day-to-day, trans-local familial praxis take shape within a family that has (only partially) migrated? How is the day-to-day family life of parents, children, and grandchildren constructed in the virtual sphere? How do different family members experience and shape practices of belonging and care (whether in a location-specific manner or not)?

In German-language education studies, we can observe a number of different theoretical orientations when it comes to conceptions of the family institution. Family is interpreted, firstly, as the result of social praxis and as a communicative network centred around dependable and personal care relationships (see Geisen 2014). Furthermore, Müller and Krinninger (2016) have stressed that there is "hardly any other social structure that has to carry out such a complex array of tasks and functions" (p. 21 f.) These not only include intergenerational care relationships but also the (successful) mutual organisation of the (school) education of all family members, particularly the youngest. For "all of the family's achievements in the field of upbringing and education are interwoven into the practical accomplishment of everyday family life and only understandable in relation to such processes of 'doing family'" (Müller and Krinninger 2016, p. 23). Furthermore, the concept of "doing family" would seem "capable of being linked […] to the specific conditions to which families are subject in the context of migration" (Geisen 2014, p. 53). It also offers a crucial basis for "a comparative form of family research" (Geisen 2014, p. 53) that might take into account the different legal positions occupied by families in migration-influenced societies and the forms of discrimination they suffer.

3 International Comparative Migration and Family Research: Examining the Transition to the German and Canadian Education Systems and the Challenges of Research Praxis Abroad

Our project considers migration flows within and outside Europe, involving families with (pre-)school-age children moving from Greece to Germany and Canada. Our overriding interest in the constitution of the family in the context of (extra-) European migration can be summarised via the following two questions: firstly, how does day-to-day family praxis or "doing family" relate to biographical interpretations of the migratory experiences of individual family members? Secondly, what familial negotiation and interpretation processes can be observed in the context of families' transitions to new educational institutions in Germany and Canada? These overarching questions are themselves tied to a number of key subquestions; to mention only those that relate, as per the fourth chapter of this volume, to education systems and their receptive structures and logics of integration and assimilation, these include the following:

What significance is accorded to the continuation of the children's education in the parents' decision to emigrate to Germany or Canada?

What are the parents' and children's expectations of the new national education systems? Have their expectations been met over the course of time or have they been disappointed, and in what respects have they been revised?

What experiences have parents and their children had with particular educational institutions in Germany and Canada, and how do these compare with their experiences of Greek systems?

Following migration sociologist Michael Bommes, we set out from the hypothesis that, as migrants, family members take on "the role of organisation members" (in relation to the education system they may be clients, lateral entrants, pupils, students, or indeed parents of (potential) schoolchildren), and as Bommes states, "it is difficult to see how they might succeed in this if they do not [orient] themselves via the associated expectations" nor construct the corresponding "expectations of expectations" (Bommes 2003, p. 95). By attending to the families' descriptions of their experiences and expectations, it is thus possible to reconstruct the structures, barriers, and institutional logics they encounter during their transition to a new education system. For us, what are particularly insightful are the instances of alienation described by parents and children in our interviews with them. Initial grounded theory-based analyses (see Charmaz 2014) of our interviews with parents and children with comparable educational expectations indicated that the linguistic preparation for the Canadian mainstream school

is regarded as an *unexpected successful intervention* (interview with a mother of two school-age children in Montreal, April 2014), while in Germany the missing recommendation for a secondary school (Gymnasium) is seen as an *unexpected unsuccessful intervention* (interview with the parents of a pre-school child and two school-age children in Düsseldorf, December 2015).

As our questions concerned specific familial experiences, we chose to use a narrative methodological approach, since in contrast to semi-structured interviews, "narratives open up a more extensive and internally structured insight into the experiential world" (Flick 1995, p. 115) of interviewees. In order not to reify their migration as our interviewees' defining characteristic, we decided—at least where the adults were concerned—to contextualise their experience in relation to their biographies.[3] Following Gabriele Rosenthal's (2005) theme-based narrative request format for biographical interviews, we opted for the pragmatic reasons described below for a "closed narrative request", (p. 144) formulated as follows: "We are interested in your personal experiences of the financial crisis in Greece and your migration to Canada/Germany. Perhaps you could tell us a little about how you first came to consider this move and what you have experienced up to today?"

As of June 2018, our sample consists of 31 families, some of whom are from a so-called working class background, while others are from an (upper) middle class background. The project began with data collection in Canada's Quebec province in April 2014, where we interviewed the first four families. Between 2015 and 2018, we then interviewed 23 further families in Germany's North Rhine-Westphalia region and in addition four families in Canada's Quebec. The interviews were conducted in Greek and in the homes of the families. They generally took the form of pair interviews, though with the children and adolescents in particular, we also sought to conduct individual interviews. Since our interview partners' wishes took precedence, however, we sometimes conducted joint sibling interviews. The interviews were carried out by Julie A. Panagiotopoulou, in Quebec in tandem with a social worker and in North Rhine-Westphalia along with a journalist. All three interviewers came to Germany or Canada from Greece and belong (more or less) to the same generation as the parents who were interviewed. They could therefore present themselves to the interviewed families as migrants themselves. Elsewhere we shall reflect on the methodological implications of this for the field of new migration, while also indicating the importance

[3]On the challenges of narrative interviews with children and adolescents, see Ecarius and Köbel (2012).

of a shared linguistic repertoire (e.g. German-Greek-English) between interviewers and interviewees, especially where newly arrived migrants are concerned.[4]

In closing this section, we would like to finally consider the pragmatic dimensions of our research in Quebec, where we were confronted with a number of challenges due to the project's temporal and financial limitations. Our access to the field in Canada was structured in such a way that we were unable to carry out interviews lasting several hours, since only half a day was allotted for each family visit and the interviews with all family members. The interviews could not be continued at a later date as they might have been in Germany, since the total period designated for research outside Europe was one week. The interviews with the four families, i.e. the parents and their children, could only be realised within this time thanks to our engagement of a social worker in Montreal's Greek community, who arranged the interview appointments. This social worker built up contacts with the newly immigrated families, who had come to know him as an educational professional while preparing to migrate to, and arriving in, Montreal. This had certain consequences for our interaction with the families during the interviews. The trust or "hermeneutic bond" (Bukow and Spindler 2006, p. 27) that is normally established between interviewees and interviewers well before the start of the interview through an initial approach, an introductory conversation, and an explanation of the research focus, had to be developed during the interviews themselves. Though the social worker (who was in an adjoining room while the interviews took place) had already established a certain level of trust for us in advance, this had to be reaffirmed and strengthened within our research praxis, i.e. in the co-construction process of the interview. This could not be achieved through a reserved form of active listening, but only through an especially active form in which the interviewer—in response to the families' questions—also divulged some personal information and spoke of her own experience of migration. The data have, therefore, a very particular quality on account of the frequent speaker interchange and the partially dialogical form of questioning. Due to this particular character of the data and the fact that the interviews had to be conducted in rapid succession, we decided during our research stay in Canada to ensure that the interviewer, Julie A. Panagiotopoulou, would herself be interviewed by Lisa Rosen immediately after each family visit, in order to document her first impressions and reconstruct any moments of alienation that may have arisen. These discussions led to the production of "talking fieldnotes" in response to the narrative stimulus: "Tell me about your experiences in your field

[4]On multilingualism in research praxis in Quebec, see Henkelmann 2012.

observations today" (Cloos 2010, p. 188). This method was developed and tested by the ethnographer and education researcher Peter Cloos, and we also applied it during an ethnographic project on refugee migration and the schooling of newly arrived students (see Panagiotopoulou et al. 2018). In the present project, it took the form of a narration of what the interviewer had experienced, seen, heard, and felt during her first (and last) visit to each family. There were also pragmatic reasons for using this method: it was important to document and describe these valuable impressions and to analyse these narratively gathered subjective insights as an expression of the field, especially since there would be no opportunity to conduct further interviews. One particular challenge of international comparative research is to produce comparable data. In order to do so, we decided in our German data collection to maintain the format of a quasi-narrative and strongly dialogical interview that we had adopted in Canada, even though our research was not subject to the same temporal restrictions.

4 Family Educational Migration to Germany and Canada: Concluding Reflections on the Advantages of International Comparative Migration and Family Research

"Old" migration, involving so-called "guest workers", was marked by the desire for social mobility and an "improvement in one's living standards and a better life for one's children". What such migrants "looked for was a social system that would offer the prospect of social advancement by means of personal achievement". As a family project, migration can thus also be understood here as a "cross-generational effort toward social advancement" (Thiessen 2014, p. 229). Where Greece is concerned, Paraskevi Grekopoulou (2011) observes that, for decades, education has been "the most important mobility channel for the social advancement of great swathes of the lower and middle social strata" (p. 168 f.). As she notes, one of the central components of "the Greek pattern of mobility" is an "unstratified education system, which does not bring the problem of inequality of opportunity to the fore at school". A further component involves "family support strategies for young people in their pursuit of educational success and […] occupational integration". Against this backdrop, then, the Greek financial crisis above all signifies an "interruption of the social advancement process" (Grekopoulou 2010, p. 115 f., 2011, p. 168 f.).

On this basis, and in accordance with an initial comparative analysis of our interviews using grounded theory, we interpret the "new" migration of families with (pre-)school age children as an attempt to safeguard their prior life projects and maintain the "family support strategies" (Grekopoulou 2010, p. 115 f.) they had elaborated even before migrating. In the wake of the socio-economic changes in Greek society resulting from the financial crisis, parents with (school-age) children are opting for educational migration as a means of securing the next generation's mobility and future prospects. What they are seeking today is a specific social system, and above all a "meritocratic education system", as a mother of two school-age children from Montreal puts it. That such an education system should ensure, "by means of personal achievement" (Thiessen 2014, p. 224), both *social advancement* for so-called working class families and *social stability* for (upper) middle class families is one of the central hypotheses our project systematically investigates.

As Hans-Rüdiger Müller (2013) has critically noted, the role of the "family as a learning and educational field" (p. 395) has predominantly been discussed in relation to the question of "the extent to which, on entering a new education system, children are (or can be put) in a position to meet those educational expectations that form the precondition of successful school attendance" (Müller 2013, p. 395). Where newly immigrated families from Greece are concerned, this question can also be reversed: for those parents who have passed through a rather non-selective education system in Greece and who have already experienced social mobility due to their (university) education, the question arises of the extent to which the German or Canadian education system is (or to what extent, through their own family support strategies, it can be put) in a position to meet their expectations—i.e. whether it can offer their children the possibility of successful school attendance and access to university education. In our study presented here, families who were extremely close in socio-economic terms spoke of their similar expectations yet different experiences of German and Canadian educational institutions. Through our comparative analyses of the families' descriptions of their transition to an education system that was not only new (and generally unknown) for the potential pupils or lateral entrants themselves, but also for their parents, we were able to reconstruct a number of informative instances of alienation. As a complement to international comparative education research, one of the advantages of international comparative migration and family research is its capacity to analyse, from the perspective of such families (who see (school) education as a central family strategy and even as the main driver of their migration), the level of inclusivity exhibited by different educational systems (such as the German and

the Canadian). Both the active educational aspirations of (new) migrant families and the reproduction of social inequalities due to a lack of educational opportunities have been empirically verified many times in Germany. Beyond the PISA studies, international comparative research has problematised and drawn attention to the different educational pathways of pupils from migrant families with comparable family socialisation conditions, sometimes posing rhetorical questions such as: "Are the children of Turkish immigrants cleverer in other countries than Germany?" (Wilmes et al. 2011). Similar questions raised by parents living in Germany, such as "Are my sister's children in Holland really brighter than my children?" (Wilmes et al. 2011, p. 31), indicate that their expectations vis-à-vis the performance of the German school system have been let down. International comparative analyses illuminate the systematic reproduction of different levels of "educational attainment among migrant children from the same background" as "an empirical reality" that "has thus far received very little attention in German educational debates" (Wilmes et al. 2011, p. 31).

One of the key results of our initial analyses that is particularly relevant to the present volume is that newly immigrated parents from Greece tend to develop a critical perspective on the German school system. In this respect, too, they can be differentiated from earlier "guest worker families". In one of our interviews, for example, the father of a family living in Düsseldorf spoke at length of his sense of alienation, that his high-achieving daughter was not unreservedly recommended for secondary study at a Gymnasium, and at her primary school teacher's justification for this, which mentioned an apparent lack of support on the part of her "non-German-speaking" parents. In order to illustrate the advantages of international comparative migration and family research through a further example, we can close by considering the differing experiences of interviewees in Canada: The parents in a Montreal-based family remarked on the success of their children's transition to the secondary level of their French-language school, though the family members do not use either of the official languages (French and English) in their family life. Through our analyses of family socialisation conditions, educational expectations, and educational strategies, together with the experiences of family members in two different, strongly migration-influenced societies, we aim to help trace the genesis of the different educational pathways taken by "lateral entrants"—in part by attending to their parents' (critical) perspectives. With the aid of their own and their children's alienated perspectives on these education systems, we aim to sharpen our own critical and comparative perception of institutionalised efforts to foster the inclusion of newly immigrated pupils.

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Recently Migrated Greek Families in Superdiverse Luxembourg: Motives for Migration and Global Competence

Nikos Gogonas

Abstract

The financial crisis in Greece has resulted in a new wave of emigration since 2008. Luxembourg is a small yet superdiverse state with three official languages and with foreign residents making up almost half of its population. It is a popular destination for new Greek migrants. The present chapter reports on a case study of two crisis-led, highly skilled migrant families from Greece living in Luxembourg. Both families migrated to Luxembourg in 2013. The chapter draws on an earlier study on Family Language Policies among Greek migrants in Luxembourg, for which data were collected from October 2014 to June 2015. A follow-up study on the above-mentioned families took place in February and March 2017. The study findings indicate that the two families have opposing worldviews, different motives for migration and different experiences, all of which account for differences with regard to their degree of global competence.

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1 Introduction

The economic crisis that hit Greece in 2008 resulted in a big wave of emigration. During the period of 2008–2015, 427,000 people left Greece (Lazaretou 2016). According to Pratsinakis et al. (2017b) the number of those who emigrated is even higher: in the six-year period from 2010 to 2015, more than 610,000 people are estimated to have left Greece, accounting for approximately six percent of the total population. In fact, 79 % of them actually had jobs when the crisis started, but decided to leave because they felt there were no professional opportunities and no future in the country (Pratsinakis et al. 2017a, b).

The motivations of "crisis" migrants are not limited to mere economic needs but are framed in a wider context of lack of prospects in Greece. Primary motives include positive evaluations of life and work abroad, worsening conditions in the Greek labour market and concerns about employment and income (Pratsinakis et al. 2017a). Labrianidis and Pratsinakis (2016) underline the difficulties of adjustment at the new destinations. One out of five of their survey respondents was not able to find a job within the first six months; a similar proportion of people were working below their qualifications; six percent were unemployed and 15 % had already returned to Greece. Nevertheless, the new Greek migrants do not consider return to be an option (Pratsinakis et al. 2017a). In some cases, they migrate to another country or engage in "temporary migration projects" and "livelihoods between 'here' and 'there'" (Pratsinakis et al. 2017a, p. 8).

At the same time, destinations for migration in Northwestern Europe are becoming superdiverse (Vertovec 2007). Superdiversity is characterised by a tremendous increase in the heterogeneity of migrants, not only in terms of their nationality, ethnicity, language and religion but also in terms of their motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, and processes of insertion into the labour and housing markets of their host societies Vertovec 2010). The project of adaptation in a new country requires that new migrants must be equipped with skills and competences which will enable them to navigate through dynamic and complex superdiverse contexts, and to compete in the new globalised, transnational and post-industrial/services market. In other words, they need to be globally competent individuals (Hunter et al. 2006).

The current chapter focuses on Luxembourg, a small but superdiverse country, with foreign residents from approximately 170 countries accounting for almost half of its population (STATEC 2018). The chapter attempts to contribute to our understanding of the motivation of new Greek migrants to migrate, and to shed

light on the factors affecting their migration experience. More specifically, the present study uses a qualitative methodology to address the following questions:

a) what are the families' motives for migration?
b) to what extent do these new migrants have the characteristics of globally competent citizens? The characteristics of global competence are presented in the next section.

2 Global Competence as an Attribute of Intercultural Competence

Intercultural competence has been defined in multiple ways. According to Storti (1990), it is "the process of learning a new culture and its language and behaviours in an effort to understand and empathise with the people of the culture and to live among and interact successfully with them" (p. 6). Gertsen (1990) defined it as "the ability to function effectively in another culture" (p. 431), while for Byram (2000) it means "the ability to function effectively with people of different social identities" (p. 5) Intercultural competence leads to "success in the fields of professional effectiveness, personal adjustment and intercultural interactions" (Van Der Zee and Van Oudenhoven 2000, p. 293). The common denominator in the above-mentioned definitions seems to be that individuals with high intercultural competence are better able to understand other people's (cultural) backgrounds and, therefore, communicate more effectively with others than people with lower intercultural competence.

Hunter et al. (2006) posit that global competence is a specific type of intercultural competence that allows for effective cross-cultural encounters. It requires "having an open mind while actively seeking to understand cultural norms and expectations of others, and leveraging this gained knowledge to interact, communicate, and work effectively outside one's environment" (p. 270). Their definition underscores the internal, personal traits and attitudes that help a person interact effectively across cultural boundaries.

According to Curran (2003), cross-cultural awareness and interaction are also key aspects of becoming globally competent (as cited in Hunter et al. 2006). Curran suggests that global competence comprises three constituents: to become familiar with an environment, to "go with the flow", and to reflect on the completion of a particular activity within a new culture. Curran states that familiarity with a new environment means being aware of one's own personal characteristics, strengths and weaknesses, cultural biases and norms, motivations and concerns—all of

which are considered essentials that can facilitate intercultural interaction and provide sources of continual learning. As Curran (2003) puts it, "Going with the flow" implies patience, tolerance for ambiguity, and acceptance for not knowing all the details of a situation at any given time (as cited in Hunter et al. 2006). Taking a moment to reflect on a new culture, Curran (2003) suggests, "constitutes mindfully considering the culture on its own merit, without judgmental comparison to what one may already believe" (as cited in Hunter et al. 2006, p. 275). In this paper, I have adopted Curran's operationalisation of global competence in order to examine the extent to which the new Greek families in Luxembourg possess the abovementioned characteristics of globally competent citizens (becoming familiar with/reflecting on a new culture and "going with the flow")—the characteristics that would enable them to make the most of their migration experience in a superdiverse state like Luxembourg.

3 Context of the Study: Luxembourg

The notion of superdiversity is suitable for describing the linguistic and demographic situation in Luxembourg. Luxembourg has a trilingual language situation incorporating Luxembourgish, French and German (Belling and DeBres 2014; Kirsch and Gogonas 2018). In addition to this, the growth of the financial sector has increased the presence of English as a lingua franca (Belling and DeBres 2014). In January 2018, the country had a population of 602,000 (STATEC 2018), which corresponds to an increase of more than 100,000 over the past 10 years. This continuous increase is mainly due to immigration. 48 % of the inhabitants of the country do not have Luxembourgish citizenship (STATEC 2018).

Greek emigration to trilingual Luxembourg started in the 1960 s and has been closely associated to the European Institutions. As a result of the economic crisis, the number of Greeks in Luxembourg increased significantly in the last years. In 2001, 865 Greek citizens lived in Luxembourg compared to 3,250 on 1 January 2018 (STATEC 2018). Greeks in Luxembourg tended to be employed as EU civil servants (Droulia-Mitrakou 2006). However, many of the newly arrived Greek immigrants are employed in the wider job market or looking for employment there (Gogonas and Kirsch 2016).

4 Methodology

The present study is a follow-up on a previous ethnographic study examining the language ideologies, language management and language practices of four Greek families living in Luxembourg (Gogonas and Kirsch 2016; Kirsch and Gogonas 2018).

The study employs a qualitative methodology and seeks to investigate the families' motives for migration and the extent to which they are "globally competent." The fieldwork of the first study took place between October 2014 and May 2015, and the follow-up study on two of the families took place in February and March 2017. The participating families are presented below.

Family A have three daughters, Eleni (11), Alexandra (14) and Ariadne (16) (see Tab. 1). Their mother Maria (43) is unemployed. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Greek Civilisation. Her last jobs in Greece were in administration and the service sector. Her husband Ioannis (49) 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 seven months later, in June 2013. Both adults speak various languages besides their native Greek. Maria has mastered English and German and has been studying French for the last four years. Ioannis speaks English, French and German, and takes classes in Luxembourgish.

Family B came to Luxembourg in 2013. Kostas (40) came in January, and Sophia (40) joined him with the children in June. They have two sons, Andreas

Tab. 1 Participating families

	Family A	Family B
Parents' names and ages	Maria, 43 and Ioannis, 49	Sophia, 40 and Kostas, 40
Children's names and ages	Eleni, 11 Alexandra, 14 Ariadne, 16	Andreas, 8.5 Hector, 10
Parents' education	Ioannis: Post-secondary vocational education. Maria: University degree	Kostas: Technical University Degree Sophia: Post-secondary vocational education
Parents' occupations	Ioannis: Hotel employee Maria: unemployed	Kostas: IT specialist European Parliament Sophia: Graphics designer at a company

(8.5) and Hector (10). The mother studied graphics and worked at a graphic arts atelier in Athens. She found work as a graphic designer in Luxembourg. Kostas used to work in Greece as an IT specialist at a Greek telecommunications company. In Luxembourg, he works as an IT external collaborator at the European Parliament. Sophia speaks Italian and English and was learning French during the data collection period, while Kostas speaks English and German, and is learning Luxembourgish.

4.1 Data Collection and Analysis

The purpose of the follow-up interviews, which took place approximately two years after the first study, was to invite the parents to revisit their migratory project to Luxembourg, to evaluate their decision to migrate, and to examine their degree of global competence. These interviews were carried out in Greek and lasted between 60 and 120 min. The use of Greek, as well as the fact that the interviewer and the interviewees had all recently migrated to Luxembourg, facilitated the development of a good rapport (Kirsch and Gogonas 2018). The current paper draws on interview data from both studies (2014 and 2017).

The data were analysed using thematic analysis in order to trace emerging themes (Guest et al. 2012). Themes included self-fulfilment; opportunities to improve standards of living; lack of opportunities for advancement in the workplace; familiarity with the new environment and sense of belonging; ethnic stereotyping; adaptability.

5 Findings

In the following subsections, I present findings relating to the two families' motives for migration and to their attitudes regarding their social and work life in their new country.

5.1 Pre-Migration Motives in the Two Families

The two families' motivations for migration seem to differ. Family A mentioned financial necessity. Both Maria and Ioannis were in precarious employment situations on the island of Crete, in Greece. They worked on a seasonal basis, for only five months a year. Ioannis applied for hotel work in several countries before

he received an invitation to an interview in Luxembourg. Initially he was given a six-month contract, which explains why he came to Luxembourg alone in the first place. Discussing his expectations from this migratory project, he says:

> I expected that I would be in a position to live more comfortably, to plan my obligations, and the life of my family without having to worry about the winter expenses, worrying about whether I would have employment during the next tourist season at the hotel (in Crete). (Interview in 2014)

Nevertheless, they were sorry to leave their familiar environment in "sunny" Crete, as they said. According to Ioannis, they had a big circle of relatives and friends and had recently bought a new house, which they did not have the time to enjoy.

Family B migrated to Luxembourg at a period when they were experiencing salary cuts due to the economic crisis. In fact, the idea to migrate was first planted in their minds when Kostas found a job in Austria. Although this was only for a short period of time, he returned to Greece with the idea of re-emigrating:

Kostas: "We had a similar experience during the period when I was working in Vienna. When I worked in this company, Sophia visited me about three times. So we had a discussion with Sophia and I was telling her, that there are many opportunities far away, as long as the children are still young, and that I would rather go either to Austria or to Luxembourg. I wouldn't go to any other country."
Researcher: "The reasons?"
Kostas: "The reasons were that I wanted to be paid for what I offer."
Researcher: "So, financial."
Kostas: "Not because of the crisis."
Sophia: "Not because we couldn't make ends meet in Greece, this was not the reason why we left…we just wanted to get a commensurate salary for our work. We wanted a sort of respect, both at a financial level and…."
Kostas: "the quality of life." (Interview in 2017)

As Kostas claims, the main reason for taking the decision to migrate had to do with the climate of social unrest resulting from the economic crisis, most evident in the area where they lived:

> Lately I wasn't happy with the situation in Athens. I used to live in a very degraded area where there is deprivation and social problems (drugs, delinquency, etc.). I believe the situation is similar in many parts of Greece now with the crisis. They break into your home and beat you up for 50 euros. As soon as I became a father I wanted a different environment for my children. A society that has a sense of community. Without discrimination against immigrants, people with special needs or homosexuals. (Interview in 2015)

The foregoing discussion of the families' pre-migration motives indicates differences in their reasons for migration. For Family A, migration was a means of acquiring financial stability; while for Family B, it was mostly an opportunity to change their lifestyle and secure a better quality of life. In the following sections I present findings on each family separately.

5.2 Family a: "It's in the Greeks' genes to be sociable"

As we will see in this section, the members of Family A seem to adopt ethnic stereotypes without questioning them. By adopting and reproducing stereotypes, they perceive structural differences between themselves and the "others." These differences account for the family's difficulties in coping with their everyday social and professional experiences. Ioannis says, for example, that employees in public services express a degree of unwillingness to serve him, while Maria complains about the indifferent attitude of shop assistants towards her because she looks like "a woman from the South":

Ioannis: "In public services, on the bus, on issuing a ticket, asking a train employee a question, there is a sort of unwillingness to talk to me, I have mostly had to deal with civil servants, not simple individuals. It's this feeling you get sometimes, from their expression, the way they look at you, like they do not want to serve you."

Researcher: "Do you have more examples like this?"

Maria: "Yes, in shops, I have come across this attitude many times, that they won't address me, they won't ask me if I'm being served, while if a more Northern-looking woman comes in, they immediately address her, tell her 'good evening madam', etc. I have the characteristics of a woman from the South. I don't know if they think I'm Spanish, Italian or Portuguese, but I look like I'm from the South." (Interview in 2017)

Ioannis adds that the above attitudes do not apply only to Luxembourgers but also to other nationals "from the North":

Ioannis: "This does not only apply to Luxembourgish people, but also to non-Luxembourgers. The French, the Germans, the Belgians… More introvert people, they are necessarily polite, as I like to call it, polite up to a point."
Maria: "For example at the Language Institute that I go to, I don't see people opening up to me. Especially the latest class I'm in. They are too introvert".
Ioannis: "And cold."
Maria: "This is negative."

However, people "from the South" are more "open":

Maria: "The Southerners are the only ones who open up. I know an Italian woman, a Spanish woman…."
Ioannis: "At work, I know some Southern people with whom I speak more comfortably. They are Portuguese, or French with Italian origins."

Then, they compare the situation to Greece, where people are more "open and helpful" because it is in their "genes":

Maria: "I think to myself, what if something happens to me, to the family? Whom can I turn to for help? Whose door can I knock on?"
"Our neighbour is our landlord, but we don't have contact, apart from a casual 'good morning' greeting if we bump into him on the street."
Ioannis: "And I believe, even though currently I ignore a little bit the Greek reality, because I've been away for four years, still I know more or less what's going on… Greek people haven't changed so much to the extent not to talk to you or be communicative."
Maria: "It's in the Greeks' genes to open up more easily."
Ioannis: "Even though the people have problems, a lot of problems. People here have no problems, compared to the Greeks, not even as a joke."
Maria: "People here are in their little cloud." (Interview in 2017)

While Maria had knowledge of German prior to migrating to Luxembourg, and has since taken classes in French, she does nevertheless not have opportunities to practise speaking these languages:

> Speaking a language requires having social relationships with people. And that's not always possible. My husband has the possibility of being in contact with two to three different languages on a daily basis but I don't have this. My only contact with the languages is in the Language Institute twice a week.

Moreover, the two parents have limited social contact, besides with other Greek people:

Researcher:	"Could you describe to me your social circle, (friends, acquaintances) apart from Greek people here?"
Maria:	"Not friends, acquaintances."
Researcher:	"Do you exchange home visits?"
Maria and Ioannis:	"No, never."
Maria:	"We never received any invitation. In three years."
Researcher:	"So if you have social relationships it is more likely to be with Greeks?"
Maria:	"Yes, definitely." (Interview in 2017)

In sharp contrast to their parents, the children do not face socialisation difficulties and, moreover, seem to have adapted well. Maria is concerned, however, because the girls have developed a sort of distance from Greece. This is especially evident in the eldest one, who has developed a sort of dislike:

> The children's perceptions of Greece have changed a lot. If it weren't for us taking them back to Greece, they wouldn't mind not going at all. I don't know if it is a sort of defence. Ariadne has a Greek friend, but in general she avoids socialising with Greek kids. There are five to six Greek kids in her school. I was telling her the other day, 'get together with them, do something together, as Greeks in a Luxembourgish school.' Her reaction was negative. She said, "I don't want to have to deal with Greeks. (Interview in 2017)

In the above quote it is worth noting that Maria insists on a separatist focus of nationalities. By encouraging her children to socialise with Greeks and to put together a Greek event in the school, she tries to inculcate in her children feelings of national pride. The children, who are trying to cope with the superdiverse environment of their school, react against this. For them, ethnicity does not seem to play a role in making friends.

5.3 Family a: Ethnic Stereotypes and Lack of Flexibility

It seems that the essentialist stance towards national identities that the parents of Family A hold permeates their full range of experiences in Luxembourg, whether social or employment-related. In the quote below, Ioannis seems to imply that he was discriminated against and denied promotion at work, on the grounds of his nationality:

> In the hotel where I work I had two chances to become reception supervisor and IT manager. There were these two job openings. And on both occasions they ignored me. And for the one position, "reception supervisor", the HR manager told me I would be better suited for the IT position. They still haven't hired anybody for this position. After this, I lost all my motivation.
>
> Up to a point I believe that my nationality might be the reason, but maybe I am exaggerating. It might also be my age. However, I have seen other foreigners who tried to improve their position in my job situation and they were ignored like I was. I believe there is discrimination towards certain nationalities. If I were French or German, I wouldn't face such problems. (Interview in 2017)

Maria feels disappointed because she remains unemployed after three and a half years in Luxembourg. In the following quote she discusses her experience of visiting the Unemployment Office:

> What they proposed? To start training to become a gardener, to work as a caregiver for the elderly, as well as a cleaning job. I don't know if I did the right thing, but I felt very bad and I said to myself 'I'm not coming back here again.' I have particular work experience, I have a university degree, and I say to myself what am I doing here? Will I have to start from scratch?

Moreover, it seems that Maria's language skills do not match the market needs in Luxembourg. Prior to coming to Luxembourg, she thought that she would easily find employment based on her knowledge of English and German, the latter being one of the official languages of Luxembourg. However, she soon realised the necessity of competences in Luxembourgish and French in order to access many of the jobs on the market.

Researcher: "When you realised this, did you take up Luxembourgish lessons?"
Maria: "I did for a few months but then I abandoned it. This situation is nerve-wracking." (Interview in 2017)

The above quotes are revealing in terms of the ways in which the parents of Family A cope with employment issues in their new country. Ioannis blames others for his missed chances of promotion and believes he is treated unfairly on the grounds of his ethnicity. He could be taking measures to improve himself in terms of skills so as to become more competitive in the job market. Maria has a similar passive and defensive attitude. The Unemployment Office proposed some jobs to her but she refused to take them because they are below her qualifications. Although she had time to enrich her linguistic repertoire, she abandoned her Luxembourgish classes. Overall, the above data indicate a lack of agency and flexibility on the part of Family A.

5.4 Family B: Local Society Integration, Adaptability and Global Citizenship

Family B sees life in Luxembourg as a challenge. The parents feel relieved to have left the social malaise caused by the crisis in Greece. According to them, the situation in the deprived western suburb of Athens where they lived prior to migrating to Luxembourg was "dreary": with a climate of social unrest and high rates of delinquency, it is not the right place to "raise one's children." In their eyes, Luxembourg provides a unique quality of life, educational opportunities for the children who have the privilege of learning two important foreign languages (German and French), and a promising *terrain* for their career prospects (see also Gogonas and Kirsch 2016).

While both of them claim that they feel like "citizens of the world", Kostas also believes in "local society integration" and enjoys participating in various activities organised by the village in which they live. These include playing football with the village team and socialising with people from the local area. His motivation to integrate in the local society makes him use German and sometimes Luxembourgish with his friends, while he uses English at work. He believes that this is easy to do in a multilingual environment like the Luxembourgish one, because:

> People do speak various languages but they do not speak them at a very high level. For this reason, I don't feel I have to speak perfectly either, so I am not afraid of making mistakes. (Interview in 2017)

Sophia has some contact with other mothers from the school, and she has started going to the local gym, which has given her more opportunities to socialise. She

is still insecure about her French, which she only uses with one of her friends. With others, she uses English. Kostas tries to manage Sophia's language-learning by asking her friends to speak only in French to her:

> These women all speak French and I have asked two of them to speak with Sophia in French. One of them has taken it seriously and she speaks only in French with Sophia because she realises that this will do them both good, as they can practise and correct each other's errors. Because it's only with practice that you get the value of knowing a language. (Interview in 2017)

A key competence that both Kostas and Sophia have is the ability to familiarise themselves with an environment, or indeed "go with the flow" (Curran 2003). This characteristic, which according to Curran reflects global competence, helps them feel at home "wherever they live." However, it takes some effort to "understand the place":

Researcher: "Do you feel you belong here, or do you feel like strangers?"
Sophia: "I don't have such issues. Wherever I live, there I belong. I believe people can adapt."
Kostas: "I believe that if you live well and have a good time, wherever you live you feel at home. But you must also make some effort to understand the place." (Interview in 2017)

Kostas believes a lot in adaptability and would like his two sons to have this skill. With regard to language-learning he claims: "If they need to go for work in China, they should learn Chinese. Adaptability is important, and language-learning helps a lot for that." Unlike Maria in Family A, who has negative feelings because her daughters have distanced themselves from their Greek roots and identity, the parents in Family B are quite relaxed about the children maintaining their "Greekness." Sophia puts it like this:

> If they tell me at some point in their lives that they would like to go to Greece only for a holiday, I wouldn't mind at all. It's their life, they should decide for themselves. (Interview in 2017)

The above quotations demonstrate that Family B has a flexible attitude to their migration experience. They embrace both the "local" element, or, in the words of Kostas, "local society integration", and also see themselves as cosmopolitans, citizens of the world.

5.5 Family B: Self-Fulfilment and Continuous Improvement

Sophia and Kostas believe that migrating to Luxembourg was a good decision and that their migratory project has been successful. They like "new things" and they also like to "improve themselves." They believe that Luxembourg gives them an opportunity to realise their goals:

Researcher: "After four years in Luxembourg, how would you judge your decision to come here?"
Sophia: "Very good. I'm really positive. I think we made a very good step both for ourselves and for the children because of the quality of life, the opportunities, their future, I think it was a good decision."
Kostas: "I like changes, because if things remain the same they become stagnant. And I can't stand this. If I see that we get stagnated here, we'll leave. But here, there is always the possibility to move on, because of the situation. I have a new challenge now, to learn Luxembourgish, I want to see how the farmers work, because I may be an IT person but it doesn't mean that I don't have other interests. I want to see what real life is like."
Sophia: "We like improving ourselves."
Kostas: "We like new things; I may take up French again next year. I may get inspired to start learning new things".
Researcher: "Do you believe you have achieved the initial goals, expectations, which you had set before coming here?"
Sophia: "Yes, we have."
Kostas: "We're not so demanding, we didn't come here to become rich, we came to have a better quality of life. I believe we have achieved that, according to our own standards." (Interview in 2017)

The foregoing presentation of the findings shows several differences between the two families. On the one hand, the parents of Family A maintain the categorisation and labelling of ethnic groups, and they do not seek social contact with non-Greeks. While Maria has a rich linguistic repertoire, she does not pursue opportunities to practise the languages she speaks. Both partners seem to lack flexibility and agency, and wait for developments passively. While they feel that their children are receiving a good education and will benefit in the future from their trilingual language-learning in Luxembourg (Gogonas and Kirsch 2016),

they are concerned about their children's psychological distance from Greece. Holding essentialist views of national identity, they may be feeling that the children are going to "lose their identity." On the other hand, Family B seeks out socialisation with people from both the local and the wider community, regularly looking for opportunities to practise the languages they are learning. They believe in local society integration, adaptability and feel like "citizens of the world." They are proactive and invest in their self-improvement because they like innovation and new challenges. Such qualities could boost their competitiveness in the labour market.

6 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Given the ongoing, new Greek emigration to Northern Europe, the aim of this case study was to make a contribution to the research on new Greek migration to Luxembourg. Luxembourg is an emerging destination for many migrants from Greece and southern Europe especially after the post 2008 financial crisis. Its superdiverse milieu makes it an ideal site for research on new, crisis-led, European migration. In the context of superdiversity, the predictability of the stereotype of "migrant" and of his/her sociocultural characteristics has disappeared (Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Thus, in the context of Luxembourg, one cannot have presuppositions regarding the sociocultural features of the category of Greek migrant. This becomes evident if we attempt a comparison of the two families under examination in the current study. With regard to the first research question of the study, investigating the families' migration motives, findings show that for Family A, migration is seen as a necessity, a way of securing financial stability. If they had had the chance, the members of Family A would have remained in Greece, in a safe environment amongst their family and friends. Thus, Family A expresses a large degree of attachment to the home country. Mobility is viewed in an instrumental way, as a means of acquiring wealth. The members of Family B, on the other hand, having briefly experienced working abroad in the past, longed to change their lifestyle and quality of life by seeking intercultural experiences abroad. Mobility for them is not a means of "becoming rich", but a means of self-fulfilment and improvement. The second research question of the study examines the degree to which the members of the two families are globally competent. It seems that the two families' opposing worldviews and experiences of migration account for their differences with regard to global competence. The parents in Family A tend to construct their identity and the way they view "the others" through an essentialist lens. They explain the behaviour of others by

using criteria based on ethnicity. According to this conceptualisation, Northerners are "cold and distant." This does not apply only to "Luxembourgers" but also to "Belgians, French and Germans." At the opposite end are the Greeks and other Southerners. The Greeks are sociable and open because of their genes. As Krizan et al. (2008) note, a lack of knowledge about cultural diversity and an inability to understand other cultures give rise to stereotypes, as people rely on a simplified principle—they are not like "us." In contrast, the members of Family B, instead of feeling under threat by cultural differences and the loss of national identity, incorporate both local and global dimensions into their sense of self, embracing their personal expansion (Jackson 2011). They seem to fulfil most of the criteria which make up a global citizen according to the OECD (2018): the ability to "examine local, global and intercultural issues, understand and appreciate different perspectives and world views, interact successfully and respectfully with others, and take responsible action toward sustainability and collective well-being" (p. 7). Moving from an ethnocentric to an ethnorelative perspective, they become more appreciative of other ways of being, beyond the limitations of a national identity (Bennett 1993). In this way, they have gradually come to view themselves as cosmopolitan members of an interconnected, global community (Jackson 2011).

This study has contributed to the research on new, crisis-led Greek emigration to Northwestern Europe by shedding light on (the situation in) Luxembourg. The study points to global competence as a characteristic enabling new migrants to cope in the current superdiverse host societies. Larger-scale studies are required in order to explore whether global competence is related to higher competitiveness in the new globalised, transnational and post-industrial/services market. The outcomes of such studies would be particularly important for an understanding of the new migratory movements in Europe and elsewhere.

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Albanian Families Leaving Greece: Narratives on Repatriation and the Sense of Belonging by Children and Teenage Students in Albania

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Abstract

The present research falls within the scope of contemporary immigrant mobility between Greece and Albania. More specifically, it focuses on pre-adolescent and adolescent "repatriation". Our research aim was to examine pre-adolescents' and adolescents' narratives of their experience of moving and integrating into Albanian society after having lived in Greece for many years. Research data was collected through semi-structured interviews with 31 students of Albanian descent, whose families repatriated to their country of origin after having studied in the Greek education system. The participants were selected from students of the Greek minority school in southern Albania. The analysis of research data revealed that the narrative of the students' transition from one framework to the other is not a linear process, but instead a dynamic

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one, a process that is mediated by the experiences of their migration pathways. As a result, the students' integration into the new social situations oscillates between "accepting" the society's dominant institutions and "maintaining" bicultural mental entries as a feature of their identity.

1 Introduction

This paper concerns contemporary migration mobility, focusing in particular on migratory inflows and outflows between Albania and Greece. While Albanian migration to Greece since the early 1990 s has been studied in various surveys (Hatziprokopiou 2003; King 2005; Vullnetari 2007; King and Vullnetari 2012), homing (or return migration) to Albania is a recent, ongoing phenomenon that has only just begun to be observed and documented. Together with a change in the economic conditions in the country of residence, the geographical proximity of the two countries has led to a constant "back and forth" population mobility, and a new mapping of migratory flows (Michail 2009; Gemi 2014; Kunuroglou et al. 2016).

The present study focuses on family repatriation, especially as seen through the eyes of children and adolescents. Until recently, bibliography on this dimension of migration was limited and somewhat patchy (King 2000; Gmelch 1980; King and Christou 2010). However, light is now beginning to be shed on various aspects of youth mobility and return to the country of origin (Vathi 2015).

Hatfield (2010) characterises repatriated children and adolescents as "doubly invisible migrants" (p. 243). This description stems from the limited research on repatriation per se, on the one hand because as a process it is deemed to involve the trouble-free return of migrants to their country of origin, and on the other because repatriated children and teenagers are treated as "baggage". Indeed, children and teenagers do not have the privileges or skills to participate in deciding on the family's move, or to assess the reasons which have led their parents to such a decision (Pavlopoulos et al. 2015). So although they may be uninvolved in the initial idea of moving from one place to another, in the new location they are actively involved in defining their own "space" and finding their feet within it (Hatfield 2010).

Studies investigating the reasons that lead families to repatriate describe a range of material, emotional and psychological processes at work (Cassarino 2008). In particular, work by King and Christou (2014) on Greek-Americans and

Greek-Germans deciding to return to Greece reveals differing narrative frameworks relating both to financial factors (success vs. failure of the initial migration) and to the myth of returning to the "homeland". Similarly, in investigating the experiences of children of Irish descent coming back from the UK and the USA, Ni Laoire (2011) highlights the fact that the quality of life, moral values and security are arguments constructed by parents to confirm the soundness of their decision to return to the country of origin. This argumentation runs through the discourse of their children, who adopt the narrative even when conditions belie it.

Similarly, research by Vathi and Duci (2016) on the mental wellbeing and resilience of repatriated Albanian adolescents sheds light on the psychosocial issues they face on returning, and the attempts made to overcome them by seeking company with peers who have similar experiences. Moving from one country to another triggers a series of profound changes in the lives and identities of adolescents, which are subject to constant renegotiation both on an internal level and between members of the family and the wider social environment (Michail and Christou 2016). Comparable conclusions are reached in research by Vathi, Duci and Dhembo (2016), according to which adolescents repatriating to Albania construct their own sense of belonging based on multiple geographical references, while setting their sights on future mobility as adults.

Returning to the country of origin is a complicated enough process for adults (Van Meeteren et al. 2014). Having spent part of their lives in another country, where they have accumulated a variety of new experiences and thus altered their worldview to a certain extent, they return to a place which has also undergone considerable social and economic change. This inevitably leads to a clash between the imagined version of their country of origin and the reality they face upon their return.

Adjustment is even more complicated in the case of children and adolescents, who may have little experience of life in the country of origin. If they were born in the host country or arrived there at a very early age, they will in all likelihood have been socialised predominantly according to the new country's values and beliefs. Their familiarity with those of the "old country" is constructed through parental narratives, attendance at religious and cultural celebrations, or family visits to the country of origin (Levitt 2009).

As a result, it is hard to contend that "repatriation" bears the same meaning for children as it does for adults. Some scholars have even proposed that in the case of the former, "new immigration" is a more accurate descriptor than "return" (King and Christou 2014). Then again, it has been argued that both terms imply something static and final; as King (2000) suggests, in the case of the children of immigrants,

we should view the move to the country of origin as a crucial stage on the migration journey, rather than an end. In fact, in order to better capture the complexity of modern mobility, the term "return mobilities" has been put forward as an alternative to "return migration" (King 2000; Dustmann 2003; Cassarino 2004).

2 Research Methodology

2.1 Purpose and Aims

The findings presented below are part of a broader investigation attempting to analyse aspects of cyclical migratory movements by repatriated students.

This particular study was motivated by a change in the qualitative characteristics of migrant mobility in Greece, due both to the domestic economic crisis and to wider political instability in Asia and Africa. Key features of this change are a fall in migration flows from SE Europe and an increase in economic migrants and asylum seekers from neighbouring continents. At the same time, a rise in Greek emigration has been recorded (Kontis 2014), alongside the return migration of legal immigrants following lengthy residence in Greece (INSTAT and IOM 2014).

The phenomenon of repatriation involving adult migrants and their families is clearly reflected in the mobility of the student population at schools countrywide. According to the Greek Ministry of Education's statistics for the 2013/2014 school year, the outflow of pupils from Greece to Albania exceeded movement the other way as seen in Tab. 1.

On the basis of the above, our study was designed to reveal how pre-adolescent and adolescent children experience the overall process of "returning" to their (parents') country of origin. Fundamental research objectives were to investigate how "repatriating" pupils negotiate the transition from Greek to Albanian society, how they internalise and decode the change in their place of residence, and how they eventually behave in their new surroundings so as to find their own place there. The study hinges on accounts by the pupils themselves and their personal perspectives on their family's migration pathways.

(In particular,) Distinct research objectives can be divided along the following lines:

a) Socialisation conditions of participants when in Greece;
b) Processes of transition from Greece to Albania;
c) (Re)socialisation framework in Albania.

Tab. 1 Pupil enrolments/transfers from Greece to Albania and vice versa in the 2013/2014 school year

Direction (from > to)	Primary school pupils	Secondary school pupils	Outflow (−) vs. Inflow (+)
Greece > Albania	−478	−158	−636
Albania > Greece	+211	+107	+318
TOTAL	**–267**	**–51**	**–318**

Note: Adapted from https://www.minedu.gov.gr by Greek Ministry of Education

2.2 Data Collection and Analysis Techniques

The basic data collection method employed in this study was the semi-structured interview, conducted with children and adolescents of Albanian descent. This was chosen as it was both flexible and interactive, enabling the researcher to comprehend how participants experience the social world around them and find their place within it (Mason 2011). According to Burgess (1984), Interviews are defined as "conversations with a purpose" (as cited in Mason 2011, p. 76), which activate various modes of discourse, such as narration, description, dialogue and argumentation, allowing participants to express their own subjective view on aspects of their social reality (Tsiolis 2015).

The interviews were based on open-ended questions structured around a number of key topic areas, in accordance with research aims. Topic areas were as follows:

- Pupil profile (age, year at school, family type, place of birth, years resident in Greece, years resident in Albania)
- Life in Greece: reasons for migrating, family socio-economic living conditions, family and especially pupil social life, pupil education/upbringing and social life, family relations with the country of origin (Albanian language use, reference to cultural customs, visits etc.).
- Life in Albania: reasons for the family "returning", pupil experiences, events and emotions on "returning", family socio-economic living conditions, family and especially pupil social life, pupil education/upbringing and social life, family relations with the previous country of residence (Greek language use, reference to cultural customs, visits etc.)
- Future aims and orientation of pupil, plus self-identification.

Using the above research questions and topic areas, information from the pupils' discourse was assigned to pre-determined categories in accordance with thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2012). This was chosen as a flexible method combining both inductive and deductive processes, meaning that when employed as data codification and analysis units, themes emerge by dynamically linking the contents of an experiential dataset to the researcher's theoretical questions (Braun and Clarke 2012, p. 58 f.). Thus, by placing emphasis on the contents of the pupils' discourse, the present study aims to shed light on how participants experience the migration pathways in their lives.

2.3 Participants

The target group in our study consisted of pupils of Albanian origin who spent some years in Greece and attended school there before repatriating to Albania with their families. In order to investigate the "repatriation" experience of this group, we targeted pupils meeting the above criteria who went on to attend a Greek Minority School in Albania. This is one of the largest minority schools in the region and has been attended by ethnic Greek pupils in Albania since its establishment. However, the school roll has changed radically since 2009, as increasing numbers of Albanian-descent pupils returning from Greece have registered. According to school records, such pupils accounted for 15 % of the total in the 2014/2015 academic year.

The school accommodates children from grades 1 to 12, with a Primary School (1–5), a Junior High School (Gymnasio, 6–9) and a Senior High School (Lyceum, 10–12). All courses at the primary level are taught in Greek, while Albanian is taught as its own subject for one period per day. In Junior High, instruction takes place through both mediums, as half of the courses are taught in Greek and the other half in Albanian. In Senior High School, the entire curriculum is taught in Greek with the exception of Albanian, History and Geography.

All teachers at the school are Albanian nationals. For obvious reasons, the Greek part of the curriculum is delivered by Greek-speaking members of the minority, while the remainder is taught by Albanian speakers. Textbooks are prepared and provided by the Albanian education authorities.

Fieldwork was carried out at the school in May 2015. The authors visited by arrangement with the principal, having secured the cooperation of staff and pupils. During the visit, interviews were conducted (i) with the principal and teaching staff members and (ii) individually, with a number of pupils at all school levels. This paper focusses on data collected from pupils.

Of the 31 interviews in all, 5 were held with primary school pupils, 9 with children at junior high and 17 with senior high school students. 15 participants were boys and 16 girls, ranging in age from 10 to 18. As regards place of birth, the fact that 21 pupils were born in Greece clearly shows that they had been resident there for several years. 10 pupils were born in Albania but migrated to Greece along with their families in early childhood. Concerning number of years since return, we selected participants who had been back in Albania for between 1 and 4 years. Attempts were made to obtain a relatively evenly distributed sample, so as to record data both from recent arrivals and from children who had adapted to their surroundings to some extent.

3 Research Results

3.1 Ethno-Cultural Aspects of the Participants' Lives Before Returning to Their Country of Origin

Although the present study focuses on the repatriation setting, both the process of returning per se and integration into the new society are directly linked to experiences acquired during the socialisation process in the host country (King and Christou 2014, p. 86). To better comprehend the framework in which the transition from one society to the other occurred, it is useful to start out by analysing the socialisation circumstances of the children and adolescents in our sample while they lived in Greece. Analysis of this type will reveal the structural features in how they defined themselves and their ethno-cultural identity when at the time they returned to their country of origin.

With regard to experiences in the Greek school system, relevant bibliography suggests that immigrant pupils find themselves in a fairly ethnocentric system which does not cater for cultural and linguistic pluralism (Damanakis 1997). Migrant pupils' languages and cultures are by and large ignored as a result of a basically assimilative policy towards minorities (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014). The few notable instances of "heritage language teaching" or "transformative pedagogy" initiatives taking place as part of European Union-funded projects[1] do not suffice to claim that Intercultural Education is a reality in Greek schools. "Heritage" or

[1]See "Integration of Repatriated and Foreign Students into Greek schools", Centre of Intercultural Education, University of Athens and "Education of Foreign and Repatriated Students", http://www.diapolis.auth.gr.

"community" language instruction usually takes place at home or, in rare instances, in organised community schools.[2]

At the same time, when talking of their family, participants described a Greece-centred upbringing, stating that: "My parents brought me up like Greek parents bring up their children" (S21).[3] When focusing on their social circle they spoke of "strong" friendships with both Greeks and their compatriots who lived in Greece. Often these friendships are maintained in various ways after "returning" to the country of origin, e.g.: "I had good friends … no swearing because I was Albanian, we were like siblings … we still chat via Skype and Facebook" (S6).

The picture that emerges is that for as long as participants lived in Greece, they were well integrated and adapted to local conditions, without necessarily being fully assimilated into the dominant society. Enduring elements of their identity originating from their ethnic background were transported to the students' present and interacted with their contemporary experience in the society where they lived (Kontogianni et al. 2014). In such a context, the participants seem to perceive their ethnic origin not as something setting them apart or differentiating them, but as an element of their ethno-cultural identity. They refer to their origin as "who I am", as something given and immutable, since it relates to narrating their own family origins. This narrative is complemented by features associated with the country of residence and their experience in it. As one participant put it: "I always said that I was from Albania. I never had issues. We were fine. I was no different from others, I was the same" (S15).

The same stance towards the interface between linguistic and cultural features from the two countries is seen in the way several participants speak of their domestic daily life in Greece. In some cases, the "home" language and culture have an instrumental dimension to them (Damanakis 2007), as in the case of S15, who stated: "I only learned to speak Albanian because we came here in the summer every year." Of course, there are cases of children who hinted at the family distancing itself from Albanian ethno-cultural features in their everyday life, and referred to a largely Greek upbringing, as in the case of S20: "My childhood was Greek in every way … Greek customs … everything was Greek."

Whatever the case may be, it should be stressed that the ethno-cultural characteristics distinguishing each research participant are closely bound up with the

[2]See research by Mattheoudakis et al. (2017) on community schools in Greece. As far as Albanians are concerned, the number of schools is far lower than might be expected on the basis of overall population size.

[3]"S1–S31" are code names of the participant students.

conceptual content that parents themselves attach to the language and culture of the country of origin. Given that the research participants were born and raised in Greece or immigrated at an early age, they did not have a clear picture of their place of origin (Dustmann 2003). In other words, in the majority of cases ethnic identity operates on a symbolic level (Damanakis 2007), since during childhood the homeland is experienced indirectly, filtered through family attitudes and orientation. At most this is enriched by direct experience, since some of the children spent holidays in the country of origin: "Our parents used to talk to us about Albania, but for us it was more the place where we went on holiday" (S24).

It follows that at the moment the transition to Albania occurred, our participants had a Greek-dominant ethno-cultural identity, largely on account of their attendance at mono-cultural/monolingual oriented schools and their overall participation in contemporary social reality in Greece. Nevertheless, this Greece-centred identity is at the same time in a dialectic relationship, creatively embodying the underlying otherness of the participants' cultural origin. In other words, it lends temporal depth to their identity references (Taylor 1997). This is because self-identification is based on an awareness not simply of "who am I now", but also of "how I became what I am now". Thus, on the one hand, identity is configured on a symbolic, abstract level, and on the other, it varies from person to person, depending on how each family chooses to handle it in the community of residence.

3.2 Reasons for Repatriation and Coping with the Decision to do so

The reasons behind migration from Albania in the 1990 s have been adequately studied, mainly revealing the economic and political situation as the motive for moving to countries nearby or further away (King and Vullnetari 2012; Vadean and Piracha 2009). According to the pupils, economic, political and social factors were what led their parents to emigrate to Greece, leaving behind a country in moral, social and economic collapse.

The majority of participants gave the economic crisis affecting Greece from 2009 onwards as the main reason why their family repatriated. It is commonplace that in periods of recession, the first groups to be affected in society are the lower socio-economic strata to which economic migrants belong (Gemi 2013). As also observed by Vathi (2015), the soaring unemployment rate in Greece was cited as the main reason that led the parents of research participants to repatriate. A fair number of pupils even stated that repatriation had not been something

in their family's immediate plans. The decision was clearly driven by lack of work and the necessary financial means to continue living in Greece. In one typical instance, S18 stated: "They (my parents) ended up out of work, there was no money for the rent. If they'd had money, we wouldn't have left". S26 added: "We weren't thinking of leaving. We struggled for 3 years, but in the end we couldn't make ends meet".

At the same time, the participants mentioned a number of other factors as contributing to the family's decision to return, such as owning property, having a network of relatives (grandparents, extended family) and the repatriation trend catching on among economic migrants living in Greece: "Some of my uncles returned from Greece, so we thought of doing the same"(S11).

From the participants' point of view, the parental decision to repatriate was met with mixed thoughts and feelings. In their narratives, teenagers captured the mental confusion and conflict between the compulsory nature of the return and the loss of a place known and familiar, focusing primarily on separation from friends and their peer group. This is illustrated in typical fashion by S10:

> It was a big shock. Almost a year has passed, but it's like it was yesterday. Because when you have a whole life made in one place, you've got your friends, it's a shame to leave—you don't want to leave at all. But, because I always had my roots here in Albania—of course we hardly ever visited—I was confused, I wanted to leave and at the same time I didn't want to leave … I wanted to live as an Albanian young girl…On the other hand, all my life was there (in Greece), it was too difficult to decide. But it wasn't up to me … at moments I had contradictory feelings… is that confusing? I felt a lot of emotions.

3.3 Decoding the "Return"

Survey participants return to their society of origin with experiences acquired in another social structure, due to the life course they have charted as migrants. At the same time, they have diverse images and expectations of the return. In their repatriation narratives, participants focus on:

- Their self/hetero-identification with respect to Albanian residents;
- Assessments and classifications of peer and non-peer social behaviour;
- The process of integrating into the society they now reside in.

3.3.1 Self/Hetero-Identification of Participants with Respect to Albanian Residents

After arriving in Albania, pupils recounted feeling distant from their relatives rather than close and intimate. They were in limbo, "not belonging" to their place of origin, since they looked on Albanian relatives in their immediate environment as "Others", even if these "Others" were from the same country/of the same descent as the pupils. As pupil S9 related: "On the first day we arrived here, my grandparents were waiting for us. I felt like a stranger, again … It was kind of weird. A stranger again among your own people…" The search for similarity and intimacy in the extended family network constitutes a first attempt at mapping new conditions and adapting to them. In actual fact, the support network of relatives that should in psychological terms partly absorb some of the shock of transition does not appear to be up to the task of dealing with emerging dilemmas. Experiential engagement and pinpointing differences create a sense of limbo even with relatives, with whom there should by rights be a minimum sense of identification due to a shared origin (common roots). This is because the participants in this study did not return so much to a "place" of actual experience as to an imaginary, symbolic "belonging" linked to familial descent (Papastylianou 2012).

The feeling of "not belonging" is magnified by the way in which some Albanian peers without similar experiences define our participants as "others". According to statements made by the pupils themselves, residents of Albania do not usually acknowledge them as compatriots, and sometimes discriminate against them. As S6 related: "The other kids in the neighbourhood said, 'You are Greek, go to Greece!'"

From the very outset, then, the participants in our sample face a social reality typified by a divide between "us" and "the others", if not "strangers". From their perspective, the "we" are all those people who have spent some time living in Greece and returned to Albania, while the "others" are Albanian locals who have never done so. On the basis of the self-identification dilemmas faced here, which are similar to those recorded in other investigations (see Brettell 2003), participants choose their own place in the new society they find themselves in. They thus develop a dialectic relationship so as to (re-) position themselves in the new framework, while also defining their links to others there. In doing so, they make comparisons and experience conflicts between the two societies they have lived in, as well as between themselves and others (Chrysohoou 2011). Assessing attitudes, behaviours, stances and opinions enables participants to establish a "place" of reference,

a mode of expressing how they differentiate themselves and, if possible, a way of overcoming divided mental representations of the new society they reside in.

3.3.2 Aspects of Social Behaviour with Peers and Non-Peers

With regard to their everyday life and adaptation to Albanian society, participants' narratives mainly centre on two key themes: shaping their peer circle and coping with a different lifestyle.

It has been argued, in various studies, that peer group relations among children and adolescents influence socio-emotional adjustment, and are a key factor in moulding self-esteem and a sense of "belonging" (Palmonari et al. 1990). Thus, teenage participants in particular perceive their integration into a new society as being dependent on creating their own circle of friends (in-group). They look for friends by activating various mechanisms for assessing, classifying and categorising youngsters their age (Haslam 2001). According to their narratives, repatriated pupils found similarities with Albanians their age who had had similar migration experiences, but significant differences with those who had not. The majority of those in the sample focused on variations of the following aspects of socialisation:

- Social skills: "The kids here are a bit rougher. We ask them to play hide and seek and they say, 'No, let's play wrestling!'" (S5).
- Gender relations: "When I go out the boys are silly … and talk badly (to girls). Instead, boys from Greece stop when they sense something is annoying the girls" (S8).
- Overall behaviour and mentality: "My peers who haven't been away are rude, uneducated, have no manners, moral values, speak coarsely, you can't have a serious high-level conversation with them" (S20). „Overall we're more open in our behaviour, we don't have the hang-ups the kids here have" (S16).

The responses given thus reveal a significant asymmetry in relationships between returnees and long-term residents, rendering communication and co-existence rather difficult for both social groups.The end result is that most participants distance themselves from the dominant group of children and teenagers in Albania. So much so that when it comes to choosing friends, informants prioritise life experiences in Greece, with a Greek-style upbringing as a secondary criterion: they shape their peer circle in compensation for the loss of friends in Greece, among children who have return migrated, with whom they feel they have a shared life history, mentality, means of communication and mutual support.

Here I found Greeks[4] that have the same way of thinking as me and I made new friends" (S14). They even believe that joining the social category of Albanians who have lived in Greece contributes to a positive self-image. "When I came here I found many children from Greece, we have a lot in common, the same way of thinking. I like it, I'm happy" (S12).

Beyond handling their relations with the dominant peer group, participants focused on dealing with a different lifestyle. In their narratives they stressed the loss of familiar reference points brought about by moving and settling in Albania. Special reference was made to the lack of entertainment and sports facilities for children their age (such as volleyball and basketball courts, bicycle lanes etc.), and above all to differences between the value system in Albania and their own socialisation values (Chrysohoou 2011). „Here the girls stay home. I played basketball for Panathinaikos and here I play basketball with the boys and they call me a tomboy. But I pay no attention"(S1). "In Greece we used to go out as a family, we went to tavernas, but here the (sense of) family is wrecked. Husbands here go out alone, because if they go out with their wife and kids, they will be accused of clinging onto their wife" (S7).

The research participants perceive a considerable cultural gap between both family and personal values in Greek and Albanian society. This leads them to realise that recent experiences from another cultural setting, their migration pathways and their life history all set them apart from their permanently settled peers, rendering them members of a different social group, i.e. the repatriates (Sussman 2000). In being aware of their differences from the society of origin, they attempt to formulate their own "place" of reference and find their place within it.

3.3.3 Integration Processes in the New Home Society

In multicultural societies, the supportive factors affecting an individual's socialisation vary. They may depend on personal attributes and socio-cultural conditions, on social spaces in the immediate environment (family, school, peers, etc.) or on prevailing social, economic, political and cultural conditions (Damanakis 2007). As regards important factors facilitating smooth integration and socialisation in

[4]Here we should note that the repatriated Albanian pupils use the label "Greeks" among themselves and refer to each other as if they had no relationship with Albania. In fact, in our conversations they often referred to repatriated friends by reference to the Greek city they once lived in, e.g. "I'm friends with a kid from Holargos and another who is from Oreokastro-Thessaloniki" (S6), thus proving the fact that they differentiate themselves from compatriots who have never migrated.

the new social setting (Berry 2001), the repatriated pupils in our study point to family, school and the peer group moulded within it, as well as to their own personal desires for the future. These domains appear to provide support in the minds of participants, creating a sense of continuity and preservation of the "familiar" in their new home society.

In essence, narratives on supportive factors derive from the qualitative characteristics of what Levitt terms "social remittances", i.e. of ideas, behaviours, identities involved in two-way traffic between the two places of reference (Levitt 2009). Bicultural entries are alive and operative, triggering integration processes, classification and assessment aimed at achieving an individual's equilibrium in their new social space (Hall 2004).

3.3.3.1 Family

In Albanian society, the wider extended family (grandparents and other relatives) is a compact social group of equal importance to first-degree relatives (parents and children) (Pavlopoulos et al. 2015). This is apparent from the findings in our study, as several participants settle into enlarged type families upon repatriation. Once in Albanian society, the search for the "familiar" associated with daily family life in Greece appears to include shocks and conflicts relating to the adaptability, consistency and durability of the family as a system in the new conditions. Such upsets stem from the bundle of expectations the participants have of relatives in their environment (see Sect. 3.3.1).

According to the participants, a number of Greek-oriented features permeate family functions and the key rituals governing them (habits, language, food, traditions and celebrations). "At home there are Greek customs, Greek food, everything. Christmas, Easter, everything as normal", says pupil S9, in much the same vein as the following statement by S31: "Here we speak Greek, listen to Greek music, we've been baptised. We've kept up Greek attitudes…" In the context of Albanian society, the preservation of these "Greek" features in everyday family life appears to be connected to three basic parameters:

a) The degree to which the family integrated during their time in Greece;
b) Whether or not the decision to return migrate was planned;
c) Informants' future life goals: "I want to go back to Greece and so do my parents, so that's why we speak Greek" (S27).

The pupils showed a high degree of assimilation to mechanisms and networks in Greece (attendance at Greek school, fluency in Greek etc.) (see Sect. 2.1) before they repatriated, and these same Greek-generated elements appear to remain solid

reference points while building their identity in Albania. A major contribution is made by conditions prevailing within the family, which in most cases acts as a domain for the maintenance of non-dominant cultural and linguistic features, both during the initial migration and upon repatriation. While in Greece, the family made efforts to maintain Albanian-generated cultural traits in their children, whereas upon their return to Albania, they try to maintain Greek-generated ones: "I speak Greek with my parents… we watch Greek TV… we listen to Greek music" (S19). In each instance of transition (immigration or repatriation), the family has a significant role to play in attempting to preserve stability in everyday life, so as to facilitate a smoother changeover (Papastylianou 2012).

3.3.3.2 School and Peer Group

Throughout the students' narratives, the choice of school emerges as a vital parameter in the family's return to the country of origin. On various levels, the existence of the Greek minority school in Albania significantly affects the socialisation of participants in their new reality.

Firstly, on the linguistic level, the minority school is a "place" where students can speak Greek and be understood. "When I came here I was very happy because there were Greeks to speak Greek to" (S6). This is an important variable facilitating the children's smooth integration in their country of origin. On the one hand, the school creates a sense of continuity and on the other it enables them to master the Albanian language gradually, without it becoming an obstacle to their education.

On the social level, the school brings together the majority of repatriated students from Greece, thus constituting the domain where they can find company and join a peer group. Upon enrolling at the school, the research participants found and joined the peer group that best suited them, among children with common experiences. This fact aided them in "painlessly" overcoming the discrimination and prejudices they faced from Albanian residents (Motti-Stefanidi 2015). "When I came to Senior High here I found Greeks who have the same mindset as me again, and I made new friends" (S14).

On a cultural level, by offering a bicultural programme as part of everyday school life, the school in question creates a sense of stability for our informants, while at same time rendering the process of familiarisation with customs in their new surroundings less daunting. "In school we celebrate both Albanian and Greek national holidays" (S1).

At the same time, Greek law makes provision for eventual return to Greece following attendance at any Greek Minority School abroad (Greek Ministry of

Education 2007) as it grants the right to sit entrance examinations to higher education institutions in the country. “I came to this school to enter a Greek University via repatriated Greek student status” (S20).

Consequently, pupils view Greek minority school as constituting an intermediary social space that bridges the gap between the “familiar” in Greek society and the “unfamiliar” in Albanian society (Bajo and Kërpaçi 2013). Both the curriculum and overall school life maintain a sense of continuity and at the same time contribute to the smooth and effortless transition and integration of students in their new social surroundings. In particular, this helps them to maintain the prospect of returning to Greece as university students, which is secured via attendance at the school, in common with all other officially recognised Greek schools abroad.

3.3.3.3 Future Prospects

Future prospects of returning to the previous country or a new migration to another country affect “the sense of belonging” in the present country of residence and their interaction with the society at large (Michail 2013).

The majority of participants in our study readily referred to returning to Greece or migrating to another country as being among their future goals. The trend and ambition among young people who have migration experiences under their belt is to “leave”, confident that they can cope with the difficulties of a new transition: “I like moving, I’m not afraid. If I go to England, I’ll go to an English university” (S16). In fact, some pupils appear to maintain a sense of balance in their everyday lives by thinking of themselves as being temporarily resident in Albania: “I love Albania a lot, but that’s as far as it goes. It’s not a place to live, maybe just for vacation to see your relatives” (S24). “I want to leave and study in Ioannina or Thessaloniki. And my family agrees… especially my mother, who tells me to go once I leave school” (S12).

Members of the migrant generation studied in this paper, who have direct experience of living in another country, seem to have an open mind on the prospect of circular migration.[5] In the particular instance studied here, such mobility is of course facilitated by the geographical proximity of the two countries (Vadean and Piracha 2009; Maroukis and Gemi 2011).

[5]Other terms used in the literature to describe the contemporary phenomenon of repeated movement between different countries are “peddle migration” or “transnational migration” (Cassarino 2004, p. 253 ff.).

4 Discussion

In this text we have discussed the transition from Greece to Albania experienced by Albanian children and adolescent pupils as part of their family's "return" to their country of origin. The pupils' socialisation conditions during their time in Greece point to a dominance of Greek-oriented features, enriched by Albanian features mainly from within the family domain. These findings tally with similar ones by Vathi (2015), in research carried out with Albanian adolescents returning from Thessaloniki, Florence and London.

As regards making the decision to return, survey participants stated that it was announced to them after the fact by their parents and met with mixed feelings on their own part. The process of transition from the one setting to the other created a sense of limbo, since the children were transferring from everything known and familiar to a reality mainly familiar on an imaginary/symbolic level, but unknown in their actuality. Ni Laoire (2011) reaches comparable conclusions in work with return migrating Irish students.

Distance from ethno-cultural peers (fellow Albanians) is experienced as apartness and difference, activating comparison, categorisation and classification mechanisms. In the new setting, our respondents undergo (re-)socialisation in an attempt to find counterbalances linked to their present or future lives, so as to achieve a sense of equilibrium and fit their difference into the new society. The relationship with the society they now live in is neither one taken for granted, nor one anticipated by the dominant context, but is instead one mediated by the experiences of their migration pathways. Consequently, they often adopt a critical stance, differentiating or distancing themselves from attitudes and behaviours that do not match their own. Integrating into new social situations thus oscillates between "accepting" the society's dominant institutions and "maintaining" bicultural mental entries as a feature of their identity (Castells 2010).

The majority of studies dealing with return migration issues make reference to adult participants (Cassarino 2008; Reynolds 2008; King and Kilinc 2014; King and Christou 2014; Van Meeteren et al. 2014), who have emigrated and then returned to their country of origin via a process of retrograde mobility. These participants return to their place of birth of their own free will, even if the move is often brought about by circumstances. By contrast, one basic feature of the present study is that our survey participants were children or (pre-) adolescents who were either born in Greece or moved there in their infancy, and so had very little say in the family's decision to return migrate. With the caveat that our micro-level analysis focusses on a limited sample of individuals, a number of questions

arise on the qualitative features of their migration pathways. Is the transition from Greece to Albania return migration to the place of origin, going back to the parental "place" or their own first experience of migration? The answers to those questions clarify the framework in which the participants' transition takes place, while also revealing a broad set of factors that determine individual narratives of "belonging".

Having engaged in various assessment processes, controversies and comparisons, the pupils in this study form a new ethno-cultural identity in their new environment. Their narratives primarily involve a rupture with the obvious, the mono-cultural and the one-dimensional, since references to their identity are typified by "fuzzy boundaries" (Jones and Smith 2001). Together with contemporary experiences from Greek reality, abiding cultural traits from their place of origin interact in the present, i.e. in the current Albanian framework. Attendance at a bilingual school, intra-family circumstances, future aspirations and "encounters" with youngsters that have migration experiences all contribute to synthesising a new identity, as do "ruptures" from others who have never left Albania. Students find their identity somewhere between the two spaces, composing their own "third space" (Bhabha 1990). This involves breaking down the borders between the two "places" of reference, and the formation of a new social group, that of "return mobilities", whose identity is in constant dynamic interaction with multiple frames of reference.

Based on our findings, pupils' references from Greece and Albania do not result from adding together all ethno-cultural features, but from a process of selective inclusion (Gkovaris 2000). Two key elements emerge from the narratives: subjectivity and the finite nature of self-positioning in every instance. In their accounts, pupils are not narrating a true reflection of specific ethno-cultural references, but a subjective view of them. First and foremost, they are narrating an entirely internal way of coding and decoding life in Greece and the move to Albania, as well as the position occupied by their own Self in the two different settings. How they interpret the present is determined by the experiences they had in Greece (what was), reflection on the attitudes and behaviours in the new society where they live (what I am), and personal narratives on their own future goals (what I want to be). Their narrative on self-definition and a sense of belonging is thus not a linear process, but an ever evolving and transforming journey paved with contradictions, ambivalences and rifts. Indeed, participants who move between symbolic and real places engage in constant shifts on the level of temporality and locality.

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Part III

Professionals' Perspectives on Home Language Teaching in Different Migrational Societies—"New" Challenges for Greek Language Education Abroad?

Greek Schools in Germany as a "Safe Haven"; Teachers' Perspectives on New Migration and Community Language Schools

Aspasia Chatzidaki

Abstract

This chapter reports on a qualitative study investigating a particular type of Greek-language education abroad ("non-mixed" Greek schools in Germany) and the impact "new" migration has had on their operation. These schools (K-12) follow the Greek curricula and employ teachers seconded from Greece. They were originally designed in the 1970s as an educational setting which would provide immigrant students in Germany the opportunity to develop Greek language skills and a Greek ethnocultural identity. Following the decision of Greek authorities to start abolishing them in 2011, Greek "non-mixed" schools saw their students' numbers wane. "New" migration, however, has led to an important increase in enrolments and a change in the student population's profile. This study focused on two such schools in North Rhine-Westphalia and explored teachers' views regarding the schools' mission in the current conditions. Findings suggest that teachers consider them as irreplaceable, not only because they maintain a sense of Greek identity among immigrant youths but also because they are the only educational institution which covers the needs of "new" immigrant students facing important educational and psychological challenges. This rationale has provided renewed legitimisation to these schools' operation and seems to have halted their abolition and replacement with bilingual schools jointly run by the two states.

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1 Introduction

The present chapter reports on a small-scale qualitative study investigating a particular type of Greek-language education abroad ("non-mixed" schools in Germany) and the impact "new migration" has had on their functioning. The study was designed within the general framework adopted by the editors of this volume, namely an attempt to examine *in tandem* the topics of family migration and education (see introductory chapter by Panagiotopoulou et al.). It specifically refers to these issues as they pertain to the German context and a particular type of community/complementary school. My point of departure is the changes resulting from "new" migration (Damanakis et al. 2014) in educational spaces which foster a particular kind of ethnocultural identity. In this paper I investigate Greek teachers' views and reported practices in two such schools in Germany. I will argue that their perceptions of the new immigrant students' needs have led to an increased legitimisation of the maintenance of these schools and the promotion of a purely "Greek" identity among all students.

The chapter is structured along the following lines: first, I present the type of Greek-language school I focus on in this study with an emphasis on its functioning in the current socio-economic conditions. Next, I discuss the role of teachers' ideologies with regard to the development of an ethnocultural identity in community language schools before setting out my research agenda. After outlining the study in Sect. 3, I present and discuss findings relevant to my research aims in Sects. 4 and 5.

2 Greek-Language Education in the Diaspora: The Case of "Non-Mixed" Greek Schools in Germany

2.1 Historical Overview of Greek-Language Education in Germany

The issue of Greek-language education for Diaspora Greeks is discussed in a few chapters of this volume (see for example, Stylou 2019; Siouti 2019); therefore, I will touch upon it briefly here. Organised forms of Greek-language education for immigrant Greeks can be found in more than 60 countries all over the world (Damanakis 2007). Provision for learning the Greek language and culture takes many forms, as Greek-language "schools" may be organised by the Greek state, the Greek Orthodox Church in Diaspora, the host country authorities and locally-based

associations of Greek-origin parents (Damanakis 2007). The most common type of Greek-language education is the "Saturday" or "afternoon" classes where children with a Greek background receive courses in Greek language and history for a few hours per week (see Stylou 2019 in this volume). Such courses mostly address the needs of the second and third generation of Greek immigrants in various countries who master and use the Greek language to varying degrees. By contrast, in the USA, Canada, South Africa and Australia, one finds "day schools" which offer a few hours of Greek within the local curriculum throughout the week. These schools are institutions run by Greek associations or the Church and are attended by students from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds (Damanakis 2007, pp. 166–169).

The study presented here focuses on a particular type of Greek-language school similar to Greek mainstream schools in all respects but the student population. Such schools are called "non-mixed" Greek Schools[1] and shall be referred to as "Greek" schools from now on. They can be found both in Europe (e.g. in United Kingdom, Belgium, Italy and Romania) and in other parts of the world (in Israel, Egypt, Ethiopia, People's Republic of Congo, and Sudan). However, Germany is the only country where this type of Greek-language education has been quite widespread (see also Stylou 2019 in this volume): "Greek" schools (K-12) were founded in many German Länder in the '70s to cater for the needs of Greek "guestworkers" who planned to repatriate after a few years of stay. The purpose of these schools was to facilitate transition for children whose families eventually returned to Greece. "Greek" schools followed the Greek curricula for primary and secondary education, while German was taught as a foreign language for a few hours a week. The teaching staff comprised primary and secondary education teachers seconded from Greece for a few years.

In the course of time, it became obvious that repatriation was not imminent. As a result, a large number of families turned to mainstream German education and, in some cases, tried to maintain the community language by sending their children to afternoon Greek courses. As a result, the number of students attending Greek schools was low, compared to the total number of students of Greek origin in Germany (Damanakis 2007; Markou 2011). Nonetheless, these schools continued to present an attractive alternative for many families, especially since they offered their graduates relatively easy access to Greek Higher Education

[1]The Greek term is "Amiyi".

Institutes.[2] This particular feature has made them extremely popular among those Greek parents who were apprehensive that their children could not face up to the challenges of a highly selective educational system such as the German one.

However, in the last twenty years, intercultural education specialists such as Damanakis (1999, 2007) have argued that in view of the Greeks' prolonged stay in Germany, the creation of bilingual Greek-German schools (possibly with a mixed student population) would promote integration in a more successful way. Moreover, it was argued that, despite the all-Greek curriculum, "Greek" schools failed to develop Greek language competence to satisfactory levels, which, in turn, made it difficult to study in Greece. A longitudinal study by Damanakis and Andreadakis (2011) which focused on the academic trajectories of Diaspora Greeks suggests that a significant number of German-born students enrolled at tertiary education institutes in Greece dropped out or prolonged their studies indefinitely.

Apart from pedagogical considerations, the functioning of such schools had a disproportionately high cost for the Greek state (e.g. teachers' salaries, rental costs for the premises). As a result, the Greek authorities decided to replace these schools with "bilingual schools" jointly run by the Greek and German authorities and open to non-Greek students as well. A first attempt to abolish these schools in 1996 met the fierce opposition of parents' associations who acted as pressure groups and succeeded in cancelling the move. Damanakis (2007), one of the actors involved in the initiative to transform non-mixed schools, reports on this conflict thereby taking a critical stance toward the role played by parents' and teachers' associations. He points out that parents argued in favour of the maintenance of these schools as the sole type of educational institution which could maintain ethnic language and heritage. However, in reality they were fighting for their children's right to easier access to Greek higher education. Damanakis calls this an example of "instrumentalisation of ethnocultural diversity" (2007, p. 108) which means that members of an ethnocultural community exploit their right to diversity in order to achieve personal benefits. Moreover, he claims that many teachers aligned themselves with this cause mainly because such schools offered important job opportunities and other benefits such as the possibility of offering

[2]Three to four percent of places offered each year from each Department are reserved for graduates of Greek schools abroad. This means that such students do not have to compete with mainland Greek students in the extremely demanding university entrance exams but can gain access with much lower grades (Damanakis 2007; Markou 2011).

private lessons.[3] Certainly, even if this were true for many among them, one cannot exclude the possibility that these agents of resistance believe in the importance of a "purely Greek" educational setting which will preserve a strictly Greek identity among young people living in Germany.

2.2 Recent Developments

In 2011, the Greek Parliament voted Law 4027/2011 on Greek-language education abroad. Among others, this Law stipulated the gradual abolition of "Greek" schools in Germany, starting with Lykeia (Senior High schools). The remaining schools were supposed to adopt a bilingual programme which would give students' access to the German education system as well. In the following years, and despite parental protests, a considerable number of primary and secondary "Greek" schools in various German states closed down or were transformed into bilingual schools (see Stylou 2019 in this volume). In 2014, the Greek State reaffirmed its decision to abolish all such schools starting from school year 2016–2017.[4]

However, it appears that "new" migration had an important effect on the operation of these schools. According to data provided by the local Greek educational authorities in 2014 and presented by Damanakis (2014, pp. 160–165), the number of newly arrived students who were enrolled in Greek primary and secondary schools[5] in Germany between 2011 and 2014 increased considerably (almost 2,500 new enrolments between 2011–2012 and 2013–2014 alone).[6] As a result, the percentage of recent arrivals in the total student population in 2013–2014 varied between 20.2 % in North Rhine-Westphalia and 46 % in Baden-Württemberg.

These data suggest that, for certain "new immigrant" families at least, such schools serve as important "receiving institutions" (Damanakis 2014, p. 165). In Damanakis' view, these changes in the school population seem to have brought

[3]This used to be the case until the beginning of the crisis, when teachers seconded abroad stopped receiving a bonus salary. Before that, such postings carried important financial benefits.

[4]Law 264/2014, article 57.

[5]The reader is reminded that this term applies to schools following the Greek curriculum and not to all types of community or complementary language schools operating in Germany.

[6]Stylou (2019) provides a more detailed account of recent developments.

about a renewed salience and legitimacy for the "non-mixed" Greek schools in Germany.

In the light of these developments, I decided to investigate, on the one hand, the interrelationship between the "new" migration and the ensuing change in the school population; and on the other, the teachers' perceptions and practices. I was particularly interested in exploring how the presence of students unfamiliar with the German setting influenced the teachers' perceptions on the role of such schools in Germany. Bearing in mind that community schools usually aim at developing language proficiency as well as ethnocultural identity, I decided to frame my investigation within the study of community teachers' ideologies with regard to ethnic identity development. The following section deals with this issue.

3 Teachers as Agents of Ethnocultural Identity Development in Community School Settings

Current conceptualisations of identity are based on the view that identities are shifting and dynamic rather than static and unitary; moreover, they are socially situated and constantly negotiated during interaction, mainly through discursive practices (Mendoza-Denton 2002; Norton 2000). Such an approach opposes existentialist views of identity according to which "culture" is represented as a real entity, linking the present to the past and ensuring membership categorisation among people of the same heritage. It is also considered more suitable for capturing the complex interplay of multiple identities among children of transnational families growing up in a globalised world (García and Kleyn 2016; Mendoza-Denton 2002; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Resnik 2006).

Researchers working within the poststructuralist paradigm have identified community schools as a space for identity negotiation *par excellence* in view of the multiplicity of cultural and linguistic repertoires involved. Indeed, British researchers have pointed out that community or "complementary" schools are "safe spaces" (Conteh and Brock 2010; Creese et al. 2006), in which minority students are free from racism (Francis et al. 2009) and allowed to use their full communicative repertoires—including dialects and other versions of the standard languages they learn—in order to perform their identities (see Blackledge and Creese 2010; Lytra and Baraç 2009; Martin et al. 2006).

At a different level, second- and third-generation speakers benefit from such instruction as they forge links with their community and become acquainted with its cultural and spiritual wealth (Choudhury 2013; Hall et al. 2002; Otcu 2010; Park and Sarkar 2007; Pat Lo 2013).

However, such schools aim to transmit cultural elements as well. Such an aim may turn out to be a field of dispute among stakeholders. In particular, research from various settings shows that parents' and teachers' views of a specific group's ethnocultural identity often differ from the students' understandings, as the latter have grown up in a diversified world and have developed multiple or "hybrid" identities. In such cases, teachers may attempt to mould students' identities into a specific ethno-cultural pattern which does not take into consideration the experiences of the latter. As Francis et al. observed in their study of British-born Chinese youth, "the young people's constructions of ethnic identity were far more likely to draw on contemporary, diasporic, youth cultural formations than the more traditional perceptions of parents and teachers" (2010, p. 89). In the same vein, in an ethnographic study on language maintenance in a Punjabi Sikh community in the USA, Klein (2013) illustrates how teachers in Sikh youth discussion classes discursively construct the everyday use of modern Punjabi as a moral imperative for the preservation and transmission of Sikh religion and culture in the future; some teachers go as far as to deny the importance of English for Sikh youth in order to make their point. At the same time, the teachers' stance does not go unchallenged by the students who put forward their own needs and experiences.

Similar findings have been reported in other studies in which teenage students attending complementary schools question the schools' socialising aims and the teachers' practices (see Li Wei and Wu 2009, 2010; Lytra 2014; Wu and Leung 2014). In one of the few studies investigating Greek Diaspora communities, Angouri (2012) found that Greek-origin speakers in New Zealand hold composite identities, which are at odds with an imagined "Greek" one.

Moreover, the scarce research on Greek community schools focusing on this issue testifies to the diversity encountered among school leaders, teachers and parents in different settings. In her study of a Greek-Orthodox school in New York, for instance, Hantzopoulos (2013) points out that these schools aim at promoting a sense of Greekness linked to religious affiliation; although parents seem to distance themselves from the religious aspect of the education provided in this school, they are nevertheless keen on reinforcing their children's Greek heritage. In a different context, Prokopiou and Cline (2010) observed that Greek complementary schools in London aim to develop Greekness through the promotion of language and family/community values, not religion, unlike schools organised by Muslim communities. In a study of seconded Greek teachers employed in Saturday and afternoon schools in London, Pantazi (2010) found that these particular teachers had acknowledged their students' bilingual and bicultural identities and had transformed their practices to accommodate their needs, putting aside their original assumptions of a strong "Greek" identity among such children. The participants

had previous experience from working with students from a non-Greek background in Greece or in complementary schools abroad. In addition to that, they were highly interested in bilingualism and intercultural education. One could argue that such features helped them develop a degree of "intercultural competence" (see Gogonas 2019 in this volume, for a discussion of the term) which allowed them to change preconceptions about teaching practices and student needs.

Contrary to these subjects, not all seconded Greek teachers have developed intercultural competence; for the last ten years, pre-secondment training regarding the particular features of teaching Greek to students abroad has been non-existent or limited at best. Therefore, I think it is safe to assume that, in the case of most teachers leaving Greece to teach Greek-origin students, views towards cultural and linguistic diversity are heavily influenced by the monolingual and monocultural "ethos" prevailing among Greek citizens and fuelled by the supposed superiority of the (Ancient) Greek language and the "glorious past" of the Greeks (Frangoudaki and Dragonas 1997; Tsafos 2004). This stance reveals itself in many studies exploring teachers' views towards their immigrant students' bilingualism (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014; Gkaintartzi et al. 2015; Mattheoudakis et al. 2017; Zagka et al. 2014).

In such a context, I hypothesise that many teachers leaving Greece to teach abroad may tend to adhere to certain preconceived notions of "Greek identity", which they are supposed to help preserve in the Diaspora. Their ideological stance may prevent them from understanding their students' diverse identities and needs and lead them to overemphasise the Greek element of their students' background. If this is the case in classrooms with second- and third-generation students, one could expect an even more conservative approach when the student population comprises newcomers from Greece.

4 The Present Study

4.1 Research Sites

The sites chosen for the research were the Greek High Schools (grades 7–12) in Cologne and Düsseldorf, two neighbouring cities in North Rhine-Westphalia. After Law 4027 passed from the Parliament in late 2011 and it was announced that the schools were going to close, the two schools saw their enrolments drop considerably. For instance, in the school year 2012/2013, there were only 15 students in the Greek High School in Cologne. However, the number of students rose dramatically in the following years as a result of "new" migration: in the

school year 2015/2016 there were 53 students, a number which doubled a year later. In November 2016, the school catered for slightly over 100 students, more than half of whom were "new immigrants", according to the Principal and the teachers.

Contrary to Cologne, Düsseldorf hosts a Greek kindergarten and a primary school, which provide the High School with a steady flow of students. Nonetheless, "new" migration has contributed to an increase in student numbers here as well. The number of students was 108 in 2012/2013, 260 in 2015/2016, and increased to over 300 at the beginning of the school year 2016/2017. According to estimates given by the principal and the teachers, "new immigrants" account for more than one third of the student population, perhaps even half of it. The figures of both schools match the information provided by the Greek educational authorities up to 2013/2014 (Damanakis 2014).

It has to be taken into consideration that it is difficult to determine the number of "new immigrants" with great accuracy due to the complex family trajectories involved in this type of migration. According to the teachers[7], part of the new arrivals are second-generation immigrants who settled in Greece with their families a few years ago and have now returned to Germany because of the economic crisis. Other families, with no previous experience of life in Germany, sent their children to German schools for one or two years upon arrival and then enrolled them in the Greek High School; others had originally settled in another German city and moved to Cologne or Düsseldorf afterwards. For all these reasons, obtaining detailed data on the students' backgrounds would require the study of their individual files, something which I did not have the authorisation to do.

4.2 Methods, Participants, and Data Collection

The study was conducted in mid-November 2016. I contacted the principals of the two schools, explained the aim of the research and asked for their collaboration in locating teachers who would be willing to take part in the study. In both cases, the school principals were interviewed informally but were not included in the present sample.

[7]For similar information provided by teachers in Duesseldorf see Damanakis (2014, p. 155).

Seven teachers participated in the study, three in Cologne and four in Düsseldorf. They included five female (Martha, Danae, Anna, Thalia and Kaiti) and two male teachers (Yerassimos, Vassilis). All of them were in their forties and fifties. The three teachers in Cologne (Martha, Yerassimos and Danae) all taught Modern and Ancient Greek Language and Literature, Latin, and also Greek and International History. One of the teachers in Düsseldorf, Anna, was also a Greek teacher. Vassilis and Thalia taught Mathematics, and Kaiti was a German teacher. Unlike the others, Kaiti was not on secondment from Greece. She came to Germany as an immigrant when she was eighteen years old, studied German Philology and had been employed as a German teacher in this school for the last 35 years. The remaining participants have spent at least three years in Germany working in Greek High schools, in these cities or elsewhere.

Regarding their language skills, the six seconded teachers spoke English and in two cases other European languages as well. In addition, all of them spoke German, which most of them had learned after moving to Germany. Although their competence varied, they all claimed to be able to communicate in settings where they were required to use German. Only Anna and Martha socialised with German people, the others preferred the company of Greeks.

The interviews were conducted on the school premises during the teachers' breaks. In each case, I explained the purpose of the research, asked their permission to record the interview and assured them that I would use pseudonyms when referring to them. Most of the informants were relaxed and volunteered information and comments. Interviews lasted between 15 and 40 min and were subsequently transcribed and analysed.

The research instrument was a semi-directed interview divided in three sections. In the beginning, I asked questions about the informants' professional and academic background, length of stay in Germany, and language proficiency. Then, informants were asked about a) their students' socio-educational background and linguistic profile, b) teachers' and students' use of language at school, and c) their views on the school's mission. Finally, I asked informants to comment on a number of statements regarding bilingual development, following the interview schema used by Panagiotopoulou et al. (2017) in the context of the SINTER programme.

The interview data were analysed using Richard Boyatzis' version of "thematic analysis" (Boyatzis 1998). In the following sections, I discuss "themes" emerging from the data which are related to a) the students' profile—as perceived by the teachers- (Sect. 4), and b) the importance attributed to "Greek" schools in the light of recent developments (Sect. 5).

5 Teachers' Perceptions of Second-Generation Immigrant Students Vs "New" Immigrant Students

All teachers made a distinction between students who grew up in Germany as second- or third-generation immigrants and students who arrived in the past two to three years with their families. These two groups are characterised by some commonalities and differences.

First of all, students differ as to their language proficiency in Greek and German. Students born and raised in families of an immigrant background in Germany are called "bilingual" and are supposed to have relatively high competence in both languages.

> Let me tell you, when I came here I expected something different but I saw that children who were born here and have been to the Greek school go along nicely with the Greek children from Greece, they use the Greek language impeccably, and at the same time they use the German language very well… in general, I can say, yes, I believe that children handle both languages very well." (Interview with Vassilis)

However, some of the teachers (especially Greek language teachers) argue that despite their fluency in Greek, second/third-generation students lack the kind of language proficiency required at High School, especially if they have not attended a Greek primary school; this means that they have to make allowances for the students' backgrounds. The teachers' perception that such students are weak indicates that they also perceive the schools as not particularly demanding from an academic perspective. These views are discussed further in Sect. 6, as they are linked to how teachers perceive the role of the school.

Returning to the issue of language skills, we see that, contrary to "bilingual" students, "new immigrants" are considered to be L2 learners who have acquired some German after a couple of years in Germany. Few students among them had previously taken courses in German as a foreign language in Greece and had thus already obtained some degree of competence in this language before their arrival.

With regard to the students' socio-economic background, the three teachers in Cologne and one in Düsseldorf described it as "generally low", while the others claimed that the parents' financial and intellectual standing varies and that many parents are highly qualified and educated professionals. From the teachers' accounts, it is not clear whether the difference in SES cuts across the two

categories ("old" and "new immigrants"). It seems as if the middle-class parents are mainly second-generation and not "new immigrants". This assumption is further supported by other sources. According to figures from 2006/2007, most children attending Greek schools in North Rhine-Westphalia came from low SES families (Damanakis et al. 2011). This finding should be read in conjunction with Damanakis' (2007) argument on the differences between settled Greek immigrants in Germany regarding their educational choices. On the one hand, most parents are well-integrated and send their children to mainstream German schools where they often excel and manage to enter tertiary education institutions at rates comparable to German students. These children may attend community schools for a few hours per week and have a strong attachment to their country of origin while being successfully integrated in German society. On the other hand, other first- and second-generation parents—usually of a lower socio-economic background—adopt an ethnocentric approach to their children's education and upbringing. They usually seek "non-mixed" schools and socialise predominantly with Greek people (Damanakis 2007). Based on these observations, it is safe to assume that most established families in the two schools of the study are of a low SES, especially in Cologne.

The issue of the newcomers' social standing and living conditions is particularly pertinent for this research as it seems to influence the teachers' perceptions of their new students' needs. When specifically referring to "new" immigrant families, all teachers agree that the latter were forced to leave their country because of economic difficulties. In fact, in some teachers' accounts, parents are portrayed as desperate people who had no choice but to migrate, something which led to considerable disruption in their children's lives. Moreover, once in Germany they may face unemployment or exploitation by employers and often do jobs below their qualifications (see Damanakis 2014).

Martha is the teacher who depicts parents' dire situation in the most eloquent way. On more than one occasion she refers to her students' psychological problems and links them to the migration experience:

> **Martha:** "In a few words I could say that most boys and girls here are 'victims of the economic crisis', so to speak… I could just say that, although the term is quite strong and the expression sounds somewhat sentimental […] nonetheless, my impression for both schools[8] is that their students come from families who have fallen victims and this obviously affects children. [Victims] of the economic crisis."

[8]Martha refers to the Greek High school in Cologne and one in another city in North Rhein-Westfalia where she previously worked.

Researcher: "So, these families are new immigrants?"

Martha: "Yes, exactly that, new immigrants… people looking for a job … who come bearing a very heavy negative burden, who are frustrated, pessimistic about their future, who try to make a new start, who were somehow forced to make this choice, to take this decision… they feel uprooted… this is my impression of them […] I can safely say that about the families in [*city X*], that most of these people were frustrated, uprooted, and obviously these feelings are observed in most children… they feel [/] they face adaptation problems here… they say 'Oh, Mrs, I miss Greece so much!'… and they say this with such exasperation, so much pain, that's really sad… at least me, it makes me so sad!"

Although the rest of the participants do not use such strong terms to refer to the parents' adjustment difficulties, there are a few excerpts which suggest that teachers have noticed such problems:

We've got students who have a hard time at home… the new immigrants mostly. (Interview with Vassilis)

Let me tell you something which I find interesting… parents who bring their children to school… that's the first time I see something like that… especially the younger ones, parents bring them to the primary or the junior high school… instead of leaving afterwards to go to work or to their home they stand by the school gates and talk for hours… obviously these people cover the same need with their children… they meet and talk with 'their own kind' so to speak. (Interview with Anna)

On the whole, teachers paint a picture which lies in sharp contrast to the situation described by other scholars investigating new Greek migration from a socio-educational point of view. In their study of Greek families migrating to Canada, Panagiotopoulou and Rosen (2015) present cases of qualified professionals whose main motivation for migration was to ensure better academic prospects for their children; as a result, they preferred to enrol them into the mainstream Canadian system (see also Aravossitas and Sugiman 2019 in this volume). A similar picture emerges from a qualitative study by Gogonas and Kirsch (2016) in Luxembourg, in which none of the three participating families fits the profile of the "desperate" unskilled professional who left Greece without a plan. Those parents migrated in an attempt to improve their working and living conditions, while being at the same time thrilled that their children would learn international languages and would have better career opportunities than in Greece (see also the chapter by Gogonas 2019 in this volume). By contrast, according to these teachers' reports, many of the newly arrived families in North Rhine-Westphalia face adaptation problems which have a serious impact on how children experience this transition.

In order to make sense of my informants' reports, one should try to contextualise their experiences based on what is known about new migration in Germany.

In his account of "new" migration in Germany, Damanakis (2014, p. 144) argues that "new immigrants" can be distinguished in three groups on the basis of their qualifications: first, people with high academic or technical qualifications whose skills are in demand in the new country and find employment easily (doctors, nurses, engineers, computer scientists etc.); second, those who hold a university degree but whose skills are not in demand (teachers, for instance); and finally, the (un)skilled workers. Both the "successful" and the "struggling" immigrants send their children to Greek schools, in different ratios however.

To give an example, according to the available data and estimates of the representatives of the Greek communities in Düsseldorf, more than two thirds of the "new immigrants" belong to the first two categories, something which constitutes a distinctive feature of new migration. However, as Damanakis found out in his study of the Greek primary school in Düsseldorf, only one third of the parents whose children attend this school are "new immigrants" with a University degree. This seems to confirm the observation made earlier, namely that educated parents with high educational aspirations for their children avoid Greek schools and prefer enrolling them in mainstream German schools. A comment made by Yerassimos, the Greek teacher in Cologne, is telling in this regard:

> I would just like to add that Greek schools play an important role here… I used to reject them, I didn't want to work in such a school, I thought it's a waste of the taxpayers' money… I think they play an important role and children feel that at so many levels… and at the end of the day, the pupils who come to Greek schools are usually the underprivileged children… so, even from a social point of view I have… these are not privileged children, such children go to good German schools. (Interview with Yerassimos)

This comment summarises a view expressed by teachers in various ways. The idea is that, in many cases, newly arrived parents cannot support their children educationally as they lack the necessary background and/or aspirations. Moreover, "new immigrants" may involuntarily affect their child's emotional wellbeing as they face important problems themselves. As a result, they tend to resort to "Greek" schools which they see as the only institution capable of helping their child counterbalance the feelings of anxiety incurred by migration. As we shall see in the following section, such a perception lends considerable support to the importance attributed to these schools.

6 Teachers' Perspectives on the Importance of "Greek" Schools in Germany

This section presents and discusses findings with regard to how teachers working in these particular "Greek" High schools view the school's mission. In this regard, three main themes emerged from the data: "non-mixed" Greek schools in Germany are important because they:

a) help develop and maintain a certain Greek identity abroad (theme present in all interviews)
b) offer students study and career opportunities (either in Greece or in Germany) (theme present in 5 of the 7 interviews)
c) constitute a "safe haven" for students facing adaptation problems (theme present in 5 of the 7 interviews).

The first two aims have been part and parcel of the schools' functioning for as long as they exist. Starting from (b), the possibility of gaining entrance to a tertiary education institute either in Greece or in Germany, or at least of following some sort of vocational training which practically secures a job, are still important advantages the Greek school has to offer, especially for a country facing an economic crisis.

With regard to (a), all teachers mention the development and maintenance of a Greek identity among students, irrespective of their background, as one of the most important aims of the school (if not *the* most important one). According to their accounts, this aim can be accomplished though the instruction of Greek language (both Modern and Ancient Greek) and history, as well as through the celebration of Greek customs and religious or national holidays. A couple of teachers argued that, only schools which follow a Greek curriculum and emphasise distinct Greek cultural and historical elements are capable of maintaining the "Greek" identity and culture, especially in a foreign country. This is illustrated in the following excerpt:

> I told you, the most important thing is the maintenance of the Greek spirit, the Greek culture which… this is what I put above everything else, not the details, I put it above everything else, the Greek spirit, the Greek culture which comes through, the Greek history which comes through the "non-mixed" schools… it doesn't come from any other kind of school, the children who graduate from this school essentially are Greeks, they remain Greeks, that is, they have the Greek background, and this no one can take away from them… from then onwards, they may work here, function, uh, mix with the German culture, learn whatever they want, but their background

> is Greek… that is, these are the most important ages, which should… the children should learn certain things, you should imbue them with a certain situation which can't be helped [*sic*], they take these from the "non-mixed" schools, they couldn't take them from any other school… that's what I think. (Interview with Vassilis)

One notices that Vassilis makes no mention of the possibility of "hybrid identities", not even among second- or third generation immigrant teenagers. His claim (see Sect. 4) that these students speak Greek "impeccably" is in line with his view of these students as "Greeks who happen to live in Germany". Even his view of integration is interesting; he welcomes it but describes is as a form of addition of German cultural elements to an essentially Greek core of identity. It is precisely this kind of essentialist view of identity which forms the basis for the arguments in favour of such schools, as Damanakis (2007) pointed out, and it seems to be shared by at least some of the teachers.

Besides promoting the Greek identity among students and ensuring study and career opportunities in both countries, the teachers provide another important reason for the existence of these schools, one which is intricately linked to the "new migration" (theme (c)). According to the teachers, the move to Germany constitutes a severe disruption of the teenagers' social lives and academic trajectories which makes it very difficult for them to keep up in mainstream high schools.

> Well, it's certain that those who arrive now, the new immigrants, who are plenty, they couldn't go anywhere [to study]… they would be ruined for sure if they [the Greek schools] didn't exist… they can't go to uh German or bilingual schools, they simply can't. (Interview with Thalia)
>
> The German school didn't cover their psychological and affective needs, they felt like strangers. (Interview with Anna)

The argument seems to be that Greek schools are a "safe haven" for newly arrived teenagers traumatised by the migration experience. They provide a familiar socio-educational environment where students can continue their studies without the extra psychological pressure they would face in mainstream schools. Notice the emotionally-laden terms used in the following excerpts (e.g. "the embrace of Greece", "a small Greece", "violently cut off", "a period of mourning") to refer to the school and the students' experiences respectively:

> I have many children who would have no way of attending a German school, and their experiences from German schools, from what I hear from students who have been there, are not good… they face a kind of bullying in such schools and they are forced … they stay for a year and then leave, they face psychological pressure and not just that, but objectively they are … they are retained in the same grade, they are

> forced to come here to find peace of mind… I don't mean that everything is perfect here… it's just that [the school] is the embrace of Greece for these kids, who were used to being in a certain place in Greece under certain circumstances. (Interview with Vassilis)
>
> What I mean is that they come to school not just to attend lessons, to do their homework and all that but mainly to meet with their friends, to speak Greek and to alleviate this feeling of 'unfamiliar', so to speak, of 'being a foreigner', because at school they are … in their homeland… the school is a small Greece. (Interview with Anna)
>
> Another aim of the school, at least how I experienced it, is that it helps children integrate… they feel much better when they come to the Greek school because they have been violently cut off from their home country and their friends and by coming here they find themselves in an environment that is friendlier, warmer and quite familiar, contrary to the German schools… there is this possibility to communicate, to communicate directly and, in fact, while at first they go through this period of mourning so to speak, little by little they integrate quite well. (Interview with Danae)

It should be clear that the views reported are not necessarily a fair account of the reality and are not representative of all new arrivals. However, the frequent emergence of such views shows that teachers often encounter students with adaptation problems. Thalia and Kaiti, for instance, mention students who refuse to learn German as a reaction to their parents' decision to come to Germany. According to Martha, many of her students express not only their homesickness but also ethnocentric and anti-German views, probably repeating views expressed by frustrated grown-ups at home.

In connection with the role of the school in this particular socio-economic context, one could also discuss how teachers stand with regard to the question of integration. Their views are obviously coloured by the degree of emphasis they place on the development of an entirely "Greek" identity. On the one pole of the continuum stand the four Greek teachers (Danae, Martha, Yerassimos and Anna) and on the other, the two Maths teachers (Vassilis, Thalia) and the German teacher (Kaiti). When invited to make proposals for the school's improvement, the latter began by making suggestions regarding only administrative and financial issues. By contrast, the four Greek teachers called for increased collaboration with the German educational authorities in an attempt to enhance the students' integration in the host society and improve their job opportunities. The following excerpt from the interview with Yerassimos is indicative in this respect:

> I would suggest that the school opens up to Germany, that children should learn better German, I do believe that… that children who graduate from a Greek school in Germany should not have only an intermediate level of German. I would also like the kids to be more… [I would like us to have] more interaction with German

> schools, exchanges, visits, all sorts of activities that will help our children familiarise themselves with… avoid living in Greek ghetto… they may not attend a German school but they should at least see what German schools are like, they should do common projects with German schools, they should feel that they are citizens of Cologne and not just members of the Greek community of Cologne…This is very important to me.

While they acknowledged the school's efforts in this respect (field trips to German cities, schools, museums and opera houses), these teachers did not find these activities particularly helpful for the integration of newcomers. On the other hand, Vassilis, Thalia and Kaiti seemed satisfied with existing policies and did not make any such suggestions. Kaiti in fact argued that those students who wish to meet German people take the initiative and join sports clubs and other associations, they do not expect the school to help them in this respect.

7 Concluding Remarks

These findings demonstrate two things with regard to these teachers and their views on how "new migration" has affected the mission of the school. First, the teachers view Greek-origin children raised in Germany as having a "pure" Greek identity, which the schools help maintain through courses and cultural performances. Home is not considered to be helpful enough in this respect, or at least teachers consider the institutional setting to be more effective. The students' socialisation experiences in Germany are not taken into account although most teachers mention that they are fluent speakers of German, or even dominant in this language.

Secondly, newcomers are treated as Greek native speakers who find themselves in an extremely difficult situation and are in need of reassurance and support. The move to Germany and the subsequent employment and settlement difficulties faced by all family members are reported as aggravating factors influencing children's psychological and educational adjustment. Stories of students who failed to adapt in mainstream schools, not only on linguistic but also on psychological grounds, are often used to illustrate the importance of Greek schools as settings which provide a sense of continuity and familiarity in otherwise bleak circumstances. No "success stories" involving these students are mentioned by the teachers. They choose to foreground their students' difficulties instead of their agency: only in passing do a couple of teachers mention that there are in fact students who chose to learn German and wish to study or seek employment in Germany.

The overall picture emerging from the teachers' accounts is that "Greek" schools are irreplaceable institutions not only because they safeguard a certain sense of Greek identity abroad but also—even more so—because they are the only educational institution which truly takes into account the needs of "new" immigrant students. This discourse, repeated in many forms and with different degrees of emphasis, provides an argumentation for the maintenance of such schools at a time when the Greek authorities have taken the decision to abolish them.

As there are continuous developments regarding "new" migration in Germany and elsewhere, we could benefit from further research into "Greek" schools and the ways in which the teaching staff perceive their role in these settings. To this effect, I intend to conduct a follow-up study in the same schools in early 2019, in an attempt to investigate possible changes in teachers' perceptions of what their students need from such schools, regardless of their background.

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Greek Language Education in Baden-Wurttemberg, Germany—Changes and Perspectives of Greek Language Teachers

Georgia Stylou

Abstract

The aim of this chapter is twofold: first, to present aspects of the Greek-language education in Germany, in particular in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg, before and after the economic crisis; and second, to discuss the impact that the "new migration" had in this regard. The study reported here used statistics regarding the number of schools and students' enrolment, legislative documents and semi-directed interviews with teachers employed in various forms of Greek language schools. Our findings suggest that the economic crisis has deeply affected Greek language education in this State, especially with regard to administrative and organisational provisions. Teachers express their frustration at what they perceive to be a challenging situation, without, however, reporting changes to their teaching practices.

1 Introduction

Migration from Greece to Germany is not a new phenomenon; the first bilateral agreements between Greece and the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the recruitment of labourers were signed in 1960, although Greek "guestworkers"

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arrived unofficially as early as 1958 (Damanakis 2014). Between 1958 and 1973, Germany recruited nearly 600,000 Greeks (Damanakis 2014), but by 2010, the number of Greek nationals living in Germany had fallen to 276,865. The year 2010 counts as the beginning of the Greek economic crisis following the request of the Greek Prime Minister for financial support. This lead to a new wave of migration from Greece to other countries, termed "new migration" (Damanakis 2014). In Germany, the number of Greek nationals grew from 276,865 in 2010 to 362,245 in 2017, thus 30.84%. Data from the Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis 2018) show that the largest growth was registered in 2012 and 2013, with 14,560 and 18,077 new arrivals, respectively. The "new migration" had consequences on the Greek language education abroad as part of changes concerning the educational policy.

This paper has two aims: first, to present the Greek language education in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg in Germany before and after the economic crisis and, second, to illustrate the impact that the "new migration" had on the Greek language education in this State, by presenting the teachers' views on the newcomers and the difficulties they face. My assumption is that teachers could encounter difficulties addressing the language needs of all students, since the Greek language classes now host both newly migrated Greeks (native speakers) and third- or fourth-generation Greeks, for some of whom Greek is a second or foreign language.

In the following section, some statistics are presented to illustrate the demographic changes with regard to the student population in the Greek-language education in Baden-Wurttemberg. While the focus lies on the Greek language classes (GLCs), the type of Greek language education most frequently found in this State, I also briefly discuss changes with regard to the integrated classes and the Greek senior high school in Stuttgart. The latter follows the Greek curriculum and seems to play an important role for Greek-origin students arriving in Germany. The second part of the paper presents the views of the Greek teachers regarding changes in their student population and the impact these have had on their own perceptions and practices. These data were collected in Germany in two stages, in December 2016 and in May–June 2017. They include semi-directed interviews with teachers seconded from Greece. The information collected was complemented by my own extensive knowledge of the context. Besides growing up in Germany as a child of immigrants, I also taught Greek language lessons in the wider region of Stuttgart from 2004–2007 and from 2012–2014. Taken together, the findings show mainly educational changes on the administrative and organisational level, due to the economic crisis and few changes in the teaching practices of the teachers.

Table 1 Numbers of citizens, of foreign citizens, of Greek citizens and new arrivals with Greek citizenship in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg

Year	Citizens of the State	Foreign citizens	Greek citizens	New arrivals with Greek citizenship
2010	10,753,880	1,177,987	65,869	
2011	10,486,660	1,208,289	67,189	+1320
2012	10,486,660	1,208,289	70,971	+3782
2013	10,631,278	1,323, 683	74,656	+3685
2014	10,716,644	1,403,783	77,150	+2494
2015	10,879,618	1,544,665	79,050	+1900
2016	10,951,893	1,665,100	80,470	+1420
2017	–	1,719,485	81,150	+480
Total				+15,281 (+23.20%)

Note: Adapted from "Bevölkerung und Erwerbsarbeit" [Population and gainful employment], by Statistische Berichte Baden-Württemberg. https://www.statistik-bw.de/Service/Veroeff/Statistische_Berichte/312417001.pdf. Copyright 2018 by Statistische Berichte Baden-Württemberg

2 New Migration in Baden-Wurttemberg in Numbers

Baden-Wurttemberg, one of the sixteen German States, is located in the Southwest of Germany. There has been significant Greek migration to Baden-Wurttemberg since 1958. The number of Greek citizens rose from 2009 in 1958 to 103,267 in 1974, at the peak of Greek immigration in Germany.[1] In the following years, a large number of Greeks returned to their country of origin. As a result, only 65,869 Greek nationals resided in the State in 2010, the lowest number since 1980. However, as Table 1 shows, the number of newly-arrived Greek migrants was steadily increasing between 2010 and 2017, reaching the number of 81,150.

According to Table 1, more than 15,000 people of Greek nationality settled in Baden-Wurttemberg between 2010 and 2017, an increase of 23.20%. The growth of the Greek population in this State is proportionate to the total growth of the Greek population in Germany (30.84%) for the same period of time.

[1]Statistische Berichte Baden-Württemberg (2018a).

Table 2 Foreign and Greek pupils in all public and private general education schools in Baden-Wurttemberg

School year	Total of foreign pupils	Pupils with Greek citizenship	Difference from year to year
2009/2010	133,059	6841	−459
2010/2011	126,797	6428	−413
2011/2012	119,554	6119	−309
2012/2013	109,552	5985	−134
2013/2014	106,492	5961	−24
2014/2015	107,254	5894	−67
2015/2016	110,729	5611	−283
2016/2017	120,801	5345	−266

Note: Adapted from "Ausländische Schüler nach Nationalität und Schulform" [Foreign students by nationality and types of school], by Statistisches Landesamt Baden Württemberg (2017). https://www.statistik-bw.de/BildungKultur/SchulenAllgem/LRt0607.jsp. Copyright 2017 by Statistisches Landesamt Baden Württemberg

Table 2 indicates the number of foreign and Greek pupils registered in public and private general education schools (Allgemeinbildende Schulen), which include all levels of education from preschool to senior high school, except for professional education. The statistics only include pupils with citizenship other than German and not those with immigrant backgrounds. The data illustrate a gradual reduction of the Greek students in the German schools. This could be explained by the fact that pupils born in Germany after 2000 receive German citizenship and, as a result, are not included in the data shown. However, the fact that from 2011/2012 to 2014/2015 the number shows a smaller decrease while at the same time there was an increase of Greeks in general, indicates that the number of Greek pupils in the German education system increased.

3 Greek Language Education in Baden-Wurttemberg Before the Economic Crisis

In this section, the educational context of the Greek language education in Baden-Wurttemberg before the economic crisis of 2010 will be outlined. Immigrant communities have always attempted to keep their heritage alive by teaching

their native language, culture and religion. This usually takes place in community schools during the afternoons or at the weekends. Various terms describe this type of education, for instance: "heritage language schools"/classes, "community schools", "afternoon classes" (Li Wei 2006; Maligkoudi and Chatzidaki 2018; Trifonas and Aravossitas 2014), "complementary" or "supplementary schools" (Creese and Martin 2006; Lytra and Martin 2010) and "Saturday schools" (Damanakis 2007, 2011). Heritage language schools aim to promote heritage language and cultural learning. They are organised either by community members, who employ non-professional or non-qualified teaching staff working on a voluntary basis, or by the Ministry of Education of the country of origin, supporting these classes by seconding teachers or providing teaching material.

The following sections will briefly describe the educational coordinator, the seconded teachers and the secondment, and, finally the types of GLE.

3.1 The Educational Coordinator

The administrative and educational supervisor of all the seconded teachers in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg is the educational coordinator. This person has an educational background, occupies an administrative post and has been seconded by the Greek Ministry of Education. Up to approximately 2009, two educational coordinators were employed in this State, one responsible for the primary education and one for the secondary education (junior and senior high school).

3.2 Seconded Teachers and Secondment from Greece

The secondment of teachers to schools abroad takes place following a vacancy in the Greek language education system and after a successful application. After the 90s, a language proficiency certificate was a prerequisite for a secondment. By contrast, teachers had to participate in language certification exams in the 80s and 90s. Up to 2009, teachers could be seconded with a salary bonus up to five years, on the whole. The first secondment lasted for three years, while two more years could be granted by the Ministry of Education after a successful application for an extension. Seconded teachers married to a person with permanent residency abroad, in our case in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg, were most likely to obtain a one-year extension. Their marriage gave them the opportunity for a long secondment without a bonus salary to keep their family together.

Although officially the economic crisis did not start at the beginning of the school year 2009/2010, the crisis became obvious with the cutbacks of the bonus salaries for the already seconded teachers, who were in their fourth and fifth year of secondment.

3.3 Types of Greek Language Education (GLE) in Baden-Wurttemberg

Heritage language and culture education in the form of the Greek language classes are the pillars of the Greek language education (GLE). The description of the GLE in the State can be divided roughly and, for the needs of this study, into two parts; before and after the economic crisis. The second section draws on the data collected for the present research. In Baden-Wurttemberg, there are three forms of Greek language education:

1. The heritage language classes/Greek language classes (GLCs),
2. The integrated classes (called "Sprachhomogene Klassen" (SHK) or "Versuch mit Grundschulklassen für ausländische Schüler gleicher Sprachzugehörigkeit") and
3. The senior high school (grades 10–12; Greek lyceum).

The Greek language classes are the most representative type of the Greek language education in Baden-Wurttemberg. The teaching of Greek language and Greek culture takes place in four to five weekly lessons in the afternoons after the pupils have finished their lessons at the German school.[2] The GLCs use classrooms of various German schools in the cities they operate in. The pupils enrolled are usually 3rd generation Greeks or children from mixed marriages born and raised in Germany. All pupils received an official school report until the mid-90s and a certificate of attendance thereafter. The responsibility for the GLCs

[2]In the city of Esslingen, one Greek-language afternoon class exists which is integrated in the German education system as a "working-community" (Arbeitsgemeinschaft = AG) and operates for four hours per week. The teachers are seconded from the Greek State, the participation is optional but it is mentioned at the end of the year in the students' records. The Greek Ministry of Education calls it an integrated form because it is in a way integrated in the German Education but it seems that it is closer to the afternoon classes, since it is optional and does not need to be continued for the next school year.

Table 3 Number of Greek language classes and seconded teachers in 2009/2010

	Greek language classes (primary education)	Greek language classes (preschool education = Kindergarten)	Primary school teachers	Preschool teachers
2009–2010	109	32	151	20

Note: From the Teacher Association "Aristotelis" of the State of Baden-Wurttemberg, (The president of the Teacher Association "Aristotelis" of the State Baden-Wurttemberg [personal conversation, May 2014]) 2014 and the Educational Office Stuttgart http://www.sde-stuttgart.de/tmg_badi_butembergi.htm, 2014

in Baden-Wurttemberg lies with the Greek Ministry of Education, as well as the secondment of teaching staff and the printing and sending of teaching materials as well.

Initially, up to the school year 2011/2012, GLCs were offered to students through kindergarten classes, primary school classes (1st–6th grade) and junior high school classes (7th–9th grade). Teachers were seconded in such classes according to their specialisation in Greece (i.e. kindergarten teachers, primary and secondary school teachers). The school year 2009/2010 was the last year with a large number of GLCs catering for preschool and primary school children in the State. Table 3 presents the number of GLCs and seconded teachers in the year before the official start of the economic crisis.

The *integrated classes*[3] are integrated in the German mainstream education. They can be seen as a type of bilingual education for Greek students because pupils with the same language of origin are put together in one class and are taught subjects in both languages, German and Greek. The pupils follow the German and the Greek curriculum and are taught by German and Greek teachers.

The integrated classes opened in some cities in 1977/1978. Initially, they included grades 1 through 4 at the primary school level and grades 5 through 9 at the *Hauptschule*, the basic form of German secondary school education in Baden-Wurttemberg. Over the years, the needs and wishes of Greek parents changed; they became less interested in sending their children to the basic secondary school (Hauptschule 5th–9th) because their children had the opportunity to attend the middle secondary school (Realschule 5th–10th) or German high school (Gymnasium 5th–12th). This led to the closing of junior high school integrated classes at the end of the 90s, (5th–9th grade). As a result, the integrated

[3]The pupils of the integrated classes are included in the number of pupils following GLCs.

classes continued to operate only at the primary school level. Students get an official report with the following supplementary information: "The student participates in a trial of primary school classes for foreign students of the same heritage language" ("Der/Die SchülerIn nimmt an einem Versuch mit Grundschulklassen für ausländische Schüler gleicher Sprachzugehörigkeit teil").

The third type of Greek language education is the Greek senior high school, the Greek lyceum (10th–12th grade). This school operates according to the Greek Curriculum and it is a so called "pure" Greek school. Up to the school year 2010/2011, four Greek senior high schools existed in the German State: in Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, Neustadt/Waiblingen and Mannheim.

According to information from the Office for Educational Affairs in Stuttgart in June 2009,[4] the total number of students in these four schools reached 217 in the school year 2007/2008 (Stylou 2010). Students receive a Greek high school degree upon successful completion.

In the following sections, the present study on the Greek language education after the crisis will be described. This study seeks to answer two questions; firstly, how the economic crisis in Greece influenced the Greek language education in Baden-Wurttemberg and secondly, how teaching professionals deal with "newcomers".

4 Research Methodology

The present study was carried out with ten seconded teachers from Greece working in the Greek language education in Baden-Wurttemberg. The research data were collected through semi-directed interviews. The research builds also on a previous study (Stylou 2014).[5]

[4]Data provided after asking personally for the numbers of pupils, teachers and GLCs.

[5]The study was conducted in the spring of 2014, as a 3-month project. It took place within a wider EU-funded project of the Centre for Intercultural and Migration Studies at the University of Crete, Greece, called "Greek Language Intercultural Education in the Greek Diaspora". The aims of the study were to collect data about the Greek-language education in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg and to outline the changes related to the economic crisis in Greece. It was conducted through semi-directed interviews with seconded teachers. During this period, informal discussions with parents and members of Parents' Associations took place as well in order to get a clearer picture.

4.1 Data Collection

The research was conducted from December 2016 until June 2017. I firstly had some personal discussions on-site with teachers, parents and students, in order to identify teachers who were experienced in teaching Greek in Greek-language afternoon classes, teachers who taught in the Greek senior high school and teachers who had been recently seconded from Greece working as primary or secondary school teachers. Their availability and interest in supporting the present study also played a role in the choice of the participants.

In May and June 2017, 10 semi-directed interviews were carried out with teachers via Skype, in order to get an updated view of the situation of the Greek language education in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg. To guarantee anonymity, the participants are referred to as S1, S2, S3 etc. up to S10 and the interviews were transcribed.

Some of the actual interview questions building the keystone of the semi-directed interviews with the teachers were the following:

What is the profile of the pupils attending the Greek-language classes?

What are the consequences of the economic crisis concerning the Greek-language education and teaching in Baden-Wurttemberg?

Do you have newly migrated children in the Greek-language classes and how do they affect your Greek-language teaching?

How do the newly migrated children deal with the new situation?

To what extend did changes of the educational policy of the State of Baden-Wurttemberg over the last years affect the Greek-language education?

4.2 Participants

All 10 participants were seconded teachers from Greece in order to teach in the Greek language afternoon classes or in the senior high school. Participants S1 up to S8 are primary school teachers, S9 is a Greek language teacher and S10 is a Mathematics teacher. Both S9 and S10 are seconded in the Greek senior high school in Stuttgart. The participants S1 to S8 work in the Greek language classes with pupils from 1st to 9th grades in the cities of Bietigheim-Bissingen, Esslingen, Mühlacker, Leonberg, Neckarsulm, Reutlingen Tübingen and Vaihingen-Enz. Furthermore, participant S5 worked in the integrated classes in Stuttgart in the final years before their closing and continued in a GLC.

Seven participants have worked in Greek language education for quite a long time (some more than 10 years) because of their marriage to someone who has

permanent residence in Baden-Wurttemberg. The other three participants were recently seconded, some of them without any knowledge of German but with an intermediate level of English.

The statistical data came from two sources; official boards and interviews. The statistical data were collected from the Statistisches Landesamt Baden-Wurttemberg and from the DIPODE[6] for the years 2012/2013 and 2015/2016. For the school year 2013/2014 (Stylou 2014), the numbers for the newcomers in the Greek schools were collected through interviews and discussions with the teachers since it was the only way to get information about newcomers and practices in the Greek language classes. It was not possible to obtain the number of newcomers for all the schools.

The present qualitative research study cannot be exhaustive and is not generalisable. The qualitative data analysis followed the frame of grounded theory (Charmaz 2007) through initial and focused coding of the data. The coding led to conceptual categories and theoretical sampling. According to Charmaz (2007), "theoretical sampling involves starting with data, constructing tentative ideas about the data, and then examining these ideas through further empirical inquiry" (p. 102). The researcher gets "saturated" categories "when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights" (Charmaz 2007, p. 113). I drew on wider and closer conceptual categories describing changes in Greek language education as consequences of the economic crisis. The wider categories include changes on an administrational level, concerning the educational coordinator and the secondment of the teaching staff; and the closer categories include changes in the Greek language schools such as the closing and merging of GLCs, the loss of pupils, changes in the teaching staff and their professional development, the effects of the funding of German all-day-schools and the reactions of the parents.

4.3 Limitations of the Research

The study has some restrictions because only some of the teachers working in GLCs participated in the interviews. More specifically, only two teachers working in the Greek senior high school and only one in the integrated classes were interviewed. Furthermore, it was very difficult to obtain data concerning the newcomers, who have been involved in different forms of Greek language education from 2014/2015 onwards. This fact confirmed the difficulties mentioned in previous studies (Damanakis 2014; Stylou 2014).

[6]DIPODE: Directorate of Greek Education Abroad and Intercultural Education.

5 Greek Language Education in Baden-Wurttemberg—Changes Due to the Economic Crisis

In this section the changes in the Greek language education in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg owing to the economic crisis will be described. The economic crisis led the Greek State to implement changes concerning the educational policy abroad, which consequently influenced the educational settings and teaching abroad. First, I will outline the changes concerning the educational coordinator and the secondment of teachers, and then the changes affecting the various types of Greek language education. All types of education were affected but the most severe changes occurred in the GLCs.

Changes in the educational policy came out in 2011with the enactment of the Law 4027, which built the official starting point for the closing of GLCs. Through follow-up laws (Law 4076, art. 8 in 2012; Law 4186, art. 35 in 2013; Law 4264, art. 57 in 2014) and Ministerial Decisions (2012, 2013) the changes on the educational policy for the Greek language education abroad were broadened. From 2012/2013, the Greek State kept the responsibility of printing necessary textbooks, but the shipping cost of the teaching materials was taken over by the parents' association of all educational levels.

5.1 Educational Coordinator

From 2010 to 2012, the State had only one educational coordinator who kept and managed an administrative office in the city of Stuttgart. In 2012, the position of the educational coordinator in the State itself was abolished. In 2013, the administrational and pedagogical responsibilities were assigned to the educational coordinator in Berlin, and in 2015 to the one in Munich. The office in Stuttgart has been maintained with fewer administrative staff, which consisted of one seconded teacher assigned in the office to carry out the administrative workload.

Most of the teachers interviewed considered the geographical distance of the coordinator (and the physical absence) as problematic, because it was impossible for them to maintain close contact with the main office and find solutions to problems. The following opinion of teacher S4 is representative and illustrates the point.

> Since they [the ministry] cancelled the position of the education-coordinative office in Stuttgart, in the first years they sent us to Berlin [GS: to the office of Berlin] […] the new one [GS: the new Education Coordinator] that of Munich we have seen him

once a year in the two years now. What topics could we talk about in half an hour when we see him once a year? And how can we continue the discussions with the German Institutions in order to achieve the desired results? (Interview with S4)

5.2 Seconded Teachers

The changes owing to the economic crisis and the enactment of the Law 4027 in 2011 and onwards also affected the secondment of the teachers. In 2009, the five-year secondment of teachers who received a salary bonus stopped. From then onwards, teachers were able to be seconded only for three years with a salary bonus and for two more years without any. In addition, the secondment takes place without any preliminary training on the teaching of Greek as a second language and on intercultural education, as it was the requirement before.

Concerning the secondment of the teachers abroad, my personal experience and those of other teachers in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg indicate that it was not always timely. Teachers reported the arrival of newly seconded colleagues, even in the middle of the school year (in February, March or even May), which hindered the regular organisation of all the types of Greek language education. The following excerpts refer to these delays of secondment which affected the opening of the schools, the timetabling and the student enrolment.

So some GLCs here in the region could not open. […] In March they [GS: the education coordinator and the office] decided to take a teacher for one day from XXX, another day from YYY and a third one from ZZZ and they sent them to open schools which were still closed. Now another teacher has been sent to AAA and our colleague came back too. But you know, we had to change the timetable again and again, the parents were complaining, because at the beginning the timetable suits them, then it does not and at the end the pupils do not come anymore. (Interview with S1)

The school begins with 5–10 vacancies, some of them never get covered during the school year (…) there are colleagues who come [GS: from Greece] and recall their secondment […] And then alchemy starts; we get teachers from other schools for only one afternoon […]. (Interview with S4)

Furthermore, the delayed secondments brought about a decrease in the number of students in various GLCs, since it was impossible for only one teacher to handle them, at some schools.

To know that in September (…) that the colleagues needed according to the number of the pupils will be at the school at the beginning of the school year, not that the school opens and I am alone with 140 pupils. Is this not a problem (.) a very serious one […] you lose students. (Interview with S3)

Some other GLCs also lost their enrolled students, since they did not open on time or started after long delays, due to the delayed secondments. The refunctioning of GLCs in the middle of the year and only for one or some afternoons during the week led to the reduction of pupils.

A final issue is the renewal of the secondments of those teachers who are married to a spouse with permanent residency in Baden-Wurttemberg. They can still apply for an extension but the renewal of the secondment is usually announced shortly before the beginning of the new school year, which causes difficulties at the organisational level for each family. Furthermore, a higher language level—now C1 in German, in previous years B1—is required for this group of teachers, although there are other teachers who are seconded with a bonus salary without any knowledge of German.

5.3 Greek Language Classes in Baden-Wurttemberg

The crisis affected the overall Greek language education in Baden-Wurttemberg. The changes in the educational policy of the Greek state had a domino effect on the Greek language teaching and are brought together in the following categories.

5.3.1 Closing and Merging of GLCs

In the school year 2010/2011, a first "smooth" closing of the schools started. In 2011/2012 a second closure of about 43% of the schools took place mainly in GLCs for the primary education. Preschool GLCs were reduced to about 25%. GLCs for junior high schools were also reduced according to the research participants and numerical data. By contrast, statistics are unavailable for the junior high school GLCs.

The school year 2012/2013 can be seen as a turning point for the Greek language education in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg for three reasons. The abolition of preschool education led to the closure of 24 preschool GLCs and the merging of GLCs for primary education (1st–6th grade) and junior high school (7th–9th grade) led to the type of "merged GLC". Finally, only 15 merged GLCs opened or, in other words, 46 primary GLCs and 34 junior high school GLCs closed. The "merged GLC" term describes the coexistence of the primary and junior high school education within one institution and differentiates it from the previous type of GLCs. From 2013/2014 to the academic year 2017/2018, the State of Baden-Wurttemberg had 25 merged GLCs and one integrated class. Compared to previous times, the teachers in these GLCs are called upon to teach at various grades without any consideration of their background. Table 4 shows

Table 4 Number of Greek language classes and seconded teachers in 2010/2011 up to 2011/2012

	Greek language classes (primary education)	Greek language classes (preschool education = Kindergarten)	Primary school teachers	Preschool teachers
2010–2011	102	32	90	12
	−6.42% (in relation to 2009–2010)	–	−40.40% (in relation to 2009–2010)	−40% (in relation to 2009–2010)
2011–2012	63	24	48	10
	−42.80% (in relation to 2009–2010)	−25% (in relation to 2009–2010)	−68.21% (in relation to 2009–2010)	−50% (in relation to 2009–2010)

Note: From the Teacher Association "Aristotelis" of the state of Baden-Württemberg, (The president of the Teacher Association "Aristotelis" of the State of Baden-Wurttemberg [personal communication, 2014, 2018]) 2014, 2018 and http://www.sde-stuttgart.de/tmg_badi_butembergi.htm, 2014

the number of merged GLCs and integrated classes, the two numbers respectively for each year.

From the perspective of the Greek language teachers, the schools' closing and merging were abrupt and happened without a real plan. The only aim was the reduction of the costs. Teachers pointed out the importance of GLCs for Greek language and culture learning and for the maintenance of the Greek language as given in the following quotes.

"Many small schools closed, they kept the Greek-language education alive." (Interview with S6)

"The GLCs are the last pillars." (Interview with S7)

"It's the only way to keep the language." (Interview with S5)

5.3.2 Loss of pupils

A reasonable consequence of the closing of the various types of complementary schools was the loss of a huge number of pupils and the reduction of the teachers needed in these Greek language classes since 2010/2011. Table 5 shows the total number of pupils in GLCs (1st to 9th grade) from the beginning of the economic crisis 2010 onwards.

The data in Table 6 illustrates the loss of 44.7% of pupils over five years, as a result of changes in the educational policy and the economic crisis. The largest

Table 5 Number of merged GLCs and percentage of delegated teachers for the school years 2012/2013, 2013/2014 and 2017/2018

	Merged GLCs (for primary and junior high school education)
2012–2013	17 (15 + 2) −84.40% (in relation to 2009–2010)
2013–2014	26 (25 + 1) −76.15% (in relation to 2009–2010)
2017–2018	26 (25 + 1)

Note: From the Teacher Association "Aristotelis" of the State Baden-Wurttemberg, 2014, 2018, http://www.sde-stuttgart.de/tmg_badi_butembergi.htm, 2014 and Greek Ministry of Education, DIPODE, March 2017

Table 6 Total amount of pupils in the GLCs in Baden-Wurttemberg from 2010/2011 to 2013/2014 and for 2015/2016

Registered pupils in GLCs and Merged GLCs per school year	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2015/2016
	4.515	3.952	2.352	2.647	2.495
		−12,47%	−40,49%	+12,54%	−5,74%

Note: From the Education Office Stuttgart, (Damanakis [personal conversation, May 2014]) 2014, for 2015/16 from the DIPODE, (DIPODE, Ministry of Education (2017), data on students and teaching staff) 2017

loss of pupils took place at the beginning of school year 2012/2013, when only 15 GLCs were functioning. Since then, the number of pupils has been relatively stable in the merged GLCs, but students have fewer options with regard to subjects taught. The teachers find it difficult to design appropriate timetables and accommodate students coming to the GLCs from various cities and schools.

5.3.3 Changes in Teaching Staff

Another consequence of the educational policy was the fact that in the merged GLCs, any teacher, even without a specialisation in Greek language teaching, was asked to teach the Greek language from the 1st to the 9th grade. Hence, teachers with a specialisation in a specific secondary school subject, such as German, English, Science, Religious Education, and Physical Education, were called upon to teach Greek. Preschool teachers and Greek language teachers for junior and senior high were requested to teach at the primary school level and primary school

teachers to teach at junior high school level, without any further specific education or training.

"In March a German language teacher, and a Religion Education Teacher came, each for one day per week [GS: to teach Greek language] (…) which means, all that (.) is not positive." (Interview with S3)

"Primary school teachers do not want [to teach in] secondary school, it is out of their subject, they say." (Interview with S7)

"Last year there was another, who had studied Geology at a German University." (Interview with S8)

The fact that so many different subject-teachers have the permission to teach the Greek language officially abroad demonstrates a strong devaluation of the Greek language teaching as a first, second and foreign language, something that would be considered unacceptable in any other formal context.

5.3.4 Professional Development

Furthermore, a lack of opportunities for professional development was often reported, especially the years after the economic crisis. The teachers reported that no training before the secondment and no in-service training in situ in Baden-Wurttemberg took place during their secondment. According to teachers who had been seconded for longer, no in-service training has been held for the last eight years. This is important because the teachers seconded for the first time are not always prepared to teach Greek as a second or foreign language. Additionally, the longer seconded teachers consider that their professional development is of great importance.

5.3.5 Effect of the Funding for German All-Day-Schools on GLE

A final issue affecting the Greek language education owing to the changes in the German educational policy is the large funding for more German all-day-schools (Stylou 2014). Attendance at these schools is compulsory which means that it is impossible for students to attend lessons in the Greek schools beginning at two o'clock. Other students could not enrol because of the distance between the two schools. Two teachers depict these difficulties.

"This year I cannot go to XXX before 15:20 […] at that time they finish" [GS: German school] (Interview with S7).

"The problem will be when the schools become all-day schools […] if the students have each day afternoon classes who will come?" [GS: to the GLCs] (Interview with S3).

5.3.6 Parents' Reactions: Retaliation and Community Based GLCs

Teachers regard the loss of students as well as a form of retaliation of the parents in reaction to the closing of the GLCs. As S7 told us, "the parents of the GLCs, which have been closed, did not bring their children to us; for retaliation. This happened also elsewhere and they regarded the people of XXX responsible."

The same opinion is supported by S1:

> They do not bring their children because they think that we are responsible for their closing (…) They hope to put pressure on [the ministry] and they [the ministry] will open their complementary school again. But meanwhile the students lose some of their Greek language. (Interview with S1)

New forms of Greek-language learning, as a consequence of the crisis, are the private initiatives of the parents' associations. Stylou (2014) showed that from 2012 onwards, the parents' association has taken the initiative to organise Greek language classes on a private level, mainly in the cities where the GLCs had been closed. Such private initiatives were also taken for preschool children. These Greek lessons are organised once or twice a week, the parents' pay for the lessons and the association has the responsibility to find the teaching staff. Unfortunately, on several occasions the teachers were not qualified to teach the Greek language.

> In XXX they had found a young woman, I don't know if she had a primary school teacher degree and I told the children to go there, it would be useful for them since the one day I am there is not enough. They have two groups […] indeed there are private initiatives paid by the parents […] in XXX they also had [such groups]. (Interview with S7)
>
> In XXX I don't know if they had done something private, if they had a teacher, if they were paying monthly, as in XXX […] as it has been done in other schools as well which did not open again, and the parents took it over by paying, by paying someone, to do it privately. (Interview with S2)

This development is a large step in the direction of the privatisation of the Greek language education in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg and can be seen as a step towards the transformation of the education caused by the economic crisis.

5.4 Integrated Classes of Greek Language Education

The effects the crisis had on the integrated classes of the Greek language education are similar to those they had on the GLCs, concerning the closing and the reduction of the teaching staff. The final integrated classes in Stuttgart closed at the end of the school year 2012/2013 and only those in Mannheim[7] continue at the primary school level (1st to 4th grade).

The teachers' statements about the language education in integrated classes were generally very positive, because the students attended school regularly and had courses in both Greek and German.

> There, students didn't miss lessons, because they were at school, they were obliged to be in the classes, but in the GLCs they say: 'Oh, I won't bring him, he has swimming lessons.' or 'He/she is sick' or 'He/she got cold I won't bring him/her', but in the regular school he/she cannot stay away so easily. (Interview with S5)

5.5 Greek Senior High Schools (Greek Lyceums) in Baden-Wurttemberg

The only Greek senior high school operating from 2011/2012 onwards is based in Stuttgart, the Capital of Baden-Wurttemberg; the other three mentioned previously have closed.

A further effect of the crisis has been the increase of students registering in the Greek senior high school in Stuttgart since the school year 2011/2012. This school caters for both (mainly) 3rd generation immigrant adolescents and newcomers who attended school in Greece before their arrival in Germany. The total number of pupils is shown in Table 7. The Greek senior high school in Stuttgart recorded among their students a high percentage of newcomers from Greece in 2012/2013 and 2013/2014. Nearly half of the students in the school year 2013/2014 were newcomers. Some teachers estimated that more than half of the enrolments in 2016/2017 involved new immigrants, but it was impossible to obtain exact figures (Table 7).

[7]Griechische Schule Mannheim [Greek school Mannheim]. https://www.elliniko-sxoleio-ma.eu/de/schule/. Accessed: July 16, 2018.

Table 7 Total number of students and newcomers from Greece in the Greek senior high schools the school years 2011/2012 up to 2016/2017 in Baden-Wurttemberg

Greek senior high school Stuttgart		
	Total number of pupils	Newcomers from Greece
2011/2012	180	17 9.5%
2012/2013	152	46 30.3%
2013/2014	126	58 46%
2015/2016	111	No information
2016/2017	136	No information

5.6 Newcomers: Changes in Classrooms, Adaptation and Teaching

5.6.1 Enrolment of Newcomers

Although we discussed the increase of Greeks in Baden-Wurttemberg in 2.1, we could not detect the exact numbers of new enrolments of Greek pupils in German schools owing to the new immigration wave to Germany. Furthermore, the statistics available from the Greek authorities did not register the newcomers from Greece as a separate category; therefore, we rely on the statements of the teachers about the newcomers who enrolled in each level of the Greek language education. The teachers reported that from 2012 onwards, newcomers from Greece, who speak Greek as their first language, enrolled in the Greek language classes (see also Stylou 2014). While teachers in all school types reported new enrolments, they also mentioned that there are many newcomers, who do not attend the Greek language education (S7) or who might enrol later (S1).

"They do not attend regularly with the justification that they have this too, that they have German […] here they put all the weight on German because they have to reach through these preparation classes." (Interview with S7)

"Look, these children have been here for about one to two years and then they came to us to the school. Some have been here already for one year, some others for two years." (Interview with S1)

Another difficulty that newcomers face is that some of them have changed more than one city and school, while their parents were trying to find employment, as S9 reported from her experience at the school.

S9: "Many are passers-by, of course. They come; the adolescent stays for one year and leaves.
RE: And where do they go afterwards?
S9: They go back to Greece or to another place in Germany. That's it, we have students who say: 'Mrs, I have changed three schools'."

Such changes are difficult to handle for the pupils and their families.

According to personal experience and the statements of many teachers, parents and some new migrants, there are quite a lot of Greek newcomers of school age, who are not enrolled in the GLCs for various reasons such as distance, financial difficulties, socialisation difficulties at the beginning, inconvenient timetable of the GLCs, and the emphasis on the German language. We can safely say that fewer pupils enrolled in the GLCs than in the German schools. The above quotes shed light both on the difficulties the newcomers face in their new environment and on the role of Greek language education for them.

5.6.2 Difficulties of the Newcomers at Various School Levels and Role of GLE

Most of the teachers reported difficulties the newcomers encounter in getting used to their new environment and in building a new social life. They also emphasised the importance of the role of the Greek language education in supporting the newcomers so as to handle difficulties and enable them to adapt more easily to their new life.

> The role of the GLCs and the Greek language is very important for the newcomers, especially for the older students 12–14 […] because they do not know the language, they are put in German preparatory classes and here they feel the maternal embrace, they feel a satisfaction, they have a contact with Greek pupils, they develop social contacts, it is a meeting point. (Interview with S4)
>
> Difficult, too difficult. They felt homesick; they were missing their school they were used to, the teachers. They missed all this. […] They were put here in a class, a preparatory class, the level was very low, in comparison to their reading and learning competence they were used to in Greece. (Interview with S5)

Students enrolled in the senior high school and the GLCs seem to have similar experiences. According to teachers of the senior high school interviewed in the

previous study (Stylou 2014) and the present one, the existence of this Greek high school is very important regarding the needs of the new immigrants who arrive between the ages of 15 and 17. Many students find it difficult to handle the new situation and the abrupt expatriation in combination with the economic difficulties of a new beginning in a different country and the changes in their social lives. The school is a general support through the Greek language and the Greek curriculum and tries to support the students in their socialisation. The teachers have an open ear for the first difficulties and needs of the students and give them information about life in the new region. As informant S9 said, while talking about the adaptation of the newcomers in the school and in Germany:

> It is good for them that the Greek school exists, because it is the place where they speak their language. […] They do not want to adapt [to Germany] […] And they have a denial in learning German and they don't like Germany at all. The school is their comfort. […] They feel they are passing by/temporary. […] In the 1st and 2nd Grade of the lyceum they are all negative, in the 3rd they also think about the choice of doing an apprenticeship, Ausbildung. (Interview with S9)

Through this type of school, adolescents can obtain a Greek high school degree. Greek language education is especially relevant for those pupils, who cannot adapt immediately to the German educational system, in that it contributes to their socialisation. Furthermore, it also supports those who did not have the competence needed in the German language to follow courses in German in the German Gymnasium and to obtain a German high school diploma. As teacher S10 told us, repeating the words of the students about some of their difficulties, while getting used to the new life: "We are new here, we do not come out of the house, we feel weird; it is difficult." She continued by saying that:

> Some of them did not want to be here and they don't put much effort into studying for school. It's not their main priority. […] For some it takes them a long time to come to school. One of them travels two hours one way [by train]. (Interview with S10)

5.6.3 Newcomers and Teaching

Only a few informants supported the notion that the newcomers influenced teaching practices through raising the language level in the GLCs and the Greek senior high school, because they forced the other pupils to communicate more in Greek in order to facilitate interactions with them. The new diversity of the classroom led a few teachers in GLCs and the senior high school to rethink and reorganise their teaching practices through using more differentiated material.

"Newcomers are positive factors in teaching, they enrich the class with their Greek, they affect the other students and these in turn hear and get influenced by the German [language]." (Interview with S14)

"You accommodate your teaching to the level of the students." (Interview with S3)

This seems also to be the case in the senior high School. According to S9, the newcomers changed the teaching level to some extent. As she told us, even before the arrival of the newcomers, teachers had students with different ability levels and the diversity has increased now. However, this does not mean that all newcomers have a high level of Greek and obtain high grades in all school subjects. Her way of coping with the various levels became the differentiation of the teaching material, which is accompanied by a heavier workload. According to S10, it is unnecessary to implement pedagogical changes in mathematics. In sum, the findings showed that the GLCs and the Greek senior high school have been revitalised by young, native speakers of Greek. Especially the Greek senior high school gives the opportunity to newcomers aged 15 or 16 to adapt gradually to the new situation.

6 Concluding Remarks

The outcomes of the present study revealed changes in the Greek language education in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg owing to the economic crisis on administration and educational levels. The change of the educational policy caused a domino effect. The changes can be summarised in three broader categories. Firstly, the changes to the educational policy from the Greek Ministry of Education had the following consequences: the secondment of the teachers, the closing of various Greek language schools, the cutbacks of educational coordinators and teaching staff, the merging of the GLCs, the placement of other subject-teachers to teach the Greek language without any qualifications, and the missed opportunities for professional development. Furthermore, the changes impacted the parents and the parents' association, especially in the regions where the GLCs that had been supported by the Greek State were closed. In several cities, the parents' association offered Greek language courses. This is a step in the direction of the privatisation of the Greek language education in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg and can be seen as a structural transformation of the education caused by the economic crisis. Further research is necessary to shed more light on this new form of Greek language education in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg. Secondly, changes affect the teaching practice of the seconded teachers who have to deal with a

more diverse classroom because newcomers from Greece have to be integrated creatively in the teaching procedure. Some teachers reported that the newcomers raised the level of Greek language instruction and the level of Greek of the other students in the GLCs and the senior high school, to some extent. Only some of the teachers reported that they differentiated their lessons and adapted the material to the needs of the newcomers.

The actual research findings confirm findings from a previous study (Stylou 2014), reflect on a continuum concerning the GLE in the State of Baden-Wurttemberg and give a clearer picture of the developments and changes which took place due to the economic crisis. The data showed a stabilisation of the merged GLCs from 2014 onwards at the number of 26.

In sum, Greek language education in Baden-Wurttemberg has changed a lot, enforced by administrational acts and the new migration wave during the economic crisis. The enrolment of pupils during the last two years in the GLCs is stable, but further research on the school-age newcomers from Greece seems necessary to provide a clearer picture on the development of their Greek language and their adaptation in Germany. Further research is also needed on the teaching practices.

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Teachers', Parents' and Children's Perspectives of Teaching and Learning Greek in a Complementary School in Luxembourg

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Abstract

Many scholars have been interested in studying patterns of language shift or language maintenance of migrants during their diaspora. One way of sustaining the development of a home language can be the attendance of a complementary school. This paper explores the differing perspectives on teaching and learning Greek in a complementary school in multilingual Luxembourg. The participants include the two teachers of this school, the mothers of three newly migrated families, and their children. The children are multilingual and attend the Greek complementary school once a week. The data, which stem from interviews with all participants, have been analysed thematically. The findings show that the children's understanding of the purpose of attending the school and their experiences within the school, varied with age and school friendships. The teachers were aware of the children's different levels of motivation, which they associated with language competence and opportunities for socialisation. Although they valued the children's multilingualism, they did not build on this their lessons which were underpinned by a monolingual policy. While the parents had high expectations regarding competence in Greek, and enrolled their children to develop this competence, they nevertheless did not seem to perceive Greek as an educational priority. The findings of this paper encourage teachers to reflect on their language policies and teaching approaches and encourage them to capitalise on their students' heterogeneity.

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1 Introduction

Many scholars have investigated patterns of language shift or language maintenance of migrants during their diaspora. Children from ethno-linguistic minorities run the risk of losing their home language as a result of perceiving it as a language with specific and limited use (Baker 2011). They may consider it less prestigious and less useful in relation to higher education or career opportunities, attributing only sentimental value to it. Complementary schools can contribute both to the development of the children's home language and their ethnic and linguistic identity. These non-mandatory schools have been established by specific ethnic minorities to promote and maintain the community's language, religion and/or culture (Lytra and Martin 2010, p. xi). They are characterised by several features, such as monolingual ideologies, a curriculum designed to generate knowledge and pride in the home culture; mixed-ability and mixed-age-grouping; a high degree of parental and community involvement, and financial support through fees or donations (Hall et al. 2002). Parents may play a range of roles, such as voluntary teachers, support staff, school administrators or fund-raisers (Lytra 2011a, b). Like their children, they may perceive complementary schools as socialising spaces (Li Wei and Wu 2010). While these schools can be perceived as a "safe haven" (Lytra and Martin 2010), they are also sites of tension. Li Wei (2014), for example, pointed out that teachers and students have different linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds and experiences. In addition, the monolingual ideologies which tend to be found in complementary schools may clash with the teachers' and students' multilingual experiences in their daily life. The onset of new orientations in language pedagogy also calls for flexible language use (Blackledge and Creese 2010; García and Seltzer 2016; Panagiotopoulou 2016).

The present case study examines teachers', mothers' and children's perspectives of learning or teaching Greek in a complementary school in Luxembourg. While most studies on complementary schools have been carried out with established families, the present one investigates the views of three families who recently migrated from Greece, one of the countries hit hardest by the financial crisis (Labrianidis and Vogiatzis 2013). Using interviews, I will explore the parents' reasons for enrolling their children at this school, the children's motivation for attending it, and the participants' experiences. The children are competent in Greek and learn the three official languages of the country, Luxembourgish, German, and French, in their mainstream primary school. The findings provide insight into the differing perspectives on learning Greek held by the various actors. My intention is not to contrast the statements—it seems obvious from

the outset that the actors will have different views based on their different experiences—rather, I would like to give a voice to all participants and show their understandings of what it means to learn Greek.

2 Ideologies, Language Practices, Views on Culture and Identity Construction

Complementary schools bring together teachers and students who share the same linguistic roots—albeit with different cultural and linguistic experiences—in an institution characterised by specific language ideologies. Lytra (2010, 2013), Li Wei and Wu (2009) and Li Wei (2014) described some of the different ideologies prevailing in these schools. For instance, institutions may be driven by monolingual ideologies and, therefore, implement monolingual-oriented policies, such as "one-language-only" (OLON) or "one-language-at the-time" (OLAT), which strictly separate languages. Other schools may privilege a "standard" language over regional varieties, considering the former as the "more valuable set of resources" and thereby the "proper" (Blackledge and Creese 2010, p. 11) language. Although strong monolingual and standard ideologies are at play, students and teachers have nevertheless been reported to draw on other languages than the target language in the classroom. Blackledge and Creese (2010), who studied Bengali, Chinese, Gujarati and Turkish community schools in the UK, found that bilingualism (or multilingualism) was the norm and that interactions between teachers and students involved flexible language use. Li Wei and Wu (2009) and Li Wei (2011) found examples of translanguaging—the use of one's entire language repertoire—in several Chinese complementary classes in the UK. The dynamic language use of students and teachers was also reported by Faltzi (2011) and Hancock (2012), who investigated learning Greek and Chinese, respectively, in complementary classes in Scotland. Panagiotopoulou et al. (2016) reported that the four teachers they studied in Greek complementary schools in Canada dealt with the children's multilingualism in varied ways. While some developed monolingual classroom practices, others created multilingual spaces. Translanguaging was neither a legitimised practice in the Turkish complementary schools studied by Lytra (2010), nor at the Greek complementary school in Luxembourg (Tsagkogeorga 2016). Tsagkogeorga (2016) reported in her MA dissertation that the teachers requested that the students use Greek, and that teachers and students only occasionally used French to ensure comprehension or make cross-linguistic comparisons. Code-switching was not well-received as it clashed with the

teachers' ideology of correctness. In general, the literature shows that students translanguage for a range of reasons albeit, or possibly because of, the dominant monolingual ideologies. They may do so because they lack vocabulary in the community language or because it is a natural practice (García 2009). However, translanguaging is also a means of negotiating power relations and enacting identity. Li Wei (2011) reported that students used English to rebel against the school's monolingual policy, to contest the practices, and to undermine the teachers' authority. He argued that the students' "multilingual practices are a symbolic resource of contestation and struggle against institutional ideologies" (Li Wei, p. 381).

The ideologies that underpin a curriculum do not only affect language practices (and student behaviour), but also the view of culture that is portrayed to students. In the same way teachers decide to use the "standard language", they also choose specific aspects of culture that they wish to familiarise students with. Textbooks convey particular cultural values and ideologies, and act as a means of socialising learners. Curdt-Christiansen (2017), for example, explains that students do not only learn how to read Chinese through reading Chinese stories, but they also learn socially accepted norms and moral values such as diligence, obedience or dedication. Francis et al. (2009) and Li Wei (2014) hold that the values taught may be "imagined", idealised and highly traditional rather than real. The curriculum may be at odds with the students' complex lives. Lytra (2010) provides an example: the Turkish students in her study interacted in Turkish in everyday practices, from listening to traditional and modern Turkish music, watching Turkish programmes, and using Turkish in messages to relatives. Their everyday experiences were not reflected in the traditional curriculum. A clash of values and experiences can lead to behavioural problems and make students resist the "socialising" method of teaching (Li Wei 2014; Li Wei and Wu 2009). There are, however, also examples of schools where learners were encouraged to "combine their different life experiences in more fluid ethnicities" (Creese et al. 2006, p. 41). Lytra (2013) showed that the children in one Turkish school weaved together different language varieties, experiences, genres, and modes of communication, which, in turn, enabled them to make links between their everyday life and school. In sum, the body of literature on language, literacy and cultural practices indicates that schools offer students some spaces to negotiate multilingual and multicultural identities (Li Wei 2014). This idea runs counter the more commonly-held belief that complementary schools aim to enforce "singular and essentialised ethnic or heritage identities" (Creese et al. 2006, p. 41).

3 Student Satisfaction and Motivation

Archer et al. (2009), Gaiser and Hughes (2015), and Zielinska et al. (2014) interviewed primary and secondary students of Albanian, Chinese, Polish, Arabic and Ukrainian origin, who attended complementary schools in England and Iceland. The Arabic, Ukrainian, Albanian and Polish students enjoyed attending the schools (Gaiser and Hughes 2015; Tereshchenko and Archer 2015; Zielinska et al. 2014). The Ukrainian and Chinese students perceived school attendance as an integral part of their life and their cultural identity (Gaiser and Hughes 2015). The Polish, Arabic and Ukrainian students appreciated the opportunity to meet with peers of a similar language background and engage in social activities (Gaiser and Hughes 2015; Zielinska et al. 2014). It was a means of connecting with and sharing culture. The Chinese students reported on by Archer et al. (2009) even described the school as an "idealised" learning space where they could learn aside like-minded and non-disruptive peers. The Albanian students felt a sense of belonging in their school, which aimed at reinforcing group solidarity and ethnic identity (Tereshchenko and Archer 2015). The Polish children perceived the complementary school as a refuge or a "safe haven" which contrasted with the discriminatory practice of not being allowed to speak Polish which they experienced in their mainstream schools in Iceland and England (Zielinska et al. 2014).

The students' motives to attend the school varied. The younger children reported that their parents wanted them to visit the school because they believed they would return to their country of origin (Zielinska et al. 2014). Some older students emphasised the relevance of literacy in the community language because it enabled communication with relatives (Gaiser and Hughes 2015; Zielinska et al. 2014). Others were motivated to take exams, arguing that competence in the community language increased educational and career opportunities (Gaiser and Hughes 2015; Zielinska et al. 2014). When considering these findings, one must bear in mind the diverse backgrounds of the students. For example, students of the same linguistic background shared different migration patterns and experienced different family language policies.

While students are generally portrayed as motivated and as having positive experiences, some negative experiences have been reported as well. For instance, the Chinese students revealed mixed feelings. On the one hand, they appreciated the opportunity to learn about their heritage language and culture and to do so in a "culture-rich approach"—that is, learn language through culture, history, and philosophy (Archer et al. 2009). On the other hand, they found the workload demanding, perceived the learning of Chinese as difficult (Gaiser and

Hughes 2015), considered the teaching strategies old-fashioned, and complained about the lack of resources (Archer et al. 2009). Tsagkogeorga (2016) reported that some Greek students who had recently migrated from Greece, especially teenagers, stopped attending the Greek complementary school in Luxembourg. Some students were disappointed that the curriculum and material differed from that of the schools in Greece. Others needed to spend more time on homework to address the demands of the trilingual mainstream school. While Tsagkogeorga's study focused on five secondary students from established transcultural families, enrolled in the European School, the present study looks at primary school children who recently migrated from Greece and were enrolled in the same Greek complementary school.

4 The Greek Complementary School in Luxembourg

The first Greeks arrived in Luxembourg in 1955, but the rate of immigration increased from 1968, when Greeks found employment opportunities in the European Institutions and the NATO. In 1981, after Greece became a member of the former EEC, Luxembourg counted 100 Greeks among its residents. Greek families continued to emigrate to Luxembourg, particularly following the crisis in 2009, increasing the population to 3250 in 2018 (STATEC 2018). They are among the 47,87% of the non-Luxembourgish citizens in 2018, with a total population of 602,005 on 1st January 2018 (STATEC 2018). The Greeks hope to find work on the wider job market and possibly to improve their children's educational opportunities (Kirsch and Gogonas 2018). Finding a new job may require language skills in two or even three of the country's official languages, Luxembourgish, French and German, sometimes in addition to English. Contrary to the Greeks in the 1970s who enrolled their children at the Greek section of the European school, the new migrants tend to favour the state-funded trilingual education system. Children are faced with the challenge of learning Luxembourgish, German and French from primary school, and English from secondary school. In addition, their parents may enrol them into the Greek complementary school to further develop their competences in Greek.

The Greek school was established in 1978 and is currently run on the premises of one of the European schools. According to Tsagkogeorga (2016), this location could create a more pronounced sense of "openness" that goes beyond a narrow focus on Greek language and identity. Having carried out an ethnographic study

in the school, she reported on the existence of some discrete elements representing "Greekness", such as a map, some collages and some texts displayed on the walls.

The Greek school is run by the Ministry of Education, Research and Religion in Greece and the Coordinating office for Greek-language education in Western Europe, based in Brussels. The aims of the school are to develop receptive and productive language skills and nurture the Greek identity through the teaching of elements of culture, history, geography and mythology. The teachers draw on the curriculum produced by the Greek Ministry and use the books and materials specifically designed for students learning Greek while living in diasporic contexts. Tsagkogeorga (2016) found that the secondary teachers focused on the teaching of Greek, thereby making some references to Ancient Greek to explain elements of Modern Greek. They also taught Greek History to emphasise universal values such as peace, freedom and dignity. In addition, they spoke about national days such as the "Independence Day" or the "Day of the No", although they did not celebrate these in the same way as in Greece, wishing to respect the transcultural character of the families (Tsagkogeorga 2016). Despite the focus on language, the teachers do not assess the students' competence at the end of the year. Students who wish their levels of competence to be accredited, will need to take an exam organised by the Greek Language Centre. The school prepares students for this test.

The school organises weekly three-hour-long classes at different levels targeting primary and secondary students aged six to 18. The teachers are seconded from Greece, have formal teaching qualifications, and a long experience of teaching Greek as a first and second language. In 2016/2017, 50 students were enrolled in the school, 31 in the primary and 19 in the secondary school. While all children came from families of Greek origins, about one third came from families where both parents spoke Greek. Only 13% of the enrolled population came from families who migrated within the last five years and, of these, three children attended the Greek complementary primary school. All children were multilingual. They attended either a multilingual mainstream school or a private one such as the European school where they were enrolled in the Greek, Dutch, Spanish, French or Portuguese section depending on their language background (Frygana 2016). The newly arrived families tended to choose mainstream schools for their children. The children's competences in Greek were highly diverse. Each year, the teachers tried to ensure that the classes grouped together children of more or less the same language skills and with an age difference no bigger than two years. The organisation is difficult owing to the small size of the school, the diverse language and cultural backgrounds of the children, and the fact that lessons can only take place during the afternoons when children do not attend their regular school.

5 Methodology: Exploring Learning and Teaching Experiences

This small case study draws on qualitative data to investigate the perspectives on learning or teaching Greek of two teachers, three mothers and their children. The research questions read as follows:

- What are the parents' reasons for enrolling children in the Greek school and what are the children's motives?
- What are the parents' and the children's experiences of learning Greek at the complementary school?
- How do teachers develop the children's competence in Greek and their understanding of Greek culture?

The participants included, on the one hand, the teachers of the complementary school and on the other, the families. Both teachers, Ms Barlos and Ms Andreou, had taught many years in mainstream schools, but their experiences of teaching in a complementary school differed. Although the teachers came to Luxembourg for different reasons, both were interested in discovering different ways of life. Both are multilingual. In line with the topic of the present book, I looked for newly migrated families who wished to take part in this study. I focused on children of primary school age because Tsagkogeorga (2016) had worked with secondary students previously in her MA dissertation. The choice was limited. As mentioned before, only 13% of all children enrolled at the Greek school had recently arrived in Luxembourg and, of these, three attended the primary school. All three families agreed to take part in the study. Their children were among the youngest in the school and of these two had only attended the school from September 2017. The three participating families, called here Gavalas, Kourakis and Marinakis, arrived between 2013 and 2014 following a job offer. The families had two or three children, of which one was enrolled at the Greek school at the time of the study. All children attended the mainstream school and learned the country's three official languages. Table 1 below provides an overview of the families. All names are pseudonyms.

The methods of this small case study are semi-structured interviews and conversations recorded between January and April 2017. I carried out two one-hour-long interviews with the teachers, one in English, one in French, depending on their preference. My questions addressed the school organisation, the curriculum and teaching material, the linguistic and cultural background of the children, the

Tab. 1 Overview of the participating families

	Family 1 Gavalas	Family 2 Kourakis	Family 3 Marinakis
Date of arrival	2014	2013	2013
Number of children	3	2	3
Name and age of the child attending the Greek school	Anna (8)	Petros (7)	Sofia (10)

teachers' professional experience and teaching approaches, and, finally, their perceptions of the children's experiences and the parents' expectations. I asked Tsagkogeorga, who had investigated the experiences of secondary students at the same school (2016), to carry out three semi-structured interviews with the parents. Firstly, she knew some of the families which facilitated the interview process and, second, she could interview the parents in Greek. She focused on the parents' reasons for sending the children to the Greek school, the children's language competences, and the parents' and the children's experiences at the school. These interviews took place at the parents' home and lasted on average 30 min. She also interviewed the three children in Greek. To facilitate this process, she asked them to bring along an object which they associated with the school and talk about it (Hughes and Baker 1990). These conversations in Greek lasted 15 min and covered topics such as motivation and experiences. One limitation of the study is the short one-off interviews with the children. The quality of these data may have improved had Ms Tsagkogeorga been able to get to know the children better and do a follow-up interview.

All interviews were recorded, transcribed and, when in Greek, translated into English. The teachers had an opportunity to read through the transcripts (and a draft chapter) and make corrections. The data were analysed through thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006; Clarke and Braun 2013). Firstly, I identified emerging themes such as competence, friendships, uncertainty, and language ideologies. Next, drawing on triangulation (Flick 2011), I brought together the perspectives of the mothers, the children and the teachers. My main aim was to give a voice to the parents and the children because their perspectives often remain unheard (Conteh et al. 2005). The comparison also brought to light some similarities and differences.

The research project abided to the ethics guidelines of the University of Luxembourg. Anonymity and confidentiality are of utmost importance, particularly because there is only one Greek school in Luxembourg and there are only few Greek parents whose children attend the lower level of this complementary school. I was not able to use all my data because some would have made it possible to identify the participants.

6 Findings

The following four sections on competence, motives, experiences and language policy show the differing perspectives of the participants.

6.1 The Children's Language Competence

The three children stated that they were able to speak Greek as well as Luxembourgish, some German and some French. Petros (Family 2) even indicated knowing some features of Chinese and English. Anna (Family 1) and Sofia (Family 3) were literate in Greek to different degrees. The mothers confirmed that the children had "a good level" of Greek which they attributed mainly to their family language policy of Greek only. Ms Marinakis (Family 3) expressed this most clearly as follows:

"Here at home it is a rule, it is a law that we speak only Greek. Of course, when she [the daughter] is alone she can speak German or Luxembourgish".

None of the mothers mentioned that the children had begun to acquire Greek while living in Greece and only Ms Gavalas hinted at some issues in her children's development of Greek. She reported that Anna's younger siblings had forgotten some words, referring to an incident when the children did not know the Greek word for "whale", although they had heard it many times at home. She went on to say, "I see that we need to practise all the time". At times, her younger children spoke whole chunks in Luxembourgish and Ms Gavalas, who did not understand this language, either had to draw on the context to get the gist of the conversation, or ask Anna for translations. Anna, too, replaced Greek words she did not know with Luxembourgish ones. Although the other two mothers did not mention language-related issues, they all stated that their children would further develop their Greek through permanent contact with the language, which for them meant speaking to relatives at home and on holidays abroad. Furthermore, they mentioned input from reading and TV. The mothers of Family 1 and 3 nuanced their statement, declaring that their children showed little interest in reading books in Greek, preferring other languages. None of the mothers pushed their children to write in Greek, but Ms Marinakis (Family 3) was pleased that her daughter had a pen pal in Greece whom she regularly communicated with.

6.2 Motives and Expectations

The three families mentioned the same reasons for sending their children to the Greek school. They wished to develop the children's language skills and perceived a strong link between Greek, identity and family life. In their words:

> We very much want the children to learn Greek in addition to all the other things they learn here because it is our language. It is the language that we speak at home. We think it is important for the identity of the child. (Interview with Ms Gavalas)
>
> Because, we are both Greeks, we speak Greek and we want him to learn Greek. (Interview with Ms Kourakis)

They had high expectations and mentioned "mastery" of Greek, which included literacy and knowledge of grammar and spelling. Mastery of Greek would come in useful if the children went back to Greece to study or work but none of the parents mentioned this. Ms Kourakis had the highest expectations, despite understanding them to be unrealistic. She declared, laughing:

> My expectations are high indeed, to learn Greek. I expect him to learn whatever he would learn at a Greek school, which cannot be done within so few hours, but, in any case, to learn to read and write and learn about the culture.

Ms Kourakis was the only person who mentioned culture explicitly, as seen in the above quote. By contrast, one of the teachers believed that the families sent the children to school to create a more profound link with culture and, in this way, to nurture their identity:

> I think it is mostly the culture, the Greek identity, to know about one's origins. I think this is the main reason. Not exactly to learn the language perfectly but to have a connection with Greece in general. (Interview with Ms Andreou)

Despite the parents' strong claims, there was also evidence in the data that the Greek school was not a priority. The mothers expressed a general feeling of uncertainty as to whether and how long the children would continue to attend the Greek school. They all mentioned the bursting schedules of their children—mainstream school, sports, music school, Greek school, clubs—and their own organisational issues. Ms Gavalas indicated that the enrolment in the following year would depend on the children's other leisure activities. Ms Marinakis was unsure how long Sofia would continue, but preferred her to attend the Greek school rather than doing anything else. Like Ms Gavalas, her involvement with the

school seemed to consist of driving the child to school and, in her words, "trying" to help with homework.

When asked about their motives to attend school, the children were hesitant. Sofia stated that she liked "spending her time" at the school because she learned something. Anna said, "because my mother wants", and Petros began the sentence, "I go because …", without finishing it. When asked whether attending the school would improve their skills in Greek, Anna replied, "I don't know", and Petros explained, "I know Greek and I don't need to learn". The statements of the younger children show some uncertainty. The fact that none of the children mentioned any personal goals or specific motives in their brief interview does not, however, necessarily indicate a lack of motivation on their part. The children may not have thought about motives or may have found it difficult to verbalise these.

6.3 Children's and Parents' Experiences at the Greek School

When asked about their experiences with the school, two mothers mentioned that the teachers were nice, friendly and accommodating, and all praised the Christmas celebration. Each year at Christmas and at the end of the school year, the school organises an event where children, parents and teachers socialise. Furthermore, two mothers spoke about the curriculum and the pedagogy, voicing some criticism. Ms Kourakis' desire for more rigour, more work, and literacy shines through in the statements, "they do light things" and "they don't read and write", as well as in her explanation that her son was playing games, painting letters and watching movies at school. In her words:

> It is a very time-consuming process to get to the school. And the time he spends there doing things, learning things, they have to learn something, all this time has to be used. Because, I don't care so much that he goes there for playing games, which is of course important, but on the other hand the educational process has to be done normally. (Interview with Ms Kourakis)

It is important to note that Petros was in the beginner class and had only attended the school for six months at the time of the interview. According to the teacher he and his peers engaged in reading and writing activities, albeit in a playful way. Ms Marinakis felt that the school catered mainly to children of established families who were less competent than children of newly arrived children. This was one reason, she believed, that her eldest children had left the

complementary school. She hoped that the school would address the needs of all children even better in the future, particularly in light of the increasing number of newly migrated students. It is unclear if this mother was aware of the diversity of the school population, the constraints of organising classes, and the teachers' efforts to address the children's needs. Differentiation to meet Anna's needs, as shown later, is a case in point.

While the parents could not provide any detailed information about their children's learning experience, they assumed that the children liked attending the school. Sofia explained in the following statements why she did so:

> I like it because we learn a lot of things there. So, I can remember them easily. For example, the year before last we learned about Alexander the Great and Bucephalus and I still remember that lesson. I like going there because it's interesting, I have a good time. (Interview with Sofia)

Sofia liked reading—she had brought a book to the interview—and had set herself a target; reading 15 books to get the "bookworm price". At the Greek school, she had particularly liked reading the chapters, "And the trees have a soul" and "A peaceful family". She saw a purpose in what she did at the Greek school and believed that she could make connections between the curriculum of both the Greek and the mainstream school. She referred specifically to World War II. The opportunities to socialise with other children, for instance at the Christmas party, were another positive aspect she mentioned. Although motivated, Sofia reported that she was sometimes worried about not being able to follow the teacher who she felt spoke fast. She was also concerned about her writing skills. While this experience reveals some anxiety on Sofia's part, it would be incorrect to associate this feeling exclusively with the Greek school. Neither Sofia nor her parents were asked about Sofia's experience of language-learning at the mainstream school and, therefore, it is unclear how Sofia felt about language-learning in general.

Anna had a more unusual experience. She began her study of Greek in the beginner class with Petros, although she already knew some Greek letters. The teacher differentiated her lessons to enable Anna to move to the advanced class. She did so during the academic year, three months before our interview. This explains why Anna had not made any friends in her new class yet and seemed unsettled. Both Anna and Petros associated the school with work, as illustrated by the object they had chosen to speak about in the interview: a pencil case. When asked to speak about their experiences at school, Anna referred to reading and writing without providing any details. She revealed that she would like

to do some mathematics and some painting as she had done in the beginners' class. Petros mentioned doing some painting. When asked whether he learned the alphabet or did any reading—activities he engaged in at school—he denied this. These examples show that the younger children found it more difficult than Sofia to recount particular activities or explain their experiences in detail.

Both teachers were aware that not all children enjoyed their experience to the same degree and that some children lacked motivation. Ms Barlos described the challenge of making children interested in Greek and sustaining this interest. Both teachers tried to address the issue by teaching Greek through interesting activities and making children love Greek civilisation. They both engaged children in various oral and literacy activities such as reading, discussing texts, writing, focusing on grammar and spelling, and more rarely, songs, drama and role-play. Literacy played a bigger role in more advanced classes. Ms Barlos endeavoured to find reading and writing activities for the children that were meaningful, interesting and motivating. She mentioned, for example, writing about an animal, stating an opinion, making a description, doing a presentation, or writing an entry into a personal journal. She also referred to teaching elements of culture, history, geography and civilisation. Sofia's account of the lessons hints at more general aspects of civilisation rather than at specific aspects of Greek. Had Ms Andreou had more time, she would have worked more on Greek civilisation. Her current focus was the language. She explained: "For me, it is first the language, because in order to find a culture, to discover things, they have to know a good level of the Greek language".

The teachers mentioned two other factors which impacted student motivation: competence and friendships. Ms Barlos was aware that children came from different backgrounds with some or little contact with Greek. She considered the school as a place where all children could meet and understand that they have common roots. She perceived her role to be a socio-cultural and linguistic mediator. The interviews with the children indicate, however, that Anna and Petros had not made friends yet and seemed not to have realised that the peers had "common roots" and were multilingual as well. Anna and Petros stated that the other children spoke Greek only, which was not the case. Did they mean, perhaps, that all children spoke Greek only at school? By contrast, Sofia was aware of the language background of her peers who she sometimes overheard speaking German or French during the break. One wonders to what extent the younger children's perceptions of the language backgrounds of their peers were related to the monolingual-oriented language policies of the school.

6.4 A Monolingual Perspective

Although both teachers spoke positively about multilingualism, believed that it facilitated language learning, and were amazed by the children's competences, languages other than Greek had almost no place in the classroom. Both teachers emphasised that they focused on Greek and stopped children who spoke other languages in class.

> In class we just speak Greek, but they are allowed to use another language if they don't have a way of explaining what they want. Only in this case. I don't like it when they start talking all the time because we don't have so much time and they are there to learn Greek. So, when they start speaking French, we run out of time. (Interview with Ms Andreou)

Ms Barlos held that teachers had to persevere with Greek and make the effort to explain something in various ways, and that the children would eventually understand. She insisted that the teachers had no negative attitudes towards other languages. Both legitimised the language policy by referring to the limited time available to teach Greek, the children's acceptance of the policy, and their diverse competences in this language. They felt that the Greek children who were born in Luxembourg were not as competent as the newly arrived ones who were "very good", "confident", could "listen with more ease" and were "more accurate and more motivated". The latter children could be models for the former.

There were some occasions, however, when the teachers used French or English, or allowed children to use other languages than Greek: firstly, to ensure comprehension and, secondly, to make cross-linguistic comparisons. Ms Andreou, for example, translated everything from Greek into English for one child who understood very little Greek. In sum, the monolingual-oriented language policy, the curriculum and the declared practices helped children develop their skills in Greek; though they did not provide them with rich opportunities to draw on their multilingual repertoire, which they drew on in their daily lives.

7 Discussion and Conclusion

In what follows, I discuss the perspectives of the parents, the children and the teachers. The Greek parents held positive beliefs about multilingualism and related Greek to identity. These findings are in line with other studies (Chatzidaki 2019 in this volume; Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2013; Gogonas and Kirsch 2016; Kirsch

and Gogonas 2018; Tsagkogeorga 2016). Furthermore, like parents in other studies, they invested in their children's learning of Greek by speaking Greek at home and sending them to a complementary school (Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2013; Kirsch and Gogonas 2018). While all mothers mentioned the development of Greek as a main reason for enrolling their children in the complementary school, only one mother referred to Greek culture. This contrasts with the survey carried out in the same school by Frygana (2016), where most parents mentioned two reasons: the development of the Greek language and the understanding of Greek culture. Frygana (2016) also found that newly migrated Greek parents in Luxembourg had higher expectations, but that their attitudes towards Greek and the official languages of Luxembourg tended to shift after three years of living in the country—when both parents and children gave more importance to the official languages to facilitate integration. While the mothers in the present study stated their high expectations regarding language competence explicitly, they nevertheless did not seem to perceive Greek as an educational priority. They made the study of Greek dependant on organisational matters, were minimally involved in the children's education and seemed to perceive their role as driving the children to school and overseeing homework. In this respect, the parents differed from Greek migrants in the USA, Australia and some parts of Europe, who made the development of Greek a priority (Smolicz et al. 2001; Tamis 2009) and who were actively involved in the school (Lytra 2011a, b). Contrary to these above-mentioned studies, the newly migrated children in Luxembourg attended multilingual schools and had to learn several languages, including Luxembourgish, German and French, more or less simultaneously. The pressure to help their children succeed in a multilingual system—possibly linked to their initial motivation to migrate to Luxembourg (Kirsch and Gogonas 2018)—made these parents prioritise the school languages. Furthermore, dominant language ideologies may influence the parents' endeavour to foster the development of a home language. Ms Barlos mentioned that some mainstream teachers had advised (other) parents to remove the children from the Greek school because they believed that learning Greek could impede the learning of other languages. Such monolingual language ideologies, based on an erroneous belief, can be highly influential. For language education to work well, it needs to be a collaborative endeavour between parents, the mainstream school and the complementary school (Curdt-Christiansen and Liu 2017).

Looking at the three children's motivation and experiences, it became clear that the younger children found it difficult to articulate their thoughts. Like children in other studies, the younger ones saw their parents as responsible for their enrolment (Zielinska et al. 2014). None of the children referred to identity development or job opportunities like the students in other studies (Archer et al. 2009;

Gaiser and Hughes 2015; Zielinska et al. 2014). However, the latter were older, and the lack of understanding of any benefits related to learning Greek is likely to be age-related. Furthermore, none of the three children expressed a feeling of a shared identity with peers. Scholars had pointed out that friendships and a sense of belonging were important motivational factors (Archer et al. 2009; Gaiser and Hughes 2015; Tereshchenko and Archer 2015; Zielinska et al. 2014). Although one of the teachers mentioned her role as a language and socio-cultural mediator, only Sofia mentioned having made friends. The younger children had not realised that their peers were also multilingual. One must bear in mind that the classes were small, that the children came from different parts of Luxembourg or even from Belgium, and that they only met once a week. Under these conditions, it is difficult to make friends.

At the level of the school, tensions between the official language policy and the teachers' attitudes towards multilingualism come to light. Like the multilingual teachers who worked in a Greek complementary school in Canada (Panagiotopoulou and Rosen 2019 in this volume; Panagiotopoulou et al. 2016), the two teachers valued the children's multilingualism. Nevertheless, they adopted monolingual-oriented practices focusing mainly on Greek at school. Panagiotopoulou et al. (2016) explained that each of the four teachers they reported on handled the students' multilingualism in a different way, ranging from requesting monolingual performances to creating a multilingual learning environment. These teachers could be placed on a continuum of monoglossic-heteroglossic. Elsewhere, the same range of practices has been reported. While some complementary teachers tended to favour monoglossic practices like the teachers in the present study (Lytra 2010), others used languages consistently in a dynamic way (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Faltzi 2011; Li Wei 2011). There is a consensus today—in theory at least—that monolingual-oriented practices are in line with neither new developments of language pedagogies nor with the children's experiences of language use outside school (Panagiotopoulou 2016). Many scholars call for greater flexibility in to language use and for content and language integrated learning such as CLIL. Without knowing it, Anna referred to CLIL when she mentioned her desire to learn Greek through mathematics. The likelihood that children develop some integrative and instrumental motivation to learn Greek (Csizér and Dörnyei 2005) and engage deeper in their learning process through mobilising their entire language repertoire increases if they find learning valuable and useful. Children would also understand language and culture "as something that is used in the present or that can be projected in the future' rather than something one holds on to vaguely as one's remembrances" (García 2005, p. 601).

I would like to conclude this chapter by touching on the implications of the findings. The Greek Ministry of Education is currently debating how to organise Greek-language education abroad to be more up-to-date and better address the needs of the children of the Greek Diaspora. The issue of traditional (monolingual) curricula that are not in line with the complex (and often multilingual) lives of the multilingual students has been identified elsewhere (Francis et al. 2009; Li Wei 2014; Lytra 2010). Arvaniti (2013) stated that the new policies on "Greekness" moved (or should move) away from previous ethnocentric views to more modernised perspectives, which promote "reciprocity, intercultural interconnection, dialogue and transnational synergies" (p. 175). Curdt-Christiansen and Liu (2017) held that the teachers' task consists of facilitating the development of the children's whole language repertoire, thereby recognising the diverse settings in which they use language. Because language is always related to power and because language users are situated differently socially, culturally and economically, García and Flores (2012) called for multilingual pedagogies based on social justice and social participation. Used in complementary and mainstream schools, multilingual pedagogies aim to develop students' multilingual and multicultural identities (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Creese et al. 2006; García and Seltzer 2016; Kirsch 2017; Panagiotopoulou 2016).

Good communication and clear explanations could be a way forward in the present case study. For instance, teachers could explain the curriculum and their pedagogy to parents to ensure that all actors understand the objectives and practices and are aware of the differentiation strategies deployed. To facilitate socialisation, enhance motivation and engagement, and make language-learning more meaningful and purposeful, the teachers could try to capitalise on the children's resources, open up spaces for translanguaging and become a "bilingual site" (Creese et al. 2006)—or in this case, a multilingual site. Given the diversity of the school's population, this is not easy.

My final words address the limitations and contributions of this case study. The study is based on interviews and includes young children who may need to develop a deeper rapport with the interviewer to share more insightful experiences. Detailed observations of the teaching practices and a larger study that includes more children would shed more light on the meanings that children, especially those of newly migrated families, associate with learning Greek in a complementary school. Nevertheless, this study is important because it is the first one that regroups the perspectives of several actors on learning Greek in Luxembourg and that includes newly migrated families. As such, it contributes to the literature on Greek families in Luxembourg (Gogonas and Kirsch 2016; Gogonas 2019 in this volume; Kirsch and Gogonas 2018; Tsagkogeorga 2016) and gives

tribute to the teachers, the parents and the children who engage in developing language skills and an understanding of Greek culture. Although a case study like this one is never representative, the present study encourages reflection on children's motives to attend complementary school, dominant language policies, and teaching approaches and, as such, it may open up new perspectives.

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Recently Arrived Migrants as Teachers in Greek Complementary Schools in Montreal: Views on Multilingualism

Julie A. Panagiotopoulou and Lisa Rosen

Abstract

In this chapter we focus on teachers' views on migration-related multilingualism in Greek complementary schools in Montreal. By doing so, we are referring to an international comparative study entitled "Educational Professionalism, Migration, and Multilingualism in Canada (Montreal, Quebec), Germany (Cologne, North Rhine-Westphalia), and Greece (Athens and Thessaloniki)". In April 2014, we conducted 13 theory-generating expert interviews with teachers from these schools. Three of them are so called newcomers, meaning that they migrated from Greece in the wake of the financial crisis one or two year(s) before the interviews took place and thus can be understood as recently arrived migrants. Following a grounded theory analysis, we found out that these recently migrated teachers tended to hold monoglossic views and to have deficit views with regards to the multilingualism of their students. They considered themselves as representatives and guardians of the Greek language and culture and pleaded for "Greek only" in the lesson and during the break. Their perspectives are in contrast to teachers' views of these schools, who belonged to the second generation of migrants.

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1 Introduction

In this chapter we will focus on teachers' views on migration-related multilingualism in Greek complementary schools in Montreal. By doing so, we are referring to an international comparative study entitled "Educational Professionalism, Migration, and Multilingualism in Canada (Montreal, Quebec), Germany (Cologne, North Rhine-Westphalia), and Greece (Athens and Thessaloniki)" (see Panagiotopoulou and Rosen 2015). We investigated different educational systems and within these especially pedagogical fields that were not mainstream schools. In April 2014, we conducted 13 "theory-generating" expert interviews (Bogner and Menz 2009) with teachers from Greek complementary schools in Montreal. Three of them are so called newcomers, meaning that they migrated from Greece in the wake of the financial crisis one or two year(s) before the interviews took place and thus can be understood as recently arrived migrants. Following a grounded theory analysis according to Charmaz (2014), we are going to illustrate in this section, beyond the variety of teachers' views regarding multilingualism and heteroglossia, that these recently migrated teachers tend to hold monoglossic views and to have deficit views with regards to the multilingualism of their students. For example, they stress "the poor level of Greek knowledge" of their students as a great educational challenge. They also complain about the low level of support given by their multilingual parents, who do not use Greek enough in everyday family life. These teachers consider themselves as representatives and guardians of the Greek language and culture and plead for "Greek only" in the lesson and during the break.

Our approach: In the first step, we will present the research field and selected research results on "complementary schools" and explain why complementary schools are an interesting research field for us (Chap. 2). Afterwards, we will present our research design as well as our theoretical references (Chap. 3), before—in the empirical part—dealing with newly arrived teachers, focusing specifically on teachers who at the time of the interview had lived in Montreal no longer than two years, with regard to the multilingualism of their students and their linguistic competence in Greek (Chap. 4). In a further step, we contrast these deficit-oriented views with the more resource-oriented views of teachers who have grown up and socialised in the Greek community (Chap. 5). In a final, forward-looking step, we refer to open questions and research desiderata (Chap. 6).

2 The Research Field and Selected Research Results Towards Multilingualism in Complementary Schools

We have chosen complementary schools as one of our research fields following Creese and Blackledge (2010) who claim that these schools potentially provide an alternative and safe space for institutional multilingualism. In migration societies, schools of community education, heritage language or complementary schools initially aim for the development of an "ethnic-mother tongue" or the development of a "heritage language" and a corresponding "ethnic identity" of migrants. However, this is linked to a risk of essentialisation of language(s), ethnicities, and identities, and "the question of how to recognise language rights, while at the same time avoiding essentialising the languages, and their speakers, to which these rights might apply" (May 2012, p. 138).

Claudine Kirsch (2019) points out, with regard to the current state of research, that complementary schools "offer students some spaces to negotiate multilingual and multicultural identities" and thus is in contradiction with the view that complementary schools enforce essentialised ethnic identities. She states that "although strong monolingual and standard ideologies are at play", interactions of teachers and students involving flexible language use were found, as well as examples of translanguaging. In some studies, it was even the case that "bilingualism (or multilingualism) was the norm".

With regard to Canada, complementary schools have enjoyed much more government support than other supplementary forms of education around the world: Canadian Heritage Language Programs have started as Cultural Enrichment Programs in 1977 and have grown considerably as a result of Canada's Multiculturalism Act (Panagiotopoulou et al. 2018). The main purpose of the complementary schools in Montreal is to teach Greek pupils of Greek heritage on Saturdays throughout the school year. The Canadian context is certainly inspiring for educational multilingual research—but this should not lead to a normative view, in the sense that we expect a paradise of lived multilingualism in Canadian complementary schools. With regard to our research findings in the context of Greek complementary schools,[1] we'd like to claim the following concerning the views

[1]The state of research on Greek complementary schools can be found at Chatzidaki (2019), particularly relevant for our analyses are, on the one hand, her considerations that "in the case of most teachers leaving Greece to teach Greek-origin students, views towards cultural and linguistic diversity are heavily influenced by the monolingual and monocultural 'ethos'

of the teachers working there: with analyses of four case examples we were able to show that even though teachers lead multilingual lives, according to their self-reports, the ways they handle their own and their students' multilingualism vary greatly—from monoglossic to heteroglossic views (Panagiotopoulou et al. 2018). In our analysis we established connections between the teachers' views on multilingualism, their work experience as teachers/educators and their teacher education. The teacher who attracted our attention was Anna, she had previously taught English in Greece for 19 years. Anna moved to Montreal in 2013 (she was interviewed in 2014), so she can be regarded as a recently arrived teacher in Greek complementary schools in Montreal (Panagiotopoulou et al. 2018). Even though Anna is bilingual, and was prior to her immigration in Canada, her ideologies about her bilingualism are monolingual oriented. Anna believes that a good teacher of Greek is one who uses only Greek in the classroom because otherwise "you don't learn to fly on your own" (Panagiotopoulou et al. 2018, p. 293), that is to say she teaches Greek in multilingual Canada in the same way she would teach in a monolingual context. And as a teacher she ignores the multilingual resources that the children bring with them.

3 Theoretical References: Heteroglossia and Translanguaging

With reference to the theoretical concepts of heteroglossia and translanguaging, in the internationally comparative project "Migration-related multilingualism and pedagogical professionalism" we are interested in the viewpoints of professionals (including those living multilingually) on the flexible, dynamic and cross-lingual actions of (prospective) multilingual children and adolescents in the specific context of educational institutions. A primary research question is "Do experiences gained by pedagogical professionals in multilingually organised educational settings interrelate with their views on migration-related multilingualism, linguistic diversity and language practices at school?" (Panagiotopoulou and Rosen 2015, p. 230).

prevailing among Greek citizens and fueled by the supposed superiority of the (Ancient) Greek language and the 'glorious past' of the Greeks". And secondly, Chatzidaki (2019) works out in the state of research that this "stance reveals itself in many studies exploring teachers' views towards their immigrant students' bilingualism".

The term heteroglossia was introduced by the literary and linguistic scholar Mikhail Bakhtin in the 1930s to demonstrate that all languages, when viewed from the linguistic reality and practice of the speakers, are not self-contained systems: according to Bakhtin (1979), even if speakers only use one language—i.e. one that is allegedly clearly distinguishable from other languages—they nevertheless inevitably find themselves in "a dialogue of languages" (as cited in Busch 2015, p. 50 f.) because they require a "bundle of varieties, registers, or jargons", "which is traditionally referred to by the term 'intralingual multilingualism'" (Busch 2015, p. 50 f.).

The concept of "translanguaging" (García 2009), which describes the linguistic reality and practice of multilingual people who move linguistically between officially recognised national languages and their varieties, also refers to the dialogue between several "official" languages. Translanguaging also goes beyond the phenomena of "code-switching" or "code-mixing", since these require at least two distinct language systems (codes) that can be changed or mixed. Thus, it emphasises that polyglots act flexibly and cross-linguistically or translingually depending on the situation in order to communicate effectively from a pragmatic point of view. Here, too, the focus is not on separable language systems, but on the practice of cross-lingual "languaging" on individual and original language use, "the speakers' construction", on the basis of "the speaker's complete language repertoire" (García and Li Wei 2014, p. 22). Accordingly, languages are not used or acquired, learnt or taught as entities, autonomously and separate from each other. Translanguaging has also been developed in recent years as a sociolinguistically-based language teaching approach, conceptualised and implemented in the institutions of early childhood, preschool and school education (García and Li Wei 2014; Meier 2014; Panagiotopoulou 2016).

Heteroglossia and translanguaging are, at the same time, two conceptually related terms, since both describe "the fluid language practices of speakers", whereby "heteroglossia" itself is understood as a superordinate concept: "The Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia, […] serves as an umbrella term for all of these practices, including that of translanguaging" (García and Li Wei 2014, p. 36). Both concepts also express the fact that the social practice of language use takes place in a specific social context, which can be defined by social and educational policy, and therefore does not remain "neutral", but is always context-specific and directly connected to the language ideologies prevailing in the respective context: "Bakhtin posited that language is inextricably bound to the context in which it exists and is incapable of neutrality, because it emerges from the actions of speakers with certain perspective and ideological positioning" (García and Li Wei 2014, p. 7).

In this project, we assume that the handling of the linguistic reality of heteroglossia and the translingual practice of multilingual children and adolescents, also in the institutionalised educational context, is connected with educational and linguistic policy as well as linguistic ideological discourses that can be reconstructed as the "views" of pedagogically active people. In addition, we assume that these views materialise in "pedagogical practices", about which the teachers also report and reflect on when they engage in a scientific discussion with an expert.

4 Reconstruction of Teachers' Views on Multilingualism at a Greek Complementary School in Montreal: Two Guardians of the Greek Language

The main purpose of the complementary schools in Montreal is to teach Greek pupils of Greek heritage on Saturdays throughout the school year.[2] Greek complementary schooling is largely funded by the Greek church and the Greek community. Across the two levels (elementary-primary and secondary level) at this school, there are 20 teachers, teaching approximately 250 pupils from ages 5 to 16 at the time of our research stay. Some teachers do not have official teaching qualifications as (it seems to be) is often the case in complementary schools, (see or example Chen and Zhang 2014), but do have recognised qualifications in Greek.

So far we have conducted a total of 16 so-called "theory-generating" expert interviews (Bogner et al. 2009) with teachers in different complementary Greek Schools: 13 at one complementary Greek school in Montreal, Canada (April 2014), and three at one complementary Greek School in New York, USA (October 2017).

Following a Grounded Theory analysis according to Charmaz (2014), i.e. coded comparatively (initial and focused), we focus here on recently migrated teachers and how they respond to the increased heterogeneity of Greek schools in the wake of the financial crisis and the new migration from Greece to Canada. Especially, we analyse the interviews along the two following questions:

[2]For a short overview of Greek-language education in the Diaspora and especially in Germany we would like to refer to the chapter by Chatzidaki (2019).

- Do recently migrated teachers tend to hold monoglossic views on multilingualism or a heteroglossic position?
- And what do they report on how they enact these views in their teaching practice?

By means of the two examples (Alexis and Penelope) we are going to illustrate that recently migrated teachers tend to hold monoglossic and deficit-focused views with regard to the multilingualism of their students. Their perspectives are in contrast to other teachers' views in this school. They will be exemplified at the end of our contribution with the two corresponding examples—Elena and Theodora, who belong to the "second-generation" of migrants in Canada (Sect. 5). With this we present four more cases of our sample in this contribution, besides the already four published examples (see Panagiotopoulou et al. 2018).

4.1 Alexis—The Qualified Teacher and Guardian of the Greek Language

Alexis is 54 years old, born and raised in Greece, lived in Canada from 1987 to 1993, then went back to Greece, but due to the economic crisis and mainly because of his children he and his family have been living in Canada again since 2013. Alexis teaches in the 4th and 5th grade (elementary school) at the Saturday school. In Greece, he has worked as a teacher since 1994, mainly for older students at technical professional schools (e.g., car mechanic).

In the course of the interview, Alexis says that he likes to work as a teacher because he has "the gift" for conveying content and that he enjoyed teaching in Greece upon retrospection and in view of his current work at the complementary school. However, the Greek language skills of his current students pose a challenge to him. He instantly and categorically denies that they could have exceptionally good Greek language skills. Instead, he designates three levels ranging from good to average and bad:

> This being the case, you know, I have three levels, I don't have very good pupils, I have good pupils, I have average pupils and I also have bad pupils, bad meaning lacking knowledge … [My goal] is to bring the class level to the average which means to bring the children that are at a very low level to the average level.

Alexis explains these "three levels" by saying that "10-year-old children who live in Montreal", almost all the children, as he claims, "are not being prepared

for the Greek language in their families". There are only two or three children who are supported by their parents. He defines them as advanced at one point, but still qualifies them as reaching a "good"—not a very good—level. Similarly, he explains that his goal is to "bring the class to the average level". We conclude from this that he doesn't expect above-average achievements and that they are not attainable. In other words: from his point of view, a high level cannot be reached by those who do not grow up in a certain "linguistically pure" monolingual familial and social environment. This seems to be connected to the ideology of "native-speakerism" (Holliday 2006; Holliday and Aboshiha 2009), that is to say, only the native speakers in the "homeland" can achieve above-average language competences.

Regarding the question of "how teachers enact their views on multilingualism in their teaching practice", we assume that Alexis deliberately puts multilingual children "under much pressure" so that they act as monolinguals:

"They mix languages and we have to put the children under much pressure for them to speak Greek."

He also requires the family members of the pupils to adhere to his method of putting the children under pressure:

> I believe that these problems start in the family (…) if you learn these two languages at school and a third one at home and at the Saturday school, so the older children between the ages of 30 and 45 can speak much better Greek because their parents who belonged to the first generation of migrants put them under pressure, not under pressure but they wouldn't have been able to speak a foreign language with them.

From Alexis' perspective, the problem seems to be that, paradoxically, today's parents of the Greek community are multilingual: unlike the parents of the first generation, they speak several "foreign" languages. Furthermore, Alexis' argumentation tends to turn school as an educational institution upside down: learning processes take place not at school, but prior to it, namely in the family in order to prepare children for school. Alexis imagines the language practices of his students as future parents as follows:

> And they stay in Greek on a lower level, they make progress and strengthen their English and French, that is why when they get older they won't be able to communicate with their children in Greek either (…) and that is why I believe that if the next two generations of the community don't do anything the Greek language will disappear.

His negative prognosis concerns not only the language development of the children, but also the Greek language as a minority language in Quebec's migration society. He assumes that multilingual parents will use a language only if they speak it well enough. The fact that children nowadays speak English and French better than Greek will result in the situation where they as parents will not communicate in Greek with their own children either. From his point of view, the families are not able to maintain the Greek language, while he sees himself in the role of guarding the "native" (in contrast to the "foreign") language.

4.2 Penelope—A Natural-Born Teacher and Guardian of the Greek Language

Penelope was 46 years old at the time of the interview. She was born in Montreal, however she grew up in Greece until the age of 7 and then lived in Montreal again for 6 years. When she was 13, her family moved back to Greece and she stayed there for over 30 years, started a family there, completed nursing training and worked at a hospital. At the time of the interview she had lived in Montreal for a year and 10 months with her family.

Unlike Alexis, Penelope is not a qualified teacher, but she considers herself to be a natural-born teacher and reports during the interview that she "always liked being a teacher". She underlines: "I've always wanted it." Like Alexis, she reports that she enjoys teaching at the complementary school and evaluates the Greek language skills of her pupils in a deficit-oriented way, similar to the way Alexis does. The students don't know "Greek well" in comparison to her and the other teachers:

> Because they don't know Greek well, they don't understand everything we say because it's a Saturday school and on Saturdays children want to rest (…) and additionally, because Greek isn't the language for them, those are not the lessons where they are being assessed tomorrow or the day after.

Penelope problematises the lack of motivation among the students: they don't get grades, the perspective isn't tangible for them yet, what is the point and value of attending a Saturday school and acquiring the Greek language? That is one of the reasons Penelope gives for why the students "do not understand Greek well". A second reason is connected to the special constitution of Saturday schools: on the weekend, on Saturdays, the "children want to rest". It sounds as if Penelope changes the perspective and puts herself in the shoes of her students. However, what

becomes obvious in the following quote is that she—like Alexis—blames the family environment for her pupils' lacking Greek skills:

> They don't speak Greek, neither with each other nor at home (…) Even their parents who belong to the second generation (…) There is a small number of parents who speak Greek and the Greek-speaking parents, you can see it in their children, you can easily tell them apart (…) They have better grammar and better comprehension skills.

Penelope opens up a separation here, as she has done before between the teachers and the students. Now it's between the (small number of) children who speak Greek in the family and the majority of the children whose parents do not speak Greek in their everyday family life. As with the case of Alexis, Penelope's goal as a teacher at the Saturday school seems to be to protect the Greek language and to save it from the day-to-day language practices of the multilingual families. This negative assessment concerns not only Greek, but also English and French, as becomes evident from the following quote:

> I don't think the children here can speak all three languages well, I believe that their skills don't develop because I think that neither their English is very good, nor their French is good enough and their Greek is not good at all.

Besides students possessing insufficient Greek skills or no knowledge of Greek at all, the language skills of the children attending the Saturday Greek school in Montreal are generally insufficient—from Penelope's point of view. Her view is probably shaped by the ideology of "semilingualism" (Baker and Wright 2017).

Regarding her own teaching practice, Penelope reports that she pretends to be monolingual in order to adhere her pupils to monolingualism and compels them to speak only Greek with her. She manages to act convincingly only to a certain point because she is a newcomer. In the following quote it becomes clear that she legitimises her feigned monolingualism as a certain kind of strategy for her pupils:

> We are working in the way that I don't understand what you say to me in English, I cannot speak English, I cannot speak French and when I talk to them a little bit in English when we are almost done in the class or just one word 'You've tricked us!' I tell them 'How else can I make sure that you speak Greek?!

Like Alexis, Penelope also puts pressure—at least indirectly—on her pupils in order to create a "safe space" for the Greek language with herself as its guardian.

Both teachers stress "the poor level of Greek knowledge" of their students as a great educational challenge. They also complain about the low level of support given by their multilingual parents, who do not use Greek enough in their everyday family life. Alexis and Penelope consider themselves as representatives and guardians of the Greek language and plead for "Greek only" in the lessons and during breaks.

5 Contrasting Teachers' Views on Multilingualism at a Greek Complementary School in Montreal: Perspectives from "Second-Generation" Teachers

Finally, we would like to contrast these perspectives with the views of multilingual teachers at this school who belong to the second generation of migrants. The latter did not see themselves as Greek language teachers only, nor did they understand complementary schools as purely language schools or schools to sustain "Greekness". In response to a question in our interview guide about the children's language practices in everyday life, one teacher, Theodora, made the following remark, which refers, from our point of view, to translanguaging as everyday-practice and as pedagogy (García and Li Wei 2014):

> The children use different languages in their daily lives. At least the other two (French and English). Also in class. This really happens very, very often. Although it seems we try to do (to teach) everything in Greek, the children's reality is different. Three languages, at least three, coexist for these children. Therefore, we cannot simply teach half of a child or a third of a child. If you break a vase into three pieces and try filling it with water, the water doesn't stay inside; you have to teach the whole child, the whole child, the way s/he is! (Theodora, 34 years old, a primary and secondary school teacher in Montreal)

With another metaphor, Theodora indicates that lived multilingualism is acknowledged as reality and that not only Greek, the language to be taught, has priority. In her opinion, this applies not only to children of the third generation, but also to children of the first generation or newcomers from Greece, whom she regards as emergent multilinguals:

> Last year, I had a girl here who had just arrived from Greece. I was secretly quite happy. That was in September. Finally, I thought, a child who only speaks Greek… Within one, one and a half months, she started speaking with me in broken English… although I told her, "but you're from Greece, you should speak Greek, so the

> others can hear Greek being spoken and learn from you". But the environment is important. You can't force a child to be a fish out of water. Because the environment is multilingual, this child also switched to being multilingual and although she didn't speak English very well, she switched between Greek and English, so these two (languages) coexisted…

Theodora describes translanguaging in the sense of García and Li Wei (2014), as learning strategies of children and as an essential and indispensable teaching principle. In her own words: "you have to teach the whole child". This might be the reason why there is no linguistic hierarchy and therefore no social difference between the so-called Greek native speakers and Greek heritage speakers, at least not in the interview. By doing so, she distances herself from the institutional language policy of the Greek school, as opposed to her colleagues who plead for "Greek-only".

Another teacher, Elena, who also belongs to the second generation of Greek migrants in Montreal, expressed a similar view. We asked her: "Let's assume I am hired as a new colleague at this school. What would you recommend I pay particular attention to?" She replied:

> You should be able to speak English or French. It's for the reason I mentioned earlier, it's so that the children feel more comfortable, are able to communicate more freely. It's possible that if they knew you couldn't speak any other language, that they might try harder and maybe even try more often, but I don't think that they'd be able to express themselves, that they'd ask certain questions, which they might only ask if they knew that you were able to speak French or English. (Elena, 23 years old, a primary and elementary school teacher in Montreal)

We would like to emphasise that Elena assumes that the children expect the teachers to (be able to) communicate not only in Greek, but in two or three languages. Thus, Elena underlines translanguaging as a teaching principle. Further, Elena highlights that multilingual teachers in complementary schools can contribute to the children's wellbeing, because the children can use their whole linguistic repertoire to express themselves, to perform multilingual identities within a "safe space":

> It's nice to know that your teacher, who is also from another country and who doesn't… you are able to relate, to relate with them*, because they know, they've experienced things you've also experienced and they feel some things you've also felt… (*enunciated in English)

Here, Elena explicitly emphasises her perspective, according to which one requirement of pedagogical professionality is the ability to create relationships with the students. This kind of bonding is possible and valuable, because it is not only based on common language skills and on common language practices (of students and teachers), but also on shared experiences related to migration biographies.

6 Outlook

We would like to close this chapter with a concluding remark. To what extent the recently arrived teachers will change or even transform the Greek schools in Montreal (see Aravossitas and Sugiman 2019) through their monoglossic views is a question we cannot answer definitely. However, we assume that the school and the multi- and translingual practices of children, youths, parents, friends and colleagues, etc. will contribute to recently arrived teachers reconsidering their views on multilingualism and on their teaching practices within the complementary school.

These first results show that complementary schools represent an interesting pedagogical field of action with a view to researching the handling of multilingualism, even though they are preliminary in view of the overall evaluation of the interviews (the interviews from New York have not yet been evaluated) and, in particular, the ethnographic field studies that still need to be carried out to record and analyse the respective, specific language use. Teachers who have already attended these schools as pupils themselves and who have also been qualified in Canada are sensitive to their own multilingual realities as well as those of their pupils' in the school context and, on this basis, develop multilingual pedagogies, which we interpret as translanguaging. In contrast, recently arrived teachers advocate a monolingual teaching practice and thus do not take into account the everyday language practice of their students, or the reality of a multilingually organised migration society. Therefore, it seems relevant for the future to clarify the following questions through ethnographic observations: how exactly do multilingual teachers who, despite this, advocate monolingualism at school, organise their everyday lives in dealing with their multilingual pupils? What paradoxes arise from this, and what concepts and strategies can teachers use to cope with them? And to what extent is institutional language policy reproduced or, rather, deconstructed in the observed interaction between multilingual teachers and students?

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Conclusion

Vally Lytra

A Sense of Urgency: "Une vague grecque sur les rives du Léman"

"A Greek wave on the shores of Lake Geneva". This was the eye-catching headline of a recent article that appeared in the Lausanne daily *24 heures* (15 March 2018), followed by the subheading reassuring the Swiss reader that while "over the last ten years, the Greek community of the Canton [of Vaud] has almost tripled; for the most part, the newly arrived are highly qualified individuals who do not see any professional future in their country". The journalist builds their argument by juxtaposing the life stories of three social actors: an established community member born and raised in Lausanne who has become the spokeswoman for the Immigrant Reception Centre of the Canton of Vaud (EVAM), a medical doctor working in the paediatrics unit of a regional hospital, and an 11-year old primary school student whose father had studied engineering at the École Polytechnique Fédérale of Lausanne. The last two of these actors arrived with their families to the shores of Lake Geneva in 2011 and 2015 respectively. The article frames the "new" Greek migration in the context of the historic links between Switzerland and Greece dating back to the spirit of philhellenism in support of the Greek War of Independence (1821) that captured, at the time, the imagination of prominent statesmen, poets and bankers. The "new" Greek migration is contrasted to older migration waves, which took place post—World War II and later in the 1970s—these waves were predominantly comprised of skilled workers and their families. The material consequences of the financial crisis (high taxes, poor remuneration, loss or lack of employment and dwindling prospects for professional advance-

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ment) alongside the degradation of the quality of life in Greece for middle class professionals are represented as key tropes propelling the "new" Greek family migration. At the same time, the narratives (albeit brief) of the newly arrived featured in the article point to a more nuanced picture of the migration experience and the complexities of the migration journey of the social actors involved: diverse family histories, multiple mobilities (past, present and imagined future ones) and the development of transnational identities. Responding to the "new" Greek wave, the article documents the establishment of a new Greek school which delivers Greek language and culture classes to children and adults regardless of linguistic, cultural, religious or ethnic backgrounds. A distinguishing feature of the newly founded Greek school is the emphasis it places on "learning Greek language and culture while multiplying the dialogue and the ties with the receiving society in the context of harmonious integration" (*24 heures*, 15 March 2018).

The newspaper article in *24 heures* is representative of numerous articles that have appeared in the public domain since 2009. It resonates with some of the insights offered in this very timely edited collection. Along with the chapter authors and the book's editors, the newspaper article foregrounds the significance of exploring the "new" Greek migration through the analytical lens of the family and its central role in understanding and interpreting processes and practices of migration decision-making in the age of increased transnational population flows. As Pratsinakis (2019) (in this volume) postulates, unlike earlier migration flows within Europe, there has been a significant increase in the emigration of couples and families from Greece post-2009, which calls for the need to examine this under-researched area of study (see Baros et al. 2019 in this volume; for similar findings in the Canadian context, see Aravossitas and Sugiman 2019 in this volume). Additionally, the newspaper article alerts us to the importance of investigating the opportunities and challenges "new" Greek family migration poses for Greek language education abroad. Indeed, as migration flows from Greece and from around the globe intensify, Greek schools, their leaders and teachers are called upon to adapt and change in response to the increased heterogeneity and complexity of children and their families' multilingual repertoires, educational experiences, expectations and aspirations. The present volume uniquely unites a co-focus on "new" family migration with Greek language education.

In what follows I draw on insights across studies presented in this book to foreground its main contributions to the emerging field of "new" Greek family migration and its relationship with Greek language education abroad. First, I summarise key conceptual and methodological aspects of the book that allow us to make sense of family migration journeys. The studies presented are situated within and contribute to a broader epistemological turn in the social sciences to

social constructionist and post-structuralist perspectives. They urge us to rethink representations of Greek language, identity and community in favour of dynamic and syncretic ones without (nevertheless) disregarding that, "for many social actors, static and bounded notions of language, identity and community continue to be salient dimensions of affiliation" (Lytra 2014, p. 555), a line of argument taken up by many chapter authors. New diversities have important implications for how Greek language education abroad might be re-imagined in a globalised world, to which I then turn. I conclude with outlining some ways forward.

Interdisciplinary Conversations: Making Sense of "new" Greek Family Migration Trajectories

The studies presented in this book unite emergent and established scholars working in the fields of migration, nationalism, language and literacy studies, pedagogy, intercultural and heritage/Greek language education abroad. The chapter authors suggest that there is much to be learned by exploring the diverse migration motivations, profiles and trajectories of different social actors situated in local and global contexts and the development of multiple forms of belonging (or "not belonging" as the chapter by Kontogianni et al. 2019 in this volume attests to) in a range of diasporic settings, namely: the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Luxembourg, Albania and Canada.

In their analyses, chapter contributors emphasise the complexities, tensions and contradictions of the migration journeys of social actors often moving within societies that are characterised by what Vertovec (2007) has called "superdiversity". Aiming to theorise present-day diversity in Britain's immigrant and ethnic minority population, "superdiversity" is underscored by "a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade" (Vertovec 2007, p. 1024). This "diversification of diversity" (Vertovec 2007, p. 1025) has contributed to challenging understandings of migration as a linear pathway and of the boundedness of the migrant category linked to largely settled immigrant communities. Moreover, it has forced us to abandon bounded and static understandings of communities and cast our analytical gaze beyond the "nation" and the "state" while remaining equally attentive to how these categories continue to exert power and influence on social actors' experiences, practices and ideologies. As Blommaert and Backus (2011) aptly put it: "migrants now move, essentially, from any imaginable place to any other, carrying with them widely different backgrounds

and moving with different motives and using different means of mobility" (p. 4). Studies illustrate the prevalence of diverse and complex migration trajectories and transnational mobilities and networks among families, thereby contributing to the development of the broader, emergent field of family-related migration (see Panagiotopoulou and Rosen 2019 in this volume for a cogent discussion of this new field). To examine "new" Greek family migration processes, contributing authors propose a wealth of alternative conceptual and methodological lenses:

- attending to the links between local, situated practices and the broader historical, social and ideological conditions that shape family migration processes
- a critical engagement with the interplay of local and global social inequalities and social actors' differing access to social, cultural and linguistic resources structuring their migration experiences
- taking into account time and space in the study of family migration processes and the analytical purchase of the concepts of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship to capture new forms of migration and family networks
- interrogating the enduring salience of nationalism and ethno-cultural stereotypes
- an understanding of family migration as "a family project" and family members as active, knowledgeable and agentive meaning-makers
- methodological innovation and the diversification of research approaches drawing on quantitative and qualitative epistemologies to capture processes of (re-)socialisation and transition into the new society
- a methodological focus on biographical and narrative approaches that foreground the lived experiences of mobile subjects and examine how their migration choices, opportunities and challenging and coping strategies are articulated in their life histories
- how life narratives are bound up with the construction of identities, social spaces and social boundaries
- the need to adopt an analytical focus on social actors' subjective and emotional responses vis-à-vis their migration motivations, processes of adjustment in the new society and future plans
- examining migration trajectories through an intergenerational/transgenerational lens both within the same family and across families as well as across different generations of migrants representing different migration waves in different historical moments
- the affordances of an international comparative perspective to investigate family migration processes

- the value of long-term commitment to working with the social actors in the field and an attendant commitment to making their voices heard
- bringing to the fore the social actors' perspectives, understandings and interpretations while being explicit about how the chapter contributors' theoretical positionings inform their work.

Re-viewing Languages, Identities and Diaspora Communities

The studies in this edited collection are anchored within a broader epistemological turn in the social sciences that has taken place in the last three to four decades from essentialist and unitary to social constructionist and post-structuralist perspectives. The changed nature of migration, along with the spread of new communication technologies, has led to new social realities and has called for new ways of exploring languages, identities and communities. By critiquing the language-nation-state nexus, they have propelled us to re-view these notions from hermetically bound and fixed social categories tied to a particular inheritance (e.g. of ethnicity, nationality, religion) to more fluid and dynamic interpretations. As Karrebaek and Charalambous (2017) argue, "a 'state-centric' approach (Moore 2015; Silverstein 2015) is no longer adequate and instead researchers must embrace a condition of constantly changing social realities, expect the unexpected, learn to understand the unfamiliar, and accept a lesser degree of uniformity and agreement across the board" (p. 1).

Within sociolinguistics and language education research, this turn has been marked by a conceptual shift from an understanding of languages as discrete and bounded entities to languages as social and ideological constructs, and from a focus on code to a focus on language users, their multilingual repertoires and biographical trajectories located in local, translocal and transnational contexts (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Heller 2007; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). There is a growing consensus of the analytical value of a view of language as resource, part and parcel of social actors' full range of communicative repertoires, online and offline (Blommaert and Backus 2011). This conceptual shift has alerted us to the unequal distribution of knowledge and access to linguistic and other communicative resources within and across multilingual settings; to issues of power and control, competing language ideologies and language hierarchies, the privileging of particular linguistic resources and their speakers, as well as of particular roles and identity ascriptions over others (Heller 2007; see also Martin-Jones and Heller 2001; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Karrebaek and Charalambous

2017 among others for research in multilingual educational settings). They have brought home Blommaert and Rampton's (2011) assertion that "rather than working with homogeneity, stability and boundedness as the starting assumptions, mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of language, language groups and communication" (p. 3).

In a similar vein, the traditional modernist view of the relationship between language and identity has viewed language as a marker of ethnic identity fixed by birth. Historically, the significance of language as a primordial marker of group identity has been closely linked to the ascendance of nationalism, the idea of "a nation" understood as natural and tied to "a particular territory" and "a people" who speak "a language" (Pujolar 2007). The understanding of language as indexing a particular peoplehood has been reproduced and reinforced by nation states and their representatives through educational policy and practice. A case in point is the well-documented ethnocentrism of Greek education. In their pioneering collection of articles on the topic, Frangkoudaki and Dragona (1997) provided a trenchant critique of the grand narrative of Greek linguistic and cultural continuity from antiquity to the present day. Focusing on dominant representations of Greek culture produced and disseminated through primary school textbooks of Greek language, history and geography, they illustrated how Greek culture was perceived as superior to other cultures because, as the argument went, it had remained unchanged and undiluted by other cultural influences. "Greekness" was thus constructed through a glorification of the past, whereas linguistic and cultural transformation and change were equated to decline and negatively evaluated. While subsequent curricular reforms have removed many ethnocentric elements from Greek school textbooks, Greek educational policy and practice continues to be driven by essentially ethnocentric and assimilationist discourses that position the linguistic and cultural pluralism characterising Greek schools and classrooms in deficit terms (Lytra 2007; Gogonas 2010; Gkaintartzi et al. 2014; Gkaintartzi et al. 2015; see also Kontogianni et al., Chatzidaki 2019 in this volume). Unsurprisingly, as several contributing authors illustrate, these dominant discourses have filtered through Greek language education abroad, a topic I will return to in the following section of this chapter.

Anti-essentialist approaches to language and identity have emphasised instead how seemingly natural macro-level demographic categories, such as ethnicity and social class, cannot be taken for granted. Rather they need to be seen as relational and negotiable. In this view, language and identity are recognised as historically, socially and contextually constructed and performed in and through discourse (Palvenko and Blackledge 2004). These theoretical perspectives highlight the multiplicity and fluidity as well as the creativity and hybridity of language and

identity practices (Harris and Rampton 2003). They demonstrate how "doing" identity work involves social actors aligning with or dis-aligning themselves from social categories of belonging, accentuating particular identity categories, downplaying the salience, ignoring or silencing others in different discursive environments (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). Nevertheless, as I have argued in Lytra (2014), it is important to remember that malleable and fluid views of languages, identities and diaspora communities "may be at odds with widely-held beliefs among participants who often see "their" language, identity and community as bounded objects that have remained unchanged over time and across space. While it might seem plausible to dismiss participants' views as "folk etymologies", they function as powerful "member categories" with real-life consequences for their users. They exert hegemonic power and are often used as a means for social stratification and boundary demarcation leading to some voices getting heard while others remain silent" (Lytra 2014, p. 553).

As several chapter contributors illustrate, ethnic boundaries and ethnic classifications linked to essentialist notions of Greek identity and culture persist in creating a shared, imagined "we" along simplistic binaries of "us" and "others". They reproduce ties of inheritance, which may forbid, restrict or provide limited space for plurality, hybridity and diversity of experience. Nevertheless, rather than dismissing such views wholesale or regarding them as being exclusive of one other, the chapters illustrate the analytical value of examining the interaction between fixed and fluid identity categories. They demonstrate the dynamic and situated ways in which ethnic identities are co-constructed in discourse and the complexities and nuances of diverse social actors' identity negotiations and self- and other-identity ascriptions (see, for instance, Siouti 2019 in this volume; Gogonas 2019 in this volume; Chatzidaki 2019 in this volume). They also show how processes of self-identification may lead to new identities—(that are) the outcome of "processes of mixing, blurring and cross-identification" (Harris and Rampton 2003, p. 5), as in the narratives of the adolescents returning from Greece to Albania which Kontogianni et al. reveal. At the same time, as these narratives point out, being positioned in the category of "others" may lead to stigmatisation and discrimination and the development of feelings of "not belonging" in the new and "unfamiliar" society.

The studies in the book shed new light to the dynamic nature of diasporic communities and the complex nature of community belonging that has transformed the myth of return and what counts as homeland. To this end, Angouri (2012) postulates that, "as diasporas cross and draw upon multiple and changing interpretations of the 'local,' 'national,' and 'transnational,' negotiating membership is a complex process that brings to the fore the members' self- and other-positioning

as well as symbolic interpretations of the imagined 'centre.'" (p. 99). Indeed, from a superdiversity perspective, transnational population flows enable social actors to orient to multiple authority centres, the "imagined 'centre'" being one of them. Moreover, discourses of belonging and not-belonging are historical and ideological and are tied up with discussions of ethnic authenticity. As new social formations emerge in a globalised world, the following question becomes pertinent: "whose identity practices are considered authentic, and whose are not, and who decides?" (Lytra 2016, p. 131).

Re-thinking Greek language Education Abroad

Greek schools abroad are considered to be crucial educational spaces for sustaining Greek language, culture and identity in the diaspora (Damanakis 2007; see also Chatzidaki 2019 in this volume for a historical overview). Most schools operate in the margins of mainstream school provision, during after-school hours or on weekends. Such schools are commonly referred to in the language education literature as "community", "complementary" or "heritage" schools and serve vital linguistic, cultural and social functions for the students, their families and diaspora communities. Nevertheless, their value has tended to go unrecognised by mainstream education and society at large, which influences their visibility (or lack thereof) and how students, parents and teachers perceive their significance (Lytra and Martin 2010). At the same time, operating in the margins of mainstream school provision may give teachers greater flexibility to design and implement pedagogies that capitalise on students' entire linguistic repertoires and are more responsive to their needs (Kenner and Ruby 2012).

As briefly discussed in the previous section, Greek schools abroad are important sites for the circulation and consolidation of what counts as "legitimate" Greek language, culture and identity in accordance with Greek national educational agendas. Historically, institutional authorities in Greek schools abroad have often drawn upon and reproduced dominant institutional discourses of the "loss of Greekness" of the younger generation where "Greekness" was understood as "a shared identity consisting of shared claims to descent and a shared language and culture" (Lytra 2014, p. 560; see also Charalambous 2019 for the circulation of similar discourses in present-day Greek schools in London). These discourses have commonly been anchored onto representations of students' heterogeneous linguistic abilities and cultural knowledge in deficit terms through the use of negatively charged labels, such as "children who do not speak Greek", unfavourably

compared to an idealised Greek "native speaker" child (Lytra 2014). This institutional monolingualism and monoculturalism has been reproduced, but also contested by students who may bring along diverse linguistic and cultural resources and experiences and hybrid identities that do not fit neatly into essentialised and fixed identity categories (Lytra 2014; Charalambous 2019). Diversity has been an enduring feature of Greek schools. Yet, as several chapter contributors illustrate, new mobilities have heightened the tensions between dominant institutional discourses in Greek schools abroad, shaped by national paradigms and students and their families' everyday lived multilingual and intercultural realities.

At an educational policy level, the on-going "new" Greek family migration has co-occurred with the passing of Law 4027 in 2011, which radically changed Greek language education abroad. In the throes of the financial crisis, the Greek State and its educational authorities stopped administering and financially supporting many Greek schools abroad by no longer appointing and paying the salaries of teachers seconded from Greece, as well as sending textbooks and other teaching materials for free. As a result, the responsibility for their administration and financing has been mainly transferred to parents, diaspora institutions and communities. These structural changes have led to the privatisation and concomitant marketisation of Greek language education abroad with the transformation of existing forms of Greek language education abroad and the emergence of new forms, both not-for-profit associations and for-profit businesses (see Stylou 2019 in this volume for a detailed discussion of the policy changes and their implications). The concept of "polycentricity" (Blommaert et al. 2005), defined as the interplay of different normative centres social actors may orient to, is a helpful frame to understand the proliferation of Greek schools abroad post-2011. Concurring with Karrabaek and Charalambous (2017), polycentricity "guides our analytic attention towards ways in which different discourses, ideologies, and norms are juxtaposed in everyday life through people's orientation to different centres of authority" (p. 5). While normative centres such as the Greek State and its educational authorities continue to exert power over educational policy and practice abroad, local and transnational normative authorities, such as parents' associations, online language learning communities and families themselves, have increased their influence too. As Greek schools abroad become increasingly less dependent on the homeland for providing teachers, teaching resources and curricula, it remains to be seen whether local and transnational centres of authority will challenge the pre-eminence of the Greek State and its educational representatives in determining educational policy and practice abroad.

The chapter contributors examine well-established forms of Greek education abroad (Greek complementary/community/heritage schools in Luxembourg and Canada and a range of different Greek schools in Germany) and how new diversities might be redefining their mission, curricula and pedagogy, as well as teacher and learner identities and expectations, language practices and language ideologies. The studies presented emphasise the lived multilingualism of Greek teachers, students and their families across diasporic educational contexts, where having access to, putting to use and mixing a range of linguistic resources is viewed as everyday practice. Rather than representing essentialised and rarefied descriptions of their multilingual lives, chapter contributors seek to capture the tensions and contradictions involved in teachers, students and their parents' narratives as they navigate the interactions and interrelationships between different linguistic and cultural resources, identities and roles. They remind us of the importance of attending to the diverse historical, political, cultural and linguistic conditions that have shaped the ways Greek language education operates, develops and changes locally, in different diasporic settings, and the possibilities and constraints these conditions afford for sustaining and transforming Greek language educational policy and practice abroad. They also remind us of the importance of attending to institutional practices and discourses and how they interact with teachers, students and parents' language ideologies and language practices. In line with previous research (Blackledge et al. 2008; Li Wei and Wu 2010; Lytra and Baraç 2009; Panagiotopoulou et al. 2017 among others), they illustrate the continuous salience of two seemingly contradictory language ideologies and pedagogies: on the one hand, "separate bilingualism", which has a monolingual starting point privileging Greek language and culture and allowing for the use of the students' and teachers' full linguistic repertoires for specific purposes only (e.g. to maximise comprehension or engage in cross-linguistic comparisons); on the other hand, "flexible bilingualism", which is anchored on a heteroglossic and translanguaging perspective that capitalises on students' and teachers' entire communicative repertoires for language and literacy learning and social identification (Blackledge and Creese 2010; see also Kirsch 2019 in this volume and Panangiotopoulou and Rosen 2019 in this volume for further discussion). At the same time, chapter contributors alert us to how new mobilities have the potential to generate alternative teacher identity positionings and institutional discourses. A case in point is the discourse of Greek day school in Germany as a "safe heaven" for newly arrived students who fail to adapt and succeed academically in mainstream German schools, elaborated in Chatzidaki (2019, in this volume).

How Might We Move Forward?

The present edited collection invites us to critically examine the rich and compelling narratives of migration of parents, students and teachers. Contrasted to earlier migration flows from Greece, the "new" Greek family migration has often been represented in Greek and international media as the privileged migration of mainly well-educated professionals viewed as a discrete and homogeneous category (see, for example, the newspaper article in *24 heures*). Chapter contributors unsettle such widely circulating tropes, revealing the sheer diversity of immigrants' biographies and trajectories, experiences and aspirations. Their nuanced analyses bring to the fore the need to probe further into the diversity of migration flows and to problematise the relationship between privilege and migration by examining, for instance, the co-existence of privilege with precarity and vulnerability (see Leonard and Walsh 2018 in the case of British migration abroad). Chapter contributors remind us that there is still much to be learned about the "new" Greek family migration project.

Conceptually, the studies in this volume attest to the analytical value of employing inductively designed methodologies developed through extended, exploratory qualitative research and taking an international comparative perspective. The goal of the studies is to gain insights into the emic perspectives of the social actors involved, their subjective and emotional responses, beliefs and values, mainly through interview data, and thus provide a window to understanding the significance of social actors' migration journeys for themselves. At the same time, the studies foreground the need to broaden our research approaches to include ethnographic, visual and multimodal research methods and engage in in-depth, multi-sited team and online ethnographies to extend our understanding of contemporary mobilities (see studies in Martin-Jones and Martin 2017). They also necessitate greater researcher reflexivity with the purpose of unravelling how researchers' own biographies and identities, embedded in broader social, historical and political contexts, come to shape their interpretations and representations (: ibid). Additionally, they call for developing more collaborative and participatory approaches and ensuring that research participants' voices are not simply heard but that research participants actively shape the co-production of knowledge during all stages of the research process. As Campbell and Lassiter (2010) assert, "an ethnography that makes collaboration an explicit and deliberate part of both fieldwork and the broader processes of research, interpretation, and writing is not just about producing more dialogically centred and multivocal texts …

Because it also seeks to encourage more ethically responsible practices, verifications of findings, and reciprocal analysis…" (p. 377).

As demographic shifts related to migration and digitalisation continue unabated, school leaders, teachers, parents, and students are called upon to play an active role as policy agents in re-imagining Greek schools abroad. Chapter contributors situate their studies within the field of bilingual community education which posits as its starting point that these educational spaces are "*bilingual* in nature [italics in the original], and [that the focus is] not just the maintenance of an 'ethnic mother-tongue' or the development of a 'heritage language'" (García et al. 2013, p. 4). Anchored in post-modern and post-structuralist perspectives, this conceptual positioning necessitates moving away from static and essentialised notions of language, culture, heritage and community to more flexible and dynamic understandings. In this sense, Greek language, culture and identity are reconceptualised "as something that is used in the present or that can be projected in the future" as opposed to "something one holds onto vaguely as one's remembrances" (García 2005, p. 601). This repositioning means that the mission of Greek schools goes beyond merely transmitting Greek language and culture to the next generation. It requires envisioning Greek schools not only as "safe" spaces for linguistic and cultural preservation, identity formation and developing community ties, but also as educational spaces firmly embedded within a broader pluralistic society. As the mission statement of the new Greek school referred to in the newspaper article in *24 heures* contends: "*Greek for All*, it's more than a school, the new association aims to connect Greek language and culture with the multiethnic Suisse society" (www.grecpourtous.ch). To this end, Souza (2016, p. 26) reminds us of "the dangers in favouring heritage maintenance over interaction with the local society. One of them is the perpetuation by and in the community schools of the frequently criticised monolingual and monocultural bias of the mainstream educational system"—an assertion which resonated with the findings of several chapter contributors too.

Viewing Greek schools within a broader perspective chimes with the notion of "school as basecamp" proposed by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation and the Innovation Unit in 2012 (as cited in Anderson and Macleroy 2016, p. 263), where the school is regarded "as a basecamp for learning, rather than as a final destination and sole source of knowledge" and where "learning is something that can happen at any time, in any place, and with a wide range of coaches, mentors, and experts." This means that Greek schools need to develop interconnections and interrelationships locally, nationally, and transnationally as well as networks with mainstream schools and schools set up by other transnational diasporic

communities (see Souza 2016 with regards to Brazilian Portuguese schools in the UK). This conceptual repositioning also requires investigating further the transformations of established forms of Greek language education abroad and the emergence of new ones, interactions between old and new mobilities and their impact on Greek schools' mission, pedagogy and practice and the teaching and learning potential of culturally sustaining multilingual pedagogies for all.

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